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The Master's Early Years"

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Jamie Gordon Creek, B.Mus.

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Abstract:

In many ways, the fifteenth century occupies a crucial role in the intellectual history of Tibet. ’Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481), a master of the bKa’ brgyud tradition most famous for having penned the *Blue Annals*, witnessed the unfolding of events of this century almost in its entirety and can be argued to be a crucial figure to understand the intellectual climate of this period. To trace how Tibet could produce such an exceptional thinker, this thesis aims to take a close look at the early stages of his life—i.e., his formative years and scholarly training—appreciating the historical and political circumstances of this period that allowed him to flourish in his studies and practice. The present work seeks to analyze the first part of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s *rnam thar*, which contains his upbringing, family background, and early scholarly formation—i.e., the masters he trained with and the works he studied—and to demonstrate the factors that were involved in him becoming the high-caliber and broadly positioned scholar he was. The main part of this thesis contains an annotated translation of the first part of his biography entitled *Yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa’i ljon pa*, written by his most prominent disciple, the 4th Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524).

Keywords: ’Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal, biographical writing, *rnam thar*, Tibetan history

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

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Wien/Vienna, 2022

The biographies of previous scholars
Are the practices of the disciples who follow.[1]

[1] Tibetan proverb. Cited in Ujeed, *Zaya Paṇḍita*, 93n44.

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Abbreviations

Skt.	Sanskrit
SMON	sMon lam grags pa. *mKhan po rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa skyes mchog pas mdzad pa*. In *Lo paṇ gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 5, 61–173. Hong Kong: Krung go'i shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2018. BDRC W3CN21836.
$SMON_1$	sMon lam grags pa. *mKhan po rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa skyes mchog pas mdzad pa*. *dbu med* manuscript. BDRC W26618.
Tib.	Tibetan
ZHWA	Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa.* In *Lo paṇ gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 5, 175–360. Hong Kong: Krung go'i shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2018. BDRC W3CN21836.
$ZHWA_1$	Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa*. BDRC W1PD90154.
$ZHWA_2$	Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe sprun khang, 2004. BDRC W28960.
$ZHWA_3$	Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa*. Collected Works of Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes, vol. 1, 459–564. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 2009. BDRC W1KG4876.

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Introduction

In many ways, the fifteenth century occupies a crucial role in the intellectual history of Tibet. There has rarely been another time in which so many highly influential Tibetan religious figures were active and wielded such a strong and long-lasting impact on the formation of Tibet's major religious traditions, most notably Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419). 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481), a master of the bKa' brgyud tradition with bKa' gdams roots most famous for having penned the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*), witnessed the unfolding of events of this century almost in its entirety and can be argued to be a crucial figure in terms of understanding the intellectual climate of fifteenth-century Tibet. To appreciate 'Gos Lo tsā ba's position in the intellectual history of the bKa' brgyud school and to contextualize his philosophical view, it is essential to shed some light on his life story and bring into picture the circumstances of the time in which he lived. 'Gos Lo tsā ba, who had a close relationship with the rulers of the Phag gru dynasty,[2] studied at almost all major monastic institutions in central Tibet[3] and thus came to be a remarkable scholar of encyclopedic learning with an extraordinarily broad educational background, lauded by the author of his biography, the fourth Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524), for his nonsectarian approach toward other traditions[4] and by the Indian paṇḍita[5] Vanaratna (1384–1468), whom 'Gos Lo tsā ba followed and assisted as an interpreter during his sojourns in Tibet.[6]

'Gos Lo tsā ba's traces lead even to the contemporary world. He is said to have been a previous incarnation of the eastern Tibetan master 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros (1893–1959), the reincarnation of the great *ris med* master 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–92), who was also known for his nonsectarian approach to the Buddhist

[2] 'Gos Lo tsā ba fulfilled the role of the Phag mo gru pas' "court chaplain," as van der Kuip (*Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 280) calls it, and he was given the honorific title *ti shri* ("imperial preceptor"). Moreover, 'Gos Lo tsā ba was appointed tutor to the Phag gru ruler Ngag gi dbang po (1439–91); see Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38. C.f. Mathes, *Direct Path*, 140–41.

[3] Mathes, *Direct Path*, 423n19.

[4] See ZHWA, 178. Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 5:6) tells us that 'Gos Lo tsā ba did not look down on any Dharma tradition but instead embraced all of them with pure vision ("*chos lugs gang la'ang mi smad cing dag snang mdzad/*.").

[5] Sanskrit words that can be found in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary are not italicized in this thesis, while diacritics are applied throughout. For Tibetan terms—such as tsampa, lama, Lhasa, etc.—that appear in Merriam-Webster, the Wylie system of transliteration was not applied, and they are also not italicized.

[6] Vanaratna reportedly said he had never a met a scholar more intelligent than 'Gos Lo tsā ba before ("… *kumāraśrī las shes rab che ba ma mthong.*" ZHWA, 243:18–19); see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 141.

doctrine. mKhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros's disciple and biographer Dil mgo mKhyen brtse (1910–91) alludes to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's vast activities as a propagator of the Dharma in his hagiography of mKhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros in the chapter on his past emanations. He states,

> 'Gos Lo tsā ba Yid bzang rtse ba[7] was educated and supported by numerous Indian and Tibetan scholars and siddhas, and he actively upheld, safeguarded, and spread the Buddha's teachings in every direction. He was universally known as an authentic teacher.[8]

To understand how Tibet could produce such an exceptional thinker and polymath as 'Gos Lo tsā ba, one of the great scholars of fifteenth-century Tibet, it is crucial to take a close look at the early stages of his life—that is, his formative years and scholarly training—and to appreciate the historical circumstances and political dispensation of this particular period that allowed him to flourish in his studies and practice, which eventually resulted in his prolific activities as a writer and commentator.[9] In light of that, the present work represents the humble attempt to contextualize the figure of 'Gos Lo tsā ba on the basis of the first part of his biography, which contains his upbringing, family background, and most importantly his scholarly formation—

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[7] 'Gos Lo tsā ba was also known as Yid bzang rtse ba (sometimes also spelled Ye bzang rtse pa/ba), which refers to the esteemed estate where he had his private quarters during the time of Mi dbang Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1374–1432, r. 1385–1432) rule and after; see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 274n118. Van der Kuijp (*Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 280–81) suggests that it might be located in the vicinity of—or even a hermitage belonging to—sNe'u gdong rdzong and rTsed thang Monastery. See also Mathes, *Direct Path*, 144, and Higgins, *Buddha Nature Reconsidered*, 20n14. C.f. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *'gos lo gzhon nu dpal*: "*sku tshe'i smad du kun bzang rtse'i ri khrod du bzhugs pas ye bzang rtse pa yang zhu/*."

[8] Drubgyud Tenzin Rinpoche, *Life and Times*, 272. The changes into the Wylie system of transliteration—here and in all following citations—are my own.

[9] According to Ko zhul Grags pa 'byung gnas (*Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*, 349), 'Gos Lo tsā ba's collected works, which are at present unavailable, fill ten volumes, the most famous works being an extensive commentary on the Kālacakra (*Dus 'khor rgyud 'grel chen*, see note 218), the astrological work *rTsis kyi bstan bcos 'khrul sel* (see note 328), a commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* with the title *De kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long*, a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* entitled *Phar phyin mngon rtogs rgyan gyi 'grel bshad*, and of course his famous *Deb ther sngon po*. According to what Chos grags ye shes states at the end of chapter 21 of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *rnam thar* (ZHWA, 286–91), in which he lists the latter's translations, it seems that some form of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's collected works (*bka' 'bum*) already existed at the time Chos grags ye shes wrote the *rnam thar* ("*mdo sngags kyi dgongs 'grel gyi rtsom pa mang du mdzad pa'i rags pa smos shing 'chad par 'gyur yang/ zhib mor bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag las shes par bya ste/ 'dir yi ge mangs dogs nas ma spros so//*." ZHWA, 291:8–10).

that is to say, the masters he trained with and the philosophical works he studied—and to demonstrate the factors that were involved in him becoming the high-caliber and broadly positioned scholar he was. In order to allow the reader a direct glance at the source material, the core of the present study is represented by an annotated translation of the first part of the master's biography, written by his disciple Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes.[10]

When attempting to embed the data obtained from 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography in its context, it is important to appreciate the economic and religio-sociological events of fifteenth-century Tibet as well as of the Ming Dynasty, which includes the rising Sino-Tibetan trade of tea, silk, and horses and the influx of silver into Tibet, which contributed to a strong economic upswing and demographic growth first in eastern Tibet and Sichuan and later in the whole of Tibet.[11] The emergence of a nouveau-riche merchant class, which increasingly acted as patrons of individuals of the Tibetan clergy of the newly founded dGe lugs tradition, began to fundamentally change the religious landscape in Tibet. Against this background, new opportunities arose for being sponsored not only by an aristocratic family, who traditionally belonged to the particular tradition they supported, but also by an economically strong group of patrons. This new development contributed to the fact that scholars such as 'Gos Lo tsā ba and Tsong kha pa were able to detach from a single religious institution and study relatively freely[12] under leading masters of their time,[13] since such a comparative and in part critical approach requires a certain institutional and financial independence.

To date, 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography has only been reviewed in Klaus-Dieter Mathes's monograph *A Direct Path to the Buddha Within*. However, since the focus of this work was primarily philosophical in nature—namely, 'Gos Lo tsā ba's Mahāmudrā interpretation of the

[10] I translated pp. 177–205:4 of ZHWA, with the hope to continue my work on 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography in the future.

[11] See Sernesi, *Introduction*, xii–xiii, and Sperling, *Preliminary Remarks*.

[12] In this context, a central concept for 'Gos Lo tsā ba's independent studies that often recurs in his *rnam thar* is the *grwa skor* ("monastic round"). In 'Gos Lo tsā ba's time, monks would travel to different monastic learning centers known for a particular subject, make a request to the heads of the monastery, and then engage in study and debate on the great texts; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 36. Mathes (*Direct Path*, 471n695) renders this term as "round of monastic colleges," while Jinpa (*Tsongkhapa*, 36) translates it as "doing the rounds of the debating courtyards." My translation of *grwa skor* as "monastic round" follows that of Cabezón, *Sera Monastery*.

[13] Mi nyag mgon po (*'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 176) comments in his short biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba, "*mdor na* […] *dbus gtsang du bzhugs pa'i mkhas pa gang na su yod tshang ma bsten*."

Ratnagotravibhāga in his lengthy commentary on it[14]—Mathes limited his presentation to a summary of the most important accounts in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's life on seventeen concise pages.[15]

Being a *rnam thar*, 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography is not just a historical work to be consulted only in terms of such basic information as to where, with whom, and what he studied. With its copious anecdotes from his childhood, lively stories from the master's everyday life, and encounters with his teachers, it should rather be appreciated as a narrative meant to inspire devotion in the reader, especially given its often conversational and colloquial style. The author Chos grags ye shes even allows the reader to take part in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's thoughts as he faces difficult situations—for instance, when he felt lonesome and without a companion as the only student of his teacher bSam grub bzang po[16]—or when he had to make important decisions, such as what to do with his life in the future after completing his first monastic round.[17]

The present work thus sets off with an outline of the historical circumstances of fifteenth-century Tibet and the Phag gru dynasty, which dominated the political sphere of central Tibet at the time of 'Gos Lo tsā ba. Following that, I shall focus on the most important events in the life of the author of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's hagiography, the fourth Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes, and then proceed to look at 'Gos Lo tsā ba's hagiography as a literary work belonging to the *rnam thar* genre in terms of its structure, form, and style. The main focus and center of this study is an annotated translation of the first part of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography from the pen of his direct disciple Chos grags ye shes.

There are two main contexts in which works on and by 'Gos Lo ts ba have mainly been consulted so far in Western academia. The first is the discussion of his philosophical views—especially on buddha-nature and Mahāmudrā—mainly undertaken in the works of Klaus-Dieter

[14] Entitled *A Commentary on the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra: A Mirror Illuminating Reality* (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel bshad de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long*), of which Mathes has published a critical edition in 2003 (see bibliography).

[15] Mathes, *Direct Path*, 131–47. Other academic works of more historical nature drawing on 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *rnam thar* are for example van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba* and Ehrhard, *Life and Travels*.

[16] ZHWA, 188 (see translation below).

[17] ZHWA, 187 (see translation below). Other such personal anecdotes in the *rnam thar* include, for example, when 'Gos Lo tsā ba expresses his feelings as he visits the sacred site of Tsa ri in southern Tibet, saying that it was as if all mountains and trees were alive, that the place was splendid, and that he could sleep peacefully at night without fear ("*tsa ri de nyid ri dang shing thams cad sems ldan yin pa snyam byed/ zil yang shin tu che ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *yod/ mtshan mor song nas 'jigs snang yang med par shin tu bag phebs pa yod*/." ZHWA, 249:11–13).

Mathes.[18] Second is ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s widely celebrated historical chronicle with a Buddhist underpinning, the *Blue Annals*.[19]

With the present thesis, I hope to shed some more light on ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s early education and studies so as to facilitate contextualization in further research on his oeuvre and to be able to better pinpoint his philosophical stance. The central questions I hope this study will contribute finding answers to are, How did the events in ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s early life lead to him becoming the great scholar he was? Which factors were involved in such figures of great learning as ’Gos Lo tsā ba or rJe Tsong kha pa being able to study relatively freely under so many masters of different schools and then gain such a large following? Which conclusions can be drawn in terms of the political and religious landscape and the general circumstances of the given time and places? In their *rnam thar*s, Tibetan authors bequeathed to us crucial resources with regard to such questions, and as van der Kuijp rightfully points out, the “biographies [of ’Gos Lo tsā ba] read like a who-is-who in the business of religion and politics of the era and region and, though by no means unique, they form enormously important sources for our understanding of this period.”[20] With the present enterprise, I mainly attempt to contribute to a more historically informed evaluation and understanding of the figure ’Gos Lo tsā ba and of the philosophical views outlined in his works, since for an adequate contextualization, comparative assessment, and classification of his philosophical standpoints the importance of gauging facts against their historical backdrop cannot be overstated. In the quest for an answer to these questions, let us now turn to the situation of central Tibet in the fifteenth century.

[18] These are mainly the following works: Mathes, *gZhon nu dpal’s Extensive Commentary*; Mathes, *Direct Path* (in particular pp. 367–421); the introduction to ’Gos Lo tsā ba, *De kho nan yid rab tu gsal ba’i me long*; Mathes, *Commentary on the* Dharmatā *Chapter*; Mathes, *gZhan stong View*; Mathes, *Analytical and Direct Approaches*; and the introduction to Mathes, *Maitrīpa*. Noteworthy is also Brunnhölzl, *When the Clouds Part*, 243–78. For more details, see the bibliography.

[19] See, for example, van der Kuijp, *Composition and Printings*. For a translation of this extensive work, see Roerich, *Blue Annals*.

[20] Van der Kujip, *Names of ’Gos Lo tsā ba*, 279.

1. The Political Context of Central Tibet During 'Go Lo tsā ba's Lifetime

When it comes to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in central Tibet, we are dealing with a highly intricate period, which has been described as "characterised by constant shifts of political power and forming of new alliances"[21] among the ruling aristocracy and the Tibetan religious schools. Despite the political upheaval, this period witnessed a thriving of the religious and intellectual scene with its brilliant philosophical thinkers, whose works are studied in Tibetan monastic colleges until the present day. 'Gos Lo tsā ba's lifetime coincided with the unfolding of the exploits and creative phases of great masters such as Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419)—who had his infamous visions of Mañjuśrī for the first time in 1392,[22] the very year 'Gos Lo tsā ba was born—the Tsong kha pa's main students mKhas grub rje (1385–1438) and rGyal tshab rje (1364–1432), who were seminal figures in the dissemination of the newly founded dGa' ldan tradition; the first Dalai Lama dGe 'dun grub (1391–1474); and the Sa skya scholars Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros (1349–1412), Rong ston Shes bya kun rig (1367–1449), and Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456). And so it happened that 'Gos Lo tsā ba was either directly or indirectly connected to all of them in the course of his long life. Furthermore, 'Gos Lo tsā ba witnessed the foundation of the dGa' ldan tradition—initially named after dGa' ldan Monastery and later called dGe lugs—which quickly became hugely successful. Also his disciple, the 4th Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes, did not leave the developments of Tsong kha pa's success uncommented:

[21] Heimbel, *Dispute Between mKhas grub rJe and Ngor chen*, 260.

[22] Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 385.

Saying that the *Great Treatise on Insight*,[23] *Distinguishing Provisional and Definitive*,[24] *Abridged Stages of the Path*,[25] his guides to the view, instructional teachings, and so on
Are superior to both view and meditation of all the earlier traditions,
And that his teachings on the five stages and the six yogas, too, have many unique features,
[People] saw how [Tsong kha pa] was able to stand on his own independently,
And almost everyone became his follower, abandoning the other traditions.[26]

'Gos Lo tsā ba himself commented on the rapid spread of the dGa' ldan tradition by the end of the fifteenth century, saying that "by that time, the entire face of this great earth was covered

[23] Tib. *Lhag mthong chen mo*. This refers to the last chapter of Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, the section on insight (*lhag mthong*), often treated as an independent work; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 203–06. 'Gos Lo tsā ba's fondness of this chapter becomes evident in the eighth chapter of his *rnam thar*: "Before coming to Thang sag, all his qualities manifested mainly in his learning. Then, [due to his stay at Thang sag,] he gained great wisdom based on contemplation, and after engaging in thorough analysis, it happened that he did not [need to] repeat what others said [any longer]. After he went to rTses thang again, he borrowed rJe Rin po che's *Abridged Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chung ba*) from the monk Sang chos and read it. With regard to all the qualities he had before, his view was externally orientated, and he thought that the target is to be sought outside. [Having studied rJe Rin po che's *Abridged Stages of the Path*,] he thought, 'Now, with this [previous attitude of mine] it will not work. I shall think in terms of applying all phenomena to my mind instead.' Thus he thought, and the change [in his attitude] happened excellently. He said, 'I am very grateful to rJe [Rin po che]'s *Stages of the Path*.' After reading the *Great Treatise on Insight*, he also remarked, 'It was because of this [text] that I became accomplished in the system of Madhyamaka.'" ("*thang sag tu ma phebs gong gi yon tan thams cad thos pa gtso bor gyur pa yin/ de nas bsam byung gi shes rab chen po 'khrungs nas legs par dpyod pa la zhugs nas gzhan zer gyis zlos mi mdzad pa de byung/ slar rtses thang du phebs nas dge sbyong sangs* [text: *sang*] *chos la rje rin po che'i lam rim chung ba 'dug pa g.yar nas gzigs pas sngar gyi yon tan thams cad kha phyir ltas su song/ 'ben phyi rol tu btsal bar 'dug /da ni des mi 'ong bar chos thams cad rang rgyud dang sbyar nas sems dgos par 'dug dgongs pa byung nas/ der yang 'gyur legs par thon/ nga la rje'i lam rim sku drin che zhes pa dang/ de rjes lhag mthong chen mo gzigs pas dbu ma'i lugs des rdzogs pa yin zhes kyang gsung/*." ZHWA, 274:16–275:7).

[24] Tib. *Drang nges rnam 'byed.*

[25] Tib. *Lam rim chung ba*. These three works together with Tsong kha pa's commentary on Nagārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* entitled *Rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* and his commentary on Candrakīirti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* called *dGongs pa rab gsal* are collectively referred to as the "five great Madhyamaka works of rJe Tsong kha pa"; see Jinpa, *Illuminating the Intent*, 15.

[26] "*/lhag mthong chen mo drang nges rnam 'byed dang/ /lam rim chung ba lta khrid zhal shes sogs/ /snga rabs kun gyi lta sgom gnyis ka las/ /khyad par 'phags shing rim lnga chos drug gi/ /gdams pa la'ang zab khyad du ma zhes/ /rang tshugs thub pa mdzad par mthong gyur nas/ /phal cher de yi rjes 'brangs lugs gzhan dor/*." Chos grags ye shes, *Ne'u rings rin po che'i dris lan*, 485:18–23. See also Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 356.

by the one white canopy of Tsong kha pa."[27] Several attempts have been made to explain the skyrocketing of Tsong kha pa's legacy, but since these were mainly based on deduction and speculation, it remains to be substantiated by concrete historical data rather than simply adducing Tsong kha pa's intellectual brilliance and originality, his emphasis on the Vinaya, and the missionary persuasiveness of some of his disciples etc. to substantiate these arguments.[28] Particularly dBang Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1374–1432) support and enthusiasm for Tsong kha pa was a major factor that contributed to the great success of his new movement.[29] Besides the Phag mo gru pa, also other important noble families in central Tibet such as Brag dkar, sNe'u, 'Ol kha, and Shar kha pa of rGyal mkhar rtse were instrumental in leveraging Tsong kha pa's forming school.[30]

'Gos Lo tsā ba was born into a period politically characterized by what is known as the Phag gru dynasty in central Tibet; precisely, during the reign of one of the Phag grus' most successful rulers: Grags pa rgyal mtshan (r. 1385–1432).[31] Founded by Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302–1364) in 1354, thirty-eight years prior to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's birth, the Phag mo gru pa became the major political player in central Tibet during the fifteenth century and thus had a significant influence on the religious sphere of that time.

Federica Venturi observed three important dynamics the fifteenth century in central Tibet witnessed, which—previously introduced by the Mongols, who in alliance with the Sa skya pas wielded power over central Tibet until 1368—strongly influenced the political and clerical landscape of that time.[32] Firstly, monastic establishments were exempted from taxation, as a

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[27] Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 353, quoted and translated from dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *dGe ldan chos 'byung*, 65b:6.

[28] Venturi, *Before and After*, 106.

[29] Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 13–14 and 66.

[30] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 212. The latter house of rGyal mkhar rtse even saw in their sponsorship of Tsong kha pa's school a means to increase their political influence in gTsang, and in 1418 his student mKhas grub rje entered into a *mchod yon* relation with their ruler Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags pa (1389–1442); see ibid., 212n18. In addition, Czaja (ibid., 218) writes, "The support of the then most promising religious movement whose foundation was laid by Tsong kha pa was surely influenced by faith in this charismatic personality, but at the same time it was a way to enter the religio-political landscape of Lhasa. Additionally, it was a bond tying his [i.e., Grags pa rgyal mtshan's] officers […] by a new link, namely the shared support for one religious leader."

[31] Czaja (*Medieval Rule*, 218n37) points out that the dGe lugs pas, in particular, portray him as a peace-loving and war-hating leader, a view not entirely supported by the actual historical circumstances—especially with regard to the military interventions under his rule. This is primarily due to the fact that he was a generous patron of the dGe lugs pas in their early period.

[32] Venturi, *Before and After*, 101–04.

result of which monasteries became more independent and more attractive allies for the ruling elite.[33] Venturi writes:

> The wealth and political leverage acquired by monasteries and their attached lineages during the fourteenth century, both on account of the exemption from taxes and of the targeted royal patronage that some sects, namely the Sa skya pa and the Phag mo gru pa, received through the system of appanages, contributed to making monasteries stronger counterparts to the aristocracy and allowing them to acquire a larger role in the fifteenth century. The point being made here is that one of the decisive factors in explaining the 15th century shift from a scenario of aristocratic families vying for power to one in which the monastic establishments struggled for supremacy can be found in the practice of tax exemptions from the previous century, and, in the case the Phag mo gru pa, also in the appanage system, two practices that perceptibly increased the share of material wealth controlled by monasteries. As a corollary of this, the coalitions, intrigues, and political machinations of the 15th century revolved around the rivalry of monasteries, while the aristocracy made efforts to create ties and alliances with the new primary, and ecclesiastical, political players.[34]

Against this backdrop one must also read 'Gos Lo tsā ba's early monastic education, which he underwent in the prevalent model of the time, in Tibetan referred to as *grwa skor*.[35] Traveling from monastery to monastery, 'Gos Lo tsā ba would do his textual studies and debates in various monastic establishments specialized in a particular discipline. Thus we read in his *rnam thar* that he went to study Madhyamaka at Thang sag Monastery, which has a long history in Madhyamaka studies and traces its roots back to Pa tshab Lo tsā ba (b. 1055),[36] and to study the Vinaya at sKyor mo lung, a center for Vinaya studies.[37]

The second important point with regard to the fifteenth century, also matchlessly demonstrated by the Mongols during their rule in alliance with the Sa skya pas, is the foreign patronship of Tibet's monasteries, in Tibetan referred to as *mchod yon*. Transcending the limits of local patronage, the monasteries started sending representatives to the Ming court, as it happened with a religious figure, who also features in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *rnam thar*: the 5th

[33] Venturi, *Before and After*, 102.

[34] Venturi, *Before and After*, 102.

[35] For Tsong kha pa's *grwa skor* studies, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 36–37.

[36] See note 242 below.

[37] See note 289 below.

Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415). He reached Nanjing in 1407 upon invitation by the Yongle emperor, a sojourn generously rewarded with copious gifts such as tea, silver, cloth, and horses.[38] This visit boosted the Karma pa's prestige and thus made his tradition more appealing to sponsors; namely, the aristocratic houses of central Tibet, whose interest was to thereby increase their influence in the geographical areas dominated by the Karma bKa' brgyud pas.[39] On the significance of the Karma pa's one-year sojourn at the Ming court, Czaja comments that "one cannot overestimate the importance of his journey to the new Chinese emperors for the Tibetan world."[40] The Yongle emperor also invited Tsong kha pa twice to come to his court, his invitations being accompanied by many gifts too, but the latter politely declined both requests and instead sent his student 'Jam chen Chos rje Śākya ye shes (1354–1435), who later founded Se ra Monastery in 1419, after receiving the second invitation letter from the emperor in 1413.[41] Coming back to Tibet in 1416, 'Jam chen Chos rje brought with him as a gift from the emperor a block print of the entire bKa' 'gyur.[42] This practice of sending high religious figures to the Ming court in the spirit of the *mchod yon* relationship was another factor that contributed to individual monasteries becoming more financially powerful, thus outrivaling those who did not engage in this exchange.[43]

The third element Venturi adduces pertains to the bestowal of honorific titles, which a foreign authority conferred upon influential Tibetan religious figures and rulers,[44] such as the title *dbang* given to the Phag gru ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan in 1406 by the Chinese emperor.[45] This practice can also be observed in the case of the 5th Karma pa, who was in fact the first Tibetan religious figure to be granted the honorary title "Dharma king" (*fa wang*).[46] 'Gos Lo

[38] Sperling, *5th Karma-pa*, 284.

[39] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 216n31.

[40] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 216n31.

[41] For the precise circumstances, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 226–30, and Sperling, *Ming Embassy*.

[42] Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 295. Six years before in 1410, the Yongle emperor had already sponsored the woodblock printing of the bKa' 'gyur, see ibid, 389.

[43] Venturi, *Before and After*, 103.

[44] Venturi, *Before and After*, 103–04.

[45] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 209.

[46] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 216–17n31. Czaja points out that the 5th Karma pa was probably also involved in conferring other titles on prominent Tibetan personalities, among others on the 'Bri gung pas and Gling tshang pas.

tsā ba's biography informs us of an occasion on which these two high dignitaries, the 5th Karma pa and Grags pa rgyal mtshan, met.[47] He reports,

> When [the Karma pa] sat on a throne in the Chos 'khor garden of sNe'u gdong,[48] the ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan merely sat on a red mat in front of him. He (i.e., Grags pa rgyal mtshan) was someone who would arrive surrounded by many lay lords, filling his kingdom with splendor, but in the presence [of the Karma pa] he was not more than a globule of ink. I saw people like Chos rje De bzhin gshegs pa and rJe Rin po che Blo bzang grags pa with my own eyes. I am not like you[, my disciples, who have not met such great masters].[49]

This evidently shows the appreciation 'Gos Lo tsā ba had for the Karma pa, the vastly influential religious figure he was,[50] when compared in terms of charisma to the political—but also monastic[51]—ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan. Religious and political spheres strongly overlapped in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's time, which holds true not only for the fifteenth century but throughout the history of Tibet.[52] Politics exercised a strong influence on religious matters, which is particularly evident in patrons' initiatives to make offerings to high religious dignitaries with the intention to gain power over a particular area under the control of a certain lama and

[47] Czaja (*Medieval Rule*, 216–17n31) also mentions that they were in contact with each other because of feuds, which occurred in dBus during the Karma pa's stay at the Ming court. Imperial messengers, and/or their Tibetan escorts, who were carrying gifts for Tibetan dignitaries, had been assaulted by members of the Khyung pa clan. After troubles continued, Grags pa rgyal mtshan, fearing revenge from the Chinese side, dispatched a letter to the Karma pa to exert his influence at the Ming court to prevent their sending troops. His success in this affair contributed to the great prestige he enjoyed among the rulers of central Tibet after his return.

[48] sNe'u gdong was the administrative seat of the Phag gru rulers. It was initially established by rDo rje dpal (fl. thirteenth century) between 1264–66 and reconstructed by the founder of the Phag gru dynasty Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan; see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 600.

[49] "*sne'u gdong gi chos 'khor ldum ra'i khri kha na bzhugs pa'i tshe dbang grags pa rgyal mtshan sku mdun de na stan dmar rkyang pa zhig la bzhugs 'dug/ khong dpon skya mang pos bskor nas rgyal khams 'od kyis bkang nas 'byon gyi yod pa yin te/ sku mdun de na snag tsha'i ri lu tsam zhig 'dug/ nga'i mig gis chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa* [text: *de bzhin gshegs*] *'dra ba mthong/ rje rin po che blo bzang grags pa 'dra ba mthong/ khyed tsho dang nga mi mnyam gsungs* [text: *gsung*]." ZHWA, 200:10–16.

[50] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 216–17n31.

[51] C.f. Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 13 and 394n18.

[52] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 36.

recipient of the gifts, who in turn was dependent on the offerings, financial support, and physical protection for their growing monastic establishments and following.[53]

We shall conclude this chapter with the following brief summary of the most important politico-historical developments during the period of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's life, which shall suffice for the present undertaking.[54] Generally, the period between 1354 and 1642 was mostly characterized by what is referred to as the "three major hegemonies" of the Phag mo gru pa (r. 1354–1478), the Rin spungs pa (r. 1478–1565), and the gTsang pa (r. 1565–1642).[55] It happened in 1354 that the former rule of Sa skya pas and their Mongolian patrons came to an end, when Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan rose to power. The Phag mo gru pa—who were historically connected primarily to the bKa' brgyud tradition, in which their origins lie—gradually began to patronize the rising dGe lugs pas, a development that reached its peak with the ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan, who had close ties with Tsong kha pa and eventually became his most important sponsor.[56] With the establishment of the sMon lam chen mo[57] and dGa' ldan Monastery in 1409,[58] 'Bras spungs in 1416, Se ra in 1419[59]—collectively referred to as *gdan sa gsum* in Tibetan—and bKra shis lhun po in 1447, the dGe lugs tradition gained a strong foothold in central Tibet to exercise its power;[60] in fact, these monasteries eventually developed into the biggest monastic establishments of the world housing thousands of monks by the twentieth century.

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[53] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 36n53. See also Higgins, *Mahāmudrā and the Middle Way*, 22.

[54] The following description is based on Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 36–42. For more information on this period of Tibetan history, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 196–242; van Schaik, *Tibet: A History*, 85–113; Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 13–18; Higgins, *Mahāmudrā and the Middle Way*, 22–25; Venturi, *Before and After*; and Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, 73–91.

[55] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 36; Higgins, *Buddha Nature Reconsidered*, 15n5; and Higgins, *Mahāmudra and the Middle Way*, 244n684.

[56] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 37. See also Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 13–14 and 57.

[57] Between 1498 and 1517, the sMon lam chen mo festival could not take place, since at that time the Rin spungs rulers, who were affiliated with the Karma bKa' brgyud school, did not allow dGe lugs pa monks to attend the celebration; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 248–49; see also Heimbel, *Dispute Between mKhas grub rJe and Ngor chen*, 260. For more information on the Great Prayer Festival, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 244–49. Having established this important festival was considered to be the third of Tsong kha pa's "four great deeds" (*mdzad chen bzhi*), the first being the renovation of a Maitreya statue in rDzing phyi Monastery, the second the founding the "Great Scriptural Festival of gNyal," and the fourth the institution of annual *sgrub chos* practices at dGa' ldan Monastery; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 128, 248, 299, and 418n222.

[58] On the founding of dGa' ldan Monastery, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 249–52.

[59] For a comprehensive study on the history of Se ra Monastery, see Cabezón, *Sera Monastery*.

[60] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 37–38.

It then happened in a gradual way that the Phag mo gru pa were toppled by the Rin spungs pa, whose influential members had fulfilled administrative roles as ministers during the Phag gru hegemony.[61] Several factors contributed to this gradual shift of power that debilitated the Phag mo gru pa, such as the demise of the stable leader Grags pa rgyal mtshan in 1432 and a civil war in 1434,[62] the latter year being described as a "turning point in the history of the Rlangs Phag mo gru pa and of Tibet as a whole."[63] This time of unrest left Grags pa rgyal mtshan's successors, Grags pa 'byung gnas (1414–45) and Kun dga' legs pa (1433–82/83),[64] behind struggling.[65] It then happened from 1478 onward that the Rin spungs pa lords mTsho skyes rdo rje (1450–1510/13) and Don yod rdo rje (1463–1512) succeeded in increasing their influence,[66] eventually gaining full control over the Phag mo gru pa with a successful strike against Yar klungs in 1480 and seizing power over the Phag gru court at sNeu gdong rtse.[67] It fell in this period of Rin spungs pa domination that the 4th Zhwa dmar pa, who was connected to both aristocratic houses of Phag gru and Rin spungs, assumed the position of *spyan snga* at gDan sa mthil Monastery in 1493. Let us now take a brief look at the life of the 4th Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes, "one of the most interesting figures of this period," to borrow the words of Rheingans.[68]

[61] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38.

[62] Rheingangs, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38.

[63] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 19. Czaja (ibid.) further observes that several aristocratic houses of central Tibet, such as the rGyal mkhar rtse, saw in these political upheavals an opportunity to make themselves more independent of the Phag mo gru pa. On the ramifications of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's death—which is also mentioned in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *rnam thar* (ZHWA, 240:5–7)—and the "inner revolt of 1434," which allowed the Rin spungs pa to gain power, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 218–24.

[64] On Kun dga' legs pa's rule, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 225–41.

[65] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38.

[66] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38.

[67] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 20 and 235.

[68] Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38.

2. The Author: Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524)

It was right in the middle of this eventful time of the fifteenth century that ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s biographer and disciple Chos grags ye shes was born, far off the political trajectory of central Tibet. Being one of the most prolific writers of the bKa’ brgyud tradition, he penned biographies for numerous Tibetan masters.[69] The fourth Zhwa dmar pa was born in Tre shod Khang dmar in the vicinity of dKar mdzes in Khams in 1453. His father was dGon pa skyabs of the lDong clan and his mother bSod nams sgrol ma. Having met the 7th Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506) at Zur mang Monastery in 1462, he received the name Chos kyi grags pa ye shes dpal bzang po from him.[70] With ’Gos Lo tsā ba acting as his preceptor, he became a fully ordained monk (*dge slong*, Skt. *bhikṣu*) at the age of twenty-four in 1478.[71] He became a student of Khrims khang Lo tsā ba bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–82)—who himself was also a disciple of ’Gos Lo tsā ba and the Indian scholar Vanaratna—and later also wrote the biography of this influential master.[72] In the course of his life, Chos grags ye shes became an influential political figure in central Tibet. He first came to sNeu gdong, the seat of the Phag gru rulers, in 1481 to congratulate the Phag gru ruler Ngag gi dbang po on his enthronement,[73] and five years later in 1486, he bestowed ordination on him.[74] When Ngag gi dbang po died after a sudden illness in 1491, Chos grags ye shes performed the funeral ceremonies for him.[75] Having thus established connections with the ruling Phag gru elite, Chos grags ye shes assumed the position of *spyan snga* himself, the title of the Phag gru monarchs, which he held from 1493 until his death in 1524, and the abbacy of gDan sa mthil Monastery.[76] After the fall of the Phag gru dynasty, he

[69] Ehrhard, *Life and Travels*, 11–12.

[70] Draszczyk, *Eulogy*, 99. See also Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 233n86.

[71] bsTan ’dzin lung rtogs nyi ma, *bSil ldan kha ba’i ljongs su mdo sngags kyi bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byon tshul bstan pa’i rab byed*, 166. See also Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 234.

[72] See Ehrhard, *Life and Travels*, 12.

[73] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 209, and Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 237.

[74] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 210–11.

[75] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 212, and Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 242.

[76] See van der Kuijp, *Names of ’Gos Lo tsā ba*, 282; Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 244 and 256; and Rheingans, *Eighth Karmapa*, 38. Note that Draszczyk (*Eulogy*, 99) dates Chos grags ye shes’s rule as *spyan snga* to 1495–1506.

founded Thub bstan yangs pa can Monastery in 1503 with support from the new Rin spungs rulers, where he also completed 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography.[77]

In terms of his philosophical position, the 4th Zhwa dmar pa is known to have emphasized a *gzhan stong*-like view and the buddha-nature teachings of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* to be a definitive teaching.[78] In the context of his Mahāmudrā writings for example, he explicitly criticizes the nonaffirming negation approach (*med dgag*) of the teachings associated with the second *dharmacakra* as not sufficient to describe the ultimate state of *mahāmudrā*.[79] However, he does not explicitly mention the term *gzhan stong* in any of his works and can therefore not be considered a "*gzhan stong pa*" maintaining Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan's (1292–1361) view.[80] In her study on Chos grags ye shes's view on luminosity, Draszczyk concludes that following a trend among writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries belonging to the bKa' brgyud tradition, Chos grags ye shes "taught a *gzhan stong* related type of Mahāmudrā based on an affirming negation, following closely the lead of the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje, but rejected the eternalist strain of *gzhan stong* that had become associated in the minds of many post-classical Bka' brgyud thinkers with the Jo nang tradition of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan."[81]

One should also point out that Chos grags ye shes received transmissions of several works of Tsong kha pa, namely the *Short Treatise on the Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chung ba*); the *Great Treatise on the Stages of Tantra* (*sNgags rim chen mo*); his commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*,[82] on Aśvaghoṣa's *Fifty Stanzas on the Guru* (*Bla ma lnga bcu pa*, Skt.

[77] Ehrhard, *Life and Travels*, 11. In fact, it was another direct disciple of 'Gos Lo tsā ba with the name sMon lam grags pa who, at the request of Chos grags ye shes, first wrote a biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba. Chos grags ye shes later then expanded on this work and completed his text in 1517; see chapter 4 below and Mathes, *Direct Path*, 468n668.

[78] Draszczyk, *Eulogy*, 114–15.

[79] See Draszczyk, *Eulogy*, 110 and 114.

[80] Draszczyk, *Eulogy*, 115. Draszczyk (ibid.) also mentions that Chos grags ye shes indeed criticized Dol po pa's views, adducing his *Sixty Verses of Mahāmudrā* (*Phyag rgya chen po drug bcu pa*) as an example.

[81] Draszczyk, *Eulogy*, 115. For further academic studies on the 4th Zhwa dmar pa's writings, see Mathes, *Role of the Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, and Draszczyk, *Sixty Verses on Mahāmudrā*.

[82] The full Tibetan title of this work is *bDe mchog bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgya cher bshad pa sbas pa'i don kun gsal ba*. 'Gos Lo tsā ba himself received the reading transmission of Tsong kha pa's Cakrasaṃvara commentary from Sems dpa' chen po kun bzang (1366–1444), who was a student of Tsong kha pa, in 1431; see ZHWA, 238:3–6, and note 375 below. Tsong kha pa composed this lengthy work based on a comparative edition of the root tantra, which he himself prepared, in the last year of his life 1419; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 308–09. For Tsong kha pa's contribution to and relationship with the Cakrasaṃvara system, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 285–312. In his *Blue*

Gurupañcaśika), and on the *Root Vows of Tantra* (*rTsa ltung rnam bshad*); *Distinguishing Provisional and Definitive* (*Drang nges rnam 'byed*); and many other teachings at gNas nang Monastery between the ninth month of the fire monkey year 1476 and the third month of the bird year 1477 from 'Gos Lo tsā ba.[83]

Having considered 'Gos Lo tsā ba his root teacher, Chos grags ye shes held the funerary rituals after his passing in 1481 at rTsed thang Monastery and made offerings to its monks dedicated to him.[84] He had his bodily remains (*gdung rus*) brought to Kong po in 1492.[85] In 1496, when Chos grags ye shes assumed residence at his new seat in Yangs pa can, the Rin spungs rulers and other patrons presented offerings to him during the ceremony inaugurating his stay there.[86] In a short anecdote demonstrating Zhwa dmar pa's influence as the *spyan snga*, we are told that he reconciled a conflict between the Rin spungs pas and the Lho stod pas in 1504.[87] Chos grags ye shes, who also came to be addressed as the "second gZhon nu dpal,"[88] passed away at the of age seventy-one in 1524.[89]

Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes bequeathed to us numerous works on a broad variety of topics. Among them one can find philosophical commentaries on sūtric and tantric treatises, several hagiographical *rnam thar* works, hymns and praises, texts belonging to the "responses to queries" genre (*dris lan* or *zhus lan*), and so forth, which are preserved in his collected works

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Annals, 'Gos Lo tsā ba comments Tsong kha pa's legacy with respect to Cakrasaṃvara in the following way: "In later times, following the lineage of Bu ston Rin po che, the revered great Tsong kha pa also composed a commentary on the root tantra, excellently bringing its explanatory tantras together with the great Indian commentaries. He also wrote sādhanas and maṇḍala rites connected to the Ghaṇṭapa tradition, and exposition of the five stages according to the Ghaṇṭapa tradition, instructions on how to engage in the meditative practice of the Great Yoga completion stages of the Lūipa tradition, as well as an exposition of Lūipa's sādhana entitled *Milking the Wish-Granting Cow*. Thus he brought back to life the tradition of Cakrasaṃvara that had declined [in Tibet]." Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 309; quoted and translated from 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, 471.

[83] See ZHWA, 351–53.

[84] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 209, and Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 237. Czaja (*Medieval Rule*, 237n106) observes that the funeral ceremony for 'Gos Lo tsā ba took place during the early days of 1482.

[85] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 212.

[86] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 212.

[87] Mi nyag mgon po, *Zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 214.

[88] Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 234.

[89] I would like to draw the reader's attention to a dissertation project dedicated to the life and works of the 4th Zhwa dmar pa entitled "The Fourth Zhwa-dmar-pa Incarnate: A Comprehensive Study of the Life and Works of Chos-grags ye shes dpal bzang-po (1453–1524)," which is currently being undertaken at Bonn University, Germany, by Éva Kamilla Mojzes.

consisting of six volumes in modern book format.[90] Thus Chos grags ye shes can be counted as "among the most brilliant authors and important representatives of the Dwags po Bka' brgyud tradition."[91]

[90] Draszczyk, *Sixty Verses on Mahāmudrā*, 204. Chos grags ye shes's collected works have only recently been printed from manuscripts preserved in the Cultural Palace of Minorities in Beijing at the initiative of Yangs pa can Monastery in 2009; see ibid., 204n1. Draszczyk (*Eulogy*, 100) notes that the fact that no xylographic woodblock prints of his collected works have been prepared might explain why his writings have not been studied until recently.

[91] Draszczyk, *Sixty Verses on Mahāmudrā*, 204.

3. The Master's Hagiography: A Formal Analysis

In the hagiography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal entitled *A Tree on Which Precious Qualities Grow Abundantly*[92] from the pen of the 4th Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes, we are dealing with a work belonging to the Tibetan literary genre of *rnam thar*. The purpose of hagiographical *rnam thar* works in Tibetan literature is not simply to preserve the most important events during a master's life or to record historical facts. From the traditional point of view, *rnam thar*s or "liberating stories"[93] seek to inspire in the reader devotion and the desire to emulate the deeds of the great masters. They try to demonstrate their enlightened qualities and how they arduously strove to practice the Buddha's teachings and eventually reached a state of "complete liberation," the literal meaning of *rnam thar*, which is a contraction of the term *rnam par thar pa*.[94] As Gene Smith stated, "The *rnam thar* is ultimately a practical instruction, a guide to the experience, insights, and vision of one developed being";[95] or to borrow the words of James Robinson:

> Hagiography is concerned first and foremost to illuminate religious truth as exemplified through the lives of extraordinary men and women. This purpose is by no means incompatible with historical accuracy, but holding up a model or illustrating a doctrine shapes the narrative in a way that subordinates mere detail of fact. […] Reading religious biographies as hagiography allows us a richer degree of understanding the process by which this genre comes to be and the dynamics which shape the stories. It bridges the categories of history and symbolic literature; the stories can be presented as true in the spiritual sense and also, for the audience at which they are directed, true in the historical sense as well.[96]

Works of this genre often set out emphasizing that the master started as an ordinary being with special karmic propensities from past lives, allowing him or her to progress swiftly in their studies and practice, and finally result in the master transcending ordinariness.

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[92] Tib. *Yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa*.

[93] Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 15.

[94] C.f. Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 15.

[95] Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 14.

[96] Robinson, *Biography, Hagiography and Myth*, 65–66. Illuminating studies on the *rnam thar* genre and Tibetan life-writing include, for example, Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, 101–23; Ary, *Authorized Lives*; Roesler, *Operas, Novels, and Religious Instructions*; Roesler, *Introduction*; and Ricard, *Life of Shabkar*.

Let us now turn to some formal and structural features of our present liberating story, the *rnam thar* of 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal. In the manuscript ZHWA$_1$, the text consists of seventy-four folios with seven lines each. The text can also be found (in modern book format) in volume *ka* of Chos grags ye shes's collected works.[97] It constitutes a relatively average-size biography in comparison with other *rnam thar*s composed in the sixteenth century.[98] Chos grags ye shes completed 'Gos Lo tsā ba's hagiography on May 5, 1517 at his seat Yangs pa can Monastery, thirty-six years after the master's demise.[99] As van der Kuijp points out, we do not know his motives for writing it and why he did so thirty-six years after 'Gos Lo ts ba's death in 1481.[100] We do know, however, that the first nineteen chapters of the biography are for the major part an almost verbatim copy with occasional minor changes of an earlier work entitled *mKhan po rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa skyes mchog pas mdzad pa* written by sMon lam grags pa—in the title referred to as sKyes mchog pa—in 1479,[101] who was equally a direct student and occasional scribe of 'Gos Lo tsā ba.[102]

[97] Here abbreviated as ZHWA$_3$. Other available versions of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *rnam thar* are listed and described in the explanatory paragraph preceding the Tibetan edition in the last chapter of this study.

[98] The average number of folios of biographies from the sixteenth century amounts to sixty-four folios; see Schaeffer, *Tibetan Biography*, 297, where Schaeffer compiled data from 1125 *rnam thar*s in the BDRC.

[99] Van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 279. According to the colophon, a certain Ratna Maṅgala acted as Chos grags ye shes's scribe at Yangs pa can ("*shākya'i dge slong chos kyi grags pas/ dpal bde chen yangs pa can gyi gtsug lag khang du sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni ratna maṅgala zhes bya bas bgyis te grub pa/*." ZHWA, 360:12–13).

[100] Van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 279.

[101] SMON, 62.

[102] Van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 279. This master is also referred to as sKyes mchog sMon lam dpal. He seems to have been a close disciple of 'Gos Lo tsā ba, given the many personal accounts in the *rnam thar*. He also acted as a scribe for 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 145. Van der Kuijp (*Composition and Printings*, 18) refers to him as 'Gos Lo tsā ba's "secretary." Furthermore, on one occasion, which may also lead us to surmise that sMon lam grags pa belonged to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's inner circle, he shared a dream with sMon lam grags pa toward the end of his life in 1476. 'Gos Lo tsā ba sat on the back of a splendid white elephant, riding to the Khecara realm with sMon lam grags pa walking in front leading the way. After he woke up, he told sMon lam grags pa that he hoped that this dream was not a premonition of his death. ("*brgyad bcu rtsa lnga pa me pho spre'u'i lo gsar rjes nub cig rmang lam du/ glang po che chen po kha dog dkar po shin tu mdzes shing shugs dang ldan pa zhig gi sgal ba'i steng su skyil dkrung mdzad nas bzhugs te/* […] *de'i sngon la khyod 'dug /khyod kyis lam sna byas nas nged rang gnyis mkha' spyod du 'gro ba yin zer zhing/* […] *'chi ltas min na bzang la che zhes slob dpon smon lam grags pa la gsungs/*." ZHWA, 293:12–294:4). It was also sMon lam grags pa who, after 'Gos Lo tsā ba's death, supervised the construction of a life-size statue and a stūpa in honor of his master ("*sku tshad dang mnyam pa'i gzims mal du bzhugs pa'i mkhar ba las grub pa'i sku 'dra/ yang dgon gyi rgyab tu phyi rten ye shes mchod rten tshad che ba bzhengs pa/ slob dpon smon lam grags pas do dam bgyis*." ZHWA, 358:4–6).

sMon lam grags pa wrote his work while ’Gos Lo tsā ba was still alive and eighty-eight years old.[103] He provides a hint in the colophon, which one can interpret to say that he already knew that Chos grags ye shes would eventually expand on his work and include also the last years of the master’s life. sMon lam grags pa writes, “This brief account of the deeds of the omniscient master gZhon nu includes his activities up to the fifth month of the female earth pig year, in which he was eighty-eight years old. Some material beyond that can be found elsewhere.”[104] Moreover, it was Chos grags ye shes who initially urged sMon lam grags pa to write ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s biography.[105]

According to the present stage of research, only one other biographical account of ’Gos Lo tsā ba was authored in proximity to the master’s life. It is contained in an extensive compendium on the history of the bKa’ gdams tradition written by Las chen Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1432–1506) in 1494, which bears the title *bKa’ gdams chos ’byung gsal ba’i sgron me*.[106]

We shall now turn to the chapter structure in Chos grags ye shes’s biography of ’Gos Lo tsā ba, in which he uses the image of a tree for the structure of the work. The biography as a whole represents a tree, each chapter heading a branch, and the content of the chapters is like fruits growing on the tree. In the prefatory verses he writes,

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[103] SMON, 62.

[104] “*rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu’i zhabs kyi mdzad pa mdo tsam brjod pa ’di ni/ dgung lo brgyad bcu rtsa brgyad bzhes pa sa mo phag gi lo’i snron gyi zla ba yan chad kyi mdzad pa ste/ ’di las gzhan pa kha cig gzhan du shes par bya’o*.” SMON, 172:9–11.

[105] See ZHWA, 359:15–18: “*mtshungs pa med pa’i dpal ldan bla ma mchog gi rnam thar ni// bdag gis bskul nas slob dpon smon lam grags pas legs sbyar ba*//.” See also Mathes, *Direct Path*, 468n668. One might surmise a certain connection between the two events of Chos grags ye shes having received ordination from ’Gos Lo tsā ba in 1478 and sMon lam grags pa finishing ’Gos Lot tsā ba’s biography one year later in 1479. At the request of sMon lam grags pa, Chos grags ye shes also wrote a praise to his master ’Gos Lo tsā ba entitled *Chos kyi rje rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu’i zhabs la bstod pa yon tan mi zad pa’i dpag bsam* (see bibliography for the location in Chos grags ye shes’s collected works).

[106] See Las chen Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan, *bKa’ gdams chos ’byung*, 1–10. C.f. Mathes, *Direct Path*, 131 and 469n668. Another short biographical sketch of ’Gos Lo tsā ba by ’Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab and Si tu paṇ chen can be found in the work *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* (636:4–637:2). According to Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (*bKa’ gdams chos ’byung*, 8:5–9:1), there seems to have also existed a “secret hagiography” (*gsang ba’i rnam thar*) of ’Gos Lo tsā ba (“… *lhag pa’i lhas byin gyis brlabs pa dang/ chos skyong ba’i srung mas stong grogs mdzad tshul/ mngon par rtogs pa’i ye shes thugs la ji ltar ’khrungs pa’i tshul la sogs pa gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa’i rnam par thar pa mang du yod mod kyang ’dir ni thun mong tsam mo/*.”).

The precious tree of the lord's inconceivable hagiography—
Resplendent with branches of brief indications,
Leaves of thorough explanations, and many mellow fruits—
Sprouts from the surface of the vast earth through faith and devotion.[107]

Later he explains accordingly, "All that has been said are brief indications, an abundance of branches, showing the approximate sections [of this text]. Now, [on these branches,] leaves of thorough explanations of these indications burgeon forth, and the fruits of excellent meaning evidently show their splendor."[108] This evocative image points to the general agenda of *rnam thar* works, as well as to the motivation of the author for creating it. It is through faith and devotion (*dad mos*) that Chos grags ye shes commemorates the deeds of his root teacher as an act of service to him; and not only to him but also to his target audience, the readers, who are presented with a full-grown tree with rich foliage and plenty of ripe fruits, which they only need to pick and enjoy.

The biography by Chos grags ye shes is structured along twenty-seven chapters. The chapters 20–27, covering the later part of the master's life and his compositions, were composed by Chos grags ye shes himself; the first nineteen are for the most part a verbatim copy of sMon lam grags pa's work, which has nineteen chapters. sMon lam grags pa, however, does not use the image of a tree. Chos grags ye shes begins his work with an elaborate list of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's qualities, describing which kind of person he was. Each element of this list then serves as a chapter heading. These titles of the chapters in Chos grags ye shes's work are as follows:

1. Deep engagement in illustrious exploits in many past lives[109]
2. Birth into an irreproachable family also in this life[110]
3. Perfectly following the example of the victorious ones[111]

[107] "*rje btsun rnam thar bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i// rin chen ljon pa mdor bstan yal ga rnams// rgyas bshad 'dab ma 'bras bzang du mas mdzes// dad mos sa chen spo las mngon par 'khrungs//.*" ZHWA, 178:3–6.

[108] "*… zhes bya ba ni/ rags pa'i sde tshan rnam par dbye ba'i mdor bstan gyi yal gas phyug par gyur pa nyid do// da ni de rnams rgyas par bshad pa'i 'dab ma rab tu rgyas shing don bzang po'i 'bras bus mngon par bjid pa ….*" ZHWA, 180:2–5.

[109] "*sku'i skye ba snga ma mang por rlabs po che'i spyod pa rab tu spyad pa*." ZHWA, 180.

[110] "*sku'i skye ba 'dir yang kha na ma tho ba med pa'i rigs su 'khrungs pa*." ZHWA, 182.

[111] "*rgyal ba rnams kyi rjes su zhugs pa yongs su rdzogs pa*." ZHWA, 185.

4. A great being whose potential had awakened because of his excellent karmic imprints from former wholesome actions[112]
5. Impartial engagement in hearing and reflection by relying on sixty-six learned and accomplished masters[113]
6. Receiving the blessings of his teachers because he carefully kept his pure samayas[114]
7. The depth of wisdom, born of contemplation, burst forth from within in all directions[115]
8. Becoming better and better in terms of all his qualities[116]
9. A man of good nature, who associated with everybody, high and low, in the same way as he did before[117]
10. Donning the strong armor of patience when dealing with comrades, disciples, retinue, and relatives[118]
11. Not considering the different types of worldly conversation as important, but rather spending time only in conversation about the sublime Dharma.[119]
12. Offering sincere praise to any spiritual teacher without any jealousy[120]
13. Not scorning the lowly[121]
14. Exceptionally pure physical conduct[122]
15. Deeds and behavior completely free from the two extremes[123]
16. Continuously reducing worldly distractions and instead increasingly embracing the special conduct of a renunciant[124]
17. Acting like an ordinary person, even though he possessed inconceivable knowledge[125]

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[112] "*sngon gyi dge ba'i bag chags bzang pos rigs sa pa'i skyes bu chen po*." ZHWA, 186.

[113] "*mkhas shing grub pa'i skyes bu drug bcu rtsa drug la brten nas thos bsam phyogs med du mdzad pa*." ZHWA, 187.

[114] "*rnam par dag pa'i dam tshig la nan tan du mdzad pas bla ma rnams kyis byin gyis brlabs pa.*" ZHWA, 271.

[115] "*bsams pa las byung ba'i shes rab kyi klong phyogs med du brdol ba*." ZHWA, 273.

[116] "*yon tan thams cad la gong nas gong du 'gyur legs par thon pa*." ZHWA, 274.

[117] "*mtho dman gyi skye bo thams cad la sngon ji lta ba bzhin du 'grogs pa'i gzhung bzang ba*." ZHWA, 275.

[118] "*mched grogs dang slob ma dang 'khor dang nye du'i phyogs su bzod pa'i go cha sra ba.*" ZHWA, 276.

[119] "*'jig rten gyi gtam sna tshogs la gtso bor mi mdzad par dam pa'i chos kyi 'bel ba'i gtam kho nas dus 'da' bar mdzad pa*." ZHWA, 277.

[120] "*dge ba'i bshes gnyen su la'ang phrag mi dog par yang dag pa'i bstod pa mdzad pa/ dman pa rnams la'ang brnyas par mi mdzad pa*." ZHWA, 278.

[121] "*dman pa rnams la'ang brnyas par mi mdzad pa*." ZHWA, 278.

[122] "*sku'i spyod pa rnams shin tu gtsang ba*." ZHWA, 279.

[123] "*mdzad spyod thams cad mtha' gnyis dang bral bar spyod pa*." ZHWA, 279.

[124] "*'jig rten gyi rnam g.yeng thams cad je chung je chung la btang nas bya bral gyi brtul zhugs je bzang je bzang du gtong ba*." ZHWA, 280.

[125] "*bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mkhyen pa mnga' yang tha mal pa ltar mdzad pa.*" ZHWA, 281.

18. Connecting the mind streams of all disciples with the sublime Dharma by whatever means necessary[126]
19. Renown that pervaded all directions so that all high-ranking individuals bowed at his lotus feet[127]
20. Averting any adversity with the meditative concentration [of regarding all phenomena] in conformity with their illusion-like nature[128]
21. Engagement in vast activities for the sake of the Buddha's teachings in these degenerate times in general and production of many translations and other written compositions to elucidate the teachings in particular[129]
22. Displaying an abundance of enlightened activities so that many great individuals imitated his profound and vast orally transmitted teachings[130]
23. Having the great compassion to accept to live for a long time as requested[131]
24. Being able to control even dreams as if [conjuring up] magical illusions[132]
25. The true accomplishment of the magnificent door of the unobscured Dharma[133]
26. Never being tired of giving Dharma teachings to disciples appropriate to their level of merit—high, low, or average[134]
27. A great saint, whose liberating story will continue uninterruptedly, also in times to come[135]

Looking at the size of the chapters, one will notice that the main focus lies on the fifth chapter (83 out of 183 pages in the 2018 edition ZHWA), which deals with the various teachers he studied with. The remaining chapters 6–27 are for the most part rather short, mostly consisting of anecdotal reports of events in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's life and about his works and character.

[126] "*gdul bar bya ba ji snyed pa'i rgyud dam pa'i chos dang ci 'byor du sbyor ba*." ZHWA, 282.

[127] "*snyan pa'i grags pas phyogs kun du khyab pas che dgu thams cad kyis zhabs kyi padmar phyag byas pa*." ZHWA, 283.

[128] "*mi mthun pa'i phyogs thams cad sgyu ma lta bu dang rjes su mthun pa'i ting nge 'dzin gyis bzlog par nus pa*." ZHWA, 283.

[129] "*spyir snyigs ma'i dus 'dir sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la bya ba rgya chen po dang/ bye brag tu 'gyur dang yig 'jog mang du gnang bas bstan pa gsal bar mdzad pa.*" ZHWA, 286.

[130] "*zab pa dang rgya che ba'i gsung gi rgyun thams cad skyes bu chen po rnams kyis rjes su bzlos pa'i phrin las phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan pa*." ZHWA, 291.

[131] "*gsol ba ji ltar btab pa bzhin du yun du bzhugs par bzhed pa'i thugs rje chen po mnga' ba*." ZHWA, 292.

[132] "*mnal lam gyi 'jug pa yang sgyu ma'i rnam 'phrul ltar spyod par nus pa*." ZHWA, 294.

[133] "*sgrib pa med pa'i chos kyi sgo phul du byung ba mngon du brnyes pa*." ZHWA, 307.

[134] "*slob ma mchog dman bar ma'i skal ba dang 'tshams pa'i chos ston pa la ngal ba mi mnga' ba*." ZHWA, 316.

[135] "*ma 'ongs pa'i dus kyang sems dpa' chen po'i rnam par thar pa rgyun mi 'chad pa*." ZHWA, 357.

Regarding the literary style of the biography, one occasionally gets the impression that the work, in general, has a very anecdotal character, in the sense that short episodes are sometimes listed in succession, thus seeming somewhat loosely arranged. The text contains many archaic spellings (*brda rnying*), and the author often adds the syllable *pa*/*ba* to many of the names he mentions. In general, the text is often very colloquial in style and contains copious dialogues and episodes of direct or reported speech.

4. Methodological Considerations Regarding Translation

Rather than merely extracting ideas or mining texts for their content, I have instead chosen to select a longer excerpt of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s biography and translate it in its entirety so as to appreciate the text as a piece of literature with its own structure and narrative instead of treating it as a mere source of information for historical facts. As indicated in the title of this thesis, the present work focuses on the early years of ’Gos Lo tsā ba, and my translation thus starts at the very beginning of his biography up until 1415, the year in which ’Gos Lo tsā ba turned twenty-three. The reason for this choice lies in the intention to focus on ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s early, formative years, in which he laid the foundation that led to his becoming the great scholar and teacher with a prolific textual output he was in the latter part of his life. The present study and its core, the following annotated translation, thus seek to highlight the early years of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s family background, childhood, youth, the circumstances of his ordination, and his first encounters with his teachers. This period and the experiences he collected at that time already display certain tendencies that eventually developed later in ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s life, such as his early exposure to the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and the other Maitreya works and his interest in the *Kālacakratantra* and astrology. ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s focus on these topics led to him eventually composing important treatises and commentaries on these subjects, such as his extensive commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* entitled *De kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba’i me long*, his unfortunately unavailable commentary on the *Kālacakratantra* with the title *dPal dus kyi ’khor lo’i rgyud bshad pa la ’jug pa rgyud gsum gyi gsang ba rnam par phye ba*, and an astrological work called *bsTan rtsis ’khrul sel*, to mention but a few examples. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the path that eventually led him there, I deemed it important to examine this part of his life more carefully. Moreover, this period of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s life exemplifies how Tibet’s great scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries embarked on their studies, which often involved traveling widely already at a very young age, and is therefore a particularly interesting part of his *rnam thar* worth investigating. This thesis, in particular the following annotated translation, is thus intended as a tool to reach an understanding of the master’s early years, which I hope will contribute to further research on ’Gos Lo tsā ba and his life.

My translation of this excerpt of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s biography written by Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes has greatly benefitted from a careful comparison with the biography by sMon lam grags pa. It often bears slightly different readings of certain passages and was therefore very helpful to make sense of and unpack difficult sentences or expressions.

At this point, I would also like to make several remarks on my translation policy. I have tried to avoid bothering the reader with an excessive use of square brackets and generally adopted a more sentence-based translation approach, rather than tracing word for word. English and Tibetan being two very different languages, translators are forced to make compromises when transferring textual material from Tibetan into English. For example, one has no choice but to add a personal pronoun or 'Gos Lo tsā ba's name in the English translation on many occasions throughout the text, while the Tibetan works perfectly well without. Since Tibetans often prefer to avoid directly addressing high religious figures by their personal name—a fact that Chos grags ye shes makes reference to in the title of the biography[136]—I refrained from using his name and instead added "the Master" without square brackets throughout the translation to make it more accessible and reader-friendly.

In the world of Tibetan textual translation, more and more voices have been emerging recently, arguing for a more mature and well-thought-out approach to translation. Among these I would like to mention Thupten Jinpa, who has argued that it is crucial to consider what he calls the translators' "twin obligations" pulling them in two different directions. He states,

> There is a general consensus among those who have thought seriously about the art and craft of translation that there are two fundamental obligations of a translator: fidelity to the original and the need to make the work accessible in the target language. Put another way, there is the obligation to the author to be true to their intent and work, and the obligation to the reader to make what you produce accessible.[137]

It was in this spirit that I have tried to navigate this tension between fidelity to the original in the source language and philological accuracy on the one hand and accessibility and reader-friendliness in the target language on the other.[138] I have thus striven to avoid an excessive use

[136] "*don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal* …." ZHWA, 177.

[137] Jinpa, *Art of Translating*, 3.

[138] Jinpa observed that these two obligations can already be found in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, a bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon from the ninth century, where it says: "With respect to the way to translate the sublime Dharma, one should do this in such a manner that it does not violate the meaning, but is easily understandable in Tibetan as well." ("*dam pa'i chos bsgyur ba'i lugs ni don dang yang mi 'gal la bod skad la yang gar bde bar gyis shig*/." *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, 132a1–2); translation given orally by Jinpa in "Introduction to Translation, Part 2," free online masterclass "The Art of Translating Tibetan: A Masterclass with Thupten Jinpa," 2:39–3:09 (https://wisdomexperience.org/wisdom-article/masterclass-translating-tibetan/).

of square brackets to indicate what only seems to be absent in the Tibetan original but is obviously implied given the nature of the Tibetan language and its grammar and syntax, such as personal pronouns, etc.

As mentioned by Jinpa in the previous quotation, when translating a Tibetan text into another language—in this case, English—we as translators should strive equally to make the translation accessible in the target language, as much as we make an effort to be faithful to the original. However, if this faithfulness manifests in an excessive literalness, the result will often be an awkwardness, foreignness, and unnaturalness in the style of the produced translation, for example, if one tries to exactly imitate the word order and syntax of the Tibetan.[139] In this light, I invite the reader to contemplate the following words of the Anglo-Irish poet John Denham praising Sir Richard Fanshaw's English translation of Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* before embarking on the chapter containing the translation:

> That servile path thou nobly dost decline
> Of tracing word by word, and line by line.
> Those are the labour'd births of slavish brains,
> Not the effect of Poetry, but pains;
> Cheap vulgar arts, whose narrowness affords
> No flight for thoughts, but poorly sticks at words.
> A new and nobler way thou dost pursue
> To make Translations and Translators too.
> They but preserve the Ashes, thou the flame,
> True to his sense, but truer to his fame:
> Fording his current, where thou find'st it low,
> Let'st in thine own to make it rise and flow;
> Wisely restoring whatsoever grace
> It lost by change of Times, or Tongues, or Place.[140]

[139] See Jinpa, "Introduction to Translation, Part 2," 14:10–20:28. Jinpa (ibid., 19:35–20:28) goes even further, saying, "I would appeal to my fellow translators from Tibetan to be more courageous, to be more bold, and to trust your own instinct, and to strive hard to utilize all the explanatory resources offered by English, so that when we produce a text, we have a chance to resonate, the text has a more [*sic*] chance to resonate naturally with the reader in English. […] Our task as translators is to make the language we write in as close to the natural way in which it is used and understood."

[140] Denham, *Poems and Translations*, 120.

5. The Translation: A Tree on Which Precious Qualities Grow Abundantly

A Tree on Which Precious Qualities Grow Abundantly:

The Life and Liberation of the Glorious and Supreme Teacher,

The Great Omniscient Scholar by the Name of gZhon nu dpal[141]

Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524)

With great reverence, I prostrate to the incomparably compassionate teacher and all buddhas and bodhisattvas.

In many eons of yore, he engaged in numerous illustrious practices of the two accumulations,
And also in his present life from childhood on he showed a bodhisattva's signs.
His inborn knowledge prodigious, his perfect diligence unstoppable—
I bow to him who, in this age of dregs, upheld the glory of lord Buddha's entire teaching.

Having mastered with his wisdom the teachings and commentaries present in this land,
He shared all his good advice out of love for others, not withholding anything.
Rejoicing in the propagation of the Victor's activities, he penned works on Sūtra and Mantra—a marvelous activity!
To him—supreme teacher, teacher of teachers—who with his qualities of transmission and realization bore a weighty responsibility, I bow.

The precious tree of the lord's inconceivable hagiography—
Resplendent with branches of brief indications,
Leaves of thorough explanations, and many mellow fruits—
Sprouts from the surface of the vast earth through faith and devotion.

This great teacher of ours was someone who was deeply engaged in illustrious exploits in many past lives. He was someone who was born into an irreproachable family also in this life. He

[141] Lit. "to call him by name for this purpose" (*don gyi slad du msthan nas smos*).

was someone who perfectly followed the example of the victorious ones. He was a great being whose potential had awakened because of his excellent karmic imprints from former wholesome actions. He was someone who impartially engaged in hearing and reflection by relying on sixty-six learned and accomplished masters. He was someone who, because he carefully kept his pure *samaya*s, received the blessings of his teachers. He was someone whose depth of wisdom, born of contemplation, burst forth from within in all directions. He was someone who became better and better in terms of all his qualities. He was someone who, as a man of good nature, associated with everybody, high and low, in the same way as he did before. He was someone who donned the strong armor of patience when dealing with comrades, disciples, retinue, and relatives. He was someone who attained full acceptance of the profound Dharma. He was someone about whom nobody could estimate how many volumes of scripture on the Perfection [of Wisdom] and on the Secret Mantra he knew. He was someone whose courage was limitless. He was someone who, while staying in remote places, brought his disciples to full maturity by turning the wheel of the profound and vast Dharma. He was someone who did not consider the different types of worldly conversation as important, but rather spent his time only in conversation about the sublime Dharma.

He was someone who, without any jealousy, would offer sincere praise to any spiritual teacher. He was someone who did not scorn the lowly. He was someone whose physical conduct was exceptionally pure. He was someone whose deeds and behavior were completely free from extremes.[142] He was someone who continuously reduced worldly distractions and instead increasingly embraced the special conduct of a renunciant. He was someone who, even though he possessed inconceivable knowledge, acted like an ordinary person. He was someone who connected the mind stream of all his disciples with the sublime Dharma by whatever means necessary. He was someone whose renown pervaded all directions so that all high-ranking individuals bowed at his lotus feet. He was someone who could avert any adversity with his meditative concentration [of regarding all phenomena] in conformity with their illusion-like nature. He was someone who, in general, engaged in vast activities for the sake of the Buddha's

[142] Lit. "two extremes" (*mtha' gnyis*). This does not seem to be a technical term in this context. Looking at chapter 15 of the *rnam thar*, which bears this title, it rather appears to be generally referring to 'Gos Lo tsā ba avoiding any kind of extreme forms of behavior. In chapter 15, Chos grags ye shes writes for example, "He was not someone whose behavior underwent ups and downs, such as someone who sometimes pretends to be sad and escapes to mountain peaks and sometimes, saying that he would help others, engages [in activities] in the middle of a city. Instead, he mostly stayed in solitary places without any gatherings." (*res skyo ba skyes pa skad du byas te ri'i rtse mo rnams su 'bros pa dang/ res gzhan la phan pa brjod nas grongs khyer gyi dbus su spyod pa lta bu'i mtho dman can mi mdzad kyi/ phal che bas mtha'i gnas rnams su tshogs kyi dben ba bsten par mdzad/*." ZHWA, 279:9–12).

teachings in these degenerate times and who, in particular, produced many translations and other written compositions, through which he elucidated the teachings.

He was someone who displayed an abundance of enlightened activities so that great individuals imitated all his profound and vast orally transmitted teachings. He was someone who had the great compassion to accept to live for a long time as he was requested. He was someone who was able to control even his dreams as if [conjuring up] magical illusions. He was someone who truly accomplished the magnificent door of the unobscured Dharma. He was someone who was never tired of giving Dharma teachings to his disciples appropriate to their level of merit—high, low, or average. He was a great saint, whose liberating story will continue uninterruptedly, also in times to come.

All that has been said are brief indications, an abundance of branches, showing the approximate sections [of this text]. Now, [on these branches,] leaves of thorough explanations of these indications burgeon forth, and the fruits of excellent meaning evidently show their splendor, on which I shall now elaborate.

1. Deep Engagement in Illustrious Exploits in Many Past Lives

It was the Master's personal deity who revealed to him in a dream that he once was Go lung pa gZhon nu dpal, a disciple of Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa,[143] and that he was the one hundred and seventeenth in a series of incarnations of beings who had devoted themselves fully to the special conduct of renouncing worldly affairs. The Master used to say,

> When I went to bSam yas, I felt a surge of faith, and the thought occurred to me that at the time when the teachings of the Buddha were being newly established [in Tibet], I was certainly involved in these activities. Who I was? I do not know, but it really seems[144] that I was born at bSam yas when the doctrine was being introduced.

[143] The bKa' brgyud master U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309) was a teacher of the 3rd Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339) and a student of rGod tshang pa (1189–1258); see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 469n672, and Mathes, *gZhon nu dpal's Extensive Commentary*, 80n10. For a study on his life, see Li, *U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal*.

[144] On the usage of the epistemic auxiliary *'dra* in standard spoken Tibetan, see Vokurková, *Epistemic Modality*, 90–100.

When speaking about the history of the construction of bSam yas, the exploits of the kings and ministers, how mKhan po Bodhisattva[145] and the sLob dpon Padma[146] came [to Tibet] and introduced the teachings, and how the great translators translated the Dharma, the Master shed many tears and exhibited even greater respect in his demeanor.

When he once went to visit Jo mo nang[147] from sNar thang,[148] he came to Brag ram[149] on his way back. There the Master picked pomegranates in a place with lots of pomegranate shrubs. When he went to the local temple, people from the surrounding area gathered, bringing tsampa, buttermilk, and so forth to offer them to him. As soon as he arrived in Brag ram, he felt at ease in all the places he visited, as if it were his homeland. Simply by entering the temple, he thought that he knew this place from before, and in presence of the columns and ceiling joists, the feeling lingered in him for a long time that he had performed many Dharma activities such as giving teachings there in the past. "I am sure that [in a past life] I was born here in Brag ram as well," he used to say.

When the Master was staying at 'Ju lHa khang stengs, he gave Dharma teachings to Lama bKra shis bsod nams pa—the lord of yoga, highly accomplished in the Kālacakra and so forth, and somebody who had brought his disciples to maturity through his instructions—and to others. On this occasion, bKra shis bsod nams pa told him, "Time and again I felt that Your Excellency is [a reincarnation of] the venerable bCom ldan Rig ral."[150] Moreover, my teacher,

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[145] This refers to Śāntarakṣita (ca. 725–88), in Tibetan also referred to as mKhan chen Zhi ba 'tsho. For a short outline of Śāntarakṣita's life, see Seyfort Ruegg, *Literature of the Madhyamaka*, 88–93.

[146] This is Padmasambhava.

[147] Jo mo nang or Jo nang dgon was the seat of the Jo nang tradition in central Tibet, in the western part of Lha rtse rDzong. In a later episode, around the year 1419 when he was twenty-eight, we are told that 'Gos Lo tsā ba saw Jo mo nang in a dream before visiting it for the first time. When he later arrived there, he found it to be just like in his dream ("… *mnal lam du jo mo nang gsal bar gzigs/ phyis thegs pas mthun par 'dug*." ZHWA, 216:3–4).

[148] sNar thang was a major scholastic center of the bKa' gdams tradition in gTsang in the west of gZhis ka rtse founded by gTum ston Blo gros grags (1106–66) in 1153; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 9 and 40. Further down, Chos grags ye shes tells us that 'Gos Lo tsā ba was very fond of sNar thang Monastery and felt nostalgic when thinking back about his time there ("… *dus phyis su song ba'i tshe yang gtsang phyogs kyi grwa sa snar thang kho na la thugs zhen che*/." ZHWA, 214:1–2).

[149] Brag ram was a Jo nang monastery founded by Grub thob 'Dar 'phyar ba Rin chen bzang po in the thirteenth century in gTsang, Lha rtse rDzong, in the vicinity of Phun tshogs gling. Jo nang Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1306–86) studied in Brag ram in 1325; see Stearns, *Chokle Namgyel*. For more information on this monastery, see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 616 and 628–30.

[150] bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri (1227–1305) was a bKa' gdams master affiliated with sNar thang Monastery, where he worked on the first systematic collection and classification of the bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur. Besides that, he

the incomparable Nam mkha' blo gros[151] said, "This sublime teacher of mine was certainly among the circle of disciples of the glorious Phag mo gru pa,[152] I believe." As for Chos rje Rin po che Lo chen,[153] he repeatedly told me the following, "The Master's knowledge of every aspect of Sūtra and Mantra is boundless, and he is an accomplished translator and takes delight in composing works on these as well.[154] This being the case, he really seems to be a reincarnation of Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po."[155] Whatever aspect of his knowledge or deeds one examines, he was definitely someone who possessed great qualities in many of his previous lives. To sLob dpon rDor bzang pa, a great vajra holder with undivided faith, the Master once said, "sLob dpon, what do you think of my qualities?"

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is particularly known for his epistemological works. dBus pa Blo gsal—known for his systematic presentation of the different Buddhist tenets called *Grub pa'i mtha' rnam par bshad pa'i mdzod*, in short *Blo gsal grub mtha'*—was one of his influential students; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 9–10 and 40. bCom ldan rig ral also penned the earliest extant Tibetan commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* entitled *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma rgyan gyi me tog*; see Wangchuk, *Uttarantantra*, 26. C.f. Mathes, *Direct Path*, 46.

[151] Nam mkha' blo gros (1403–77) was a teacher of Chos grags ye shes and a disciple of 'Gos Lo tsā ba; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 132. Van der Kuijp describes him as 'Gos Lo tsā ba's "colleague and friend," since both of them acted as teachers of the Phag gru rulers, who bestowed the title "imperial preceptors" (*ti shri*) on them; see van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 280. Mathes (*Direct Path*, 478n801) mentions that 'Gos Lo tsā ba regarded Nam mkha' blo gros and Lo chen bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–82) as his "*rin po che lta bu'i slob ma*."

[152] Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–70), forefather of the Phag gru bKa' brgyud tradition, was a student of sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153) and a teacher of 'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143–1217). For a study on his life and works, see Schiller, *"Vier Yoga"-Stufen*, 13–70. Note that when 'Gos Lo tsā ba, during a visit to the sGam po region in the spring of 1440, went before a statue of sGam po pa, it gave him the feeling that it was alive ("*spre'u lo'i dpyid sgam po skor du thegs nas […] dpal sgam po pa'i sku 'dra rin po che'i mdun du phebs pa'i tshe mjal ma khad tsa na gson ma'i snang ba shar gsung/*." ZHWA, 250:16–18).

[153] For more information on Lo chen bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–82), see Ehrhard, *Life and Travels*. Following 'Gos Lo tsā ba's advice, bSod nams rgya mtsho became the tutor of the Phag gru ruler Kun dga' legs pa (1433–82/83); see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 223n53. Lo chen's *rnam thar* was also composed by Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes.

[154] The evidential verb *snang* (lit. "to appear") emphasizes the speaker's first-hand experience. It may also be rendered as "to have the impression of …." In some Tibetan dialects, such as the dialect spoken in 'Phan po, it is used instead of the auxiliary *'dug*. I thank Dhondrup Tsering (China Tibetology Research Center) for pointing out this detail to me.

[155] For an alternative translation of Lo chen's statement, see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 132. Later, around 1443–44, 'Go Lo tsā ba said about the famous rNying ma exegete Rong zom pa (1042–1136) that he held his philosophical explanations and views in high esteem ("*rong zom chos bzang gi* [text: *bzangs kyi*] *'chad lugs dang bzhed pa rnams la thugs rtsis che bar mdzad*." ZHWA, 323:3–4).

"How could I possibly fathom Your Excellency's qualities?" rDor bzang pa replied, "The thought never occurred to me that these qualities were something Your Excellency has acquired only in this life."

"Haha!" came the reply, "One may well say so. When I initially memorized the *Sublime Continuum*,[156] as soon as I had command over the words, I simultaneously happened to have an understanding of them, so there was no need to study it again thereafter. Later, it was merely a matter of a few details in which I gained new insights. Besides that, there was no need to change my initial, spontaneous interpretation." And there were many other such cases, as sLob dpon sMon lam grags pa writes in his notes on the Master's teachings.

2. Birth into an Irreproachable Family Also in This Life

The Master used to say, "We are descendants of 'Gos the Elder, minister of the king of Tibet, and we come from 'Bring mtshams in the land of 'Gos."[157] In the past, after his forefathers arrived in dBus, they went to the place Yang po in the rGyas sman [valley].[158] In the south of Yang po[159] on top of a high cliff, his paternal [ancestors] are said to have set up an enclosed encampment, known ever since as Ngam pa ra, from where their [descendants] then spread.

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[156] Tib. *rGyud bla ma*, Skt. *Uttaratantra* (or *Ratnagotravibhāga*).

[157] 'Bring mtshams lies in southern Tibet, northwest of Bhutan and north of Sikkim; see Vitali, *History of the rGya Clan*, 18 and Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 20. Also Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po was active in this area, and his paternal ancestors had a connection to this place; see Heimbel, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 140n384 and 220–21. Vitali (*History of the rGya Clan*, 7–8) mentions the following, "As a reward for his activity in favour of the Buddhist diffusion, Khri srong lde btsan awarded his minister 'Gos Khri bzang yab lhag lands which came to constitute his principality. The dominions of minister 'Gos comprised parts of Nyang stod, 'Bring mtshams, the present-day north-west Bhutan including Mon sKyer chu lha khang of Srong btsan sgam po's fame, up to the western portion of lHo brag. As a result of its territorial composition and its possession by minister 'Gos, the principality became known as 'Gos yul stod gsum ('the three upper lands of the 'Gos')." Note that Sørensen (*Mirror Illuminating Royal Genealogies*, 395n1332 and 396n1333) expresses his reservations about whether the minister 'Gos rgan and 'Gos Khri bzang yab lhag are the same person. According to Lama Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan's (1312–75) *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, (Sørensen, *Mirror Illuminating Royal Genealogies*, 395–96), 'Gos rgan is Khri bzang yab lhag's father.

[158] C.f. $SMON_1$, 8:5–6: "*rgya sman spang po*." rGyas sman is a side valley of 'Phyongs rgyas in Lho kha, southern Tibet. It is also referred to as 'Phyongs rgyas Phu or Phu lung. Akester (*Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 440) describes it as "the long western tributary joining the main 'Phyongs rgyas valley." See also ibid., 430. sPyan g.yas Monastery lies in the rGyas sman valley as well; see note 161.

[159] C.f. $SMON_1$, 8:6: "*spang po*."

One of his early forefathers was reborn in the retinue of a *co* spirit of the upper part of the 'Ju valley,[160] and he would enter [houses] so that people saw him. They would give him food and drink, and also his shoe soles needed to be fixed. Occasionally, while he was still eating, he was told that the *co* spirit and his servants appeared on the northern riverbank, and so he also left.

At a later point in time, there was A mi Kun rgyal, whose brothers were bSam rdor and Grags bzang. The descendants of Grags bzang are the present-day Khyu ma pas. As for bSam rdor's descendants, there was an intelligent *dge bshes* called bSod rgyal, whom the Master considered like a brother. Although he took him under his care, bSod rgyal died at a young age. Then there was A mi Sangs rgyas skyabs, who had three sons: dPon kun, sLob dpon Sangs grags pa, and a third from another mother. The descendants of dPon kun settled in Ra mo che, Chos 'khor gling, and other places in sKyid shod.

With regard to sLob dpon Sangs grags pa, his father A mi Sangs rgyas skyabs left for sPyan g.yas[161] without possessions, taking with him only a sack and a bowl. He became a disciple of mKhan chen Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan pa[162] and received ordination from him. Relying specifically on sLob dpon Shes rab dpal ba, he studied the *Entering the Way* [*of the Bodhisattva*][163] and gained excellent knowledge of it. Later he would then also teach it to others. He acquired many good qualities, for example when it comes to white [Indian-derived] and black [Chinese-derived] astrology and rituals to take care of the deceased. He passed away at the age of sixty-six in a bird year.

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[160] Tib. 'Ju phu. 'Ju is the name of a parallel valley just to the north of rGyas sman that joins the 'Phyongs rgyas river downriver from the 'Phyongs rgyas rDzong. The term *co btsan* probably refers to a local deity (*yul lha*).

[161] 'Gos Lo tsā ba received his early education and monastic vows at sPyan g.yas, a monastery/temple established by gTer ston Grwa pa mNgon shes (1012–90) in 1012 in the rGyas sman valley, and thus it features prominently in the first part of the present *rnam thar*. The sPyan g.yas lHa khang, also referred to as Yar rgyal Phu thang sPyan g.yas dGon, became known as such after a relic of the right eye (*spyan g.yas pa*) of Śāriputra, a disciple of the Buddha, that used to be kept there; see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 440, and Chos 'phel, *Gangs can bod kyi gnas bshad lam yig gsar ma* (vol. 1), 69–70. sPyan g.yas belonged to the Bya yul tradition, a bKa' gdams tradition going back to Bya yul ba gZhon nu 'od (1075–1138), who was a teacher of sGam po pa; see Ehrhard, *Life and Travels*, 13. For more information on sPyan g.yas and its abbatial lineage, see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 94–101.

[162] mKhas chen Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan is mentioned in the abbatial lineage of sPyan g.yas Monastery; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 98.

[163] Tib. *sPyod 'jug*, Skt. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva. For an English translation of this text from the Tibetan, see for example Padmakara Translation Group, *Way of the Bodhisattva*.

[A mi] Kun rgyal had a son named ’Byung gnas rdo rje, who, among other things, was well versed in worldly history. As a teacher, he also became known as sTon pa ’Byung gnas rdo rje. His younger brother bSam gtan ’phel died at a young age, and the youngest brother was sTon pa Tshul khrims bsam grub. ’Byung gnas rdo rje and his wife Sri thar skyid had five sons and three daughters. Of those, the eldest son took over the household but passed away soon after. His younger brother died early as well. The fourth was Lama Nam mkha’ dpal bzang. A very intelligent person, he followed many supreme individuals as a disciple and received numerous meditation instructions. The fifth was sLob dpon mGon rdor.[164] The eldest daughter was rDo rje skyid. After her came Bu ’dren and then Rin chen skyid.

Chos rje Rin po che[165] was the third son. He was born in the male water monkey year (1392) in [a household] by the name of dBus khyim[166] in an ordinary village[167] below the rGyas sman lHa khang.[168] Soon after his birth, his father went to sPyan g.yas, carrying him on his back, wrapped in his robe. Letting him sit on some walls on the way, his father had a rest, the Master remembered.[169] He would say, “After that I do not remember anything else, but [the fact that I remember this episode] is a sign that I have a very good memory.”[170] Since his father went away to work for someone else from early on, it was his mother who took good care of him. One day he was on the roof of their house, and his mother was going inside, carrying a bundle of grass from outside. Because he was running around overjoyed, he fell through the opening of the house on the third floor. However, because his mother caught him, he did not get hurt. The Master often used to say,[171]

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[164] In a later episode, we are told that sLob dpon mgon rdor acted as ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s attendant for some time around 1441 (“… *nyid kyi gcung po slob dpon mgon rdor gyis zhabs tog gi nye gnas mdzad kyang* ….” ZHWA, 255:14–15).

[165] I.e., ’Gos Lo tsā ba.

[166] Tib. *dbus khyim* seems to refer to a house in the center of the village, or the main house in the village, suggesting an affluent or locally prominent family.

[167] Tib. *grong nag mo*. In other sources (e.g., Mi nyag mgon po, *’Go lo gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, 174), this place is referred to as Grong nag Me dgu. Mathes (*Direct Path*, 132) renders *grong nag mo* as “lay village.”

[168] rGyas sman lHa khang is another name of the sPyan g.yas lHa khang. It is also referred to as Phu thang sPyan g.yas; see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo’s Guide*, 440.

[169] C.f. $SMON_1$, 10:6–7: “*ring po ma lon par yab kyis na bzas gtums nas khur te spyan g.yas su byon pa’i lam du rtsig kha cig tu bzhugs su bcug nas yab rang khams gseng ba thugs kyis dran/*.”

[170] Lit. “limpid/clear condition [of mind]” (Tib. *khams dwangs pa*).

[171] In $SMON_1$, 11:2, the beginning of the direct speech is clearly marked: “*zhal snga nas* ….”

> These mothers are generally really kind. My mother in particular was someone who took [good] care of us. If she had not caught me that day, I would have died. I am very grateful to her.

Because of his poor physical condition and a severe chronic illness, his relatives said that he was not suited for worldly [life] and should therefore become a monk.[172] He was indeed very fortunate to have had this chronic illness at that time.[173]

Following that, he practiced reading and spent several summers in the mountains herding cattle. One day, he lost one of his shoes on a hill, and because his mother was strict, he feared that she would argue with him. When she heard that he had pretended to look for it at home the next morning, she scolded him, he said.

3. Perfectly Following the Example of the Victorious Ones

In the spring of the dragon year (1400), when the Master had reached age nine, the great being mKhan chen Rin po che Sangs rgyas brtan pa[174] stayed at the place[175] of the *slob dpon*s of sPyan g.yas Monastery. He was an impeccable monk, a kindhearted person, and well trained in *bodhicitta*. He respectfully followed many sublime beings such as rGyal sras Thogs med pa[176] and was an upholder of the bKa' gdams tradition. On that occasion, having requested mKhan chen Rin po che Sangs rgyas brtan pa to be his ordaining preceptor,[177] the Master renounced worldly life and received the novice vows in the middle of the monastic community consisting of the *slob dpon*s and others.

It was in the male iron tiger year (1410), when the Master had reached age nineteen, that he requested the abovementioned *mkhan po* and mKhan chen Rin po che rGyal bzang pa[178] to

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[172] C.f. $SMON_1$, 11:4: "*'dis 'jig rten ni mi pher bar 'dug pas btsun pa zhig 'chos dgos zer ba zhig yod/*."

[173] Suggesting that it was thanks to his poor physical condition that he got the chance to become a monk and study the Buddhist teachings.

[174] Sangs rgyas brtan pa is mentioned in the *Blue Annals* (p. 98) as an abbot of sPyan g.yas Monastery.

[175] C.f. $SMON_1$, 12:2: "*spyan g.yas kyi slob dpon gyi sa na bzhugs pa'i skabs su* …."

[176] dNgul chu rGyal sras Thogs med bzang po (1295–1369), who is particularly known for his *rGyal sras lag len so bdun ma*, was a seminal figure in the *blo sbyong* tradition.

[177] Tib. *mkhan po*, Skt. *upādhyāya*.

[178] Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 6:3–4) refers to this master as dGra bcom pa rGyal mtshan bzang.

act as his ceremonial masters[179] at Yar lung dPal 'bar yang rtse. He did so because they were accomplished in the ritual of bestowing the prātimokṣa vows and because, although physically imposing, they were very gentle people.[180] Lama rKyang chen pa was asked to be the instructor in private.[181] With the impeccable monk bTsan thang pa[182] Tshul yes and others making the act complete, sLob dpon bSam bzang pa and his disciple[183] conferred full monastic ordination upon the Master at that time, and thus his entry into the vehicle of the śrāvakas was complete.

How the Master developed the aspiration for supreme enlightenment in the presence of Chos rje De bzhin gshegs pa Karma pa sPrul sku Chos dpal bzang po,[184] Shangs pa Kun mkhyen pa,[185] and Paṇ chen Vanaratna[186] and how he received the empowerment of the body maṇḍala

[179] Tib. *las kyi slob dpon*, Skt. *karmācārya*.

[180] According to $SMON_1$ (12:3–4), Sangs rgyas brtan pa acted again as the *upādhyāya*. Only rGyal bzang pa acted as *karmācārya*, being gentle and accomplished in the ritual bestowing the prātimokṣa vows: "*dgung lo bcu dgu bzhes pa'i tshe yar klungs dpal 'bar yang rtse na mkhan chen rin po che rgyal bzangs pa zhes bya ba mkhas shing btsun pa'i mthar thug pa de bzhugs pas der gnas bcas te dgon gsar nas mkhan chen rin po che sangs rgyas brtan pa spyan drangs te mkhan por gsol ba btab mkhan chen rin po che rgyal bzangs pa shin tu sku che na'ang/ thugs shin tu mnyes shing las chog byang bas las kyi slob dpon du gsol ba btab*."

[181] Tib. *gsang ston*, Skt. *raho'nuśāsaka*. I followed Heimbel's (*Vajradhara in Human Form*, xvii) translation of these three roles in the ordination ritual.

[182] bTsang thang is located in the Yar klungs valley; see Czaja, Medieval Rule, 595.

[183] It is not clear to whom *dpon slob*, which usually means "master and disciple(s)," refers here. Perhaps one could emend it to *slob dpon* (then referring probably to Sangs rgyas brtan pa and rGyal bzang pa, given the amount of description they received in the passage before).

[184] This is the 5th Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa.

[185] Shangs pa Kun mkhyen Shes rab dpal bzang (fourteenth century) was a direct student of rGyal sras Thogs med. Later in 1416, 'Gos Lo tsā ba received extensive teachings from Shangs pa Kun mkhyen on Kālacakra; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 137. C.f. Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 2:3–4.

[186] $SMON_1$ (12:7–13:3) offers additional information on how 'Gos Lo tsā ba entered the Mahāyana. The passage there reads: "*chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa karma* [text: *skar ma*] *pa rtses thang du phebs pa'i skabs su byangs chub mchog tu thugs bskyed de/ phyis rgyal sras thogs med pa'i dngos kyi slob ma shangs pa kun mkhyen pa'i drung du rgyal sras pa'i cho ga'i stengs nas sems tsam lugs dang dbu ma lugs gnyis ka'i sgo nas kyang byang chub mchog tu thugs bskyed cing/ paṇ chen rin po che la slob dpon klu sgrub lugs kyi cho ga'i sgo nas byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa la zhugs par gyur to/*." Here it is specified that 'Gos Lo tsā ba generated *bodhicitta* during the 5th Karma pa's stay at rTses thang Monastery. Moreover, 'Gos Lo tsā ba developed *bodhicitta* in the presence of Shangs pa Kun mkhyen pa by way of the two systems of Cittamātra and Madhyamaka based on a practice method (*cho ga*) by rGyal sras Thogs med. Lastly, under the guidance of the Indian scholar Vanaratna, 'Gos Lo tsā ba entered the Mahāyana by way of a practice method from the tradition of Nāgārjuna.

of Cakrasaṃvara [according to] Ghaṇṭapa[187] from Chos rje Gung snang ba[188] will be described in detail below in the chapter on his various spiritual masters. Later, the Master read in rJe Rin po che's *Stages of the Path of Secret Mantra*[189] that it is not correct to enter the body maṇḍala without having entered the external maṇḍala first and that it constitutes a serious trespass if one does so. Having read that, the Master thought that this order was a bit wrong; however, even rJe [Rin po che] himself first received the empowerment of the body maṇḍala according to the tradition of Ghaṇṭapa, the Master said. This is how he first entered the maṇḍala of the Secret Mantra.

In this way, the Master came to possess the three vows in their entirety in his mind stream, and he would instantly purify even the slightest transgression. In short: he remained unsullied by unseemly flaws.

4. A Great Being Whose Potential Has Awakened Because of His Excellent Karmic Imprints from Former Wholesome Actions

Generally speaking, it was the potential of the Great Vehicle that awakened in him. More specifically, it was the potential that leads to the realization of the vastness of outer buddha fields[190] that awakened in him. Because of that, an understanding of the depth of the entirety of

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[187] Jinpa (*Tsongkhapa*, 292) writes about Ghaṇṭapa that he was an "Indian yogi instrumental in the propagation of this particular tantra. Ghaṇṭapa was born a prince but later gave up his royal life to become a monastic a Nālandā Monastery. He eventually became a disciple of the mystic Dārikapa, who was himself a disciple of Lūipa. A specialty of Ghaṇṭapa's particular lineage is a sophisticated 'body maṇḍala' meditation that involves visualizing the meditator's 'grosser' body as the external maṇḍala and the subtler dimension of the body—the channels and the elements that flow within them—as deities of the maṇḍala."

[188] gNyal Gung snang ba Chos rje mDzes pa dpal bzang po (fourteenth century) was a teacher of Tsong kha pa; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 133. He was also present during Tsong kha pa's teaching festival at bKra shis (r)do kha in 1415; see below and Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 210n15.

[189] Tib. *gSang sngags lam rim*. This refers to Tsong kha pa's *sNgags rim chen mo*.

[190] Tib. *sangs rgyas kyi zhing phyi rol yangs pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs*, Skt. *bāhyabuddhakṣetraudāryābhisamayagotra*. My translation of this term follows that of Mathes (*Direct Path*, 219). This appears to be a term from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as the third of the three *de bzhin gshegs pa'i theg pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs* (Skt. *tathāgatayānābhisamayagotra*), the first two being *rang bzhin gyi rang bzhin med pa'i chos mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs* (Skt. *svabhāvaniḥsvabhāvadharmābhisamayagotra*) and *khong du chud pa bdag gi so so rang gi mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs* (Skt. *adhigamasvapratyātmāryābhisamayagotra*). According to the passage in the

the doctrinal language of definitive meaning burst forth in him, and [his ability to] distinguish provisional from definitive meaning in the profound sūtras became unobstructed.[191] However, it should be pointed out here directly that nothing of his everyday conduct was accidental. Instead, since the potential to follow the Dharma had awakened in him, he always examined closely and analyzed before acting. Thus, after the Master had completed his first monastic round (*grwa skor*)[192] at rTsed thang,[193] he pondered what would be good to do in the future when a vigorous analysis occurred in his mind, which he reported to me as follows:

Laṅkāvatārasūtra where these occur—which is also embedded in a long quotation from the same sūtra in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary—the Buddha explains to Mahāmati that there are five types of *rigs* leading to five types of realization. Among these, he describes the *rigs* that leads to the realization of the Tathāgatayāna as follows, "Then, Mahāmati, there is the threefold potential that leads to the realization of the Tathāgatayāna. This is [1] the potential that leads to the realization of phenomena, which by their nature lack an own-being, [2] the potential that leads to the noble ones' realization, which [is attained] by themselves individually in the form of thorough understanding, and [3] the potential that leads to the realization of the vastness of outer buddhafields. Mahāmati, if somebody is not afraid, frightened, or terrified when any of these three is being taught, when the inconceivable notion that [everything in the world merely consists] of appearances of his own mind—body, *ālaya[vijñāna]*, property, and abode—is being taught, he should be known as one who possesses the potential that leads to the realization of the Tathāgatayāna. This, Mahāmati, is the defining characteristic of someone with the potential leading to the realization of the Tathāgatayāna." Translation by Mathes (*Direct Path*, 219–20) ("*blo gros chen po de la de bzhin gshegs pa'i theg pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs ni rnam pa gsum ste/ 'di ltar rang bzhin gyi rang bzhin med pa'i chos mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs dang/ khong du chud pa bdag gi so so rang gi mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs dang/ sangs rgyas kyi zhing phyi rol yangs pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs so/ blo gros chen po de rnam pa gsum po 'di dag las gang yang rung ba zhig bstan pa dang/ rang gi sems snang ba'i lus dang/ kun gzhi dang/ longs spyod dang/ gnas bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i yul bstan pa na/ mi 'jigs mi skrag skrag par mi 'gyur na/ de ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i theg pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs can du shes par bya ste/ blo grogs chen po 'di ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i theg pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs can gyi mtshan nyid do/*." *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, 80b3–6, as quoted in 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *De kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long*, 32:14–21). For the Sanskrit of this passage, see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 507n1275.

[191] My translation of the second part of this sentence follows that of Mathes, *Direct Path*, 133.

[192] See note 12.

[193] rTsed thang Monastery—founded in 1351 by Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan, the initiator of the Phag gru dynasty—was a major scholastic center of the Phag gru bKa' brgyud tradition in the Yar klungs valley in the southeast of Lhasa close to sNe'u gdong, the seat of the Phag gru rulers. During the time of the dGa' ldan pho brang in the eighteenth century, it was taken over by the dGe lugs tradition; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 403n89. Since 1385, the Phag gru ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan's younger brother Byang chub rdo rje (1377–1428) held the abbacy of rTsed thang; see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 201–02. On the significance and thriving of this monastery during the reign of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's, Czaja (ibid., 212) comments, "Under his rule the monastery of rTsed thang became a thriving center of learning in the monastic world of Tibet […]. There is hardly any noted Sa skya pa or

Some people study; some amass wealth; and some follow a person of power, thus making themselves dependent.[194] Now I, however, did not [want to] accumulate wealth, and with my weak physical constitution, I was not capable of being a servant of a person of power. But what looking at some pages of the scriptures here and there was concerned, this for sure I was able to do, and it is indeed an excellent thing! So, I made a firm decision, and all the qualities I acquired later came from that resolve alone. Then sometimes I would rest without making much effort, and other times I would study some passages [of a text]. However, it was thanks to that resolve alone that I gained all my qualities. Hence, you too should think well about what is to come.

5. Impartial Engagement in Hearing and Reflection by Relying on Sixty-Six Learned and Accomplished Masters

After the Master had become a monk, for three years he stayed with Uncle[195] sLob dpon Sangs grags pa at sPyan g.yas and carefully studied the *Entering the Way of the Bodhisattva*, except for occasionally assisting his mother in her work during summertime. Also from sLob dpon

dGe lugs pa scholar found who did not spend some time studying at this convent in the first half of the 15th century." See also ibid., 602. The present text contains the three variant spellings *rtsed thang*, *rtses thang*, and *rtse thang*. Van der Kuijp (*Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 280) points out that the former two spellings are acceptable while the third—including *dang* for *thang*—is incorrect. I have thus emended the spellings accordingly throughout the translation and left *rtsed thang* and *rtses thang* as they were. For more information on rTsed thang Monastery, see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 405.

[194] C.f. SMON$_1$, 14:5: "*kha cig dpon zhig la brten nas mi chos sgrub par 'dug ste*/."

[195] The kinship term *khu bo* usually refers to paternal uncles, which, however, cannot be the case here since Chos grags ye shes informed us that the siblings of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's father 'Byung gnas rdo rje were bSam gtan 'phel and sTon pa Tshul khrims bsam grub (see above in chapter 2 of the *rnam thar*). Sangs grags pa was introduced as the son of A mi Sangs rgyas skyabs, whose place in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's ancestry has not been made entirely clear. We know that one of Sangs grags pa's siblings was called dPon kun. We might therefore conclude that Sangs grags pa is from the same generation as 'Gos Lo tsā ba's father, perhaps his cousin, and therefore referred to as *khu bo*. If Sangs grags pa is the cousin of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's father 'Byung gnas rdo rje, then A mi Sangs rgyas skyabs would be another brother of A mi Kun rgyal, 'Gos Lo tsā ba's grandfather.

Shes rab dar ba, an extraordinary individual and practitioner of the six-branch yoga,[196] he received teachings on the *Entering the Way* [*of the Bodhisattva*].[197]

At that time, after the monks of sPyan g.yas were given an allowance for performing a long-life ceremony for the ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan,[198] who had fallen ill,[199] they needed to perform many Medicine Buddha practices. Having initially recited them a few times from the book, the Master knew them by heart and thus became known as the shrewd nephew[200] of sLob dpon Sangs grags pa. sTon pa dBang 'od stated:

> Since the beginning, this fellow has shown keen intelligence. [Once,] taking recreation in the afternoon, we young monks went in the courtyard and read the *Heart* [*of the Perfection of*] *Wisdom*,[201] which was written on the courtyard wall, when this fellow said, "Haha, I know it already by heart!"
>
> "That's not true!" we responded.
>
> "Well then," he countered, "cover my eyes with your hands and look!" He then recited it, and we said, "He recited everything!" Then we developed faith in him.

It was during the winter term (*dgun chos*) in the female water sheep year (1403)—the Master had reached age twelve—that he went to study at rTses thang. He stayed with sLob dpon bSam

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[196] Tib. *rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa*, Skt. *ṣaḍaṅgayoga.* These six practices associated with the Kālacakra include withdrawal (Tib. *sor sdud*, Skt. *pratyāhāra*), meditative absorption (Tib. *bsam gtan*, Skt. *dhyāna*), breath control (Tib. *srog rtsol*, Skt. *prāṇāyāma*), retention (Tib. *'dzin pa*, Skt. *dhāraṇā*), recollection (Tib. *rjes dran*, Skt. *anusmṛti*), and contemplation (Tib. *ting nge 'dzin*, Skt. *samādhi*). The translation of the terms for the six branches is taken from Vienna Buddhist Translation Studies Group, *Summary of Empowerment*, i.17.

[197] He would eventually also study this text under Rong ston Shes bya kun rig; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 139.

[198] Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1373–1432) assumed his role as a political leader of the Phag gru dynasty in 1385 at the age of twelve and later become one of the most successful Phag gru rulers. His reign extended over forty-seven years; a period of stability that also forged the path for the dissemination of Tsong kha pa's emerging dGa' ldan tradition, who had a close relationship with the ruling party at gDan sa mthil Monastery, one of the seats of the Phag gru rulers; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 57 and 65–67.

[199] Tib. *bsnyel* (usually the honorific term for "to forget") seems to be used as a generic verb denoting illness in this text. For other occurrences of this term, see ZHWA, 189:18, 267:17–18, and especially 292:18–293:11. sMon lam grags pa seems to be using the verb *mnyel* (usually the honorific term for "to be tired/fatigued") instead; see for example $SMON_1$, 15:5 and 17:6–7.

[200] See note 195 above.

[201] Tib. *Shes rab snying po*, Skt. *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya.* For an English translation of the *Heart Sūtra*, see for example Dharmacakra Translation Committee, *Heart of the Perfection of Wisdom*.

grub bzang po ba,[202] a relative from his mother's side, and studied the *Exposition of Valid Cognition.*[203] Since there were absolutely no other youngsters or monks, the Master began feeling very gloomy, musing, "How nice it would be if a gust of wind would carry me to sPyan g.yas!" On top of that, sLob dpon had piercing red, bloodshot eyes, a grim face, and was very strict, so the Master thought he might beat him.

Then, in the spring of the male wood monkey year (1404), the Master went to Chos sdings Monastery in the upper part of the mDo lung pa valley during the time between the teaching terms.[204] This time, he found a fellow student. Since the Master engaged in debate, he became proficient in debating during that spring, so he did not need to practice it elsewhere later. That summer, a large crowd of monks gathered [there]. In the bird year (1405), all monastic colleges went to Grwa phyi Tshong 'dus[205] during the time between the teaching terms. [There,] the Master received teachings on the Perfection of Wisdom[206] from sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa.[207] Until the year of the pig (1407), he studied texts on logic and epistemology and the commentary of Nor bzang,[208] thus gaining a comprehensive understanding of the *Exposition*

[202] See also Mathes, *Direct Path*, 470n690.

[203] Tib. *Tshad ma rnam 'grel*, Skt. *Pramāṇavārttika* by Dharmakīrti.

[204] Tib. *chos bar*. My translation of this term follows that of Caumanns (*Shākya-mchog-ldan*, 158 and 180), who renders it in German as "Zeit zwischen den Lehrquartalen."

[205] Grwa phyi Tshong 'dus is a monastery named after the village Tshong 'dus in the Grwa phyi valley, where also the rNying ma monastery sMin grol gling is located; see Martin, *Atiśa's Ritual Methods*, 134n3. Akester (*Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 286–87) mentions that Atiśa visited Grwa phyi Tshong 'dus in 1047 and that a large market (*tshong 'dus*) used to be held there until the 1950s. See also Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 205n101 and Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 250–51.

[206] Tib. *phar phyin*, Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*. The *prajñāpāramitā* was taught primarily through the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, whose authorship is attributed to Maitreya; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 373–74.

[207] Mathes (*Direct Path*, 134 and 470n691) identifies this master as So ston Śākya dpal (1355–1432), who is associated with Zhwa lu Monastery and the tradition of Bu ston Rin chen grub; see also Blo gsal bstan skyong, *Zhwa lu gdan rabs*, 123–39. However, it is mentioned below in the present *rnam thar* that 'Gos Lo tsā ba built a stūpa for sTon Śāk pa in the summer of 1415, suggesting that he passed away some time before that date or in the same year ("*lug gi dbyar sos slob dpon ston śāk pa'i mchod rten brtsig pa'i las rnams mdzad/*." ZHWA, 201:8–9). On some occasions in the *rnam thar* (see below), he is referred to as Jo stan sTon Śāk pa, indicating a connection with the *jo stan tshogs sde bzhi* associated with Kha che Paṇ chen Śākyaśrībhadra (1127/40s–1225); see note 222. Unfortunately, I failed to gather more information on sTon Śāk pa, who played a major role in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's early education. Note that Mathes (*gZhon nu dpal's Extensive Commentary*, 82) mentions that sTon Śāk pa appears in the transmission lineage of Maitrīpa's works.

[208] Probably referring to Nor bzang rin chen dpal bzang po (14th–15th century), who is listed in Blo gsal bstan skyong's *Zhwa lu gdan rabs* (p. 3) as a scholar connected with the *zhwa lu* and *bu lugs* traditions. In a short sketch

[*of Valid Cognition*]. During that time, the Master had to bear many beatings from sLob dpon pa. He reported,

> One time before sunset he beat me, and so I ran away. I ran down the hill of Chos sdings and he chased after me without being able to catch me. Because I was in great fear, I ran too close to a very deep precipice, slipped, and fell into a field without getting harmed.[209] I received countless other punishments such as this and thought that he had given me these beatings for my benefit. Nevertheless, my faith in him never wavered. By dint of that, my obscurations were purified, and all the qualities I developed later came from that.

In the winter of the dog year (1406), the Master participated in recitation examinations[210] and explanatory teachings at rTsed thang. In the year of the pig (1407), when the Master had reached age sixteen, all monastic colleges went to rGyal bzangs in the 'On valley during the time between the teaching terms.[211] In the spring of that year, as the Master was pondering to go to sKyid shod for a monastic round, rGyal bzangs was struck by an epidemic. He developed pustules all over his body, and the medical treatment he underwent showed no effect at all. He then sought a blind seer who was there. He told him,

> This little monk's family dwelling lies above a ravine in the lower part of a valley facing north. When he went to sleep, he squished a nāga, and [this disease] is due to that. Now, give a garment to someone of the same age; form a dough effigy

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of his biography there, he is described as an intelligent, unrivaled scholar well versed in the seven treatises on valid cognition (*tshad ma sde bdun*). He was also invited to be a witness in the famous debate between Rong ston Shes bya kun rig and mKhas grub rje. Unfortunately, as described in the *Zhwa lu gdan rabs*, his collected works got lost due to the carelessness of his disciples; see ibid., 120–21, and Wood, *Jeweled Fish Hook*, 197. See also van der Kuijp, *Btsun pa Ston gzhon's Pramāṇavārttika Commentary*, 144n79. For the circumstances of the debate between Rong ston and mKhas grub rje, which in the end did not take place, see van Schaik, *Tibet: A History*, 105–06.

[209] Following $SMON_1$, 17:3: "*gad g.yang chen po dpangs shin tu* [text: *du*] *mtho ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *la bang thal nas shor bas zhing kha zhig* [text: *cig*] *tu gnod pa med par babs pa* …."

[210] Tib. *gzhung skyur* refers to an examination in the Tibetan scholastic system of the time related to the recitation of texts; see Caumanns, *Shākya-mchog-ldan*, 48n37, 135, and 367.

[211] In 1433, 'Gos Lo tsā ba supervised the preparations of the Tshal pa bKa' 'gyur in rGyal bzangs, a project undertaken in commemoration of the Phag gru ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan, who had died one year before in 1432; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 141.

(*glud*), on the back of which you scribe the number of crosses corresponding to your age; and then let that person eat it. This will help.

A beggar and his son appeared, and since the boy was the same age as the Master, he handed him a garment. After he had given him the dough effigy, he made him eat it at the stūpa of rGyal bzangs. Because of that, he recovered immediately.

In the summer of that year, he went for a monastic round to sKyid shod. There were eight people doing monastic round. When he went to Chos 'khor gling, there was dKon mchog bzang po from 'Ol kha[212] doing a monastic round, and he was haunted by a ghost.[213] Therefore he asked Rin po che bDe 'byung ba[214] for an empowerment[215] for the four-armed wisdom protector[216] and Vajrapāṇi. When the *gtor ma* of the Dharma protector was placed on his head, he uttered many cries of agony. Together with him, the Master received both empowerments, he said.

After the monastic round was completed, the Master went to sPyan g.yas, where sLob dpon Shes rab dar ba served him tea. He offered him a golden Mañjuśrī statue and said, "Oh, it is excellent that you completed your monastic round after you studied so well! Now, you must

[212] The 'Ol kha valley—a place in dBus where Tsong kha pa spent three years in retreat—lies to the east of gDan sa mthil Monastery; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, xx and 117–135. For the precise location, see Ryavec, *Historic Atlas*, 69.

[213] I am using van Schaik's (*Buddhist Magic*, 173) translation of the term *'byung po* ("ghost").

[214] In the *Blue Annals* (p. 591), a certain rGyal ba'i sras po bDe 'byung ba, "the eldest and the greatest scholar in the valley of sKyid shod," is mentioned.

[215] Tib. *rjes gnang*, which is sometimes also translated as "permission blessing" or "authorization."

[216] Tib. *ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa* usually refers to Mahākāla (Tib. *nag po chen po*).

definitely study the four disciplines[217] and the Kālacakra." The Master said that this advice was seminal for him in terms of his later studies of the Kālacakra.[218]

Following that, he told sLob dpon, "I am going to study the Perfection of Wisdom," to which the latter replied, "You must apply yourself diligently to nothing but logic and epistemology."[219] Because the Master insisted, Shes rab dar ba said, "In that case, run and bring me two pages!" and then gave him [the teachings].

sLob dpon bSam bzang pa was a monk of sLob dpon bSam yas pa, but after he later moved to the monastic college of sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa, they parted ways. After several senior monks had requested a merger, sLob dpon pa and Lama rKyang chen pa merged their [groups of] monks. The Master reported,

> The three of us were given to rKyang chen pa, and this forged an auspicious connection for the fact that I eventually received the Kālacakra later. As for the monastic colleges, they were not suitable to be merged.

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[217] Tib. *dka' bzhi* (lit. "the four difficult ones"), sometimes also *bka' bzhi* or *dka'/bka' chen bzhi*: (1) Prajñāpāramitā (*phar phyin*), (2) Pramāṇa (*tshad ma*), (3) Abhidharma (*chos mngon pa*), and (4) Vinaya (*'dul ba*). Upon the successful completion of the study of these disciplines, the student received the title *bka'/dka' bzhi pa*. Note that until the end of the fourteenth century, Madhyamaka was not yet part of the formal curriculum; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 34, 398n47, 373–80, and 465n700. For example, Jinpa (ibid., 398n489) mentions that at rTsed thang Monastery, during the time of Ta'i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan, the four disciplines were those mentioned above, and Madhyamaka was not yet included. Furthermore, Caumanns (*Shākya-mchog-ldan*, 368n11) rightly points out that the *dka' bzhi* varied, adducing the example of Tsong kha pa's *grwa skor* at sNar thang and Sa skya, which included the *Pramāṇavārttika*, the *Vinayasūtra*, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, and the *Abhidharmakośa*. C.f. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *dka' chen bzhi*.

[218] Later in 1442, 'Gos Lo tsā ba wrote a commentary on the Kālacakra entitled *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud bshad pa la 'jug pa rgyud gsum gyi gsang ba rnam par phye ba*, in which he, according to the 8th Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–54), followed Tsong kha pa's system of thought, while staying true to the Dwags po bKa' brgyud tradition; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 143. Unfortunately, this text is currently unavailable; see Higgins, *Buddha Nature Reconsidered*, 19n13. Having a particular affinity to the Kālacakra cycle, 'Gos Lo tsā ba comments Tsong kha pa's relationship to the Kālacakra in his *Blue Annals* as follows: "The great master Tsong kha pa too had received the Kālacakra cycle of teachings from Gong gsum bde chen pa. In the Earth Dog year (1418), he taught the complete exposition of the great commentary on the tantra [entitled *Stainless Light*]. As my teacher states, given that he was the lord of the Buddha's doctrine, when the All-Knowing Lord Tsong kha pa taught this system even once, it was, compared to others teaching the tantra a hundred times, like hoisting a victory banner that will never be lowered." Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 304; quoted and translated from 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, 931.

[219] C.f. $SMON_1$, 19:2: "*phar phyin cig bslab pa yin zhus pas tshad ma de kha la nan chags gyis gsung/*."

At Chos sdings Monastery there was Lama Sangs rin pa, a senior monk of sPo bo Yon tan seng ge[220] and sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa and a sovereign yogi, who practiced many instructions (*khrid*) of the Great Seal, Severance, the six-branch yoga, the Great Perfection, and others.[221] When the Master was receiving teachings on guru yoga from him, he told him, "sLob dpon gZhon nu dpal, 'not remaining in the extreme of nirvāṇa' and 'remaining in the extreme of perfect purity'—what do these mean?" At that time the Master was not quite able to answer to that, he said.

As an attendant of sLob dpon bSam bzang pa, the Master went in the presence of Jo stan[222] mKhan chen Byang chub rgyal dbang ba,[223] who was residing at Chu mig dgon gsar.[224] From him, they received an empowerment for the red [Vajra]vārāhī. sLob dpon pa made a request to receive instructions, which was accepted. Then, after several days had passed, he received [a reply] from Jo stan, saying, "If you [wish to] come for instructions, come now! Later I will not have time." But sLob dpon pa did not go, and one month later mKhan chen pa passed away, the Master said.

Occasionally, the Master stayed at sPyan g.yas and received teachings on the *Entering the Way* [*of the Bodhisattva*]. In the fall of the ox year (1409), when the Master had reached age nineteen, he went to Ru mtshams[225] as an attendant of Jo stan sTon Śāk pa, who went to sNye mo[226] with his disciples, who were in total about twelve people, during the time between

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[220] See note 255 below.

[221] According to Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 6:2), 'Gos Lo tsā ba said that it was through Sangs rin pa's teachings on the six-branch yoga that he gained greater insight into the Secret Mantra ("*gsang sngags nang la spyod pa'i shes rab ni chos rje sangs rin pa la rnal 'byor yan lag drug gsan pa las skyes pa yin gsung ngo/*."). Later in 1475, 'Gos Lo tsā ba wrote an instruction manual (*khrid yig*) on the six-branch yoga at the request of Chos grags ye shes ("*bdag gis gsol ba btab pa'i ngor sbyor drug gi khrid yig rtsom pa mdzad*/." ZHWA, 351:10).

[222] Tib. *jo stan*—and its variant spelling *jo gdan*—refers to a strict ascetic practice, associated with the Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadra and his disciples. It is an abbreviated form of *jo bo stan/gdan gcig pa* ("practitioner of a single mat"); see Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 221–24. During his visit to Tibet, Śākyaśrībhadra established a Vinaya tradition, which eventually resulted in four initially peripatetic monastic communities: the *jo stan/gdan tshogs sde bzhi*; see Heimbel, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 104.

[223] This perhaps refers to mTshal/Tsha mig Khang skya ba Byang chub rgyal dbang pa, the fourteenth abbot of the Tsha mig tshogs pa, which is one of the previously mentioned *jo stan tshogs sde bzhi*; see Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 228.

[224] Chu mig dgon gsar lies in the Yar klungs valley; see Ehrhard, *Kaḥ thog pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan*, 80.

[225] Ru mtshams refers to Ru dgon gsar, a monastery in sNye mo; see Caumanns, *Shākya-mchog-ldan*, 152.

[226] sNye mo rDzong lies in the west of Lhasa. C.f. Mathes, *Direct Path*, 134.

the teaching terms. During the winter of that year, the Master received much scolding from sLob dpon bSam bzang pa, and so he went to sPyan g.yas, where sLob dpon pa told him, "Good that you came! I was thinking about sending someone to call for you." He was reciting a long-life practice for the mother [of the Master], in which the latter assisted him.

Following that, as he was feeling somewhat sad, he left for rTsed thang in the spring of the tiger year (1410) with some daily necessities, but on the way he changed his mind and left his things on the wet meadow[227] of dGon thang in the Yar klungs valley.[228] He took a monastic cape, a small book, and two yellow monastic hats, and as he began to set out for Thang sag[229] in a boat of someone from dGyer,[230] he met a person from mDo smad in rDo mda', who stole his monastic cape.

After that, while traveling on the rGod dkar pass,[231] a fellow traveler carried the Master's book for him, and then also that got stolen by a robber. When he made his way to Lhasa, he went looking for his travel companion and then stayed in someone's hayfield on the outskirts of the city. Shortly before daybreak, the members of the household called him and said, "Your companion is here!" Following that, as he was crossing the sGo pass,[232] robbers appeared, but the Master managed to escape. Then he arrived in Thang sag.

Since sLob dpon Ye rgyal ba was a monk of sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa, the Master inquired about him and then found lodging at his place and accepted him as a teacher. As sLob dpon gZhon 'od pa was among his younger students, the Master also received Dharma teachings from him. Since dMar ston gZhon rgyal ba[233] was at the monastic seat, the Master received

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[227] Tib. *na kha*. *Monlam Grand Tibetan Dictionary*, s.v. *na kha*: "*rlan gsher che ba dang chu 'khyil mang po yod pa'i spang gshong gi ming*."

[228] For the precise location of dGon thang, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 595.

[229] Thang sag is a monastery located in 'Phan yul, renowned for being a center of Madhyamaka studies until the second half of the fifteenth century; see van der Kuijp, *Ratnavali in Tibet*, 8. Its founder, Zhang Thang sag pa 'Byung gnas ye shes, was one of the four main students of Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (b. 1055) (*pa tshab bu bzhi*) and, together with them, responsible for the dissemination of Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka in central Tibet; see Lang, *Dialogue on Death*, 46–47, and Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 343.

[230] See Hazod, *Ruins of lDan*, 32.

[231] This pass lies in the southeast of Lhasa; see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 596.

[232] This mountain pass connects Lhasa and 'Phan po. For its precise location, see for example Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 596.

[233] dMar ston gZhon nu rgyal mtshan, a student of Red mda' ba, stands in the transmission lineage of Zhang Thang sag pa as the abbot of Thang sag Monastery; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 344. Among his disciples were Rong ston Shes bya kun rig and many other scholars from central Tibet; see Śākya mchog ldan, *dBu ma'i byung tshul*, 234.

Dharma teachings from him. It was especially the *Entering* [*the Middle Way*][234] together with a commentary that the Master studied thoroughly according to the teaching style of the Thang sag pas.[235] He studied the *Entering* [*the Middle Way*] together with [Candrakīrti's] autocommentary and therefore gained excellent knowledge of them. He also received teachings on the *Root* [*Stanzas on the Middle Way Called*] *Wisdom*[236] together with the *Clear Words*.[237] It was especially the *Four Hundred* [*Stanzas*][238] that he received teachings on based on the

Rong ston studied works of Candrakīrti with dMar ston gZhon nu rgyal mtshan at Thang sag Monastery around 1390; see van der Kuijp, *Ratnavali in Tibet*, 18n16, and Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies*, 67.

[234] Tib. [*dBu ma la*] *'jug pa*, Skt. *Madhyamakāvatāra* by Candrakīrti. Later in 1424, he received teachings on this text from Rong ston; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 139. 'Gos Lo tsā ba eventually also wrote a commentary himself on this important Madhyamaka classic; see ZHWA, 322:9–13 and 356:2–7. For an English translation of the *Madhyamakāvatāra* together with Tsong kha pa's commentary *dGongs pa rab gsal*, see Jinpa, *Illuminating the Intent*. For a critical Sanskrit edition of the chapters 1–5 together with Candrakīrti's autocommentary, see Lasic, *Candrakīrti's Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya.*

[235] The "teaching style of the Thang sag pas" (*thang sag pa'i lugs kyi gsung sgros*) seems to point to what constituted the early Madhyamaka view of emptiness in Tibet, also referred to as "Zhang Thang sag pa's position," and to the fact that Pa tshab's student Zhang Thang sag pa and other teachers at Thang sag monastery mainly taught Madhyamaka by means of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, and the *Catuḥśataka* (collectively often referred to in Tibetan as *rtsa 'jug bzhi gsum*); see Śākya mchog ldan, *dBu ma'i byung tshul*, 234:2. Jinpa (*Tsongkhapa*, 163) describes Zhang Thang sag pa's position, a very strict interpretation of Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka, as "a kind of agnostic quietism on the question of reality." Besides the Mādhyamikas' thesislessness and strategy of merely refuting other positions "all the norms of logic and epistemology—reasoning, criteria of knowledge, law of causality—are valid only for the opponent. […] An epistemological corollary this is that there is no such thing as knowledge, except for the Buddha's omniscience, and that all perspectives of unenlightened beings are false, with no valid criteria to distinguish between something like water and a mirage. It is maintained that, given that reality cannot be described in any manner, the meditating mind must not engage with reality in any manner whatsoever." Ibid. C.f. Jinpa, *Illuminating the Intent*, 6–7. Also 'Gos Lo tsā ba mentions in his *Blue Annals* that the Thang sag pas used to explain Madhyamaka mainly based on Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* and *Madhyamakāvatāra*; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 344.

[236] Tib. *rTsa she* (short for *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab*), Skt. *Prajñānāmamūlamadhyamakakārikā* by Nāgārjuna. For an English translation from the Tibetan, see Padmakara Translation Group, *Root Stanzas of the Middle Way*. For a translation from the Sanskrit, see Siderits, *Nāgārjuna's Middle Way*.

[237] Tib. *Tshig gsal*, Skt. *Prasannapadā*. This is Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. For a translation and critical Sanskrit and Tibetan edition of the first chapter of this text, see MacDonald, *In Clear Words*.

[238] Tib. *bZhi brgya pa*, Skt. *Catuḥśataka* by Āryadeva. For an English translation of this text together with a commentary by rGyal tshab rje, see Sonam, *Āryadeva's Four Hundred Stanzas*.

commentary of Red mda' ba.[239] That abbot was a direct student of rJe btsun Red mda' ba, the Master said.

The Master stayed from the spring term (*dpyid chos*) until the fall term (*ston chos*). When he was studying the commentary on *Entering* [*the Middle Way*], the rising of a full moon[240] appeared to him in a dream. During his stay there, sLob dpon Ye rgyal ba even provided for him and taught him the Dharma excellently as well. Therefore, the Master said repeatedly:

> I am most grateful to each one of my masters, but the fact that I was able to enjoy the Middle Way of the Great Vehicle was thanks to his kindness. Yet I was of no great service[241] to him.

Furthermore, he said:

> These Thang sag pas are indeed most astonishing. There are so many spiritual teachers around now who, when they pick up commentaries on the *Root* [*Stanzas on the Middle Way Called Wisdom*] and *Entering* [*the Middle Way*], have difficulties explaining them. The Thang sag pas teach the great commentaries by relying on the enlightened activities of Pa tshab Lo tsā ba.[242]

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[239] The title of this commentary is simply *dBu ma bzhi brgya pa'i 'grel pa*. For an English translation, see Tsering, *Rendawa Shonnu Lodro's Commentary*. Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros (1349–1412) was an important Sa skya master of that time and Tsong kha pa's main teacher, particularly in Madhyamaka. For Red mda' ba's role as the "true reviver of the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka tradition" in the history of Madhyamaka, see Roloff, *Red mda' ba*, 16–25. Seyfort Ruegg (*Three Studies*, 60–61) remarks that Red mda' ba "appears to have been the foremost master of the Prāsaṅgika tradition at this important point of transition from the pre-classical to the classical period of Tibetan philosophical thought. And it is to him that is indeed ascribed the re-establishment and explication of the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka after a period of relative eclipse, this school being stated to have all but died out before him."

[240] Lit. "maṇḍala of the moon" (*zla ba'i dkyil 'khor*).

[241] Tib. *zhabs tog*. Traditionally, there are three types of service (*zhabs tog gsum* or *zhabs tog rnam gsum*) a disciple performs for his master: material offerings, physical service, and putting the teacher's teachings into practice; see Padmakara Translation Group, *Lion of Speech*, 209n60.

[242] Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (b. 1055) was an important Tibetan translator, especially of Madhyamaka literature. His translations include all the previously mentioned Madhyamaka texts: Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, and Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*. On Pa tshab's role in the early dissemination period of Madhyamaka in Tibet and his position of having no thesis, see Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies*, 41–55 and 159–61. Pa tshab's "enlightened activities" (*phrin las*) therefore most likely refers to his translations.

Even later in time, the Master thought of the Thang sag pas with great affection and asked many questions about the developments of the monastic seat, its teaching activities, and the monks. Since it was a custom of the Thang sag pas to hold the fall term at Po to,[243] he stayed at Po to during the time between the teaching terms.[244]

At that time, when he was traveling back and forth, Nyan po ba dPal gyi rin chen, a direct student of Chos rje rGyal sras pa,[245] came riding on a dzo from Nyan po Peak and approached him, but the Master did not ask him for teachings, he said. The Master reported,

> Once, Blos btang nyag po, a realized *gzhan stong* master, gave teachings on a Dharma throne surrounded by many laypeople and monastics on a ridge of Mount Sras. The two of us went to look for and examine[246] what he was saying, and as we were approaching him, they sent someone running toward us. He said, "Please do not go there; it is not worth going." It seemed like [Blos btang nyag po] had extrasensory perception.[247]

Following that, when the Master stayed at Po to in late fall, two of his close friends from his homeland were sent[248] to him with a white tsampa bag and a soft, white woolen cloth to invite him. He offered it to the sLob dpon and then left for his homeland.

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[243] Po to is a monastery in 'Phan po founded by the bKa' gdams master Po to ba Rin chen gsal (1027–1105) on top of a mountain called Po to, from which it received its name; see Chos 'phel, *Gangs can bod kyi gnas bshad lam yig gsar ma* (vol. 2), 194–95.

[244] 'Gos Lo tsā ba's studies at Thang sag Monastery seem to have made a significant impression on him. According to Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 6:1–2), 'Gos Lo tsā ba said that it was during his Madhyamaka studies at Thang sag that he developed the "wisdom of making use of the words," while it was Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo* that let him develop the "wisdom of making use of the meaning." ("*tshig la spyod pa'i shes rab ni thang sag tu dbu ma bslabs dus skyes/ don la spyod pa'i shes rab ni rje'i lam rim chen mo la brten* [text: *brtan*] *nas skyes* […] *gsung ngo/*."). For another episode on 'Gos Lo tsā ba's Madhyamaka studies at Thang sag, see ZHWA, 273:9–274:13.

[245] This refers to dNgul chu Thogs med bzang po, about whom Nyan po ba dPal gyi rin chen wrote a *rnam thar* entitled *rGyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*; see Chien, *Lojong Master Tokmé Zangpo*, 38–41.

[246] C.f. $SMON_1$, 23:4: "*nga gnyis pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *gis ci zer blta zhing rgol du 'gro bar phyin pas*." This reading seems to say that 'Gos Lo tsā ba intended to oppose (*rgol*) what the *gzhan stong* master had to say.

[247] For an alternative translation of this passage, see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 134.

[248] C.f. $SMON_1$, 23:6: "*spyan 'dren du btang byung bas*."

When he went to sLob dpon bSam bzang pa's place, he asked him, "Why did you go to 'Phan yul without consulting me?"[249] After the Master had explained the reasons for that in detail, he did not reply at all, the Master said. Then he told the sLob dpon everything he had done earlier before finishing the monastic round.

Thereafter he stayed wherever it was convenient for him, and that was occasionally at rTses thang, where he then memorized the *Sublime Continuum*. He attended sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa's teachings on the *Sublime Continuum*[250] and Asaṅga's commentary, on the occasion of which he also received the reading transmission (*lung*) of the commentary of the Great Omniscient One of Jo nang.[251] Having once received teachings on the Perfection of Wisdom together with Bye rdzing mKhan chen Tshul dpal ba[252] and many others from sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa, the Master studied it thoroughly and became learned in it. Bu [ston's][253] commentary[254] [according to] the teaching traditions of mKhan chen Dharmaśrī and sPo bo Yon tan seng ge[255] was taught as well.

> Since sLob dpon pa was a holder of the reading transmission of Bu [ston] Rin po che's collected works, I had the opportunity to request it from him; however, because sLob dpon pa's eyesight was poor and I had little interest in receiving it, [I

[249] For an alternative translation of this sentence, see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 135.

[250] In 1421, 'Go Lo tsā ba received teachings on the entire *Ratnagotravibhāga* from Rong ston as well; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 139.

[251] This refers to Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan and his commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* entitled *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer*.

[252] C.f. SMON$_1$, 24:2: "*bye rdzing mkhan chen pa dpal tshul ba*." Mal gro ba mKhan chen Tshul khrims dpal ba was the sixth abbot of the Bye rdzing tshogs pa, one of the four initially peripatetic monastic communities (*jo gdan/stan tshogs sde bzhi*) associated with Śākyaśrībhadra's Vinaya tradition; see note 222 above. Bye rdzing is located in sNye mo; see Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 195 and 228. See also Heimbel, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 104. Heimbel (*Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 204) mentions that the Bye rdzings tshogs pa, one of these four communities, eventually moved from Bye rdzing, from which it had received its name, to Grwa phyi Tshong 'dus, which was mentioned above in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *rnam thar*. See also Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 286.

[253] Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364).

[254] This is Bu ston's commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* entitled *mNgon par rtogs pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa lung gi snye ma*. Heimbel (*Vajradhara in Human Form*, 132) mentions that there are notes by mKhan chen Dharmaśrī on this text.

[255] sPo bo Yon tan seng ge was a disciple of bSod nams seng ge of Ru mtshams, who in turn was a disciple of Dharmaśrī. And Dharmaśrī was a student of Bu ston; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 331.

did not ask for it].[256] Generally speaking, sLob dpon pa was an upright person and had little attachment to material things. After he had first received teachings on the six-branch yoga from Chos rje Byang rgyal ba, his meditative realization developed beyond imagination. He looked after me with such great compassion.

Thus the Master spoke and related Jo stan sTon Śāk pa's history with tears in his eyes. Having seen that he had given treatment for a disease caused by the bite of a rabid dog without problems, the Master said, "sLob dpon pa, please impart this instruction to me." He replied,

Oh, I do not have anything exactly for that. I have done many recitations in my former lives and this life; therefore, it helps now that I have given him only water and the fringes of a belt. I have nothing special to teach you.

Therefore, the Master did not insist, he said. After that, sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa and his disciples went to 'Bangs rtsigs[257] for the spring term. There, the Master stayed with sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa and received teachings on the Perfection of Wisdom again. sLob dpon pa held him in particularly high regard. When sLob dpon pa scolded sMan khang pa Ye shes dpal, 'Brog nag said, "Please do not speak like that. He is indeed a knowledgeable person." sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa replied,

Oh, that's nonsense! His level is such that he would say that he knows how to write on a dog's head! When you say knowledge, it should be like that of sLob dpon gZhon nu dpal—up until the scriptures. He can quote from any text.

Thus he spoke and showed off [his disciple's qualities], it is said. During the teaching term, the Master also received teachings on the *Exposition* [*of Valid Cognition*] from Drung Byang chub rdo rje,[258] the abbot of rTses thang Monastery. He went to the class in which Chen po Tshul blo ba taught logic and epistemology, but he did not attend everything. He also received the

[256] C.f. SMON$_1$, 24:4: "*slob dpon pa la bu rin po che'i bka' 'bum gyi lung zhus pa zhur rgyug 'ste/ slob dpon pa yang spyan ras ngan pa dang nga rang yang shes 'dod chungs pas lan pa yin*/."

[257] C.f. SMON$_1$, 25:3: "*'bangs brtsigs*."

[258] This is the Phag gru ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan's younger brother Byang chub rdo rje (1377–1428), who was the abbot of rTsed thang between 1385 and 1428. For the abbatial lineage of rTsed thang Monastery, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 461. See also ibid., 201–02.

teachings on the Perfection of Wisdom and logic and epistemology rKyang chen pa gave in summer and winter.

Once the Master brought sTon pa dGe legs from sPyan g.yas with him as an attendant, but as a means to escape, he went to mKhan chen Sangs blo ba[259] in Yol Rin chen gling.[260] [There,] he received guru yoga teachings, and when he began to receive teachings on the six-branch yoga, sTon pa dBang 'od and brTan pa 'bum, who had followed him, arrived, and then he had to go back. Residing again at sPyan g.yas, he received teachings on the following works from mKhan chen Sangs rgyas brtan pa:[261]

- *Three Rounds of Focus*[262]
- *Seven-Point Mind Training*[263]
- *The Peacock's Neutralizing of Poison*[264]
- *The Wheel of Sharp Weapons*[265]

[259] This probably refers to 'Khrig pa mKhan chen Sangs rgyas blo gros pa, the founder of Yol Rin chen gling Monastery and thirteenth abbot of the Tsha mig tshogs pa, one of the previously mentioned *jo gdan tshogs bzhi*; see Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs bde bzhi*, 196n56 and 227–28. See also Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 536.

[260] Rin chen gling lies in the Yol valley in sKyid smad; see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 220 and 241.

[261] Where applicable, I have used Thupten Jinpa's translations of the following titles from his publication *Mind Training* (see bibliography), as these are mostly texts from the famous *blo sbyong* anthology that became known as *Blo sbyong brgya rtsa* compiled by gZhon nu rgyal mchog and dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388–1469) in the fifteenth century; see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 13–15.

[262] Tib. *dMigs pa skor gsum.* Probably referring to *Mi g.yo ba'i dmigs pa skor gsum*, a short and practical *blo sbyong* instruction by sKyo ston sMon lam tshul khrims (1219–99), the eight abbot of sNar thang Monastery and a student of bKa' gdams master and seventh abbot of sNar thang, mChims Nam mkha' grags (1210–85); see Namgyal, *Kyoton Monlam Tsultrim*, and Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 609n384.

[263] Tib. *Blo sbyong don bdun ma*, by the bKa' gdams master 'Chad kha ba Ye shes rdo rje (1101–75). For an English translation of this text, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 83–85. For more information on this important *blo sbyong* instruction, see ibid., 9–13. An edition of the Tibetan text, included in Se spyil bu Chos kyi rgyal mtshan's (1121–89) commentary—the earliest commentary on the instruction—can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 41–80.

[264] Tib. *rMa bya dug 'joms*, attributed to Dharmarakṣita, one of Atiśa's teachers; see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 8–9. For an English translation of this text, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 155–70. An edition of the Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 92–100.

[265] Tib. *mTshon cha 'khor lo*, attributed to Dharmarakṣita; see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 595n244 and 6–9. For an English translation of this text, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 133–53. An edition of the Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 81–91.

- *Four Appendices*[266]
- *The Song of Maitrīyogi*[267]
- *Leveling Out All Conceptions*[268]
- *Eight Sessions* [*Mind Training*][269]
- *Stages of the Heroic Mind*[270]
- *Guide to the Heart of Dependent Origination* composed by rGyal sras pa [dNgul chu Thogs med bzang po][271]
- *Kusulu's Accumulation* [*Mind Training*][272]

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[266] Tib. *Lhan thabs bzhi pa* (lit. "fourth appendix"). This text includes four short instructions: (1) *Nyong mongs pa lam du blangs pa'i chos* ("*A Teaching on Taking Afflictions onto the Path*"); Tibetan text in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 114–15; English translation in Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 197–98. (2) *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor* ("*Guru Yoga Mind Training*"); Tibetan text in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 116–18; English translation in Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 199–202. (3) *sDig sbyong man ngag* ("*An Instruction on Purifying Negative Karma*"); Tibetan text in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 119; English translation in Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 203. (4) *Theg pa chen po'i lugs kyi 'khon sbyong* ("*Mahāyāna Purification of Grudges*"); Tibetan text in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 120; English translation in Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 205–06. See also *Blo sbyong lhan thabs bzhi pa* in the bibliography below.

[267] Tib. *Byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa'i glu*, probably referring to *Blo sbyong gyer bsgom rdo rje'i glu dbyangs*, attributed to Maitrīyogi, who was a teacher of Atiśa; see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 599n300. For an English translation, see ibid., 171–75. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 101–04.

[268] Tib. *rTog pa 'bur 'joms*. This text is attributed to gSer gling pa; see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 601n316. For an English translation, see ibid., 195–96. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 113.

[269] Tib. [*Blo sbyong*] *thun brgyad ma*. This text is attributed to Atiśa's student 'Brom ston pa rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1005–64). For an English translation of this instruction, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 225–37. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 136–48. For a translation of a later, nineteenth-century commentary on this instruction by 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–92), see Creek, *Succinct Notes*.

[270] This text is usually attributed to gSer gling pa; see Jinpa, *Mind Traning*, 599n303 and 600n304. For an English translation, see ibid., 177–94. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 105–12.

[271] Tib. *rTen 'brel snying po'i khrid*, also referred to as *rTen 'brel snying po'i khrid yig.* For the authorship of the root text of this instruction, differently attributed to 'Brom ston pa and Phu chung ba gZhon nu rgyal mtshan (1031–1106), see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 637n811. For an English translation, see ibid., 423–29. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 287–92.

[272] Tib. *Ku su lu'i tshogs gsog* [*gi blo sbyong*]. For the origin of this "tantric" *blo sbyong* instruction, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 603n331. For an English translation, see ibid., 209–11. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 122–24.

- *The White Tārā's Longevity Practice*[273]
- [*Mind Training*] *Taking Joys and Pains onto the Path*[274]
- *Guru Yoga*[275] etc.

The Master said repeatedly,

> Although this mKhan chen pa, sLob dpon Shes rab dar ba, and mKhan chen Sangs 'bum pa[276] kindly accepted me into their care, I was of no great service to them later. They nurtured me with kindness.

From mKhan chen dBang dpal ba, his nephew mKhan chen Byang dpal ba,[277] and mKhan chen gZhon nu seng ge,[278] the Master received teachings just [to establish] a Dharma connection with them. More specifically, the Master received teachings from mKhan chen Sangs rgyas 'bum dpal ba about[279] the fasting practice of the Great Compassionate One transmitted through

[273] Tib. *sGrol dkar gyi tshe sgrub*.

[274] Tib. *sKyid sdug lam khyer* [*gyi blo sbyong*]. Jinpa suggests Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal as a possible author. The compiler of the *blo sbyong* compendium *Blo sbyong rgya rtsa*, gZhon nu rgyal mchog, identifies Śākyaśrī (1127–1225), a master from Kashmir, as the author of the root text—a concise four-line verse; see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 604n335. For an English translation, see ibid., 213–14. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 125–26.

[275] Tib. *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor*. Since the previous texts are mostly works from the *Blo sbyong rgya rtsa*, this text presumably refers to the guru yoga mind training contained therein. Jinpa (*Mind Training*, 602n320) argues that gZhon nu rgyal mchog himself is the author of this text. For an English translation, see ibid., 199–202. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 116–18.

[276] This probably refers to Sangs rgyas 'bum dpal, who is mentioned in the abbatial lineage of sPyan g.yas in Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 98.

[277] Byang dpal pa also appears in the abbatial lineage of sPyan g.yas Monastery; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 98.

[278] gZhon nu seng ge was the successor of Sangs rgyas brtan pa as the abbot of sPyan g.yas; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 98.

[279] C.f. $SMON_1$, 27:1–2: "*thugs rje chen po'i bsnyung gnas kyi chos skor*."

Don yod zhags pa sangs rin pa[280] and then practiced them for one bright fortnight[281] at sPyan g.yas. During that time, the bean [he had placed] in the middle of his tongue sprouted due to the blessings of that practice.[282] The Master also received the reading transmissions of *Atiśa's Guidebook*[283] and of the commentary on the *Blue Udder*[284] composed by Lha 'bri sgang pa.[285]

For some time, the Master went to the hot springs of sGa 'dra in Yar 'brog and met the lord of siddhas, Chos rje Shes rab dpal ba, who was of advanced age and wore abominable, tattered clothes. On both ears, he wore ornaments made from the shoulder blades of a sheep, which covered his earholes. While the Master stayed with him, Chos rje Shes rab dpal ba would mix the leftovers of his food and what had fallen down and distribute it to the people, the Master reported. When I asked the Master which Dharma teachings he received from him, he told me,

> Apart from some teachings here and there, he did not teach anything special. What he taught us was this: "Give up evil deeds, practice virtue, and do not think that you will live until Maitreya comes!"

Following that, he did a monastic round that included recitation examinations on the Perfection of Wisdom, *Entering the Middle Way*, *Entering the Way* [*of the Bodhisattva*], and the *Sublime Continuum* at rTses thang. sLob dpon bSam bzang pa scolded him, saying, "It is too late for the monastic round."

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[280] Don zhags pa sangs rgyas rin chen is mentioned in the *Blue Annals* (p. 1023) as a lineage holder of the *Cycle of Avalokiteśvara* (*'Phags pa'i chos skor*), which he taught at sPyan g.yas. Indeed, it was he who established the fasting practice associated with the eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara at sPyan g.yas; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 100. He seems to have held the sPyan g.yas monks in high esteem, as he reportedly said, "sPyan g.yas, the monastery of monks with good character!" Ibid., 99; and before his last journey to sPyan g.yas, where he eventually passed away, he said, "Convey me to sPyan g.yas, the strictest monastic college." Ibid., 1023.

[281] Tib. *dkar phyogs* refers to the first fifteen days—that is, the phase of the waxing moon—of the lunar month. The second half of the month is referred to as *nag phyogs*.

[282] This is considered to be a test indicating whether one has gained accomplishment in a certain practice; see Dilgo Khyentse, *Lion of Speech*, 34 and 208n50.

[283] Tib. *Jo bo'i lam yig*.

[284] Tib. *Be'u bum sngon po* is an early bKa' gdams work on *blo sbyong* compiled by dGe bshes Dol pa dMar zhur pa Shes rab rgya mtsho (1059–1131); see Lha 'bri sgang pa, *Be'u bum sngon po'i 'grel pa*, preface. dGe bshes Dol pa was a student of Po to ba Rin chen gsal (1031–1105) and a teacher of Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170); see Roesler, *Stages of the Buddha's Teachings*, 6.

[285] Lha 'bri sgang pa was a bKa' gdams master, presumably from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; see Lha 'bri sgang pa, *Be'u bum sngon po'i 'grel pa*, preface. See also Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 139.

"In the meantime," the Master replied, "my knowledge has deepened greatly." [Then] he devoted himself to the study of the Perfection of Wisdom.

After that, Chos rgyal ba of rNgo thog came to study logic and epistemology as the attendant of sLob dpon bSam bzang pa as well. During the night, after they had finished their studies of repeating texts, everyone engaged in casual conversation.[286] When sLob dpon Chos rgyal said that he taught the Dharma in a first public text exposition[287] at rNgo thog, someone asked, "Which Dharma is expounded [there]? What did you teach?"

"I taught the five dharmas," he replied.

"What are these?" the Master asked.

"It seems to be something with five chapters," someone said.

"Can you recite it?" the Master requested.

"When he recited the source text of the five dharmas," the Master reported, "this Dharma seemed very profound, so I felt I had to investigate it by all means."[288]

In the early summer of the snake year (1413), when the Master had reached age twenty-two, he went for a monastic round to sKyid shod. Shortly after, he stayed in the presence of sLob dpon bSam gtan don grub pa in sKyor mo lung[289] from the summer term until the fall term

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[286] C.f. $SMON_1$, 28:2: "*bshar sbyang tshar ba'i rjes su thams cad khyom tsho mdzad pa la/*."

[287] Tib. *bshad sar*. My translation of *bshad* (*g*)*sar* follows that of Caumanns (*Shākya-mchog-ldan*, 48, 62, and 183–84n23), who renders it in German as "erste öffentliche Darlegung der Schriften" and "erste öffentliche Darlegung eines curricularen Textes."

[288] C.f. $SMON_1$, 28:2–5: "*slob dpon chos rgyal de rngo thog tu bshad gsar byas nas chos bshad pa yin zer bas khyed tsho'i 'chad chos ci la byed pa yin/ khyed kyis ci la byas gsungs pas ngas chos lnga ma byas pa yin zer/ ci la zer ba gsungs pas sa bcad lnga 'dug pa de yin pa 'dra zer/ thon par 'dug gam gsungs pas chos lnga'i rtsa ba de bton byung pas chos 'di la chos kyi khog chen po zhig* [text: *cig*] *yong bar 'dug pas 'di cis kyang brtsad gcod* [text: *spyod*] *dgos dgongs pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *byung ba yin gsung/*."

[289] sKyor mo lung, which was established in 1169, lies in the sTod lung valley to the west of Lhasa. For its exact location, see Ryavec, *Historical Atlas*, 115. sKyor mo lung—alongside mNyes thang, gSang phu, dGa' gdong, Zul phu, Tshal gung thang—was one of the major learning centers of central Tibet (in Tibetan referred to as *dbus kyi gdan sa chen po drug*) at that time; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 33. It was particularly known as a study center for monastic discipline, and also Tsong kha pa studied the *Vinayasūtra* there; see ibid., 44. In his *Blue Annals*, 'Gos Lo tsā ba commented Tsong kha pa's influence on the Vinaya tradition in Tibet as follows: "Thanks to the example they [Tsong kha pa's followers] set, the vinaya tradition has become [pervasive] in this land of Tibet like the light of a shining sun." Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 259; quoted and translated from 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, 113. For more information on sKyor mo lung Monastery, see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 193–95, and Caumanns, *Shākya-mchog-ldan*, 46n33.

and received teachings on the *Root Lines on Vinaya*[290] and the *Treasury of Abhidharma*,[291] each one time. The Master joined him in the fasting practice he performed every fourteenth and fifteenth day [of the lunar month] and received the reading transmission of this fasting practice and of *Extracting the Essence of the Ever-Weeping One*[292] as well.[293] When Chos skyong bzang po ba acted as the Dharma master, the Master also attended his explanations of the Doctrine.

At that time, the Master went together with sLob dpon Chos dbang to meet Chos rje De bzhin gshegs pa,[294] who was residing at rNam par in sTod lung. The Master requested his blessings and dedication prayers for his circle of relatives. They let him sit in the line for tea but wound up the tea drinking [before he was served].[295] From mTshal min Rin po che bSod bzang pa,[296] who had come there, the Master received teachings on *Sum pa Lo tsā ba's Mind Training*[297] and *Stages of the Heroic Mind*. He developed great faith in him and wanted to meet him again later, but his companions discouraged him, and so it did not happen, he said. Since

[290] Tib. *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba*, Skt. *Vinayamūlasūtra* by Guṇaprabha.

[291] Tib. [*Chos*] *mngon pa mdzod*, Skt. *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu.

[292] Tib. *rTag tu ngu'i bcud len*. According to tradition, this practice, being transmitted from the gods, is of divine origin; see Oliphant, *Extracting the Essence*, 89. It is named after the flower of the *rtag tu ngu pa* plant (*Drosera peltata*), which is used in this practice; see ibid., 108, 157, and especially 425.

[293] C.f. $SMON_1$, 28:7: "*tshes bcu bzhi bcwa lnga byung res kyis bsnyung gnas mdzad pas de'i zla ba bsnyung gnas mdzad cing lung yang gsan/ rtag tu ngu'i bcud len gyi lung yang gsan/*."

[294] This is the 5th Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa.

[295] C.f. $SMON_1$, 29:1–3: "*de dus chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa stod lungs gnam spar na phebs nas bzhugs pa'i sar slob dpon chos dbang dang bsdoms nas mjal du thegs/ bying brlabs zhus/ sku nye'i skor thams cad kyi bsngo ba zhus/ sgar pa'i ja gral la'ang btang byung ste/ jas ma sleb tsam de la dril song gsung/*."

[296] This is the Jo nang master mTshal min pa bSod nams bzang po (1341–1433). He was a student of many influential figures of his time such as Dol po pa; Phyogs las rnam rgyal, under whom he studied the Kālacakra; Bu ston Rin chen grub; and rGyal sras Thogs med. His disciples included Rong ston and the 6th Karma pa mThong ba don ldan (1416–53); see Stearns, *Nyakpuwa Sonam Zangpo*. The 5th Karma pa appointed him as the abbot of mTshal min Monastery in 1403; see Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 215–16. See also Mathes, *Direct Path*, 135.

[297] Tib. *Sum pa lo tsā ba'i blo sbyong*. This instruction is also called *Sum pa Lo tsā ba'i snyan brgyud kyi blo sbyong*, which is a teaching based on a four-line stanza by Sum pa Lo tsā ba dPal mchog dang po'i rdo rje (twelfth century), who received it under visionary circumstances from Vajravārāhi and Tārā and then transmitted it to Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251). For an English translation of this instruction, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 215–16. The Tibetan text can be found in gZhon nu rgyal mchog, *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya brtsa*, 127–28. For information on the historical background of this instruction and an English translation of a later, nineteenth-century instruction manual (*khrid yig*) on this teaching and of a prayer to its lineage masters by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–92), see Creek, *Nectar of the Heart*, and Creek, *Lineage Prayer*.

mKhan chen Yon blo ba[298] had come, he received teachings from him on the mind training practice *Take My Flesh and Blood*.[299] The Master stayed there for one day.

Again on his way to sKyor mo lung, several girls stopped him, wanting to offer him beer and beg for alms. While he was thinking about what to do, sLob dpon Chos dbang, clutching[300] his chest, said, "My mother died, so we went to request dedication prayers from Chos rje Karma pa." The girls were embarrassed and let them go. After they had walked a little further, the Master asked him, "How could you do something like that!"

"It was not a lie," he replied.[301]

On his way, the Master paid a visit to the *jo mo* of Ra tshag[302] and offered supplication prayers, through which he received great blessings. The Master reported,

> That sLob dpon bSam gtan don grub pa [of sKyor mo lung] was disciplined, highly learned in the Vinaya and the *Treasury* [*of Abhidharma*], and in his mind stream he made the essence of Pacification (*zhi byed*) his practice.

Thus the Master spoke about [bSam gtan don grub pa's] exploits and life story, showing strong faith in him.

In the fall of the snake year (1413), when the Master was staying in one of the accommodations of sKyor mo lung, many benefactors headed by Cho rje Legs pa rgyal mtshan

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[298] mKhan chen Yon blo ba was the ninth abbot of the Tshogs dGe 'dun sgang, one of the four *jo gdan tshogs sde*; see Heimbel, *Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi*, 229. He and the previously mentioned bSod nams bzang po were both present during the ordination of the 5th Karma pa; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 507.

[299] Tib. *Blo sbyong sha khyer khrag khyer*. This might refer to the fourth chapter of the *Eight Sessions Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong thun brgyad ma*), *Mind Training Pertaining to Flesh and Blood* (*Sha khrag la brten pa'i blo sbyong*), attributed to 'Brom ston pa; see note 269 above. For an English translation of this chapter, see Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 230–31.

[300] Lit. "beating his chest" (*brang brdungs*).

[301] C.f. SMON$_1$, 29:5–7: "*de nas phyir skyor mo lung du byon pa'i lam du bu mo gzhon nu ma kha yar zhig* [text: *cig*] *byung nas la las nged gnyis bzung/ la las chang can chung re drangs nas slongs mo 'dod par 'dug pa la ci drag dgongs tsa na/ slob dpon chos dbang na re nga'i a ma shi nas chos rje karma pa* [text: *skar ma ba*] la *bsngo ba zhur phyin pa yin zer nas brang brdungs* [text: *bsdungs*] *pas khong tshos phyir btang byung/ ma tshad sleb pa dang de 'dra byed pa gsungs pas brdzun* [text: *bsdzun*] *ni min zer/*."

[302] Ra tshag is a monastery and pilgrimage site in the Yab valley in sTod lung. According to different sources it was established either by sNa nam rDo rje dbang phyugs (976–1060) or Rwa Lo tsā ba (1016–1128?). *Jo mo* refers to the Vajrayoginī statue it used to accommodate, which is said to have belonged to Nāropa; see Repo, *Ratsag Monastery*, 51 and 53. For more information on Ra tshag, see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 200–03.

pa[303] came there from Ri bo dge ldan.[304] The Master served them sincerely by lighting a fire and so on. Chos rje Legs pa rgyal mtshan pa looked at the many books he had and said, "Come here!" and then had a conversation with him. When the Master went to him, he said, "It seems that you are a holder of the *piṭaka*s. It is not right for you to do work."

"I am an ordinary person. I merely keep these books," the Master replied and [continued] serving them, he reported.

Thereafter, having served as the attendant of sLob dpon pa, who attended the remaining part of Yab pa Chos rje's instructions (*gdams pa*) on Pacification, he received teachings from Chos rje Śākya bzang po ba on sKyes mchog pa's *Illuminating Primordial Purity*[305] and on tales of the Buddha's previous lives[306] written by bCom ldan rig ral. "Chos rje held me dear," the Master said and spoke about his activities, the activities of his monks, how his belongings in his residence were managed, and so on.[307]

Thereafter, when the Master went to meet sLob dpon Ye rgyal ba in Thang sag, he stayed for a while at the shore of the river of Ngan[308] below Glang thang Monastery,[309] not thinking about where the ford was, and fell asleep. At that moment, a horseman appeared on the other shore and came to his side [of the river], exclaiming, "*Chu sho sho*!"[310] Then the Master crossed the ford and went on to Thang sag, where he met [sLob dpon Ye rgyal ba].

After that, when he went to visit the *jo* [*bo* statue] in Lhasa, there was an elderly nun with tattered clothes, who was said to be a *ḍākinī.* As a gesture to examine whether she was really a

[303] Legs pa rgyal mtshan (1375–1450) was the fourth abbot of dGa' ldan Monastery and a disciple of Tsong kha pa; see Chhosphel, *Fourth Ganden Tripa*.

[304] This refers to dGa' ldan Monastery, which had just been founded four years before in 1409 by Tsong kha pa. *Ri bo* is the dBang po ri mountain, on which the monastery is located. On the founding of dGa' ldan, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 249–52.

[305] Tib. *Ka dag gsal ba*.

[306] The work meant here is the *sKyes rabs rgyan gyi me tog*.

[307] C.f. SMON$_1$, 31:1–2: "… *longs spyod skyong lugs sogs legs par gsung zhing spyan chab 'byon par mdzad/*."

[308] The Ngan chu is the main river in the 'Phan yul area; see Hazod, *Territory, Kinship and the Grave*, 43.

[309] A monastery in *'Phan yul* founded by the bKa' gdams master Glang ri thang pa (1054–1123) in 1093; see Chos 'phel, *Gangs can bod kyi gnas bshad lam yig gsar ma* (vol. 2), 170–72.

[310] C.f. SMON$_1$, 31:3: "*chu shwa shwa*." Note that *chu shwa* and *shwa 'od* mean "flood," so the horseman perhaps tried to warn 'Gos Lo tsā ba. Alternatively, this could be an exclamation of auspiciousness when crossing a river similar to *ki ki bswo bswo lha rgyal lo* when crossing a mountain pass. Unfortunately, this must remain open.

ḍākinī or not, he snapped his fingers without looking at her. She responded by snapping her fingers as well, he said.[311]

When he went again to Yar klungs,[312] he went to meet Chos rje De bzhin gshegs pa, who was staying in an encampment on the wet meadow of mDo mkhar. He was giving teachings on the *Meditation and Recitation of the Great Compassionate One*,[313] which the Master attended. Next to [the Karma pa's] matchless, towering seat was a small and very low seat in the form of a footstool. The Master thought, "Two steps are probably not enough to reach the higher one." So he sat there, wondering how [the Karma pa] went up. "It must be his miraculous powers," he said.[314] Since the bodhisattva Yon tan blo gros pa had come there as well, the Master received teachings from him on the *Praise of Vijayā*[315] and on Glang ri thang pa's *Eight Verses* [*on Mind Training*].[316]

At that time, after the Chos rje De bzhin gshegs pa had come to rTses thang, the Master received from him in the assembly the bodhisattva vows[317] and teachings on an abridged version of the six Dharma [Practices] of Nāropa,[318] the *Sādhana of Mañjughoṣa*,[319] and the *Sūtra of Amitāyus*.[320] He also made a promise to recite a certain number of *maṇi* mantras. He said,

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[311] C.f. SMON$_1$, 31:4–6: "*de nas lha sar phebs pas lha sa'i khyams khra phyi nang de rnams su sdod pa'i btsun rgan ma hral mo mkha' 'gro ma yin zer ba de yang 'dug pas 'di mkha' 'gro ma yin min rtog go dgongs nas spyan ma gzigs par se gol gyi brda gcig* [text: *cig*] *mdzad pas mo yang thul gog cig gyon nas 'dug pa des kyang lan gyi se gol gcig byas byung gsung/*."

[312] For a map of the Yar klungs valley, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 595.

[313] Tib. *Thugs rje chen po'i sgom bzlas*.

[314] C.f. SMON$_1$, 31:7–32:1: "*khri'u shing chen po dpe med pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *la khri'u shing chung ba gcig* [text: *cig*] *gi zhabs stegs 'dug ste/ khri'u shing de la gom pa dos sleb pa med/ de la ji tsug byas nas thegs pa yin bsam ste rdzu 'phrul du 'dug gsung/."*

[315] Tib. *rNam rgyal gyi bstod pa*.

[316] Tib. [*Blo sbyong*] *tshigs brgyad ma*. For an English translation of this *blo sbyong* classic, see for example Jinpa, *Mind Training*, 275–76.

[317] Lit. "developed the mind [aimed] at supreme enlightenment" (*byang chub mchog tu thugs bskyed pa*).

[318] I follow Mathes's (*Direct Path,* 135) translation of *nā ro chos drug*.

[319] Tib. *'Jam dbyangs kyi sgrub thabs*.

[320] Tib. *Tshe dpag tu med pa'i mdo*, Skt. *Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra*. The bKa' 'gyur contains two versions of this text (Toh 674 and Toh 675). For an English translation of Toh 674, see Roberts, *Aparimitāyurjñāna Sūtra (1)*; for Toh 675, see Roberts, *Aparimitāyurjñāna Sūtra (2).*

> Chos rje was of beautiful, radiant appearance. He did not get distracted even in large, crowded places or by noise. It was truly a miracle that when people presented him with dedication letters from all sides,[321] he did not look in their direction and read [his teachings] unhindered without moving his eyes. When he sat on a throne in the Chos 'khor garden of sNe'u gdong,[322] the ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan merely sat on a red mat in front of him. He (i.e., Grags pa rgyal mtshan) was someone who would arrive surrounded by many lay lords, filling his kingdom with splendor, but in the presence [of the Karma pa] he was no more than a globule of ink. I saw people like Chos rje De bzhin gshegs pa and rJe Rin po che Blo bzang grags pa with my own eyes. I am not like you [who have not met such great masters].

Thus he spoke and boasted.

When the Master stayed alone at dGon dkar in the north of sPyan g.yas,[323] he studied the *Compendium of Abhidharma*,[324] memorizing about fifteen folios of the text per day.

Uncle sLob dpon [Sangs grags pa] knew both white [Indian-derived] and black [Chinese-derived] astrology, and so the Master asked him how arithmetical calculations traced in sand (*sa ris*) are performed. "This is how it is done," he said and instructed him. Having spread the ashes of the hearth, the Master practiced a little bit. He then practiced drawing patterns on his forearm and thus became proficient in multiplication and division.

In the winter of the horse year (1414), the Master requested [teachings on] astrology from Lama rKyang chen pa at rTsed thang and then performed [calculations of] the five inclusive calendar features.[325] He also received teachings from him on causal astrology until

[321] Lit. "from both right and left" (*g.yas g.yon gnyis ka nas*)

[322] See note 48.

[323] This episode of 'Gos Lo tsā ba staying alone at dGon dkar Monastery is further discussed in chapter twenty of the *rnam thar* (ZHWA, 283:11–284:7). There, it is specified that this monastery lies in the rGyas sman area.

[324] Tib. *mNgon pa kun las btus* [*pa*], Skt. *Abhidharmasamuccaya* by Asaṅga.

[325] Tib. *lnga bsdus*. These are the lunar weekday (*gza'*), the date of the lunar month (*tshes*), the moon's constellation (*zla skar*), the combination period (*sbyor ba*), and the action period (*byed pa*). Together with the five planets (*gza' lnga*), these are the main features in the Indian astrological system; see Berzin, *Tibetan-English Glossary of Astrology Terms*, s.v. *lnga bsdus* and *gza' lnga lnga bsdus*.

the lunar weekday's root.[326] Because he strove hard in analysis based on the astrology of the Great Omniscient One,[327] he understood [the subject] in its entirety.[328]

In the spring of the sheep year (1415), the Master spent the time between the teaching terms at Thang po che,[329] where he stayed in the gSer khang.[330] Also at that time, he reflected excellently on astrology, he said. In the early summer of the sheep year, he dedicated himself to the tasks of building a stūpa for sLob dpon sTon Śāk pa.

When fall came,[331] the ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan invited rJe Rin po che Blo bzang grags pa and about two hundred of his disciples to bKra shis do kha in the 'On valley.[332] He

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[326] Tib. *gza' dhru* refers to the root figure from which to calculate the start of the lunar weekdays in a lunar month; see Berzin, *Tibetan-English Glossary of Astrology Terms*, s.v. *gza' dhru*. My translation of *rgyu mtshan rtsis* as "causal astrology" is tentative. See Jo, *Tibetan Astronomy*, 61n126, for an alternative—equally tentative—translation of the term.

[327] C.f. $SMON_1$, 33:4–5: "*de nas kun mkhyen chen po'i rgyu mtshan rtsis la brten nas thugs kyi dpyod pa nyid la legs par 'bad pas* …."

[328] Later in 1442–43, 'Gos Lo tsā ba composed the astrological work *bsTan rtsis 'khrul sel*, containing calculations related to the Kālacakra, for which woodblocks were produced before 1468; see van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 279–80, and Mathes, *Direct Path*, 135–36.

[329] Sol nag Thang po che was a bKa' gdams monastery founded in 1017 in the eastern part of the 'Phyongs rgyas valley. It was visited by the famous masters Atiśa, Tsong kha pa, and Kha che Paṇ chen Śākyaśrī and was later converted to the dGe lugs tradition; see Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 431–32. For its precise location, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 594–95.

[330] 'Gos Lo tsā ba mentions in his *Blue Annals* that the gSer khang pa is a lineage associated with Thang po che Monastery that began with Lo'i Sangs rgyas jo bo; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 94.

[331] On the dating of Tsong kha pa's teaching festival at bKra shis (r)do kha, see Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 210n14.

[332] According to other sources, around seven hundred monks and numerous laypersons were present, including the following people: dGe 'dun grub (1391–1474), who would later become the first Dalai Lama; rGod phrug Ras pa Grags pa 'byung gnas (1363–1447), who was a teacher of 'Gos Lo tsā ba—Czaja (*Medieval Rule*, 222n50) mentions that rGod phrug Ras pa probably received the *dge tshul* vows from Tsong kha pa at bKra shis (r)do kha—Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po; and 'Jam dbyangs Chos rje bKra shis dpal ldan (1379–1449); see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 282–84. Grags pa rgyal mtshan's brothers bSod nams bzang po (1380–1417) and Byang chub rdo rje (1377–1428), who were the abbots of gDan sa mthil and rTsed thang, and the youngest brother bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1386–1434) were also present; see Czaja, *Medieval Rule in Tibet*, 210. bSod nams bzang po was fully ordained by Tsong kha pa there; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 283. On the relevance of this two-month-long event, Jinpa (ibid., 282) writes, "Among those attending this lengthy teaching series at the hermitage were some of the most powerful members of the Phag gru dynasty. At this bKra shis rdo kha retreat, Tsong kha pa forged connections with a number of important people who would have an impact on his legacy. It was there that he first met dGe 'dun grub (1391–1474), who would play a crucial role in the diffusion of Tsong kha pa's lineage in gTsang Province and later would be recognized as the first Dalai Lama." For more details on this important event, see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 282–84 and particularly 443n496. See also Akester, *Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 366–67.

extensively turned the wheel of Dharma, and the Master had come into his presence. He taught guru yoga, the *Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*,[333] the *Aspiration Prayer for Good Conduct*,[334] and gave expositions of the *Fifty* [*Stanzas on*] *the Guru*[335] and the fourteen root downfalls.[336] After his exposition of the first two chapters of the *Root* [*Stanzas on the Middle Way Called*] *Wisdom*[337] was finished, he gave instructions on the six Dharma [Practices] of Nāropa, which the Master wished to hear, but since he had not received the empowerment, he requested the empowerment for the body maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara from Chos rje Gung snang ba[338] and then took notes on [Tsong kha pa's] teaching on the six Dharma [Practices] of Nāropa.[339] After that, the Master also attended his teachings on the last chapter of the *Root* [*Stanzas on the Middle Way Called*] *Wisdom*, on the [*Garland of*] *Previous Lives of the Buddha* composed by Āryaśūra,[340] the *Stages of the Path of Valid Cognition*,[341] and the *Bodhi*[*sattva's*]

[333] Tib. *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa.* For an English translation of the *Lam rim chen mo*, see Tsong-kha-pa, *Great Treatise*.

[334] Tib. *bZang spyod smon lam*, Skt. *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*. For a translation of the *bZang spyod smon lam*, which constitutes the last chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, see Roberts, *Stem Array*, chapter 56.

[335] Tib. *Bla ma lnga bcu pa*, Skt. *Gurupañcaśika* by Aśvaghoṣa (first/second century). This refers to Tsong kha pa's commentary *Bla ma lnga bcu pa'i rnam bshad slob ma'i re ba kun skong*; see also Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 282 and 206–07. For an English translation of this text, see Sparham, *Fulfillment of All Hopes*.

[336] Tib. *rtsa ltung bcu bzhi pa*. This refers to Tsong kha pa's *rTsa ltung rnam bshad* (*gSang sngags kyi tshul khrims rnam bshad dngos grub kyi snye ma*); see also Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 282 and 206–07. For an English translation of this text, see Sparham, *Tantric Ethics*.

[337] This seems to refer to Tsong kha pa's *Rigs pa'i rgya mtsho*, a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, which he composed at the request of the Phag gru ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan and other disciples and brought to completion in 1408; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 230–35. For an English translation of this text, see Samten, *Ocean of Reasoning*.

[338] Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 7:1–2) informs us that Gung snang ba Chos rje mDzes pa dpal ldan acted as Tsong kha pa's attendant at bKra shis rdo kha ("*bkra shis rdo khar gung snang ba chos rje mdzes pa dpal ldan rje'i phyag phyis phebs pa la/*.").

[339] 'Gos Lo tsā ba eventually wrote an instruction manual on the six yogas of Nāropa based on these notes; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 283. Czaja (*Medieval Rule*, 210n15) notes that Tsong kha pa gave his presentation on the six yogas of Nāropa at the request of the Phag gru dignitary bSod nams rgyal mtshan. C.f. $SMON_1$, 34:2–3: "*de nas nā ro chos drug gi khrid gsan/ ji ltar gsung ba bzhin du zin bris mdzad/*."

[340] Tib. *Sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs*. This refers to Āryaśūra's *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* (Skt. *Jātakamālā*). For a translation of this text from the Sanskrit, see for example Khoroche, *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey*. C.f. $SMON_1$, 34:3: "*dpa' bo'i skyes rabs dang po gnyis/*."

[341] Tib. *Tshad ma'i lam rim*, probably referring to Tsong kha pa's *Tshad ma'i lam gyi rim pa'i bsgrigs*.

Confession of Downfalls.[342] From ’Dul ba ’dzin pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan pa,[343] who had also come to serve as [Tsong kha pa’s] attendant, the Master received teachings on the *Stages of the Path of Mantra*,[344] the *Clear Realization of* [*Vajra*]*bhairava*,[345] and the *Supplementary Fire-Offering Rite*.[346] Wondering if there was a transmission lineage for the *Stages of Mantra* similar to that of the sūtric *Stages of the Path*, the Master asked [’Dul ’dzin Grags pa rgyal mtshan], “How is its transmission lineage?”

“I asked rJe [Rin po che] himself about this,” he replied but did not elaborate.[347]

From Chos rje Mi nyag pa,[348] who had come as well, the Master received teachings on the *White Tārā’s Longevity Practice*.[349] “Since in a previous life Mi nyag pa had been the

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[342] Tib. *Byang chub ltung bshags*. This confession rite is included in the *Vinayaviniścayopāliparipṛcchāsūtra* (Toh 68). For an English translation, see UCSB Buddhist Studies Translation Group, *Upāli’s Questions*, 1.43–52. Besides the texts listed here, Jinpa (*Tsongkhapa*, 282–83) also includes Tsong kha pa’s *Drang nges legs bshad snying po*, Śantideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇaviniścaya* in the list of the teachings Tsong kha pa gave at bKra shis rdo kha.

[343] As opposed to Mathes (*A Direct Path*, 136 and 472n716), who understands this to be the Phag gru ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan, I take this to be ’Dul ’dzin Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1374–1434), one of Tsong kha pa’s three main students alongside rGyal tshab rje and mKhas grub rje, in Tibetan referred to as *rin po che rnam pa gsum*; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 365 and 464n695. Las chen Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (*bKa’ gdams chos ’byung*, 444:4–5) also mentions the bKra shis rdo kha teaching event, saying the following: “*de’i ston mi’i dbang po grags pa rgyal mtshan pas gsol ba btab ste/ ’on gyi bkra shis rdo khar ’dul ’dzin grags pa rgyal mtshan ’khor gyi gtso bor gyur pa’i dpon slob nyis brgya lhag par gdan drangs/*.” If Mi’i dbang po Grags pa rgyal mtshan and ’Dul ’dzin Grags pa rgyal mtshan were the same person, the name would unlikely be repeated with two different titles in such close proximity and in the same sentence. Czaja (*Medieval Rule*, 210), too, seems to understand these two to be different persons: “Just one year later, in autumn of the year 1415, the *dbang* Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1375–1432) invited him [i.e., Tsong kha pa] to come to bKra shis rdo kha in ’On. A reception party of more than two hundred monks headed by the *’dul ’dzin pa* Grags pa rgyal mtshan escorted him to this place.”

[344] Tib. *gSang sngags lam rim*. This is Tsong kha pa’s *sNgags rim chen mo*.

[345] Tib. *’Jigs byed kyi mngon rtogs*. This probably refers to Tsong kha pa’s Vajrabhairava sādhana *rDo rje ’jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs bdud las rnam rgyal*, which he composed in 1405; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 213 and 432n365.

[346] Tib. *Lhan thabs sbyin sreg gi cho ga*. This is most likely Tsong kha pa’s fire-offering rite *rDo rje ’jigs byed kyi sbyin bsreg dngos grub rgya mtsho* that accompanies his previously mentioned Vajrabhairava sādhana; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 213 and 432n365.

[347] C.f. $SMON_1$, 34:6: “*bdag gis rje rang la zhus pa yin gsungs* [text: *gsung*] *nas rgyas par mi gsung bar ’dug gsung*/.”

[348] Las chen (*bKa’ gdams chos ’byung*, 445:1) refers to this master as Mi nyag Rin rgyal. See also Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, 210n15.

[349] C.f. $SMON_1$, 34:6–7: “*der chos rje mi nyag pa yang rje’i sku mdun du phebs byung pas sgrol dkar gyi tshe sgrub gsan/*.”

mother of a previous incarnation of rJe Rin po che," the Master said, "they were very close." When the Master taught rJe Rin po che's life story, he said:[350]

> When rJe Rin po che spent a night at the foot of the Mo pass in gNyal,[351] he saw Lord Maitreya, his body about the size of a mountain range, saying to him as in a prophecy, "Child of the lineage, know that [your activities] will be as if the Buddha himself were coming into this world." When he went to perform the purification ceremony (*gso sbyong*), he felt as if all the mountains were trembling. A group of ordinary people who were not part of the purification ceremony and watched from a distance could not help but develop faith in him.
>
> When the Lord of Secrets[352] spoke to Karmavajra, he said, "Not even I can fathom the extent of [Tsong kha pa's] qualities."[353] There is no praise greater than this, and yet his followers do not appreciate the *Supreme Medicinal Nectar: Responses to Queries*[354] that much. Generally speaking,[355] rJe Rin po che came to tame disciples who were biased. The philosophical systems, too, emerged because of the disciples' [different] mental inclinations. For example, when he taught his *Distinguishing Provisional and Definitive*[356] in that place, he said to the assembly, "One way to

[350] Taken from C.f. $SMON_1$, 35:1: "*rje rin po che'i rnam thar gsung ba na* …."

[351] gNyal lies in the region of Lho kha in southern Tibet.

[352] I.e., Vajrapāṇi.

[353] This appears to be a free quotation from the *Zhus lan sman mchog bdud rtsi'i phreng ba* (see the following note 354), where this sentence reads as follows: "*kho bo phyag na rdo rjes kyang 'di'i yon tan dpag par mi nus/*." Tsong kha pa, *Zhu lan sman mchog bdud rtsi'i phreng ba*, 236:3–4.

[354] Tib. *Zhus lan bdud rtsi'i sman mchog*. My translation of the tile follows that of Jinpa (*Tsongkhapa*, 479). In 1395, Tsong kha pa traveled to Lho brag in southern Tibet to meet the rNying ma/bKa' gdams meditator Lho brag sGrub chen Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1326–1401). Initially a student rGyal sras Thogs med, he became famous for his visions of Vajrapāṇi. At Tsong kha pa's request, sGrub chen consulted Vajrapāṇi to clarify some questions Tsong kha pa had about the correct view of emptiness, and in this visionary encounter Vajrapāṇi addresses sGrub chen as Karmavajra (Tib. Las kyi rdo rje), his tantric name. sGrub chen then committed Vajrapāṇi's instructions to writing, which resulted in the *Zhus lan sman mchog bdud rtsi'i phreng ba*. This work is included in both Lho brag sGrub chen's and Tsong kha pa's collected works. The point of controversy among Tsong kha pa's followers seems to pertain to the fact that this text contains multiple explicit references to rDzogs chen; see Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 141–42, 144–48, and 422n250. This text is often used by non-dGe lugs authors to show that Tsong kha pa's ultimate view of emptiness is similar to that of rDzogs chen; see Jinpa, *Self, Reality and Reason*, 20. See also Ricard, *Life of Shabkar*, 25n61.

[355] Taken from C.f. $SMON_1$, 35:6: "*lar gyis rje rin po che de* …."

[356] Tib. *Drang nges rnam 'byed*, short for *Drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par 'byed pa legs bshad snying po*.

> distinguish provisional and definitive that does not contradict the explanations I gave here is taught in the *Sublime Continuum of the Great Vehicle*."[357] Since there was no vessel for that [teaching] among the disciples, not even one person offered a maṇḍala and made a supplication when such words manifested in the enlightened activity of someone like rJe [Rin po che].[358] I myself[, however,] gained great insights consistent with my abilities. Regarding how to properly analyze the teachings with one's discriminating awareness rather than just leaving it at what one has learned, and what everyday conduct is concerned, I have faith only in rJe [Rin po che].[359]

In the winter of the sheep year (1415), the Master wanted to study the Kālacakra, so he made a request to Lama rKyang chen pa, who said, "For that, you must receive instructions on the six-branch yoga." When the Master stayed in a place like bSam gtan gling, he asked [rKyang chen pa] to bestow these instructions upon him. He replied, "I do not give instructions."

"Well, whom may I ask then?" the Master inquired.

"Ask at 'Ju lHa khang stengs," he responded.

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[357] See also Mathes, *Direct Path*, 428n85.

[358] Following $SMON_1$, 36:2: "*rje 'dra ba'i 'phrin las la gsung de byung ba'i dus su*."

[359] For alternative translations of parts of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's teaching on Tsong kha pa's *rnam thar*, see Mathes, *gZhan stong View*, 299; Mathes, *Direct Path*, 136; Mathes *gZhon nu dpal's Extensive Commentary*, 82n19; and Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 443–44n496 and 283. C.f. $SMON_1$, 35:1–36:4: "*rje rin po ches gnyal gyi mo la'i la rtsar bzhugs pa'i dus su rje btsun byams pa ri rgyud tsam zhig gzigs/ rigs kyi bu/ sangs rgyas 'jig rten du byon pa 'dra ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *'ong bar shes par gyis shig gsungs* [text: *gsung*] *nas lung bstan par 'dug ste/ sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa 'di la sangs rgyas 'jig rten du byon pa rang du byon/ khong gso sbyong la phebs pa'i skabs su ri 'di thams cad 'gul zhing yod pa snyam byed pa nges par 'ong bar 'dug/ de la nges par ye shes pa 'babs kyi yod par 'dug/ gso sbyong la mi dbang pa'i skye bo tha mal pa rnams pha tshad nas dad pas legs par blta bar 'dug pa rnams kyang dad pa rang dbang med par skyes 'ong ba yin/ phyag na rdo rjes las kyi rdo rje la gsungs ba na/ rje rin po che'i yon tan gyi mtha' phyag na rdo rje rang gis kyang mi rtogs par gsungs/ rje'i yon tan brjod pa la de bas che ba mi 'dug ste rjes 'jug pa rnams zhus lan bdud rtsi sman mchog de la rtsis* [text: *tshis*] *mi mdzad par 'dug/ lar gyis rje rin po che des gdul bya phyogs gcig pa tsho zhig* [text: *cig*] *'dul byon par 'dug/ grub pa'i mtha' rnams kyang gdul bya'i bsam pa'i dbang gis byung ba yin/ drang nges rnam 'byed gsung ba'i skabs su da ltar gyi 'dir bshad pa dang 'gal ba min pa'i drang nges kyi 'byed lugs shig theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma nas bshad 'dug ces tshogs su gsung ste/ gdul bya rnams la de'i las med pas rje 'dra ba'i 'phrin las la gsung de byung ba'i dus su maṇḍala phyul nas gsol ba 'debs mi gcig* [text: *cig*] *kyang ma byung gsung/ de dus nged rang gi kha 'khos la dpes pa'i blo bskyed shin tu* [text: *du*] *che bar byung gsung/ thos pa tsam la mi 'jog par rang gi shes rab kyis gsung rab la legs par dpyod pa dang 'phral gyi mdzad pa'i tshul rnams rje kho na la thugs dad pa yin no//*."

"Would it be fine if you wrote a letter with the request to bestow instructions upon me?" the Master asked.

"Of course, he is my teacher,"[360] [rKyang chen pa] said.

When the Master set out to make a request at lHa khang stengs, bringing the letter [rKyang chen pa] had written with him, [rKyang chen pa] told him, "Take provisions with you and go." Then he left, taking along provisions.

[At lHa khang stengs, rKyang chen pa's teacher] bestowed upon him the supreme empowerment of Kālacakra and taught him what comes after withdrawal and concentration[361] in the six-branch yoga in the form of experiential instructions (*nyams khrid*).

As soon as he had finished receiving the reading transmission of the *Illuminating the Secret Point: An Introduction* [*to the* Vajrayoga *of the Profound Path*][362] and the empowerments for the *Guru as the Gathering of Secrets*[363] and the *Skull Garland Display*,[364] he invited Lama rKyang chen pa Śākyaśrī to Chu mig dgon gsar, where the latter then taught the glorious *Kālacakratantra* together with a commentary[365] by relying on the outline and annotations of 'Jam dbyangs chos mgon pa.[366] When he warned the Master very insistently of the danger that obstacles may appear, the Master said,

> I listened sincerely. sLob dpon Chos dbang was there as my companion, but as soon as the teachings began, he fell asleep. When the explanations ended after twenty-

[360] This seems to refer to lHa khang stengs pa Sangs rgyas rin chen, who was a disciple of Jo nang Phyogs las rnam rgyal, Dol po pa, and Lama Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan; see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 136–37 and 415.

[361] Tib. *sor bsam* is a contraction of *sor sdud dang bsam gtan*, the first two practices of *sbyor drug*; see note 196.

[362] Tib. [*Zab lam rdo rje'i rnal 'byor gyi*] *ngo sprod gsang don rab gsal*, a work on the six yogas of Kālacakra by Jo nang Phyogs las rnam rgyal.

[363] Tib. *Bla ma gsang 'dus* is a *gter ma* cycle rediscovered by the rNying ma master Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212–70). My translation of this title follows that of Dorje and Kapstein in Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School*, bibliography, 239.

[364] Tib. *Thod phreng rtsal*. Pad ma thod phreng rtsal is another name of Padmasambhava; see Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School*, 471.

[365] This probably refers to the *Vimalaprabhā* (Tib. *Dri med 'od*).

[366] 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi mgon po was a teacher of rKyang chen pa; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 535–36. He was also a disciple of Dol po pa and authored the latter's *rnam thar* entitled *Chos rje kun mkhyen chen po'i rnam thar bde chen gsal sgron zhes bya ba bal po'i paṇḍita chen po mkhas mchog rje btsun maṇika śrījñānas mdzad pa'i rnam bshad chen po dge legs nor bu'i 'phreng ba*. I thank Dhondrup Tsering (China Tibetology Research Center) for pointing this out to me.

eight days, I gained great insights through the blessings, although it was more like a reading transmission.

Prior to that, the Master had looked into a work by Chos rje rGyal tshab Rin po che on the identification of great bliss (*bde chen*) in the unsurpassable Secret Mantra and found it to be agreeable.[367] On one occasion, he analyzed [rGyal tshab rje's text in the presence of rKyang chen pa],[368] saying, "This is good, but the great bliss in there is not the other bliss, and it is not that either." Then he told [rKang chen pa] how, in his view, [the great bliss in rGyal tshab rje's text] should be identified as the melting bliss (*zhu bde*). [rKyang chen pa] replied, "That does not work. There is something called the 'sixteenth,' which neither belongs to the bright fortnight [characterized by] desire nor to the dark fortnight [characterized by] the absence of desire."[369] The Master felt a strong conviction in these words. He told me,

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[367] In a later episode, we are told that 'Gos Lo tsā ba approached rGyal tshab Rin po che and received a reading transmission of a recitation practice associated with Mañjuśrī around 1431 ("*chos rje rgyal tshab rin po che gnas rnying la thegs pa'i rtsis gnang nas phebs/ mnyan po gnas su zhag gcig bzhugs pa'i sku mdun du byon nas rje btsun 'jam dbyangs kyi bzlas lung zhig gsan/*." ZHWA, 240:2–4). See also Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung,* 3:2–3. Note that Mathes (*gZhan stong View*, 300) takes rGyal tshab Rin po che to be the agent of the verb *gzigs* and then understands the following passage to be a conversation between rGyal tshab rje and 'Gos Lo tsā ba. Based on this reading, Mathes (in 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal, *De kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long*, x) states that 'Gos Lo tsā ba "had a low opinion of Tsong kha pa's student rGyal tshab rje" by drawing on this passage. See also Mathes, *gZhan stong View*, 301, and Mathes, *Direct Path*, 136. However, with the manuscript $SMON_1$ available to us, we can determine that rGyal tshab Rin po che was the author of the text that 'Gos Lo tsā ba looked into and was on the contrary very fond of, that this passage is in fact a conversation between 'Gos Lo tsā ba and rKyang chen pa, and that rGyal tshab Rin po che is not present: "*chos rje rgyal tshab rin po ches gsang sngags kyi bde chen gyi ngos 'dzin gyi yig cha zhig* [text: *cig*] *mdzad pa gzigs pas de la thugs shin tu* [text: *du*] *'gro bar byung nas rkyang chen pa'i drung du de legs pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *'dug* …." $SMON_1$ (37:6–7). For the entire passage in $SMON_1$, see note 370 below.

[368] C.f. $SMON_1$ (37:7): "*rkyang chen pa'i drung du de legs pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *'dug/ de na bde chen de bde ba yang min/ 'di yang min zhes mtha' rnam par dpyad nas …*."

[369] This exchange between 'Gos Lo tsā ba and rKyang chen pa alludes to an aspect of the Kālacakra system and the six-branch yoga, according to which the semen (Tib. *khu ba*, Skt. *śukra*) moves in a cycle through the body of the male practitioner. This cycle is likened to the waxing and waning phases of the moon, and it begins with the semen ascending from the left foot in the first fifteen days of the lunar month (Tib. *dkar phyogs*, Skt. *śuklapakṣa*), after which it reaches the crown. At this point, the yogin of the six-branch yoga practices the fifth branch—i.e., recollection (Tib. *rjes dran*, Skt. *anusmṛti*). When, by means of a consort, the inner heat (Tib. *gtum mo*, Skt. *caṇḍālī*) in the navel cakra is ignited, the semen in the crown melts and begins to descend, and the practitioner experiences the four joys (Tib. *dga' ba*, Skt. *ānanda*) as it flows downward from cakra to cakra. On the sixteenth day, the semen reaches the tip of the penis, and if it is released, that initiates the period in which

That alone was enough for me, [and yet] I was of no great service to him at that time.[370] Chos rje [rKyang chen pa][371] was very unpretentious: Since Lama Chos rdzong ba was teaching some people about maṇḍala lines, I asked rKyang chen pa if he could also give me teachings about maṇḍala lines. He replied, "I know nothing about it," and did not teach me.

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desire is absent—the period of the waning moon (Tib. *nag phyogs*, Skt. *kṛṣṇapakṣa*)—which is to be avoided; see Orofino, *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, 135–36. See also Vienna Buddhist Translation Studies Group, *Summary of Empowerment*, introduction, 1.80–84, and 1.105–111. Moreover, in mKhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho's (1423–1513) Kālacakra commentary, we find: "Next, full and perfect enlightenment by single instances. In the line 'The instance at the end and beginning of desire and nondesire,' the word 'desire' refers to the bright side of the month, and its 'end' refers to the sixteenth. […] 'Nondesire' refers to the dark side of the month, and its 'beginning' means not having entered the dark side and is the time of full and perfect enlightenment. […] To explain this passage a little, 'Full and perfect enlightenment by single instances' refers to instances of unchanging bliss. How is it attained? In the outer world the waxing period or bright side of the moon is divided into fifteen sections, and although in reality there is no sixteenth after these fifteen, a sixteenth is mentally created at the point of entry into the first division of the dark side. Therefore 'at the end' of the bright side is the sixteenth part. Likewise, internally from the large toe of the left foot to the crown, the increase in the white part of the drops is divided into sixteen, and the last of these 'refers to the sixteenth.' On the path, the bodhicitta descends from the crown to the tip of the vajra jewel to create the sixteen joys, at the end of which the first instance of unchanging bliss is formed and increases until its last increase, at the end of which full and perfect buddhahood is attained. This is 'full and perfect enlightenment by single instances.'" Kilty, *Ornament of Stainless Light*, 560–61. C.f. Mathes, *gZhan stong View*, 300n35 and 300–01n36.

[370] C.f. SMON$_1$, 37:2–38:3: "*bla ma rkyang chen pa chu mig dgon gsar du spyan drangs nas dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud 'grel pa dang bcas pa/ chos mgon pa'i sa bcad mchan dang sbrags nas gsungs/ bar chad byung ba'i dpe yod gsungs* [text: *gsung*] *nas zhag nyi shu rtsa brgyad la dus 'khor gyi bshad pa tshang bar gsan/ rkyang chen pa de thugs kyi spros pa shin tu* [text: *du*] *chung ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *bzhugs/ bla ma chos rdzong pas mi kha yar zhig* [text: *cig*] *la dkyil 'khor gyi thig bslab cing 'dug pas rkyang chen pa'i drung du nga la dus 'khor gyi thig cig slob par zhu zhus pas ngas mi shes gsungs* [text: *gsung*] *nas ma gnang gsung/ zhag nyi shu rtsa brgyad la dus 'khor gyi bshad pa rdzogs pas lung lta bur byung na'ang byin brlabs kyis thugs bskyed shin tu* [text: *du*] *che bar byung gsung/ chos rje rgyal tshab rin po ches gsang sngags sngags kyi bde chen gyi ngos 'dzin gyi yig cha zhig* [text: *cig*] *mdzad pa gzigs pas de la thugs shin tu* [text: *du*] *'gro bar byung nas/ rkyang chen pa'i drung du de legs pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *'dug/ de na bde chen de bde ba yang min/ 'di yang min zhes mtha' rnam par dpyad nas zhu bde la ngos bzung 'dug zhus pas/ rkyang chen pa'i zhal nas des mi 'ong chags pa dkar po'i phyogs kyang ma yin/ chags bral nag po'i phyogs kyang ma yin pa'i bcu drug pa zer ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *yod pa yin gsung bas gsung de la thugs ches pa lhag par 'khrungs nas gsung de gcig pu rang gis chog par yod gsung/ de res zhabs tog ni che ba ma grub ngas chos gzhungs nas nyan/ nga'i zla la slob dpon chos dbang yod pas khong ni chos la zug 'phral du gnyid la 'gro zhing 'dug/*." Note the different order of events in this edition.

[371] C.f. SMON$_1$, 37:3–4: "*rkyang chen pa de thugs kyi spros pa shin tu* [text: *du*] *chung ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *bzhugs/*."

In the summer of that year (1415), rKyang chen pa and his disciple [’Gos Lo tsā ba] went to lHa khang stengs, where they received seven empowerments for the sand maṇḍala of the glorious Kālacakra and the entire empowerment of the greatly exalted one, the lord and vajra master,[372] [from lHa khang stengs pa].[373] When rKyang chen pa received the reading transmission of the *Ocean of Definitive Meaning*[374] composed by the Great Omniscient One of Jo nang, the Master received it on the side as well. Since his knowledge of Sūtra and Mantra reached perfection, he always spent his time in conversations about the Dharma with other spiritual masters.

[372] Tib. *gong ma chen po rdo rje slob dpon bdag po’i dbang* refers to the last part of the vase empowerment (*bum dbang*); see Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 159–60 and Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School*, 354.

[373] C.f. $SMON_1$, 38:3–4: “*de’i dbyar de rkyang chen pa dang dpon slob gnyis kyis lha khang stengs su thegs nas lha khang stengs pa la dus ’khor gyi dbang yongs su rdzogs par gsan/*.”

[374] Tib. [*Ri chos*] *nges don rgya mtsho* by Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan. For an English translation of this text, see Hopkins, *Mountain Doctrine*.

6. Concluding Remarks

The aim of this thesis was to present the first part of ’Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal’s *rnam thar*, written by his direct disciple Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes, an eminent master of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, whose influence, as we have seen, reached far beyond the religious sphere. Both ’Gos Lo tsā ba and the 4th Zhwa dmar pa in fact had close ties to the ruling aristocrats of the Phag gru dynasty. Based on the translated passage, I intended to highlight ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s youth, education, and teachers during his formative years. The masters he studied with during his early years include figures such as sTon Śāk pa, rKyang chen pa Śākyaśrī, Sangs rgyas brtan pa, the 5th Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa, lHa khang stengs pa Sangs rgyas rin chen, Sangs grags pa, Shes rab dar ba, bSam bzang pa, and so forth. Particularly worth mentioning is Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, whom ’Go Lo tsā ba seems to have admired greatly, given that he speaks favorably of him on several occasions in his *rnam thar*.[375] ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s early involvement in important religious circles has become evident for example from the fact that he, being just twenty-three years old, attended the important teaching event at bKra shis rdo kha led by Tsong kha pa, where also some of the Phag gru aristocrats were present.

With regard to the philosophical treatises ’Gos Lo tsā ba was exposed to in the period I have analyzed, we find an emphasis on his early exposure to the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, commentaries on this text by Asaṅga and Dol po pa, Dol po pa’s *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho*[376]—all connected to the teachings of the third wheel of Dharma and its fundamental teachings on buddha-nature as being of definitive meaning—and the *Kālacakratantra*. ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s philosophical view is, however, not to be classified as *gzhan stong*, as Mathes concludes in his analysis of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s extensive *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary *De kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba’i me long*.[377] Furthermore, ’Gos Lo tsā ba obviously studied the great classical Indian treatises as well in this period such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, the

[375] Chos grags ye shes also reports another of ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s teachers, Sems dpa’ chen po Kun bzang, to have been a great admirer of Tsong kha pa in ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s *rnam thar*. In tears, Sems dpa’ chen po said to ’Gos Lo tsā ba in 1431, “Had I not met the precious rJe Tsong kha pa, I could have died of thirst for Dharma.” (“*rje rin po che dang ma mjal na skom dril ’chi bar ’dug pa/ sku drin la gsungs nas spyan chab mang du ’byon gyi ’dug*.” ZHWA, 238:11–13). Translation by Jinpa (*Tsongkhapa*, 258).

[376] For a description of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan’s stance on buddha-nature with reference to his *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho* and *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary entitled *Legs bshad nyi ma’i ’od zer*, see Mathes, *Direct Path*, 75–84.

[377] Mathes, *gZhan stong View*, 308–09. See also Mathes, *Direct Path*, 351–66.

Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, and the *Catuḥśataka* etc., as well as several *blo sbyong* works. On many occasions, we can observe an emphasis on ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s intelligence, talent, and diligence in his textual studies, not being satisfied by merely hearing the many teachings he received from his various masters.[378] Chos grags ye shes even reports ’Gos Lo tsā ba having said that he will not stop studying until he has reached enlightenment![379]

Chos grags ye shes also mentions a series of places, which ’Gos Lo tsā ba frequented in his formative years, such as the monasteries of sPyan g.yas, rTsed thang, Chos sdings, Thang sag, sKyor mo lung, etc. From early on, ’Gos Lo tsā ba traveled through central Tibet, visiting important monastic establishments in the course of his studies, which he undertook in the prevalent study model of his time, the “monastic round” (*grwa skor*).[380] Rather than studying mainly at monastic institutions affiliated with one specific Tibetan tradition, as is commonly the case today both in Tibet and in Tibetan exile in India and Nepal, the study model prevalent in central Tibet during ’Gos Lo tsā ba’s time appears to have not been so much tradition-oriented. It seems to have been rather geared toward individual monasteries, which ’Gos Lo tsā ba and other great masters of his time such as Tsong kha pa would visit in the course of their *grwa skor* tours to study a particular subject there, engage in debates, or seek out a specific master known for his explanations and teachings on a certain text or subject.

One factor that contributed to scholars such as ’Gos Lo tsā ba and Tsong kha pa being able to detach from a single religious institution and move relatively freely between the leading monastic centers of their time were certainly the economic and religio-sociological developments during the fifteenth century in Tibet. The Sino-Tibetan trade, for example, was flourishing during this period. Among other things, Tibetan horses enjoyed great popularity in China; they were purchased for large sums and later used for military purposes, while Tibetans were interested in Chinese tea. The accelerating trade, together with the influx of silver into Tibet, made many Tibetans very rich, especially in the eastern border regions.[381] The pool of possible sponsors, traditionally mainly aristocratic families, was thus opened up, and new-rich merchants became a financially attractive alternative for the Tibetan clergy.

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[378] See ZHWA (270:15–16): “*de ltar bla ma du ma la chos kyi rnam* [text: *rnams*] *grangs mang du gsan yang/ thos pas mi ngoms pa* ….”

[379] See ZHWA (270:16–17): “*zhal snga nas/ nga thos rgya de chung/ mthong rgya de ’bring yin/ nga’i slob gnyer sangs ma rgyas kyi bar du mi tshar gsung*.”

[380] See note 12 above.

[381] Sernesi, *Introduction*, xii–xiii.

The most influential aristocratic family during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century in central Tibet were the Rlangs Phag mo gru pa, whose most successful ruler Mi dbang Grags pa rgyal mtshan ruled in a long and stable rule of forty-seven years (1385–1432), which not only coincided with the rise of Tsong kha pa and thus allowed him to flourish,[382] but also with the early years and formative period of ’Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal.

[382] See Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa*, 13–14 and 57.

Tibetan Edition of the Translated Text

Chos grags ye shes's biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba entitled *A Tree on Which Precious Qualities Grow Abundantly*[383] is currently available in the following editions:

1. Handwritten *dbu can* manuscript (Cultural Palace of Nationalities catalogue no. 003265(5), 130 folios, unpublished)[384]
2. Scan from a photocopy of an *dbu can* manuscript, probably written with gold or silver ink (BDRC W1PD90154)[385]
3. Modern typeset edition, published by Mi rigs dpe skrun khang as an independent work in 2004 (BDRC W28960)[386]
4. Modern typeset edition, published by Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang in 2009 as part of Chos grags ye shes's collected works[387]
5. Modern typeset edition, published by Krung go'i shes rig dpe skrung khang in 2018 together with the other *rnam thar* written by sMon lam grags pa and 'Gos Lo tsā ba's biography of Vanaratna[388]

For the creation of the translation and edition I have also relied on sMon lam grags pa's *mKhan po rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa skyes mchog pas mdzad pa*, which is available in the following two versions:

1. Scan from a handwritten *dbu med* manuscript, 73 folios (BDRC W26618)[389]
2. Modern typeset edition published in 2018 (see above)[390]

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[383] The full Tibetan title is *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa*.

[384] See van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 282. Unfortunately, for the time being, this manuscript is not openly available and could therefore not be consulted for this edition.

[385] In this thesis abbreviated as $ZHWA_1$. I follow van der Kuijp's abbreviation of Chos grags ye shes's work as ZHWA in his article *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*.

[386] In this thesis abbreviated as $ZHWA_2$. This edition is based on the *dbu can* manuscript housed in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing, China; see van der Kuijp, *Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba*, 282.

[387] In this thesis abbreviated as $ZHWA_3$.

[388] In this thesis abbreviated as ZHWA.

[389] In this thesis abbreviated as $SMON_1$. Note that I follow the added modern Arabic parage numbers in the scan.

[390] In this thesis abbreviated as SMON.

Since Chos grags ye shes heavily drew on sMon lam grags pa's biography when penning his biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba as explained above, I have also consulted sMon lam grags pa's work for the creation of this Tibetan edition. Since it does, however, contain passages that diverge from Chos grags ye shes's text, I did not include the page numbers of SMON and $SMON_1$ in the main body of the edition. Otherwise, all page changes in the other sources (ZHWA, $ZHWA_1$, $ZHWA_2$, and $ZHWA_3$) are indicated in square brackets.

The newest edition published in 2018 (ZHWA)—the main source of the edition I prepared—contains several suggested corrections in brackets, which I did not mark separately and instead simply considered as part of that edition. Format, punctuation, and indentation also follow ZHWA. Following the (extended) Wylie system of transliteration, the *shad*s are transliterated with / and the *rin chen spungs shad* with |. To avoid an overly long critical apparatus, I did not emend *pa* and *ba*. In the footnotes, I used the following abbreviations:

- *conj.* – conjecture
- *add.* – added
- *om.* – omitted

This does not make any claims to be a proper critical edition, in particular because only one manuscript source of Chos grags ye shes's work ($ZHWA_1$) was available to me and because I also relied on modern editions that already contain emendations. The main intention behind the creation of this edition was to provide the reader of this study with the Tibetan original and facilitate a parallel reading of my translation and the Tibetan source text without needing to consult other materials. The available manuscripts and editions contain several scribal errors, which I have tried my best to correct. I mainly followed the 2018 edition (ZWHA), and when I came across spelling mistakes there, I emended them based on the other editions available to me and indicated the variant spellings in the footnotes or alternatively suggested a better reading (marked by "*conj.*" in the footnotes) of the respective word or syllable if none of the editions contained the correct spelling. Besides that, I refrained from recording all variant readings in the different editions when I deemed ZHWA to be correct.

@#//dpal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa
don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi
rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu
rgyas pa'i ljon pa zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [ZHWA$_1$, 1b]

zhwa dmar chos kyi grags pas mdzad/

thugs rje mtshungs pa med pa'i bla ma dang sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la gus pa chen pos phyag 'tshal lo//

sngon gyi bskal pa mang por rlabs chen tshogs gnyis spyod pa du ma spyad pa las// /sku tshe 'dir yang gzhon nu nyid nas byang chub sems dpa'i rigs kyi rtags rnams dang| /skye bas thob pa'i mkhyen rab phul byung ldog pa med pa'i brtson 'grus phun tshogs pas/ snyigs ma'i dus su thub dbang bstan pa yongs su rdzogs pa'i dpal mnga' la phyag 'tshal/ /gang gi mkhyen pas gsung rab dgongs 'grel dang bcas phyogs 'dir bzhugs rnams kun mkhyen nas/ /gzhan la brtse bas legs bshad mtha' dag dpe mkhyud med par brtse ba'i dgongs pas rjes su ston/ /rgyal [ZHWA, 178] ba'i 'phrin las 'phel ba la dgyes mdo sngags rtsom pa'i 'phrin las rmad du byung// mchog gi bla ma lung rtogs yon tan khur gyis lci bas bla ma'i bla mar 'dud//

rje btsun rnam thar bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i//
rin chen ljon pa mdor bstan yal ga [ZHWA$_2$, 2] rnams//
rgyal bshad 'dab ma 'bras bzang du mas mdzes//
dad mos sa chen spo las mngon par 'khrungs//

de yang bdag cag gi yongs su 'dzin pa chen po de ni/ sku'i skye ba snga ma mang por rlabs po che'i spyod pa rab tu spyad pa/ sku'i skye ba 'dir yang kha na ma tho ba med pa'i rigs su 'khrungs pa/ rgyal ba rnams kyi rjes su zhugs pa yongs su rdzogs pa/ sngon gyi dge ba'i [ZHWA$_1$, 2a] bag chags bzang pos rigs sad pa'i skyes bu chen po/ mkhas shing grub pa'i skyes bu drug bcu rtsa drug la brten nas thos bsam phyogs med du mdzad pa/ rnam par dag pa'i dam tshig la nan tan du mdzad [ZHWA$_3$, 460] pas bla ma rnams kyis byin gyis brlabs pa/ bsams pa las byung ba'i shes rab kyi klong phyogs med du brdol ba/ yon tan thams cad la gong nas gong du 'gyur legs par thon pa/ mtho dman gyi skye bo thams cad la sngon ji lta ba bzhin du 'grogs pa'i gzhung bzang ba/ mched grogs dang slob ma dang 'khor dang nye du'i phyogs su bzod

pa’i go cha sra ba/ chos zab mo la bzod pa[391] rab tu thob pa/ pha rol tu phyin pa dang gsang sngags kyi phyogs la po ti ’di tsam zhig mkhyen pa yin zer ba’i tshad sus kyang bzung bar mi nus pa/ spobs [ZHWA, 179] pa’i mtha’ gang la’ang gtugs pa med pa/ bas mtha'i gnas rnams su bzhugs te zab pa dang rgya che ba’i chos kyi ’khor lo rab tu bskor nas gdul bya yongs su smin par mdzad pa/ ’jig rten gyi gtam sna tshogs la gtso bor mi mdzad par dam pa’i chos kyi ’bel ba’i gtam kho nas dus ’da’ bar mdzad pa/

dge ba’i bshes gnyen su la’ang phrag mi dog par yang dag pa’i bstod pa mdzad pa/ dman pa rnams la’ang brnyas par mi mdzad pa/ sku’i spyod pa rnams shin tu gtsang ba/ mdzad spyod thams cad mtha’ gnyis dang [ZHWA$_2$, 3] bral bar spyod pa/ ’jig rten gyi rnam g.yeng thams cad je chung je chung la btang nas bya bral gyi brtul zhugs je bzang je bzang du gtong ba/ bsam gyis mi khyab pa’i mkhyen pa mnga’ yang tha mal pa ltar mdzad pa/ gdul bar bya ba ji snyed pa’i rgyud dam pa'i chos dang ci ’byor du sbyor ba/ snyan pa’i grags pas phyogs kun du khyab pas che dgu thams cad kyis zhabs kyi pad+mar phyag byas pa/ mi mthun pa’i phyogs thams cad sgyu ma lta bu dang rjes su mthun pa’i ting nge ’dzin gyis bzlog par nus pa/ spyir snyigs ma’i dus ’dir sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la bya ba rgya chen po dang/ bye brag tu ’gyur dang yig ’jog mang du gnang bas bstan pa gsal bar mdzad pa/

zab pa dang rgya che ba’i gsung gi rgyun thams cad skyes bu chen po [ZHWA$_1$, 2b] rnams kyis rjes su bzlos pa’i phrin las phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan pa/ gsol ba ji ltar btab pa bzhin du yun du bzhugs par bzhed pa’i thugs rje chen po mnga’ ba/ mnal lam gyi ’jug pa yang sgyu ma’i rnam ’phrul ltar spyod par nus pa/ sgrib pa med pa’i chos kyi sgo phul du byung ba mngon du brnyes pa/ slob ma mchog dman bar ma’i skal ba dang [ZHWA, 180] ’tshams pa’i chos ston pa la ngal ba mi mnga’ ba/ ma ’ongs pa’i dus kyang sems dpa’ chen po’i rnam par thar pa rgyun mi ’chad pa zhes bya ba ni/ rags pa’i sde tshan rnam par dbye ba’i mdor bstan gyi yal gas phyug par gyur pa nyid do//

da ni de rnams rgyas par bshad pa’i ’dab ma rab tu rgyas shing don bzang po’i ’bras bus mngon par brjid pa spros te brjod pa la/ [ZHWA$_2$, 4]

gcig/ sku’i skye ba snga ma mang por rlabs po che’i spyod pa rab tu spyad pa/

sku’i skye ba snga ma mang por rlabs po che’i spyod pa rab tu spyod pa zhes bya ba ni/ grub chen u rgyan pa’i slob ma go lung pa gzhon nu dpal du gyur to zhes bya ba [ZHWA$_3$, 461] dang/ ’jig rten gyi bya ba btang ba’i brtul zhugs la gnas pa sha stag tu ’khrungs pa las ’di ni brgya dang bcu bdun pa yin no/ /zhes lhag pa’i lhas mnal lam du lung bstan pa dang/ bsam yas

[391] par ZHWA.

su phyin pa’i tshe/ khyad par du dad pa ’phel zhing dang po sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa ’dzugs pa’i dus su nges par bya ba rnams la gtogs pa zhig yin bsam pa skye ba zhig yong gin ’dug /su yin ni mi shes/ bstan pa ’dzugs pa’i dus su nges par bsam yas su skyes pa ’dra gsung zhing/ bsam yas bzhengs pa’i lo rgyus dang/ rgyal blon rnams kyi bya ba ji ltar mdzad pa dang/ mkhan po bo d+hi sa twa dang slob dpon pad+ma phebs nas bstan pa btsugs pa dang/ lo tsā ba chen po rnams kyis chos ji ltar bsgyur ba gsung dus spyan chab mang du ’byin zhing/ gus pa’i [ZHWA, 181] rnam ’gyur cher mdzad pa dang/ snar thang nas jo mo nang mjal du thegs pa’i phyir lam/ brag ram du byon/

de na se ba mang du ’dug pa la se ’bru rnams btus/ gtsug lag khang der thegs nas bzhugs pas de’i tho skor gyi skye bo rnams kyis rtsam pa dang dar ba la sogs mang du khyer nas ’bul du byung/ der phebs ma thag nas de rnams su shin tu bag phebs pa dang yul yin pa snyam byed pa dang/ gtsug lag khang de’i nang du thegs pa tsam gyis sngar ’dris rgyus yod pa snyam byed pa dang/ ka gdung ’di rnams su yang chos kyi bshad pa la [ZHWA$_1$, 3a] sogs pa chos phyogs kyi bya ba mang po zhig bdag gis byas pa yin snyam pa’ang yun ring bar byung/ [ZHWA$_2$, 5] brag ram der yang nges par skyes pa ’dra gsung/

’ju lha khang stengs su bzhugs pa’i tshe bla ma bkra shis bsod nams pa zhes bya ba’i rnal ’byor gyi dbang phyug skyes bu dam pa/ dus kyi ’khor lo la sogs pa’i sku yon tan shin tu che ba/ khrid kyis gdul bya smin par mdzad pa de la sogs pa la chos gsungs pa’i tshe khong gi gsung nas/ drung pa bcom ldan rig[392] ral yin snyam du yang yang nyams la ’ong ba zhig byung zhus par ’dug cing/ bdag gi bla ma mtshungs med nam mkha’ blo gros kyi zhal snga nas ni/ kho bo’i bla ma dam pa ’di dpal phag mo grub pa dpon slob kyi skor de na bzhugs pa zhig cis kyang yin bsam pa yong gsung/ chos rje rin po che lo chen gyi zhal nas/ mdo sngags thams cad la mkhyen pa mtha’ yas shing| lo tsā byang ba dang de’i rtsom pa rnams la’ang dgyes par snang bas/ nges par rong zom chos kyi bzang po’i sku skye yin pa ’dra zhes bdag la yang yang gsung ngo// [ZHWA, 182]

mkhyen pa dang mdzad pa’i tshul gang la brtags kyang sku’i skye ba snga ma mang por nges par sbyangs pa chen po mnga’ ba zhig ste/ rdo rje ’dzin pa chen po slob dpon rdor bzang pa zhes bya ba’i mi phyed pa’i dad pa dang ldan pa de la/ zhal snga nas/ slob dpon pa khyed nga’i yon tan rnams la ci sems gsung/ sku yon tan ngas dpag par ga la nus/ sku skye ’di kho nar sbyangs pa’i sku yon yin bsam pa [ZHWA$_3$, 462] zhig ma byung zhus pas/ ha ha/ de skad byas chog pa lta bur yang ’dug /ngas rgyud bla ma ’di dang por blo la bzung ste zin pa dang go ba mnyam du byung nas slob gnyer gsar du byed ma dgos/ dus phyis su song nas kyang zhib cha kha yar la blo bskyed ni byung/ gzhan dang po rang shar ba de bsgyur ma dgos gsung/ de ’dra

[392] rigs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

ba’i tshul gzhan yang mang du yod pa ’dra zhes slob dpon smon [ZHWA$_2$, 6] lam grags pas/ rje nyid kyi gsung zin bris su btab pa las byung ngo//

gnyis/ sku’i skye ba ’dir yang kha na ma tho ba med pa’i rigs su ’khrungs pa/

sku’i skye ba ’dir yang kha na ma tho ba med pa’i rigs su ’khrungs pa zhes bya ba ni/ zhal snga nas nged tsho bod rgyal po’i blon po ’gos rgan gyi rgyud pa yin/ ’gos yul ’bring mtshams nas chad par ’dug gsung ste/ yab mes snga mo’i dus su dbus su lhags nas/ rgyas[393] sman yang po sar phebs te yang po’i lho’i gad pa [ZHWA$_1$, 3b] ngam pa ’di’i stengs su nged kyi pha mtsher gyi ra ba zhig brtsigs pa yin zer nas bzung pas ngam pa rar grags te/ de nas mang du mched/ yab mes snga mo’i mi zhig ’ju phu’i co btsan gyi [ZHWA, 183] ’khor du skyes nas de mi rnams kyis[394] mthong bar nang du ’ong/ de la lto skom ster/ kho’i lham rdog kyang ’debs dgos/ res lto za ’phro la chu byang khar co btsan dpon g.yog byon zer ’gro ba yang yod/ dus phyi zhig na a mi kun rgyal zhes bya ba byung| de la spun zla bsam rdor dang grags bzang bya ba yod de/ grags bzang[395] gi rgyud da lta’i khyu ma pa ’di rnams yin/ bsam rdor gyi rgyud la bsod rgyal zhes bya ba’i dge bshes blo gsal zhig yod pa la mched zla lta bur dgongs te thugs rjes bzung na’ang gzhon nu la ’das/ yang a mi sangs rgyas skyabs zhes bya ba la bu dpon kun dang slob dpon sangs[396] grags pa gnyis/ gzhan ma mi gcig pa dang gsum byung ba’i dpon kun gyi rgyud rnams ra mo che dang chos ’khor gling sogs skyid shod du gzhi ’chas/

slob dpon sangs[397] grags pa ni yab la longs spyod med par sgye gcig dang phor ba gcig bsnams nas spyan g.yas su byon/ mkhan chen sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan pa’i zhabs la gtugs nas rab tu byung/ sgos kyi slob dpon [ZHWA$_2$, 7] shes rab dpal ba la brten nas spyod ’jug la slob gnyer mdzad pas legs par mkhyen nas/ phyis ’chad nyan kyang mdzad/ dkar nag gi rtsis dang gshin po rjes su ’dzin pa’i cho ga la sogs pa yon tan du ma dang ldan pa byon te/ drug bcu rtsa drug pa bya’i lo la gshegs/

kun rgyal la bu ’byung gnas rdo rje zhes bya ba ’jig rten gyi lo rgyus la sogs smra bzang ba zhig byung ste/ ston ming ston pa ’byung gnas rdo rje zhes kyang bya/ de ’og bsam gtan ’phel te gzhon nu la ’das/ de ’og ston pa tshul khrims bsam grub bo/ ’byung gnas rdo rje dang sri thar skyid gnyis la sras lnga dang sras mo gsum byung ba’i [ZHWA, 184] sras che bas khyim

[393] rgyas *conj.*, rgya ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (68:12), SMON$_1$ (8:5).

[394] kyi ZHWA.

[395] bzangs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$.

[396] sang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (9:4).

[397] sang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (9:5).

bzung ste ring po ma lon par ’das/ de ’og kyang snga mor ’das/ bzhi pa bla ma nam mkha’ dpal [ZHWA$_3$, 463] bzang ste/ thugs rab che zhing skyes bu dam pa mang po’i zhabs la gtugs nas bsgom chos mang du zhus/ lnga pa slob dpon mgon rdor ro// bu mo che [ZHWA$_1$, 4a] ba rdo rje skyid/ de ’og bu ’dren/ de ’og rin chen skyid rnams so//

chos rje rin po che ni sras gsum pa ste/ rgyas[398] sman lha khang gi mda’[399] grong nag mo/ de’i nang nas kyang dbus khyim zhes bya bar chu pho spre’u’i lo la sku bltam pa/ ring po ma lon par yab kyis na bzas btums nas khur te spyan g.yas su byon pa’i lam rtsig kha cig tu bzhugs su bcug nas yab kyis khams bsang ba thugs kyis dran/ de rjes gzhan ni ma dran par snang yang khams shin tu dwangs pa yod pa’i rtags su ’dug gsung/ yab snga mo nas mi lag tu song bas yum gyis legs par bskyangs/ nyin zhig khang pa’i thog na bzhugs pa la yum gyis phyi rol nas rtswa[400] dum zhig khur nas nang du byon pa la dgyes ches te rgyugs pas/ khang pa’i rgya mthongs sum brtsegs la rbab[401] tu lhung ba yum gyis bar snang nas [ZHWA$_2$, 8] bzung bas ci yang ma nyes/ spyir ma ’di drin che/ khyad par nga’i mas nged rnams bskyangs/ de res kyang bar snang nas ma zin na ’chi bar ’dug /drin chen zhes yang dang yang du gsung bar mdzad/

sku lus ngan zhing gcong che ba zhig yod pas sku nye rnams ’dis ’jig rten ni mi pher bar ’dug pas btsun pa ’chol zer ba byung bas/ de dus gcong che ba de bsod nams rang du byung/ de nas klog la thugs sbyang mdzad cing dbyar thog ’ga’i bar du phyugs ma skyong du ri la byon pas/ nyin gcig ri khar lham ya gcig stor bas/ yum zhal tsha ba’i stobs kyis ’thab kyis dogs nas sang zhogs nang du ’tshol [ZHWA, 185] ba skad byas pa/ yum gyis go nas ’bar du byung gsung//

gsum/ rgyal ba rnams kyi rjes su zhugs pa yongs su rdzogs pa/

rgyal ba rnams kyi rjes su zhugs pa yongs su rdzogs pa zhes bya ba ni/ dgung lo dgu bzhes pa ’brug gi lo’i dpyid mkhan chen rin po che sangs rgyas brtan[402] pa zhes bya ba’i skyes bu chen po/ sku btsun pa’i mthar thug pa/ thugs rgyud bzang ba/ byang chub kyi thugs legs par sbyangs pa/ rgyal sras thogs med pa la sogs pa’i skyes bu dam pa mang po’i zhabs la gus par gtugs pa/ bka’ gdams kyi chos lugs ’dzin pa de spyan g.yas dgon pa’i slob [ZHWA$_1$, 4b] dpon

[398] rgyas *conj.*, rgya ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (70:2), SMON$_1$ (10:5).

[399] mnga’ ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$.

[400] rtsa ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[401] sbab ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[402] bstan ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

gyi sar bzhugs[403] pa'i dus su mkhan po zhus shing/ slob dpon la sogs dge 'dun gyi dbus su rab tu byung ba dang dge tshul gyi sdom pa legs par mnos/

dgung lo bcu dgu bzhes pa lcags pho stag gi lo la/ yar lung dpal 'bar yang rtse na sngar gyi mkhan po de nyid dang/ mkhan chen rin po che rgyal bzang pa sku che na'ang thugs shin tu mnyen zhing las chog byang bas las [ZHWA$_2$, 9] kyi slob dpon du gsol ba btab/ bla ma rkyang chen pa la gsang ston zhus/ de dus btsun pa'i mthar thug pa btsan thang pa tshul yes la sogs pas las kyi kha bskang ste slob dpon bsam bzang pa dang dpon slob gnyis kyis bsnyen par rdzogs pa mdzad de/ [ZHWA$_3$, 464] nyan thos kyi theg pa la zhugs pa yongs su rdzogs par gyur to//

chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa karma pa sprul sku chos dpal bzang po dang/ shangs [ZHWA, 186] pa kun mkhyen pa dang/ paN chen ba na rat+na'i drung du byang chub mchog tu thugs bskyed cing/ chos rje gung snang ba la bde mchog dril bu lus dkyil gyi dbang bskur ba nod par mdzad pa'i tshul rgyas par 'og tu bshes gnyen so so bstan pa'i skabs su 'byung ba bzhin no/ /phyis rje rin po che'i gsang sngags lam rim na dang por phyi dkyil du ma zhugs par lus dkyil du zhugs mi rung zhing/ zhugs na 'gal ba chen por gsungs 'dug pa gzigs pas cung zad go rim nor 'dug dgongs na'ang/ rje rang gis kyang dang por gsan pa'i dbang de dril bu lus dkyil du 'dug gsung/ gsang sngags kyi dkyil 'khor du zhugs pa'i thog ma ni de'o//

de ltar sdom pa gsum yongs su rdzogs par thugs rgyud la mnga' zhing nyes ltung phra mo dag kyang mod la sbyong bar mdzad de/ mdor na kha na ma tho ba'i skyon gyis ma gos par bzhugs so//

bzhi/ sngon gyi dge ba'i bag chags bzang pos rigs sad pa'i skyes bu chen po/

sngon gyi dge ba'i bag chags bzang pos rigs sad pa'i skyes bu chen po zhes bya ba ni/ spyir theg pa chen po'i rigs sad/ khyad par sangs rgyas kyi zhing phyi rol yangs pa mngon par rtogs par 'gyur ba'i rigs sad pas nges don gyi chos skad thams cad kyi klong rdol/ mdo sde zab mo rnams kyi [ZHWA$_2$, 10] drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par 'byed pa la thogs pa med par gyur pa yin mod kyi/ 'dir dngos su brjod par [ZHWA, 187] bya ba ni 'phral gyi mdzad pa thams cad stabs yag[404] kyi dbang gis byung ba ma yin gyi| [ZHWA$_1$, 5a] chos kyi rjes su 'brang ba'i rigs sad de mdzad pa thams cad la thugs kyis nges par brtags shing dpyad pa sngon du 'gro ba yin te/

[403] gzhugs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$.

[404] yag *conj.*, yags ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

de yang dang po rtsed[405] thang du grwa skor mdzad pa'i rjes de la/ da de mdun ma ji 'dra zhig mdzad pa legs dgongs nas thugs kyi dpyod pa hur thon pa 'khrungs te/ kha cig slob gnyer byed par 'dug /kha cig nor sgrub par 'dug /kha cig dpon la rten nas mi tshugs sgrub par 'dug ste/ da ngas nor yang mi sogs/ lus la she mong med pas dpon zhig la brten pa'i mi g.yog kyang mi pher bas/ dpe cha shog gu kha yar re lta ba 'di 'ong yang 'ong/ legs kyang legs 'dug pas thag rbad[406] de bcad pa yin/ dus phyis kyi yon tan thams cad kyang sems kyi thag chod de kho na las byung ba yin/ de nas res brtson 'grus chen po ma brtsams par sos dal du lus/ res dum re lta rtog byas te sems de gcig pu'i drin gyis yon tan thams cad byung[407] ba yin pas/ khyed rang rnams kyang ci 'ong legs par sems dgos pa yin zhes gsung ngo//

lnga/ mkhas shing grub pa'i skyes bu drug bcu rtsa drug la brten nas thos bsam phyogs med du mdzad pa/

mkhas shing grub pa'i skyes bu drug bcu rtsa drug la brten nas thos bsam phyogs med du mdzad pa ni/ rab tu byung nas lo gsum gyi bar du dbyar yum gyi las grogs [ZHWA, 188] re tsam mdzad pa ma gtogs spyan g.yas su khu bo slob dpon sangs[408] grags pa'i sar bzhugs te/ byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa [ZHWA$_3$, 465] la 'jug pa la thugs legs par sbyangs/ slob dpon shes rab dar ba zhes bya [ZHWA$_2$, 11] ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa sku nyams su bzhes pa de la'ang spyod 'jug gsan/ de dus dbang grags pa rgyal mtshan bsnyel ba'i sku rim la[409] spyan g.yas pa rnams kyis[410] phogs blangs nas sman bla mang du gtong dgos byung bas/ dang por tshar kha yar gcig dpe thog nas btang pas thugs la zin nas slob dpon sangs[411] grags pa'i dbon po 'di shes rab can zhig 'dug ces grags/ ston pa dbang 'od na re/ drung pa 'di dang po nas thugs rab che ba rang gcig yod pa yin/ nged btsun chung tshos phyi dro skyo bsangs byas nas khyams su phyin pas khyams kyi rtsig ngos la shes rab snying po bris yod pa de bklags pas drung pa 'di na re/ ha ha ngas blo la [ZHWA$_1$, 5b] zin byung gsung/ mi bden byas pas 'o na khyed rang tsho nga'i mig la lag pa khob la ltos shig gsungs nas bton pas/ tshang mar thon byung pa yin zer nas dad par byed 'dug go//

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[405] rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (14:3).

[406] pad ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (14:6).

[407] byang ZHWA.

[408] sang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (74:5), SMON$_1$ (15:3).

[409] las ZHWA.

[410] kyi ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[411] sang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (74:11), SMON$_1$ (15:6).

dgung lo bcu gnyis bzhes pa chu mo lug gi lo'i dgun chos kyi dus su rtses[412] thang du slob gnyer la phebs/ yum gyi nye ba'i phyogs ded nas slob dpon bsam grub bzang po ba'i sar bzhugs/ tshad ma rnam 'grel la thugs sbyangs/ sku na gzhon pa dang grwa pa gzhan su yang mi 'dug pas thugs shin tu skyo bar byung nas/ nga lhags pa 'ur ba zhig gis khyer nas spyan g.yas su sleb byung na dga' ba la snyam pa byung/ slob dpon yang spyan rtsa dmar shig ge ba zhal ngo[413] yang nag pa/ non shin tu che bar 'dug pas 'dis gcig brdung du 'ong dgongs pa byung/ [ZHWA, 189]

de nas shing pho spre'u'i dpyid kyi dus/ mdo lung pa'i phu'i chos sdings dgon par chos bar la thegs/ de dus slob gnyer ba zla bo gcig byung/ bgro gleng brtsis pas dpyid thog de la bgro gleng chags pa ma gtogs phyis gzhan du slob ma dgos/ dbyar de grwa pa dpung che bar 'dus/ [ZHWA$_2$, 12] bya lo la grwa[414] phyi tshong 'dus su grwa tshang thams cad kyis chos bar la byon/ slob dpon ston shAk pa la phar phyin gsan/ phag lo'i bar du tshad ma'i gzhung dang nor bzang TI kA[415] la thugs legs par sbyangs pas rnam 'grel legs par thugs su chud/ de'i bar la slob dpon pa'i phyag 'jug kyang mang du khur/ lan cig sa rub gdong gcig tu phyag bcug pas bros thar te/ chos sdings kyi ri'i thur[416] la bros pas ma zin par rjes na mar rbab mdzad byung bas/ thugs rab tu skrag nas bros pas gad g.yang chen po dpangs shin tu mtho ba zhig la bang thal yang| zhing kha zhig tu babs pa la sogs pa grangs kyis mi chod pa'i sbyongs spyod byung[417] ste/ nga rang gi don la phyag bcug pa yin dgongs pa ma gtogs dad pa log pa gcig kyang ma skyes/ de'i stobs kyis sgrib pa dag nas phyis kyi yon tan thams cad des byung ba yin par 'dug gsung/

khyi lo'i dgun rtsed[418] thang du gzhung skyur dang bshad ston mdzad/ [ZHWA$_1$, 6a] bcu drug bzhes [ZHWA$_3$, 466] pa phag gi lo la 'on gyi rgyal bzangs su grwa[419] tshang thams cad kyis chos bar la byon/ de'i sos de skyid shod phyogs su grwa skor la thegs par dgongs pa la/ rgyal bzangs su dpyid de rims kyi bsnyel gzhis btab pa dang/ sku lus thams cad shu bar song ba zhig[420] byung pas sman bcos la skyed ci yang ma byung bas/ long ba mig mthong yod pa gcig 'dug pa la dris pas/ kho na re/ btsun chung 'di'i grong de lung pa mda' byang [ZHWA,

[412] rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[413] ngom ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (75:5), SMON$_1$ (16:4).

[414] grwa *conj.*, gra ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (75:10), SMON$_1$ (16:7).

[415] TI ka ZHWA, SMON$_1$ (17:1), TIk ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[416] mthur ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[417] phyung ZHWA.

[418] rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (76:2), SMON$_1$ (17:5).

[419] grwa *conj.*, gra ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (76:3), SMON$_1$ (17:6).

[420] zhig *conj.*, cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

190] du bstan pa'i mda'i grog kha zhig na 'dug /'di gnyid la song nas klu gcig mnan pas lan par 'dug/

da lo mnyam gcig la gos shig[421] byin/ glud gcig gyis la de'i rgyab la lo du lon gyi khram thob la de zar chug dang des phan 'ong par 'dug cig zer/ sprang po pha spad gnyis snang ba'i bu de dgung [ZHWA$_2$, 13] mnyam du 'dug pas de la na bza' zhig byin/ glud cig bskur nas rgyal bzangs[422] gi mchod rten de'i rtsar za bcug pas/ de ma thag dwangs/ de'i dbyar de grwa[423] skor la skyid shod du thegs/ grwa skor pa brgyad yod/ chos 'khor gling du phebs pa'i tshe grwa skor la 'ol kha ba dkon mchog bzang po zhes bya ba zhig yod pas de la 'byung po'i gnod pa byung bas/ rin po che bde 'byung ba la ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa dang phyag na rdo rje'i rjes gnang zhus pas| chos skyong gi gtor ma kho'i mgo thog tu bzhag pas kho skad ngan mang po shor byung| de'i zla la rjes gnang gnyis po zhus gsung/ grwa skor tshar nas spyan g.yas su thegs pas slob dpon shes rab dar bas gsol ja legs par gnang/ 'jam dbyangs kyi [424] gser sku gcig phul nas/ 'o/ khyed kyis slob gnyer legs par mdzad nas grwa skor yang 'khor ba de legs/ da dka' bzhi dus 'khor dang bcas pa cis kyang slobs shig/ gsung du byung/ gsung des phyis dus 'khor slob pa la khyad shin tu che bar byung gsung/

de nas slob dpon la nga phar phyin zhig slob pa yin zhus pas tshad ma de kha la nan chags kyis gsung/ nan gyis zhus pas/ 'o na rgyugs shog gu gnyis [ZHWA$_1$, 6b] mar[425] khyer shog gsungs pas legs par sprad/ slob dpon bsam bzang pa de slob dpon bsam [ZHWA, 191] yas pa'i grwa pa yin pa la/ dus phyis slob dpon ston shAk pa'i grwa tshang du 'phos nas so sor song pa la grwa pa rnying pa kha cig gis[426] phyogs gcig tu sdeb par zhus nas slob dpon pa dang/ bla ma rkyang chen pa grwa pa bsre bar byas te/ nged gsum rkyang chen pa la sprad pa yin/ de phyis nga la dus 'khor yong ba de'i rten 'brel du song 'dug /grwa tshang ni 'drer ma nyan gsung/

chos sdings dgon pa na bla ma sangs[427] rin pa zhes bya ba spo bo yon tan seng ge dang| [ZHWA$_2$, 14] slob dpon ston shAk pa'i grwa pa bgres po phyag chen dang/ gcod yul dang| sbyor drug dang/ rdzogs chen la sogs pa'i khrid mang du sku nyams su bzhes pa'i rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po gcig bzhugs pa de la bla ma'i rnal 'byor zhig gsan pas/ khong gi gsung nas/ slob dpon gzhon nu dpal/ mya [ZHWA$_3$, 467] ngan las 'das pa'i mtha' la mi gnas/ yang

[421] zhig ZHWA, cig ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (18:2).

[422] bzang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[423] grwa *conj.*, gra ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (76:14), SMON$_1$ (18:4).

[424] sar *add.* ZHWA.

[425] mar *conj.*, ma ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (77:7), SMON$_1$ (19:3).

[426] gis *om.* ZHWA.

[427] sangs *conj.*, sang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (77:13), SMON$_1$ (19:6).

dag pa nyid kyi mtha' la[428] gnas pa zhes bya ba de ci la zer ba gsung ste/ de dus nga la de'i lan zhu thub pa tsam med gsung/ chu mig dgon gsar na jo stan mkhan chen byang chub rgyal dbang ba bzhugs pa'i sku mdun du slob dpon bsam bzang[429] pa'i phyag[430] phyir thegs nas phag mo dmar mo'i rjes gnang gsan/ slob dpon pas khrid zhu ba'i snyan zhu[431] phul bas zhal gyis bzhes/ de nas zhag kha yar zhig song ba dang jo stan zhig btang byung nas/ khrid la 'byon na da lta rang byon/ de nas nged la long mi yong par 'dug/ gsung ba byung yang slob dpon pas ma byon pas zla ba gcig na mkhan chen pa gshegs gsung/ res 'ga' spyan g.yas su bzhugs nas spyod 'jug kyang gsan/

bcwa brgyad bzhes pa glang lo'i ston jo stan ston shAk pa dpon slob bcu [ZHWA, 192] gnyis tsam mdzad nas snye mor chos bar la thegs pa'i phyag[432] phyir ru mtshams su thegs/ de'i dgun de slob dpon bsam bzang pas [ZHWA$_1$, 7(*gong ma*)a] bka' bkyon mang du byon nas spyan g.yas su thegs pas slob dpon pa na re/ byon pa de legs/ 'bod mi zhig gtong bsam pa yod pa yin gsung/ yum gyi gson chos 'don gyin 'dug pa'i grogs mdzad/

de nas thugs cung zad skyo nas yod pas stag lo'i dpyid de 'phral gyi cha rkyen dum[433] zhig[434] khur nas rtsed[435] thang du phebs kyang/ lam nas thugs 'gyur te yar klungs dgon thang gi na khar[436] yo byad rnams bzhag [ZHWA$_2$, 15] /zla gam[437] gcig[438] /dpe cha pod chung gcig/ zhwa[439] ser gnyis bsnams nas dgyer pa'i gru la thon nas thang sag tu phebs par brtsams pa na rdo mdar mdo smad pa dang thug nas zla gam[440] phrogs/ de nas rgod dkar gyi la la thegs pas lam grogs shig gis dpe cha 'khur grogs byas pas dpe cha de yang jag pas khyer/ de nas lha sar thegs te lam grogs 'tshol zhing thegs nas mi grong yod med kyi mtshams su gcig gi sog rar bzhugs pas/ tho rangs khar song tsa na nang mis sbran nas zla bo 'dug go zer/ de nas sgo la'i la khar phebs tsa na jag pa byung pa la bros pas thar/ de nas thang sag tu phebs/ slob dpon ye rgyal ba de slob dpon ston shAk pa'i grwa pa yin pas/ rtsad bcad nas khong la babs nas slob dpon du

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[428] la *om.*, ZHWA.

[429] bzangs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (78:1), SMON$_1$ (20:2).

[430] phyag *conj.*, phyags ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (78:1), SMON$_1$ (20:2).

[431] zhu *conj.*, bzhugs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (78:2), SMON$_1$ (20:3).

[432] phyag *conj.*, phyags ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (78:8), SMON$_1$ (20:6).

[433] du ma ZHWA.

[434] cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$. SMON$_1$ (21:1).

[435] rtsed *conj.*, rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (78:13), SMON$_1$ (21:2).

[436] mkhar ZHWA, ne khar SMON (78:14), SMON$_1$ (21:2).

[437] kham ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[438] cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (21:2).

[439] zhwa *conj.*, zha ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (78:15), SMON$_1$ (21:2).

[440] kham ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

bzung/ slob dpon gzhon ’od pa khong gi slob chung du ’dug pas khong la’ang chos gsan/ gdan sa la dmar ston gzhon rgyal ba bzhugs ’dug pas chos gsan/ khyad par ’jug pa ’grel pa dang bcas pa/ thang sag pa’i lugs kyi gsung sgros rnams la legs par sbyangs/ ’jug pa rang ’grel dang bcas pa thugs [ZHWA, 193] la btsud pas legs par zin/ rtsa she tshig gsal dang bcas pa yang gsan/ khyad par bzhi brgya pa rje btsun red mda’ ba’i [ZHWA$_3$, 468] TI kA’i[441] stengs nas gsan te/ gdan sa pa de rje btsun red mda’ ba’i dngos slob yin gsung/ dpyid chos gcig nas ston chos gcig gi bar du bzhugs/ ’jug ’grel thugs la btsud pa’i tshe zla ba’i dkyil ’khor yongs su rdzogs pa shar ba zhig[442] rmi lam du byung/ der bzhugs ring la slob dpon ye rgyal bas ’tsho ba’ang sbyar/ chos kyang legs par gsungs pas bla ma rnams kyi nang nas re re la sku drin che/ theg pa [ZHWA$_1$, 7(*gong ma*)b] chen po dbu ma la longs spyad chog pa ’di khong gi sku drin yin/ [ZHWA$_2$, 16] zhabs tog che ba zhig ma grub ces yang yang gsung/

thang sag pa de rnams shin tu ya mtshan che bar ’dug /da lta’i dge bshes ’di tsam bzhugs pa rnams kyis rtsa ’jug gi ’grel ba phyag tu blangs nas/ ’chad thub pa dka’ bar 'dug /khong rnam pa tshab lo tsA ba’i phrin las la brten nas ’grel chen rnams gsung ba yin gsung zhing/ dus phyis kyang thang sag pa’i phyogs su thugs kyi zhen pa chen po mdzad cing/ gdan sa dang chos ’chad rnams dang grwa pa’i[443] dar rgyas rnams la dri mal mang du mdzad pa yin/ ston chos de po tor mdzad pa thang sag pa’i lugs yin pas po tor chos bar la bzhugs/ de dus yar ’gro mar ’gro ’i skabs shig tu chos rje rgyal sras pa’i dngos slob nyan po ba dpal gyi rin chen de nyan po rtse nas mdzo gcig chibs nas byon pa nye bar byung ste chos ni ma zhus gsung/ lan cig sras kyi ri sna gcig na chos khri gcig gi steng na gzhan stong ba rtogs ldan blos btang nyag po de skya ser mang pos bskor nas chos gsung gi ’dug pas/ nged gnyis pa zhig[444] gis ci zer blta zhing bgam du ’gro bar byas nas khong la gtad phyin pas/ [ZHWA, 194] mi gcig tshur rgyug bcug byung nas de na tshur mi phebs pa zhu/ phebs rin chog pa med zer/ khong la mngon par shes pa yod pa ’dra gsung/

de nas ston mjug po[445] tor bzhugs thog tu yul nas phye rkyal dkar po grogs mched gnyis la ’jam po dkar po gcig bskur nas spyan ’dren du byung pas snam bu de slob dpon la phul nas yul du phebs/ de nas slob dpon bsam bzang pa’i sar thegs pas/ khyed ’phan yul la gros med du ’gro ba ci yin gsung/ de’i rgyu mtshan zhib par zhus pas lan ci yang mi mdzad par ’dug gsung/ dang po grwa skor snga ma ma tshar bar bya ba ci mdzad thams cad slob dpon la zhus/ de phyin

[441] TI ka’i ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, SMON$_1$ (22:2), TIka’i ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[442] zhig *conj.*, cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[443] sa’i ZHWA, SMON (80:1).

[444] zhig *conj.*, cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (23:4), gcig SMON (80:8).

[445] po *conj.*, spo ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (80:11), SMON$_1$ (23:5).

[ZHWA$_2$, 17] chad nas gang bde ba yin pas res rtses[446] thang du bzhugs nas rgyud bla thugs la bzung/ slob dpon ston shAk pa la rgyud bla'i thogs med 'grel ba dang bcas pa'i bshad pa dang/ de'i zhor la jo nang kun mkhyen chen po'i TI kA'i[447] lung yang gsan/ [ZHWA$_1$, 7a] bye rdzing mkhan chen tshul dpal ba la sogs mang po dang lhan du/ slob dpon ston shAk pa la phar phyin tshar gcig gsan nas legs par thugs sbyangs pas mkhas par mkhyen/ bu TI kA[448] mkhan chen d+harma shrI'i gsung sgros/ spo bo yon tan seng ge'i gsung sgros rnams gsung ba yin/ slob [ZHWA$_3$, 469] dpon pa la bu rin po che'i bka' 'bum gyi lung bzhugs pas zhu rgyur 'dug ste/ slob dpon pa yang spyan shas ngan pa dang nga[449] rang yang shes 'dod chungs pas lan pa yin/ lar gyis slob dpon pa de thugs drang zhing dngos po'i 'dzin pa chung/ dang po chos rje byang rgyal ba la sbyor drug gsan pas thugs dam kyi 'khrungs tshul yang bsam gyis mi khyab pa byung bar 'dug /nga la thugs rjes shin tu 'dzin pa zhig yod gsungs nas jo stan ston shAk pa'i lo rgyus gsung ba dang spyan chab 'byon par yang [ZHWA, 195] mdzad/

khong gis khyi smyon gyis rmugs pa'i nad 'chos pa tshegs med pa 'dra ba zhig mdzad pa gzigs te/ slob dpon pa'i gdams pa de thugs la 'dogs par zhu zhus pas| kho de nga'i de la tig po gcig med/ ngas skye ba snga ma dang 'dir bzlas pa mang du byas pas da lta chab re tsam ska rags sna tshar re tsam byin pas phan gyin 'dug/ bslab rgyu rang che ba zhig med gsungs pas nan gyis ma zhus gsung/ de'i rjes su slob dpon ston shAk pa dpon slob 'bangs rtsigs su dpyid chos shig la byon pa'i sar bzhugs nas phar phyin slar yang gsan/ slob dpon pa yang thugs mthong lhag[450] par che bar mdzad/ slob dpon pas sman khang pa ye shes dpal la bka' [ZHWA$_2$, 18] bkyon mdzad pas/ 'brog nag gis de skad mi gsung bar zhu/ khong yon tan can rang lags zhus pas/ kho de chas chod/ khyi mgo la yi ge 'bri shes zer ba'i tshad yin/ yon tan zer na slob dpon gzhon nu dpal gyi yon tan la zer ba yin mod/ lung tshun chad gang nas 'dren 'dren yod/ gsungs nas ngom par yang mdzad pa yin skad/

rtses[451] thang gdan sa ba drung byang chub rdo rje chos dus su [ZHWA$_1$, 7b] rnam 'grel gsungs pa rnams kyang gsan/ chen po tshul blo ba tshad ma gsung ba'i chos grwar thegs te tshang ma ni ma song/ rkyang chen pas dbyar dgun gyi phar tshad gsung ba rnams kyang legs par gsan/ lan cig spyan g.yas nas/ ston pa dge legs phyag[452] phyir khrid nas bros thabs su yol rin chen gling du/ mkhan chen sangs blo ba'i sar thegs/ bla ma'i rnal 'byor zhus/ sbyor drug

[446] rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[447] TI kA *conj.*, TI ka'i ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, SMON (80:19), SMON$_1$ (24:2), TIka'i ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$,

[448] TI kA *conj.*, TIk ZHWA, SMON (81:2), SMON$_1$ (24:3), TIg ZHWA$_1$, Tiga'i ZHWA$_2$, TIga'i ZHWA$_3$.

[449] nga *om.* ZHWA.

[450] lhags ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_3$.

[451] rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[452] phyags ZHWA, SMON (82:6), SMON$_1$, (26:1).

gsan par rtsom pa'i tshe/ ston pa dbang 'od dang brtan pa 'bum gnyis rjes bsnyeg tu slebs nas/ phyir ldog dgos pa byung bas/ slar spyan [ZHWA, 196] g.yas su bzhugs te/ mkhan chen sangs rgyas brtan pa'i drung du dmigs pa skor gsum/ blo sbyong don bdun ma/ rma bya dug 'joms/ mtshon cha 'khor lo/ lhan thabs bzhi pa/ byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa'i glu/ rtog[453] pa 'bur 'joms/[454] thun brgyad ma/ sems dpa'i[455] rim pa/ rten 'brel snying po'i khrid[456] rgyal sras pas mdzad pa/ ku su lu'i[457] tshogs gsog[458] /sgrol dkar gyi tshe sgrub/ skyid sdug lam khyer/ bla ma'i rnal 'byor la sogs pa gsan/ mkhan chen pa 'di dang/ slob dpon shes rab dar ba dang/ mkhan chen sangs 'bum pa rnams kyis legs par thugs rjes bzung na'ang phyis de rnams la [ZHWA$_3$, 470] zhabs tog che bar ma grub/ de rnams kyis thugs rjes bzung ba yin zhes yang dang yang du [ZHWA$_2$, 19] gsung/

mkhan chen dbang dpal ba dang/ de'i dbon mkhan chen byang dpal ba/ mkhan chen gzhon nu seng ge ba rnams la'ang chos 'brel tsam re gsan/ khyad par mkhan chen sangs rgyas 'bum dpal ba la don yod zhags[459] pa sangs[460] rin pa nas brgyud pa'i thugs rje chen po'i smyung gnas kyi[461] skor gsan nas spyan g.yas su dkar phyogs gcig kyang btang/ de'i tshe ljags kyi dkyil na sran che ba gcig yod pa de'i byin brlabs kyis rdol/ jo bo'i lam yig dang/ be'u bum sngon po'i 'grel pa lha 'bri sgang pas mdzad pa'i lung yang gsan/ re shig yar 'brog sga 'drar chab tshan la thegs pas/ chos rje shes rab dpal ba zhes bya ba'i grub pa'i dbang phyug de dang mjal/ khong [ZHWA$_1$, 8a] sku na[462] bgres pa/ na bza' sdug po skyug bro ba zhig bzhes/ snyan g.yas g.yon gnyis la lug gi sog pa'i snyan cha re btags nas bug sgo 'gag/ de na bzhugs nas khong rang gi gsol lhag dang zag pa rnams pa bsres te mi rnams la 'gyed [ZHWA, 197] pa zhig 'dug gsung/ chos ci gsan zhus pas/ chos re re tsam ma gtogs cher mi gsung ba yin par 'dug /nged tsho la sdig pa spongs/ dge ba sgrubs/ byams pa ma byon gyi bar du sdod bsam pa ma byed/ ces pa de gnang ba yin gsung/

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[453] rtogs ZHWA.

[454] shad *om.* ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[455] dpa'i *conj.*, pa'i ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (82:13), SMON$_1$ (26:4).

[456] shad *add.* ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_3$.

[457] la'i ZHWA.

[458] gsog *conj.*, sog ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (82:14), SMON$_1$ (26:5).

[459] zhabs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$.

[460] sangs *conj.*, sang ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (83:1), SMON$_1$ (27:1).

[461] kyis ZHWA.

[462] nas ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_3$.

de nas rtses[463] thang du phar phyin/ dbu ma 'jug pa/ spyod 'jug /rgyud bla rnams kyi gzhung skyur grwa skor mdzad pas/ slob dpon bsam bzang pa ni/ grwa skor 'phyis pa yin zhes bka' bkyon/ ngas ni de'i bar la yon tan mang du bcang[464] gsung/ phar phyin gyi thugs sbyong la zug /rjes su slob dpon bsam bzang pa'i phyag[465] phyir rngo thog pa chos rgyal ba yang tshad ma'i slob gnyer la byon byung pas/ mtshan mo bshar sbyang tshar ba'i rjes su thams cad 'phros gtam byung ba la/ [ZHWA$_2$, 20] slob dpon chos rgyal de rngo thog tu bshad sar gyi steng du chos bshad pa yin zer[466] bas/ 'chad chos gang la byed/ khyed kyis ci la byas dris pas/ chos lnga la byas zer/ de gang la zer gsungs pas/ sa bcad lnga 'dug pa de yin pa 'dra zer/ de thon par 'dug gam gsung bas/ chos lnga'i rtsa ba de bton byung bas/ chos 'di la chos kyi khog chen po zhig yod[467] par 'dug pas 'di cis kyang rtsad gcod dgos [468] dgongs pa[469] zhig[470] byung ba yin gsung/

dgung lo nyi shu rtsa gnyis bzhes pa sbrul gyi dbyar sos de skyid shod du grwa[471] skor la thegs/ de'i mod la skyor mo lung du slob dpon bsam gtan don grub pa'i drung du dbyar chos gcig nas ston chos kyi bar du bzhugs nas 'dul ba mdo rtsa ba dang mngon pa mdzod tshar re gsan/ tshes bcu bzhi dang bcwa lnga byung res kyi smyung gnas mdzad pa'i zla la smyung gnas mdzad cing/ smyung gnas dang rtag tu ngu'i bcud len gyi lung yang thob/ chos dpon du chos skyong bzang po ba bzhugs pa'i dus chos 'chad [ZHWA, 198] pa'ang gsan/

de dus stod lung [ZHWA$_3$, 471] rnam par du chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa bzhugs pa'i sar/ slob [ZHWA$_1$, 8b] dpon chos dbang dang lhan du mjal bar thegs/ byin brlabs zhus/ sku nye skor rnams kyi[472] bsngo ba zhus/ ja gral du bzhag byung na'ang ja dril song/ der mtshal min rin po che bsod bzang pa phebs 'dug pa la/ sum pa lo tsA[473] ba'i blo sbyong dang sems dpa'i[474] rim pa gnyis gsan/ khong la lhag par dad pa byung/ phyis mjal du thegs par bzhed pa la grogs

[463] rtse ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[464] bcad ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, spyad SMON (83:16), SMON$_1$ (28:1).

[465] phyag *conj.*, phyags ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (83:17), SMON$_1$ (28:1).

[466] zes ZHWA.

[467] yong ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, SMON (84:4), SMON$_1$ (28:5).

[468] par *add.* ZHWA.

[469] dgongs pa *om.* ZHWA.

[470] zhig *om.* ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, cig SMON$_1$ (28:5).

[471] gra ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (28:5).

[472] kyis ZHWA.

[473] tsa ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$.

[474] sem pa'i ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (29:3), sems pa'i SMON (84:16).

mched kyis bshol bas[475] ma[476] slebs gsung/ mkhan chen yon blo ba phebs ’dug pas blo sbyong sha khyer khrag khyer gsan/ der zhag gcig bzhugs/

slar skyor mo lung du phebs pa’i lam du/ bu mo kha yar gyis bzung nas chang ’dren zhing slong mo [ZHWA$_2$, 21] byed rtsis byas pas/ ci drag na dgongs pa’i tshe/ slob dpon chos dbang na re/ nga’i a ma shi nas/ chos rje karma pa’i drung du bsngo zhus la phyin pa yin zer brang brdungs pas/ de tsho skyengs nas btang byung/ ma zad du phebs nas khyed de ’dra byed pa gsungs pas/ de brdzun ni min zer/ zhor la ra tshag gi jo mo mjal nas gsol ba btab[477] pas byin brlabs kyang che bar byung/ slob dpon bsam gtan don grub pa de sku btsun zhing ’dul mdzod kyi sku yon tan shin tu[478] che ba/ zhi byed don rgyud la thugs dam du mdzad pa yin gsungs nas mdzad spyod rnam thar rnams gsung zhing shin tu dad par mdzad/

sbrul lo’i ston de skyor mo lung gi brang khang zhig[479] na bzhugs pa’i dus su/ ri bo dge ldan nas chos rje legs pa rgyal mtshan pas dbu mdzad nas spyi bsod pa mang du byon pa’i gnas brang khang der byung bas/ khong rnam pa’i me ’bud la sogs pa’i [ZHWA, 199] zhabs tog rnams thugs gzhungs nas mdzad pas/ chos rje legs pa rgyal mtshan pas phyag dpe mang du yod pa rnams la gzigs nas/ gcig la shog gsung nas zhal ta zhig mdzad cing ’dug pas/ de byung nas rang re ba sde snod ’dzin pa zhig yin pa ’dra/ las kha mdzad pas mi yong zer/ nga rang ga ba zhig yin/ dpe cha ’di tsho rang bzhin tshags byas pa yin gsungs nas zhabs tog mdzad gsung/ de nas slob dpon pa yab pa chos rje’i drung du zhi byed kyi gdams pa’i ’phro gsan [ZHWA$_1$, 9a] pa’i phyag[480] phyir thegs nas chos rje shAkya bzang po ba la skyes mchog pa’i ka dag gsal ba dang| bcom ldan rig[481] ral gyis mdzad pa’i skyes rabs gsan/ thugs la btags gsungs nas chos rje’i mdzad spyod/ grwa pa’i mdzad spyod/ gzims khang gi longs spyod skyong lugs sogs legs par gsung/

de [ZHWA$_2$, 22] rting thang sag tu slob dpon ye rgyal ba mjal du thegs te/ glang thang gi ’og gi ngan chu’i ’gram du rab gar yod ma dgongs par dum gcig bzhugs pa mnal du song tsa na/ chu sho sho zer nas thad de nyid na tshur rta pa zhig[482] byung ba’i rab brgal te thang sag tu byon nas mjal rjes lha sar jo mjal du phebs pa’i dus su/ btsun rgan ma gos hral mo mkha’ ’gro ma yin zer ba la/ mkha’ [ZHWA$_3$, 472] ’gro ma yin nam ma yin rtog pa’i brdar spyan gyis de

[475] bsam ZHWA.

[476] ma *om.* ZHWA.

[477] tab ZHWA.

[478] du ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, SMON$_1$ (30:2).

[479] cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (30:3).

[480] phyag *conj.*, phyags ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (85:18), SMON$_1$ (30:7).

[481] rigs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[482] cig ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON$_1$ (31:3).

la ma gzigs par se gol mdzad pas/ mos kyang lan gyi se gol byas byung gsung/ yar klungs su slar phebs pa na/ chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa'i sgar mdo mkhar gyi na khar bzhugs pa la mjal du thegs/ thugs rje chen po'i sgom bzlas gnang gin 'dug pa gsan/ khri'u mthon po dpe med pa'i gzhogs su khri'u chung ches dma' ba zhabs stegs su 'dug ste/ mtho ba de la gom pa [ZHWA, 200] dos slebs pa med dam snyam na'ang/ de la ji tsug byas thegs pa yin nam bsam pa la bzhugs snang ba/ rdzu 'phrul du 'dug gsung/

byang chub sems dpa' yon tan blo gros pa yang de na phebs 'dug pas rnam rgyal gyi bstod pa dang glang ri thang pa'i tshigs brgyad ma gnyis gsan/ de res chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa rtses thang du phebs nas tshogs su byang chub mchog tu thugs bskyed pa dang/ nA ro chos drug bsdus pa dang/ 'jam dbyangs kyi sgrub thabs dang/ tshe dpag tu med pa'i mdo rnams gsan/ ma Ni grangs bcad kyi dam bca' phul/ chos rje de nyid sku mdzes shing dwangs pa khrom che ba dang ca co la'ang thugs mi yengs shing/ bsngo yig g.yas g.yon gnyis ka nas 'bul ba la ched du mi gzigs [ZHWA$_1$, 9b] par spyan 'bras mi 'gul ba nyid kyi ngang nas thogs med du klog pa'i ya mtshan chen po dang/ sne'u gdong gi chos [ZHWA$_2$, 23] 'khor ldum ra'i khri kha na bzhugs pa'i tshe dbang grags pa rgyal mtshan sku mdun de na stan dmar rkyang pa zhig la bzhugs 'dug/

khong dpon skya mang pos bskor nas rgyal khams 'od kyis bkang nas 'byon gyi yod pa yin te/ sku mdun de na snag tsha'i ri lu tsam zhig 'dug/ nga'i mig gis chos rje de bzhin gshegs pa[483] 'dra ba mthong/ rje rin po che blo bzang grags pa 'dra ba mthong/ khyed tsho dang nga mi mnyam gsungs[484] nas zhal pho yang mdzad/

spyan g.yas kyi byang gi dgon dkar du gcig pur bzhugs nas mngon pa kun las btus la gzigs rtog mdzad pas nyin re gzhung shog bco lnga tsam zin pa byung/ khu bo slob dpon pas rtsis dkar nag gnyis ka mkhyen pas sa ris de ji tsug byed pa yin zhus pas/ 'di bzhin byed pa yin gsungs nas zhal bcos gcig mdzad [ZHWA, 201] byung bas thab 'gram gyi thal ba bdal nas cung zad cig sbyangs/ de nas phyag ngar la ri mo mdzad cing sbyangs pas bsgyur bgod byang bar mkhyen byung bas/ rta lo'i dgun de rtsed thang du bla ma rkyang chen pa la rtsis zhus nas lnga bsdus btang/ rgyu mtshan rtsis kyang gza'[485] d+hru tsam zhig gi bar du gsan/ de nas kun mkhyen chen po'i rtsis la brten nas thugs kyi dpyod pa nyid la legs par 'bad pas yongs su rdzogs par mkhyen/

lug gi dpyid de thang po cher chos bar mdzad nas gser khang du bzhugs/ de dus kyang rtsis la legs par bsams pa yin gsung/ lug gi dbyar sos slob dpon ston shAk pa'i mchod rten brtsig

[483] pa *om.* ZHWA.

[484] gsungs *conj.*, gsung ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (87:7), SMON$_1$ (32:7).

[485] bzang ZHWA, bza' ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

pa’i las rnams [ZHWA$_3$, 473] mdzad/ de’i ston khar song ba na dbang grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis/ rje rin po che blo bzang[486] grags pa dpon slob nyis brgya tsam zhig ’on gyi bkra shis do khar spyan drangs nas chos kyi ’khor lo rgya chen po bskor bar ’dug pa’i drung du thegs/ [ZHWA$_2$, 24] bla ma’i rnal ’byor/ byang chub lam gyi rim pa/ bzang spyod smon lam/ bla ma lnga bcu pa dang rtsa ltung bcu bzhi pa’i bshad pa/ rtsa she’i rab byed dang po gnyis [ZHWA$_1$, 10a] kyi bshad pa song ba’i mtshams su/ nA ro chos drug gi khrid gnang bar ’dug pas gsan par bzhed pa na/ dbang ma thob pas chos rje gung snang ba la/ bde mchog lus dkyil gyi dbang zhus te/ nA ro chos drug ji ltar gnang ba’i gsung la zin bris kyang mdzad/ de thon nas rtsa she’i rab byed tha ma dang/ slob dpon dpa’ bos mdzad pa’i sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs/ tshad’i lam rim/ byang chub ltung bshags rnams kyang gsan/

’dul ba ’dzin pa grags pa rgyal mtshan pa yang phyag phyir phebs pa la gsang [ZHWA, 202] sngags lam rim/ ’jigs byed kyi mngon rtogs/ lhan thabs sbyin sreg gi cho ga rnams gsan/ sngags rim la mtshan nyid lam rim gyi rgyud pa ’dra ba zhig yod dam dgongs nas ’di’i rgyud pa ji ltar lags zhus pas/ bdag gis rje rang la zhus pa yin gsungs nas rgyas par mi gsung/ der chos rje mi nyag pa’ang phebs byung ba la/ sgrol dkar gyi tshe sgrub gsan/ mi nyag pa de sku skye ba snga ma rje rin po che’i sku skye snga ma’i yum yin pa de’i rgyu mtshan gyis rje la thugs shin tu[487] nye ba zhig yod par ’dug gsung/ rje rin po che de gnyal gyi mo la’i la rtsar dgong gcig bzhugs pa’i dus su/ rje btsun byams pa sku ri rgyud tsam gzigs pa’i zhal[488] nas/ rigs kyi bu sangs rgyas ’jig rten du byon pa ’dra ba zhig ’byung bar shes par gyis shig /ces lung bstan pa ltar byung ste/ khong gso sbyong mdzad pa la phebs pa’i tshe/ ri thams cad kyang ’gul zhing yod pa snyam byung la/ gso sbyong gi las la mi dbang pa’i skye bo tha mal pa’i tshogs pha zad nas blta ba rnams kyang dad pa rang dbang med pa skye [ZHWA$_2$, 25] bar ’dug/

gsang ba’i bdag pos las kyi rdo rje la gsungs pa na/ ’di’i yon tan gyi mtha’ nged kyis kyang mi rtogs gsungs pa de las lhag pa’i bsngags pa brjod rgyu mi snang na’ang/ rjes su ’jug pa rnams zhus lan bdud rtsi’i sman mchog la de tsam gyi rtsis med/ rje rin po che de gdul bya phyogs gcig pa tsho zhig ’dul du byon par ’dug pas/ grub pa’i mtha’ rnams kyang gdul bya’i bsam pa’i dbang gis ’byung ba yin te/ dper na/ gnas der [ZHWA$_1$, 10b] drang nges rnam ’byed gsung ba’i skabs su/ ’dir bshad pa dang ’gal ba min pa’i drang nges kyi ’byed lugs shig theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma nas bshad ’dug ces tshogs su gsung na’ang/ gdul bya rnams la de’i snod [ZHWA, 203] med pas phrin las de ’dra la gsung de byung ba’i dus su maN+Dal phul nas gsol

[486] bzangs ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$.

[487] tu *conj.*, du ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (88:18), SMON$_1$ (34:7).

[488] la ZHWA.

ba ’debs mi gcig kyang [ZHWA$_3$, 474] ma byung/ nged rang gi kha ’khos[489] la dpes pa’i[490] blo bskyed shin tu che bar byung/ thos pa tsam la mi ’jog par rang gi shes rab kyis gsung rab la legs par dpyod pa dang/ ’phral gyi mdzad pa’i tshul rnams rje kho na la thugs dad pa yin no|/

lug gi dgun de dus ’khor la thugs sbyong bar bzhed nas bla ma rkyang chen pa’i drung du gsol ba btab pas/ de la sbyor drug gi khrid thob dgos gsung/ bsam gtan gling lta bur bzhugs nas khrid gnang par zhus pas/ nga khrid byed kyi med gsung/ ’o na su la zhu zhus pas/ ’ju lha khang stengs su zhus gsung/ ’di la khrid gnang ba zhu gsung ba’i zhu yig gcig gnang na yong ngam zhus pas/ los yong nga’i bla ma yin gsungs nas zhu yig mdzad pa bsnams nas lha khang stengs su gsol ba ’debs su thegs pas chas kha khyer la byon cig gsungs/ de nas chas kha bsnams nas thegs te dus kyi ’khor lo’i mchog dbang/ sbyor drug gi [ZHWA$_2$, 26] sor bsam yan nyams khrid du gnang/ ngo sprod gsang don rab gsal gyi lung/ bla ma gsang ’dus dang/ thod phreng rtsal gyi dbang rnams gsan grub pa’i ’phral du/ bla ma rkyang chen pa shAkya shrI chu mig dgon gsar[491] du spyan drangs nas dpal dus kyi ’khor lo’i rgyud ’grel ba dang bcas pa ’jam dbyangs chos mgon pa’i sa bcad dang mchan bu la brten nas gnang ba la/ bar chad ’byung nyen yod ces shin tu ’grus par gsungs pa’i tshe/ ngas yid gzhungs nas nyan/ nga’i zla la slob dpon chos dbang yod kyang/ khong chos zug ’phral la gnyid du ’gro zhing ’dug /zhag nyi shu rtsa brgyad la bshad pa rdzogs [ZHWA, 204] pas| lung lta bur song na’ang byin brlabs kyis thugs bskyed che bar byung gsung/

sngar chos rje rgyal [ZHWA$_1$, 11a] tshab rin po ches gsang sngags bla med kyi bde chen gyi ngos ’dzin gyi rtsom pa gzigs pas/ de la thugs ’gro ba byung nas/ skabs shig tu/ de legs par ’dug ste der bde chen de bde ba gzhan ’di yang min ’di yang min zhes mtha’ bcad nas/ rang lugs zhu bde la ngos[492] bzung ’dug tshul zhus pas/ des mi ’ong chags pa dkar po’i phyogs kyang ma yin/ chags bral nag po’i phyogs kyang ma yin pa’i bcu drug pa zer ba zhig yod pa yin gsung ba de la thugs ches lhag par ’khrungs nas/ de gcig pus chog par yod/ de res zhabs tog che bar ma grub/ chos rje de thugs spros pa chung bas/ bla ma chos rdzong bas mi kha yar zhig la dkyil ’khor gyi thig bslab cing ’dug pas/ rkyang chen pa’i drung du nga la dus ’khor gyi thig cig slob par zhu zhus pas/ ngas mi shes gsungs[493] nas ma gnang gsung/

de’i dbyar rkyang chen pa dang dpon slob gnyis kyis lha khang stengs su thegs nas| dpal dus kyi ’khor lo’i rdul tshon gyi dkyil ’khor du [ZHWA$_2$, 27] dbang bdun/ gong ma chen po/

[489] mkhos ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[490] pa’i *om.* ZHWA.

[491] sar ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[492] ngo ZHWA, nges ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$.

[493] gsungs *conj.*, gsung ZHWA, ZHWA$_1$, ZHWA$_2$, ZHWA$_3$, SMON (90:17), SMON$_1$ (37:5).

rdo rje slob dpon bdag po’i dbang yongs su rdzogs pa dang/ rkyang chen pas gsan pa’i zhar la/ jo nang [ZHWA3, 475] kun mkhyen chen pos mdzad pa’i nges don rgya mtsho’i lung yang gsan/ mdo sngags kyi sku yon rdzogs pas/ rtag tu bla ma dge ba’i bshes gnyen rnams dang/ chos kyi ’bel gtam gyis dus ’da’ bar mdzad/

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung (German Abstract)

Das fünfzehnte Jahrhundert nimmt in vielerlei Hinsicht eine wichtige Position in der Geistesgeschichte Tibets ein. Der bKa' brgyud-Gelehrte 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481), der in erster Linie für seine „Blauen Annalen" bekannt ist, erlebte die Ereignisse dieses Jahrhunderts fast in seiner Gesamtheit und kann als Schlüsselfigur für das Verständnis des intellektuellen Klimas dieser Zeit betrachtet werden. Um nachzuvollziehen, wie Tibet einen solch außergewöhnlichen Denker hervorbringen konnte, wirft diese Arbeit einen genauen Blick auf die frühe Phase seines Lebens und Wirkens unter Berücksichtigung der historischen und politischen Umstände seiner Zeit, welche es ihm ermöglichten, sich intensiv seinen Studien und seiner Praxis zu widmen. Die vorliegende Arbeit analysiert den ersten Teil von 'Gos Lo tsā bas *rnam thar*, welcher seinen familiären Hintergrund, seine Jugendjahre und frühe Ausbildungsphase – d.h. die Meister, unter welchen er studierte, und die philosophischen Werke, in welchen er sich übte – enthält, und versucht, jene Faktoren aufzuzeigen, die dazu beitrugen, dass er zu dem hochkarätigen und breit aufgestellten Gelehrten wurde, der er war. Den Hauptteil dieser Arbeit bildet eine annotierte Übersetzung des ersten Teils seiner Hagiografie mit dem Titel *Yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa*, welche von seinem prominentesten Schüler, dem vierten Zhwa dmar pa, Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524), verfasst wurde.

Schlagwörter: 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal, Biografie, *rnam thar*, tibetische Geschichte