## The Lineage of the Sa skya pa

## A Chapter of the Red Annals

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The lineage of the Holy Sa skya: In those times, when gods and demons were numerous in Tibet, although G-yah span skyes gcig of Yar klun çar<sup>(1)</sup> and Si li ma had married<sup>(2)</sup>, a bloodless demon also had relations with her. While the two were quarreling, a divine son was born to her, who became known as the "Lord born amidst quarrels" (Jo bo Hkhon par skyes<sup>(3)</sup>). From Ma sans<sup>(4)</sup> downwards, the lineage of those who had originated from Hkhon<sup>(5)</sup> followed in regular succession. Hkhon Dpal po che<sup>(6)</sup>, who was appointed confidential minister (Nan-blon) to King Khri-sron lde-btsan, had four sons: Khri mdses lha legs, Tshe la dban phyug, Hkhon Kluhi [tx, 21b] dban po bsrun ba, and Tshe hdsin. The third was the sixth<sup>(7)</sup> of the "Seven Tested Men" (Sad mi mi bdun).

The descendants<sup>(8)</sup> of Rdo rje rin po che, a son of the fourth, were as follows: Çes rab yon tan, Yon tan hbyun gnas, Tshul khrims rgyal po, Rdo rje gtsug tor, Dge skyabs, Dge mthon, Bal po, and Çhakya<sup>(9)</sup> blo gros. They all were familiar with the "Old" Tantric texts(10). He (Çhakya blo gros) had two sons: the eldest, Çes rab tshul khrims, became a monk; the youngest, Dkon mchog rgyal po, who was born in the year Wood-Male-Dog (çin pho khyi-1034 A.D.), founded the monastery of Sa skya in the year Water-Male-Mouse (chu pho byi ba-1072 A.D.<sup>(11)</sup>). At the age of 69<sup>(12)</sup>, in the year Water-Male-Horse (chu pho rta—1102 A.D.), he passed away. His son, Sa chen Kun dgah Sñin po, learned the doctrine from Hjam dbyans<sup>(18)</sup>, Bir wa<sup>(14)</sup>, and others, who appeared to him during meditation, and thus he gained the capacity to reincarnate in various forms. He was born in the year Water-Male-Ape (chu pho sprehu-1092 A.D.), lived in Bla bran çar, and died at the age of 67(15) in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa pho stag-1158 A.D.). Sa chen had four sons: the eldest, Kun dgah hbar, the second, Slob dpon<sup>(16)</sup> rin po che Bsod nams rtse mo<sup>(17)</sup>. The third, Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, was born in the year Fire-Female-Hare (me mo yos-1147 A.D.), built the "Old Dbu rtse" (Dbu rtse rñin ma)<sup>(18)</sup> of Sa skya, and died at the age of 70(19) in the year Fire-Male-Mouse (me pho byi ba-1216 A.D.). The fourth, Dpal chen hod po, was born in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lcags pho rta-1150 A.D.<sup>(20)</sup>), and passed away at the age of 54 in

the year Water-Female-Hog (chu mo pha-1203 A.D.).

Of the sons of this last, the eldest was Sa skya pandita Kun dgah rgyal mtshan dpal bzan po, who was born in the year Water-Male-Tiger (chu pho stag—1182 A.D.). He learned the five vidyās under the guidance of Pan chen Çhakya çrī<sup>(21)</sup> and many<sup>(22)</sup> other learned men. Having left Bla bran çar to Çar pa<sup>(23)</sup> Çer hbyun<sup>(24)</sup>, he founded Bshi thog<sup>(25)</sup> [and lived there]. Prince Go dan of the North requested his presence. This was just as mentioned before in the prophecy of Rje btsun pa (Grags pa rgyal mtshan), which said:

At some later age, from the North, a man whose language is different, wearing a hat which looks like a falcon  $flying^{(26)}$  and putting  $on^{(27)}$  shoes like the nose of a hog, will issue an invitation and render service to the teaching.

When Pandita was at the age of  $63^{(28)}$ , in the year Wood-Male-Dragon (çin pho hbrug—1244 A.D.), the three men<sup>(29)</sup> who were Uncle (Pandita) and his nephews started towards the North. After three years on the way, [22a] they reached the North in the Horse year (rta—1246 A.D.). Prince Go dan, coming back from the Great Conference and the Coronation<sup>(30)</sup> of the Emperor Go Yug<sup>(31)</sup>, met<sup>(32)</sup> with Pandita in the Sheep year (1247 A.D.). Pandita gained the highest rank to serve Heaven, that of Elder, and propagated the teaching. When he attained the age of  $70^{(38)}$ , in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lcags mo phag—1251 A.D.), he passed away in the North.

His younger brother, Zans tsha bod rgyal<sup>(34)</sup>, who was born in the year Wood-Male-Dragon (çin pho hbrug—1184 A.D.), having built the wall of Dan<sup>(35)</sup>, died at the age of 56, in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa mo phag—1239 A.D.)<sup>(36)</sup>.

Zans tsha's eldest son by his wife Jo mo Dkon mchog skyid was Hgro mgron hphags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan<sup>(87)</sup>, who was born in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (çin mo lug-1235 A.D.)(38). At the age of 9(39), he proceeded to the North in the retinue<sup>(40)</sup> of his uncle (Sa skya pandita). Later, when<sup>(41)</sup> the Emperor Go pe la<sup>(42)</sup> was at Lu pahi çan<sup>(43)</sup>, he was delighted to receive Prince Mon gor of the North<sup>(44)</sup> and Bla ma Hphags pa together<sup>(45)</sup> in audience<sup>(46)</sup>. Sa skya pa (Hphags pa) was welcomed by one hundred Mongolian<sup>(47)</sup> cavalrymen who sent(48) to the place of the Prince of the North; and a ceremony of consecration [for Qubilai] was performed. From that time on, Qubilai and Hphags pa were associated [with one another], the one as material patron (yon), the other as spiritual guide and refuge (mchod)(49). After Qubilai Se chen had mounted the Imperial throne, Hphags pa became successively National Preceptor (Gu crhi, 國師 Kuo shih) and Imperial Preceptor (Ti crhi, 帝師 Ti shih)(50), the Chief Preceptor (Ddag po) of the kingdom. On the 22nd day of the 11th<sup>(51)</sup> month of the year Iron-Male-Dragon (lcags pho hbrug-1280 A.D.)(52), he passed away at the age of 46 in Sa skya.

His younger brother, Mnah bdag Phyag na rdo rje, was born in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa mo phag-1239 A.D.). At the age of 5(53), he proceeded [to the North] in the retinue<sup>(54)</sup> of his uncle (Sa skya pandita). He was dressed in Mongolian<sup>(55)</sup> clothes and given Dpon mo Me hgah lun in marriage by Prince Go dan. Qubilai Se chen commanded him to rule over the whole of Tibet. At the age of 29, in the year Fire-Female-Hare (me mo yos-1267 A.D.), he passed away in Sa skya. Phyag na's son by Ma gcig mkhah hgro hbum was Ddag ñid chen po Dharma phha la raksi ta(56), who was born in the year Earth-Male-Dragon (sa pho hbrug-1268 A.D.). After Bla ma Hphags pa's death, at the age of 14, he came to Tibet. Although he was a layman, he held in effect the Bla ma's office of Gdan sa [of Sa skya]. Later, he was given Dpal Idan, a daughter of Prince Ji big the mur<sup>(57)</sup>, in marriage. Returning to Tibet after being commanded to rule over that country, he died at the age of 21, in the year Earth-Male-Mouse (sa pho byi ba-1288(58) A.D.), in Tre maņdala<sup>(59)</sup>. His (Dharma phḥa la's) [22b] son by Jo mo Stag ḥbum, Slob dpon Ratna bha tra<sup>600</sup>, died in childhood.

Zańs tsha and his wife Jo mo Hbro had a daughter, Slob dpon ma Mdo sde, and a son, Slob dpon Rin chen rgyal mtshan, who was born in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa po khyi—1238 A.D.). He went to the Imperial Court and became in effect Imperial Preceptor (Ti çrḥi), which position had been vacant<sup>(61)</sup> since the Bla ma (Hphags pa) had returned to Dbus-Gtsan<sup>(62)</sup>. At the age of 45, in the year Water-Male-Horse (chu pho rta—1282 A.D.)<sup>(63)</sup>, he passed away in Çin kun (臨洮 Lin t'ao)<sup>(64)</sup>.

Zańs tsha and his wife Lha gcig mdses ma had two daughters, Slob dpon ma Bsod nams hbum and Slob dpon ma Ñi ma hbum. Zańs tsha's son by Lha gcig mdses ma's maid Jo mo Rdo rje ldan was Slob dpon Yes çes hbyun gnas, who was born in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa pho khyi—1238 A.D.), and who was called Mkhan po Çar la zug pa. Later, he went to Ljan yul to become a spiritual guide and refuge (bla mchod) to Prince Hu har che<sup>(65)</sup>, and died there at the age of 36<sup>(66)</sup>, in the year Water-Female-Bird (chu mo bya—1273 A.D.)<sup>(67)</sup>. The son of Zańs tsha and his wife Jo lcam hor mo was Slob dpon Rin chen hbyun gnas.

The son of Slob dpon Ye çes hbyun gnas and Jo mo Rin chen skyid was Bla ma bdag ñid chen Bzan po dpal, who was born in the year Water-Male-Dog (chu pho khyi—1262 A.D.). Later, the Emperor OI ja du (成宗) made him a member [of the Royal Family]<sup>(68)</sup>. He (Bzan po dpal) made his family prosperous<sup>(69)</sup> and stayed for fifteen years at Lha khan bla bran. The Emperor Bu yan<sup>(70)</sup> (仁宗) gave him [the title of] National Preceptor (Gu çrhi)<sup>(71)</sup>, and made him head of Bshi thog. He held the office of Gdan sa for twelve years, and at the age of 62, in the year Water-Female-Hog (chu mo phag—1323 A.D.)<sup>(72)</sup>, he passed away<sup>(73)</sup>.

The son born [to him] during his stay in Sman tshe (蠻子 Man tzǔ) was Slob dpon Bsod nams bzan po, who in his youth in the North became Guhi gun (國公 Kuo kung). Then, at the time of the Emperor Go gan (英宗), he returned to secular life. Married to Princess Mun dha  $gan^{(74)}$ , he was appointed Dban (王 Wang)<sup>(75)</sup>. [Subsequently] he was dispatched to Mdo khams, and died there.

The son born [to Bzan po dpal] by Jo mo Kun dgah hbum phul ba, who had been a wife of Dpon chen of Dbus-Gtsan Ag glen, was Bla ma Kun dgah blo gros pa, who was Imperial Preceptor (Ti Çrhi) through the reigns of the three Emperors Bu yan du (仁宗), Go gan (英宗) and Yi sun the mur<sup>(76)</sup> (泰定帝). At the age of 29, in the second month of the year Fire-Female-Hare (me mo yos<sup>(77)</sup>—1327 A.D.), he passed away<sup>(78)</sup> in Tahi tu (大都 *Tai tu*).

A first son was born [to Bzan po dpal] by Ma gcig<sup>(79)</sup> yon bdag mo, but he died. The second son, Bla ma Kun dgah legs paḥi ḥbyun gnas, was ranked as National Preceptor (Gu Çrḥi) and Imperial Preceptor<sup>(80)</sup> (Ti Çrḥi) at the time of the Emperor Yi sun the mur<sup>(81)</sup>. [23a] The third son, Bla ma Kun dgaḥ rgyal mtshan, became Chan guḥi guṅ (?國公) at the time of the Emperor Yi sun the mur<sup>(82)</sup>; and through the reigns of the three Emperors Hjwab yan du<sup>(83)</sup> (文宗), Rin chen dpal (寧宗) and Gon ma tho gan the mur<sup>(84)</sup> (順帝), he was Imperial Preceptor (Ti Çrḥi)<sup>(65)</sup>.

Bzan po dpal's eldest son by Ma gcig nam mkhah rgyal ma was Nam mkhah gçin rje<sup>(86)</sup>. The second son, Bla ma Nam mkhah legs pa, became National Preceptor (Gu çrhi) and held the office of Gdan sa of Bshi thog. The third son, Slob dpon chen po Nam mkhah rgyal mtshan<sup>(87)</sup>, proceeded to the Imperial Court. Only the fourth [son] died in childhood<sup>(88)</sup>.

Bzan po dpal's eldest son by Ma gcig gshon nu hbum was Slob dpon chen po Kun dgah ñi ma, and he became Tahi dben gu çrhi (大元國師 T'ai yüan kuo shih) in the Imperial Court. The second son, Bla ma Don yod rgyal mtshan pa, became Ta dben gu çrhi (大元國師 T'ai yüan kuo shih) and the Dharmaexplainer (chos hchad) of Bshi thog. The third son, Bla ma Bsod nams rgyal mtshan pa, was National Preceptor (Gu çrhi), and was head of Bshi thog. Only the fourth son died in childhood.

Bzan po dpal's eldest son by Ma gcig ñi ma rin chen was Slob dpon Ñi ma dpal, and the daughter was Slob dpon ma Bsod nams hbum. The younger brother, Slob dpon Kun dgah legs pahi rgyal mtshan pa, married<sup>(69)</sup> Princess Mun dha gan and became Dban  $(\pm Wang)^{(90)}$ .

The son, Slob dpon Ratna<sup>(91)</sup>, of Dban (王 *Wang*) Bsod nams bzan po and Princess<sup>(92)</sup> Mun dha gan became National Preceptor (Gu çrhi). Slob dpon chen po Chos kyi rgyal mtshan pa, son of Bla ma Kun dgah rgyal mtshan pa and Nams rin si tu's<sup>(93)</sup> mother became Chan guhi gun (?國公). The son of Kun

dgah rgyal mtshan pa and Kun spans pa's sister (lcam mo) was Slob dpon chen po Blo gros rgyal mtshan pa. The children of Dban  $(\pm Wang)$  (Kun dgah legs pahi rgyal mtshan pa) and Khan gsar dbon mo<sup>(94)</sup> were: the elder sister, Slob dpon ma Bsod nams hbum; the elder brother, Slob dpon chen po Bsod nams blos gros pa; and 'the younger brother, Slob dpon chen po Grags pa rgyal mtshan pa. The son of Bla ma Nam mkhah legs pa and Khan gsar dbon mo was Slob dpon chen po Kun dgah rin chen pa<sup>(95)</sup>.

The disciples of the Uncle Chos rje (Sa skya paṇḍita) and his Nephew (Ḥphags pa) were known under the headings of the Three Schools, Eastern (Çar), Western (Nub), and middle (Gun). The lineage of the Eastern School (Çar pa): Jo ḥbum [of the] Shan shun family, of the Old Tantra School (Snags rñin ma ba), [23b] had three sons. The eldest, Bla ma Çar pa Çes ḥbyun<sup>(96)</sup>, took orders under the guidance of Chos rje pa (Sa skya paṇḍita). He bought Bla bran çar from Dpon chen Çḥakya bzan po, and attained the age of  $64^{(97)}$ . The second son, Slob dpon Rdo rje ḥod zer, held the office of Gdan sa of Çar for seven years, and attained the age of  $62^{(98)}$ . The third son, Slob dpon Hod zer ḥphan, was an upāsaka. The son of the sister of those brothers, Bla ma Ye çes rgyal mtshan, was a disciple of Chos rje pa and Çes ḥbyun of Çar pa. In the Imperial Court, Qubilai Se chen made him a spiritual guide and refuge (bla mchod) for Manga la<sup>(99)</sup>. After Bla ma Rdo rje hod zer passed away, he held the office of Gdan sa of Çar for nineteen years. He attained the age of  $66^{(100)}$ .

Çar pa chen po's son, Phyug po rje btsun skyabs, [who was born] before his ordination (101), had three sons. All of them were the disciples of Hgro mgon Hphags pa. The eldest, Bla ma Dus hkhor ba Ye çes rin chen<sup>(102)</sup>, was sent<sup>(103)</sup> by all the Sa skya pa to invite Bla ma Hphags pa, who was staying at Cin kun (臨洮 Lin t'ao). Later, he proceeded to China. As the Emperor Qubilai Se chen favoured him, he became Imperial Preceptor (Ti çrhi), and died at the age of 47 on Rtse lina (五台山 Wu t'ai shan)(104). The second son, Bla ma Kun dgah sen ge, following Bla ma Hphag pa's advice, proceeded to the Imperial Court, and became a spiritual guide and refuge (bla mchod) to Emperor and Prince A nanta<sup>(105)</sup>. Back in Dbus-Gtsan, he held the office of Gdan sa of Çar for twenty-nine years and attained the age of 68(106). The third son, Hjam dbyans rin chen rgyal mtshan, by Qubilai Se chen's command, was Bla chos of Sa skya's Bshi thog for sixteen years. Later, he was invited to the Imperial Court by the Emperor Ol ja du (成宗) and became Imperial Preceptor (Ti çrhi). He passed away at the Imperial Court at the age of 49(107). He was perfect in understanding the Scriptures and practicing them. The Holy Sa skya became large [and influential] at this Bla ma's time.

The eldest son of Bla ma Çar pa (Çıs hbyun) by Ma gcig dpal hbum,

Slob dpon chen po Sen ge dpal, died in China at the age of  $30^{(108)}$ . The second son, Kun dgah bod nams pa, held the office of Gdan sa, and he passed away at the age of 62, in the year Fire-Male-Dog (me pho khyi—1346 A.D.).

[24a] The eldest son of Çar pa Çes hbyun by Ma gcig nam mkhah rgyan pa, Slob dpon Rin chen rgyal mtshan, attained the age of 50 [and died] in the Horse Year. The second, Slob dpon Kun dgah rgyal mthan, and the third, Slob dpon Ñi ma, died in childhood<sup>(109)</sup>.

The first [patriarch] of the Western School (Nub pa<sup>(110)</sup>), Hu yug pa Bsod nams sen ge, met Chos rje pa (Sa skya paṇḍita). Slob dpon Zans tsha gave him Bshi thog. His younger brother's son, Bla ma Kun smon, met Chos rje pa. Later, he and his younger brother Kun dgaḥ mdses parting from [Chos rje pa's group], joined [the group of] Dpon chen Kun dgaḥ bzan po. Bla ma Ḥphags pa did not like him<sup>(111)</sup>. Therefore, he was expelled by Se chen's command. The elder brother died in the country of Sman rtse (蠻子 Man tzŭ). His nephew was Yon tan dpal. Later, [another] nephew, named Sans rgyas dpal, held the office of Gdan sa.

The [lineage of the] Middle School (Gun pa): Chos rje pa's disciple, Skyo ston dri med, had no nephew and no descendants<sup>(112)</sup>. So his disciple held<sup>(113)</sup> the office of Gdan sa, and was succeeded by Bla ma Dar yes, Gun pa Dpal rgyal, Gun pa Çer rgyal, and Gun pa Bkra çis bzan po.

The lineage<sup>(114)</sup> of the Khan gsar pa: The son of Sum pa grags rgyal<sup>(115)</sup>, Bla ma Grags pa hod zer, and Bla ma Çar pa Rdo rje hod zer were the btsun pas of Ye pa. Later, the former became the general administrator in charge of Bla ma Hphags pa's property. He proceeded to the Imperial Court in the retinue<sup>(116)</sup> of Slob dpon Dharma phha la<sup>(117)</sup>. Succeeding Bla ma Dus hkhor ba (Ye çes rin chen), he occupied the position of Imperial Preceptor (Ti çrhi) to Se chen, and passed away at the Imperial Court at the age of 58<sup>(116)</sup>.

At the time of his younger brother, Bla ma Sańs rgyas dpal, Lha khan bla bran was acquired<sup>(119)</sup> [by the school]. He held the position of Imperial Preceptor (Ti Çrhi) at the Imperial Court throghout the reigns of the three Emperors O1 ja du (成宗), Gu lug (武宗) and Bu yan (仁宗). He passed away at the Imperial Court at the age<sup>(120)</sup> of 48<sup>(121)</sup>. His son, Bla ma Grags pa rgyal mtshan pa, became National Preceptor (Gu çrhi). He relinquished, however, all (worldly honors) gradually; and he passed away at the age of 26<sup>(122)</sup>.

There was a tall man among the parents and children<sup>(123)</sup> [who belonged to] the Khan gsar pa. His descendant<sup>(124)</sup>, Slob dpon Ñi ma rgyal mtshan, occupied the position of National Preceptor (Gu Çrhi) [24b] and later passed away. Slob dpon chen po Bde legs rgyal mtshan [was also of the Khan gsar pa].

The [lineage of the] Regency (Dpon chen) of Sa skya: When Bla ma

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Chos rje pa (Sa skya pandita) went (125) to the North, the first of the Regents (Dpon chen la sna ba), Çhakya bzan po, was saluted by all the Kalyānamitras except Bla ma Hu yug pa and Bla ma Çer ḥbyuṅ, and [he was] appointed as an acting Gdan sa. At the time of Bla ma Hphags pa, he was given a seal of the office of Zam klu gun min dban hu (三路軍民王府 San lu chün min wang fu) for Dbus and Gtsan by command of Se chen, and was appointed the Dpon chen. He founded the great Khan gsar [in Sa skya] and also erected the outer and inner walls(128) of the Great Temple (Lha Khan chen mo). Having collected timber [required for the building], he passed away before completing the roof [of the temple](127). Then, Kun dgah bzan po, who had acted as confidential agent (Nan gner), took over the Regency. He built (128) the palace (Bla bran) of Rin chen sgan, and completed the temple and the wall. Kun dgah bzan po having transmitted<sup>(129)</sup> the Regency, the Regents Shan btsun, Phyug po sgan dkar ba and Byan rin<sup>(130)</sup> were appointed in turn under advice from the Bla ma (Hphags pa). As the Bla ma<sup>(181)</sup> did not like Kun dgah bzan po, he was executed (132) by command of Se chen. During Byan rin's time, Se chen favoured him<sup>(133)</sup>, and bestowed on him a crystal seal (cel-dam) and the title of magistrate (mi dpon) of Zon wi si<sup>(134)</sup> (宣慰司 Hsüan wei ssu). Then, Kun gshon<sup>(185)</sup> became Dpon chen, and was succeeded by Gshon dban, in whose time the great reorganization took place, and the details of the laws of Dbus and Gtsan were almost completely codified<sup>(136)</sup>. After him, came Dpon chen Byan rdor<sup>(137)</sup>, and Dpon chen A glen. The latter erected the outer wall of Sa skya and the wall of Dpon po ri. He also built Khan gsar glin. During the time of these three [regents], war against Hbri khun pa was waged (138). Then, [Gshon dpan took over the Regency again<sup>(189)</sup>]. [He was followed by] Dpon chen Legs pa dpal, Dpon chen Sen ge dpal, Dpon chen Hod zer sen ge who held(140) the seal of Swon chin dben (宣政院 Hsüan chêng yüan), Dpon chen Kun dgah rin chen, Dpon chen Don yod dpal, Dpon chen Yon btsun, again Dpon chen Hod zer sen ge, Dpon chen Rgyal ba bzan po, (141...Dpon chen Dban phyug dpal, Dpon chen Bsod nams dpal, again Dpon chen Rgyal ba bzaň po<sup>…141)</sup>, Dpon chen Dbaň brtson<sup>(142)</sup>, Dpon chen [25a] Nam mkhah brtan pa, Dpon chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Dpon chen Dpal hbum, Dpon chen Blo chen and Dpon chen Grags dban.

The [lineage of the] great confidential agents (Nan chen gñer) of Sa skya: Dpon chen Kun dgah bzan po, Dpon Gshon nu dpal, Dpon Kun gshon<sup>(143)</sup>, Dpon Don grub dpal, Dpon Blo, Shwa lu dpon çes<sup>(144)</sup>, Ston pa Rin chen dpal, Dpon Grub bzan, Ñe gnas chen po Dkon mchog bzan po, Ñe gnas Hjam rgyal<sup>(145)</sup>, and again Ston pa Rin chen dpal were appointed [in succession to this office] by the [Imperial] command. Ston pa Rin mo, Jo btsun Kun çes<sup>(146)</sup>, Ñe gnas Kun dgah hphel, and Dpon Yon btsun grags pa dar were in turn appointed by the [Imperial] command. Grags pa dar held formerly the seal of Swi tu (司徒 Ssu t'u); now, moreover, he was newly appointed to this office [by the Imperial command]. Rin bsam<sup>(147)</sup> Du dben ça (都元帥 Tu yüan shuai) was appointed to this office by the [Imperial] command. Ñe gnas Nam mkhah rgyal mtshan was appointed by the [Imperial] command. Dpon Kun rin<sup>(148)</sup>, Ñe gnas Hbum skyabs, Nam mkhah dpal Du dben ça<sup>(149)</sup>, Ñe gnas Bzan po dpal, Dbon po Chos rgyal, Dpon Sen ge rgyal mtshan, and Çes rab hod zer Du dben ça were [in turn appointed to this office]. Owing to his retirement from the office, Dbon po Dkon mchog rin chen was appointed, and Nan pa Kun dgah hbum [followed him].

Among the eleven persons who were ordained at Chu çul sprog ma dgon pa, when Bla ma Pan chen Çhakya çrhi<sup>(150)</sup> came to Tibet, the two, Mkhan po Rdo rje dpal and Ryan chub dpal petitioned to go in his retinue(151). [Then, Pan chen] said, "Learn the vinaya from Na bzah hphren gsol(152) of Zul phu, then come!". So, they went to study(153) the vinaya. Having been in the retinue(154) of Jo stan Gtsan po ba, an attendant (bla mchod) of Pan chen, they remained as [Gtsan po ba's] attendant (bla mchod)(155). When Pan chen was about to go back to India, they again petitioned to go in his retinue<sup>(156)</sup>. Then, Pan chen said (157), "It is very hot in India. You cannot stand it. Expound the vinaya under the guidance<sup>(158)</sup> of Gtsan po ba. The four bhiksus should try not to separate from each other<sup>(159)</sup>." So, under the guidance<sup>(160)</sup> of Gtsan po ba, [they expounded the vinaya]. After the death of Gtsan po ba, Rdo rje dpal became a Mkhan po. When Byan chub dpal<sup>(161)</sup> became a Slob dpon, they (Rdo rje dpal and Byan chub dpal) wanted to separate. From this, two parties arose<sup>(162)</sup>. Subsequently<sup>(163)</sup>, [25b] however, [Rdo rje dpal and Byan chub dpal] were invited to the Imperial Court as Mkhan po and Slob dpon for<sup>(164)</sup> the ordination of Bla ma Chos kyi rgyal po (Hphags pa). [Rdo rje dpal] appointed Mkhan po Gtsan pa dban phyug grags to the office of Gdan sa, [and started] (165). When [Rdo rje dpal] arrived at Hdam, he heard that Bla ma Chos kyi rgyal po had already finished his ordination. Henceforth, as they (Rdo rje dpal and Gtsan pa) lived apart, two [further] parties arose. Mkhan po Bde ba dpal became Gdan sa. He was succeeded by Mkhan po Bkah bshi ba grags gshon, Mkhan po Bsod nams grags, and Mkhan po Bsod nams bzan po. After Mkhan po Gtsan pa, his nephew, Gshon byan pa became Gdan sa. He was succeeded by his cousin, Mkhan po Hdul tshad pa Byan chub bzan po, and Mkhan po Hdul tshad pa Don grub dpal. After Tshogs chen po Mkhan po Rdo rje dpal, [came] Mkhan po Sans rgyas dpal, Mkhan po Hod zer dpal, Mkhan po Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, Mkhan po San rin<sup>(166)</sup>, Mkhan po Bsod nams dpal, Mkhan po Çes rab mgon<sup>(167)</sup>, and Mkhan po Sen ge rgyal mtshan. At the time (188) of Mkhan po Sans rgyas dpal, Bye rdsin pa's group was formed because Gshu pa Mkhan po Dkon mchog bzan po broke away [from the line

of Tshogs chen po]. After [Dkon mchog bzan po] came Mkhan po Thugs rje dpal, Mkhan po Dar ma bzan po, and Mkhan po Tshul khrims mgon.

Notes:---

- (1) otx, Yar luns çar.
- (2) tx, mjal. otx, hjal.
- (3) otx, ~Mkhon bar~. DT na 4a (BA p. 210), ~Hkhon par~, Hkhon corresponds to "款氏" in 釋老.
- (4) See tx, 15b l.2.
- (5) tx, Hkhon nas kyi brgyud. otx, Mkhon~rgyud.
- (6) tx, ~mo che. otx, DT na 4a (BA p. 210), ~po che.
- (7) In tx 17b 1.3, this same person, "Hkhon Kluhi dban po", is mentioned as the fifth of the "Seven". The lists of these "Seven" vary widely according to the different Tibetan texts. According to Dr. G. Tucci, they were not actually "Seven", but "Six". As we cannot find the third "Kluhi dban po" in any of the old materials, it is possible to think that at a later time the Sa skya school took him as its first patriarch in order to prove its own authenticity by tracing its lineage back to some of the first Tibetan monks, and in order to foster pride in its ancient traditions. For further detail, see G. Tucci: The Debate of bSam yas according to Tibetan Sources (Minor Buddhist Texts II. Rome, 1958).
- (8) tx, bu brgyud. otx, bu rgyud.
- (9) skt, Çãkya.
- (10) The lineage of the Sa skya pa, Table I: Ma sans

# Hkhon par skyes Hkhon Dpal po che Khri mdses lha legs Tshe la dban phyug Hkhon Kluhi dban po Dge skyabs

Çes rab yon tan Yon tan hbyun gnas Tshul khrims rgyal po Rdo rje gtsug tor

Tshe hdsin | Rdo rje rin po che

To be continued with (36) Table II.

Dge mthon

Bal po

Çākya blo gros

- (11) DT na 4a (BA p. 210), chu-mo-glan, Water-Female-Ox (1073 A.D.).
- (12) tx, drug cu $\sim$ . otx, drug bcu $\sim$ .
- (13) skt, Mañjughoşa.
- (14) otx, Bir wa pa. skt, Virūpa.
- (15) tx, drug cu~. otx, drug bcu~.
- (16) Blon dpon in tx should be "Slob dpon" as otx shows.
- (17) Cf. DT na 4b (BA p. 211), chu pho khyi (1142 A.D.)-chu pho stag (1182 A.D.)
- (18) Cf. TPS p. 173 and GHP p. 64.
- (19) tx, ~cu pa. otx, ~bcu pa.
- (20) See DT na 4b. "la hkhruns" is inserted after "rta".
- (21) Çākya-çrībhadra. He was usually called Kha che pan chen. He came to Tibet in 1204,

travelled about the whole of Tibet, and returned to Kashmīr. For further detail, see Dr. Hakuyu Hatano: Kaśmīra-mahāpaņḍita Śākya-śrībhadra (Tohoku Daigaku, "Bunka 文化", vol. 32, 9).

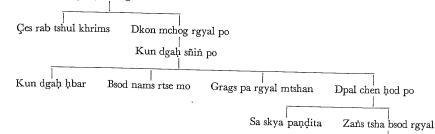
- (22) tx, ~man po. otx, ~man po rnams.
- (23) tx, Bla bran çar pa. otx, Bla bran çar çar pa.
- (24) Çes rab hbyun gnas in full name. cor. Çes hbyun (Ye çes hbyun gnas) (?) See n. (96).
- (25) Cf. GHP p. 150 n. 500.
- (26) tx, hphur. otx, hphur ba.
- (27) tx, gyon pas. otx, gon pas.
- (28) tx, drug cu $\sim$ . otx, drug bcu $\sim$ .
- (29) Sa skya pandita, his nephews Hphags pa and Phyag na rdo rje.
- (30) tx, bton pahi mjal~. otx, ston pahi hjal~. Referring to the Great Conference and the Coronation of the Emperor Go yug, see 元史 2, 定宗本紀, 元年 (1246 A.D.). We read there, "Autumn, seventh month, mounted the Imperial throne." (秋七月, 卽皇帝位.)
- (31) Güyük. 貴由=定宗.

(32) tx, mjal. otx, hjal.

- (33) tx, bdun cu shes pa. otx, bdun bcu bshes pa.
- (34) Zans tsha bsod nams rgyal mtshan in full name.
- (35) This is the place where Sa skya Monastery was located.
- (36) The lineage of the Sa skya pa, Table II:

From (10) Table I.

Çākya blo gros



To be continued with (64) (73) Tables III, IV.

- (37) This is "八思巴" in 釋老, and "發思巴" in 通載.
- (38) The date of the birth of Hphags pa-1235 A.D.—as given by all the Tibetan sources is different from that of the Chinese sources. 勅修百丈清規 Ch'ih hsiu pai chang ch'ing kuei, 帝師涅槃條: 己亥歲四月十三日降生 (Taisho 48 p. 1117b); 釋老: 歲癸丑, 年十有五, 謁世祖於潜邸. From those two passages, we can reckon Hphags pa's birth-date as 1239 A.D.
- (39) According to DT na 4b (BA p. 212), this occurred when he was ten years old. As explained above, since it was 1244 A.D. when he joined the retinue of Sa skya pandita, he should have been ten years old, provided that he was born in 1235.
- (40) tx, phyag phyi. otx, phyags phyi.
- (41) tx, dus su. otx, dus la.
- (42) Go se la in tx should be "Go pe la" as otx shows. (=Qubilai).
- (43) Unidentified.
- (44) tx, byaň ňos bahi rgyal bu moň gor daň/ otx, byaň ňos pahi rgyal bu mo go du (or yo ge du?) daň/
- (45) tx, Bla ma hphags pa lhan du. otx, Bla ma pa dan lhan du.
- (46) tx, mjal. otx, hjal.
- (47) tx, Hor gyis. otx, Hor gyi.
- (48) tx, skor gcig phyin nas. otx, bskor 1 byin nas.

- (49) yon=sbyin bdag. mchod=mchod gnas.
- (50) Referring to the dates when Hphags pa was appointed National Preceptor and Imperial Preceptor一釋老: 中統元年 (1260 A.D.), 世祖卽位, 尊爲國師, 授以玉印. This indicates that Hphags pa was appointed National Preceptor in 1260 when Qubilai mounted the throne. 通載 21: 時至元七年 (1270 A.D.), 詔制大元國字, …升號帝師大寶法王. It was 1270 A.D. when he was appointed Imperial Preceptor.
- (51) tx, bcu gcig. otx, bcu cig.
- (52) This is identical with the date given in 通載 21. In 釋老, we find, "Hphags pa died in the sixteenth year of 至元 (1279 A.D.)". This date given in 釋老 is wrong.
- (53) According to DT na 4b (BA p. 212), this happened when he was six years old. As stated above, this was 1244 A.D., when he joined the retinue of Sa skya pandita. Thus he must have been six years old, provided that he was born in 1239.
- (54) tx, phyag phyir. otx, phyags phyir.
- (55) tx, Hor. otx, Hor gyi.
- (56) otx, Dharmha pha la~. skt, Dharmapālarakşita. 元史 12: 答耳麻八刺刺吉塔. 釋老: 答兒麻八刺乞列 (~pālaçrī). Although the present text does not say so, he is taken as the third Imperial Preceptor in the Chinese materials.
- (57) Son of Go dan.
- (58) According to DT na 5a (BA pp. 212, 213), he died at the age of 20, in the year Fire-Female-Hog (me-mo-phag—1287 A.D.). Cf. Rehu mig p. 30. 釋老: [至元] 二十三年 (1286 A.D.) 卒.
- (59) Unidentified. In Rehu mig (p. 30), it is recorded that he passed away in Sa skya.
- (60) tx, Ratna~. otx, Ratna~. skt, Ratnabhadra.
- (61) tx, bçul du. otx, çul du.
- (62) Cf. 釋老: [至元十一年 (1274 A.D.), 八思巴] 請告西還. 留之不可, 乃以其弟亦憐眞嗣焉.
- (63) In DT na 4b (BA p. 212), it is recorded that he died at the age of 42 in the year Earth-Female-Hare (sa mo yos—1279 A.D.). Cf. Rehu mig p. 29. See 元史 10, 世祖 本紀至元十六年 (1279 A.D.) 十二月條: 帝師亦憐吉卒. Another reference is in 釋老 (百納本):亦憐眞嗣爲帝師,凡六歳,至元十九年 (1282 A.D.) 卒. In another edition, 圖 書集成本, however, "十九年" is corrected to "十六年". The record of 百納本 that he died in 1282, is, therefore, wrong.
- (64) The lineage of the Sa skya pa, Table III:

From (36) Table II. Female gender is shown henceforth by parentheses.

(Dkon mchog skyid)——Zans tsha bsod rgyal——(Hbro) (Mdo sde) Rin chen rgyal mtshan Hphags pa Phyag na rdo rje———(Ma gcig mkhaḥ ḥgro ḥbum) (Dpal ldan)———Dharmapālarakşita————(Stag ḥbum)

Ratnabhadra

- (65) otx, Hu kar che.
- (66) tx, sum cu $\sim$ . otx, sum bcu $\sim$ .
- (67) According to DT na 4a (BA p. 212), he died at the age of 37 in the year Wood-Male-Dog (çin pho khyi—1274 A.D.). Cf. Rehu mig p. 28.
- (68) tx, gdun brgyud du mnah gsol/ otx, gdun rgyud du ma ba gsol/
- (69) tx, gdun brgyud spel du. otx, gdun rgyud dpel du.
- (70) tx, Bu yan. otx, Bu yan du.
- (71) Cf. 元史 24, 仁宗本紀, 至大四年閏七月條: 以西僧藏不班八, 爲國師, 賜玉印.
- (72) According to DT na 5a (BA p. 213), he died at the age of 61 in the year Water-Male-Dog (chu pho khyi-1322 A.D.). Cf. Rehu mig p. 34. It is recorded there that the

office of Gdan sa had been vacant for three years since the death of Bzan dpal of Sa skya.

(73) Table IV-A:

(Lha gcig mdses ma)——Zańs tsha bsod rgyal———(Rdo rje ldan) (Bsod nams hbum) (Ñi ma hbum) Bzań po dpal *To (78) (88) (90) Tables V, VI, VII.* 

Table IV-B:

- (74) tx, Mun dha gnan. otx, Mun dha gnan gnan. In the Text, 23a ll. 5, 6, this princess appears again. Probably her name should be Mun dha gan. So I read "Mun dha gan gnan."
- (75) Cf. 元史 30,泰定帝本紀,泰定三年五月條:以帝師兄鎻南藏卜,領西番三道宣慰司事,尙公主錫王爵給壽寧公主印,仍賜田百頃鈔三萬錠. 釋老:泰定間・・・,而其(=帝師)兄瑣南藏卜,遂尙公主封白蘭王,賜金印給圓符. The Imperial Preceptor (帝師) here referred to is his brother, Kun dgah blo gros pa, whose mother is different from that of Bsod nams bzan po. In the Chinese materials, the Princess given to him is "壽寧公主", and he became "白蘭王". The other Chinese references are: 元史 108 諸王表,元史 109 諸公主表.
- (76) otx, ~thi mur.
- (77) tx, me yos. otx, me mo yos.
- (78) Cf. DT na 5a (BA p. 213) and Rehu mig p. 34. The date of the death of Kun dgah blo gros pa is recorded in 釋老:以公哥羅古羅思監藏班藏卜 (Kun dgah blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzan po) 嗣, 至治三年 (1323 A.D.) 卒. However, it is obvious that this death-date is wrong, because the Sha lu document No. VII was published by this Imperial Preceptor in 1325 A.D. (TPS II p. 752). In 通載 22, it is recorded that he passed away in the 10th month, unspecified day of the year Fire-Female-Hare (丁卯—1327 A.D.). Table V:

(?)—[—Bzan po dpal—[—(Kun dgaḥ ḥbum phul ba) (Mun dha gan)—[—Bsod nams bzan po Kun dgaḥ blo gros pa Ratna [tx, 23a 1.6]

- (79) otx, Ma cig~.
- (80) Cf. 元史 30,泰定帝本紀,泰定四年 (1327 A.D.) 四月條: 以西僧公哥副 (cor. 列) 思巴 冲納思監藏班藏卜 (~rgyal mtshan dpal bzan po), 為帝師,賜玉印,仍詔諭天下僧. The description given in 釋老 is ambiguous.
- (81) otx,  $\sim$ thi mur.
- (82) otx, ~thi mur.
- (83) otx, Hjwah~.
- (84) otx, ~thi mur.
- (85) 通載 22: 癸酉 (1333 A.D.),今上皇帝 (=順帝) 萬萬歲. 六月初八日登寶位,改元統元年. 禮請公哥兒監藏班藏卜 (~dpal bzan po) 為帝師. From this, we must conclude that he was appointed Imperial Preceptor at the time when the Emperor Gon ma tho gan the mur

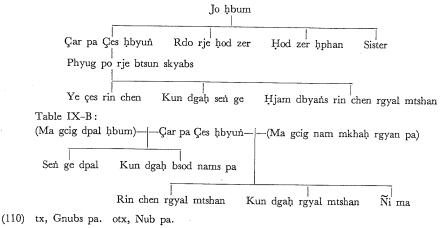
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ascended the throne. There are no Chinese materials to confirm the record of the present text that he was Imperial Preceptor to the Emperors Hjwab yan du (文宗) and Rin chen dpal (寧宗). Cf. 元史 35, 文宗本紀, 至順二年十二月條: 遺兵部尙書也速不花, 同食通 政院事忽納不花, 迎帝師. 元史 36, 至順三年三月條: 庚午朔, 帝師至京師. The Imperial Preceptor referred to here must be Kun dgah rgyal mtshan, who held the office in 京師 in the third month of 至順三年 (1332 A.D.) in the reign of the Emperor Hjwab yan du (文宗). The record of 通載 should be interpreted to mean that he was officially appointed Imperial Preceptor when the Emperor Gon ma tho gan the mur (順帝) ascended the throne, though he had already held that position in effect.

- (86) otx, omits "rje".
- (87) otx, ~mtshan pa.
- (88) Table VI:

From (73) Table IV-A. (Ma gcig yon bdag mo)-Kun dgah legs pahi Kun dgah hbyun gnas rgyal mtshan To (95) Table VIII-A. Nam mkhah gçin rje Nam mkhah legs pa Nam mkhah rgyal mtshan To (95) Table VIII-B. (89) tx, bsdebs nas. otx, sdebs nas. (90) Table VII: From (73) Table IV-A. (Ma gcig gshon nu hbum)--Bzań po dpal-----|—(Ma gcig ñi ma rin chen) Kun dgah Don yod rgyal Bsod nams ñi ma mtshan pa rgyal mtshan pa Ñi ma dpal (Bsod nams hbum) Kun dgah legs pahi----(Mun dha gan) rgyal mtshan pa To (95) Table VIII-B. (91) tx, Ratņa. otx, Ratna. (92) tx, sras mo. otx, sra mo. (93) otx, Nam rins si tuhi. Si tu=司徒 Ssu t'u. (94) otx, ~dpon mo. (95) Table VIII-A: From (88) Table VI. (Nams rin si tu's mother)---Kun dgah rgyal mtshan pa----(Kun spans pa's sister) Chos kyi rgyal mtshan pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan pa Table VIII-B: From (90) Table VII. From (88) Table VI. (Mun dha gan)—|—Kun dgah legs pahi—|—(Khan gsar dbon mo)—|—Nam mkhah legs pa rgyal mtshan pa Kun dgah rin chen pa (Bsod nams hbum) Bsod nams blo gros pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan pa

- (96) tx, ~Çar pa shes byun. otx, ~Çar pa Çes hbyun. By otx and tx 23b l. 3. His full name was, Ye çes hbyun gnas.
- (97) tx, dgun lo drug cu~. otx, gun lo drug bcu~.
- (98) tx, drug cu $\sim$ . otx, drug bcu $\sim$ .
- (99) otx, Mam ga la. Mangala. Son of Qubilai, 安西王 An hsi wang.
- (100) tx, drug cu~. otx, drug bcu~.
- (101) tx, rab tu ma byuń. otx, rab tu ma byon.
- (102) tx, Ye ças rin chen. otx, Ye çes rin chen/
- (103) tx, brdsans. otx, rdsans.
- (104) Cf. 元史 14, 世祖本紀, 至元二十三年十二月條: 最歲以亦攝思憐, 為帝師. 釋老: 答兒 麻八刺乞列嗣, 二十三年卒. 亦攝思蓮眞嗣, 三十一年卒. From these two passages, we know that he became the fourth Imperial Preceptor soon after Dharmapālarakşita had passed away in 至元二十三年 (1286 A.D.). He left the position of Imperial Preceptor to Grags pa hod zer in 至元二十八年 (1291 A.D.) before he died in 至元三十一年 (1294 A.D.)—See note (118). Having quitted that position, he did not return to Tibet, but ascended the mountain 五豪 (Wu t'ai shan), and ended his life there.
- (105) skt. Ananda.
- (106) tx, drug cu~. otx, brug bcu~.
- (107) Cf. 元史 21, 成宗本紀, 大德八年 (1304 A.D.) 一月條: 以輦眞監藏, 為帝師. ibid, 大德九年正月條: 帝師輦眞監藏卒. 釋老: [乞刺斯八斡節兒] 大德七年卒. 明年以輦眞監藏嗣, 又明年卒. From these two texts, it is obvious that he became Imperial Preceptor in 1304 A.D., and passed away in 1305 A.D.
- (108) tx, sum cu pa. otx, sum bcu pa.
- (109) The lineage of the Car pa, Table IX-A:

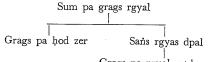


- (111) tx, ma mthun pas/ otx, ma hthun pas/
- (112) tx, brgyud. otx, rgyud.
- (113) tx, bzuň ba/ otx, gzuň ba/
- (114) tx, brgyud pa/ otx, rgyud pa/
- (115) His full name was, Sum pa grags pa rgyal mtshan.
- (116) tx, phyag phyir. otx, phyags phyir.
- (117) otx, ~pha la. See note (56).
- (118) 釋老:亦攝思連眞嗣,[至元] 三十一年 (1294 A.D.) 卒. 乞刺斯八斡節兒嗣. As Se chen died in the first month of the same year (1294 A.D.), the record of the Red Annals that he occupied the position of Imperial Preceptor to Se chen, seems to contradict that of 釋老. However, see 元史 16,世祖本紀,至元二十八年 (1291 A.D.) 十二月條: 授吃刺恩八斡節兒, 篇帝師, and 元史 18, 成宗本紀,至元三十一年六月條: 以 合刺恩八斡節而, 篇帝師, 賜玉印. From the second passage in 元史, it is known that

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he was again officially appointed Imperial Preceptor when 01 ja du (成宗) ascended the throne. Therefore, it is possible that the account of 釋老 was conformed to the record of 元史. In reality, however, Grags pa hod zer was appointed Imperial Preceptor in 至元二十八年 (1291 A.D.). Therefore, the record of the Red Annals is acceptable. According to 釋老, he passed away in 大德七年 (1303 A.D.).

- (119) tx, bzun/ otx, gzun/
- (120) tx, gun lo. otx, dgun lo.
- (121) 釋老: 以輦眞監藏嗣, 又明年一大德九年 (1305 A.D.)一卒. 都家班嗣, 皇慶二年 (1313 A.D.) 卒. 相兒加思嗣, 延祐元年 (1314 A.D.) 卒. "相兒加思" is a Chinese transliteration from San's rgyas dpal, as "都家班" corresponds to 多爾濟巴勒 (=Rdo rje dpal) in the Ch'ing dynasty edition. Therefore, Sans rgyas dpal was to be Imperial Preceptor only to the Emperor Bu yan (仁宗), but this does not agree with the record of the Red Annals that he held the position of Imperial Preceptor throughout the reigns of the three Emperors. The Sha lu document No. IV was published by Imperial Preceptor, Sans rgyas dpal, on the 19th day of the seventh month in 1307 A.D. (Cf. TPS II p. 750). Further references are made in 元史 21, 成宗本紀, 大德九年 (1305 A.D.) 三月條: 以 吃剌八思斡節兒姪相加班, 為帝師, and 元史 24, 仁宗本紀, 皇慶二年 (1313 A.D.) 九月 條: 九月,以相兒加思巴, 為帝師. Here in the record of 皇慶二年 (1313 A.D.), it is not mentioned that Imperial Preceptor passed away. As it is obvious from the Sha lu document No. IV that Sans rgyas dpal was Imperial Preceptor in 1307 A.D., 相加班 and 相兒加思巴 in 元史 must be the same person. There then arises the question of why one and the same person appears under two different names. We may conjecture that Sans rgyas dpal retired a first time from the position of Imperial Preceptor in order to return to Tibet; or that he was officially appointed Imperial Preceptor by the Emperor Bu yan (仁宗), after he had already held that position in effect. "都家班" in 釋老 must be a Chinese transliteration of Sans rgyas dpal, and "多爾濟巴勒" in 釋老 of the Ch'ing dynasty edition must be a wrong transliteration. Then, the record in 釋老, that he died in 皇慶二年 (1313 A.D.) will also be in error. In conclusion, he became Imperial Preceptor in 1305, and held that position throughout the reigns of the three Emperors until he died in 1314 A.D. These conclusions can all be established and substantiated by the records of the Red Annals. The record of 元史 21, however, that San's rgyas dpal (相加班) is Grags pa hod zer's nephew (姪) remains improbable to account for.
- (122) Tae lineage of the Khan gsar pa, Table X:



Grags pa rgyal mtshan pa

- (123) tx, pha spun. otx, ba spun.
- (124) tx, brgyud. otx, rgyud.
- (125) tx, byon dus/ otx, hbyon dus/
- (126) tx, brtsigs/ otx, rtsigs/
- (127) Cf. DT na 6a (BA p. 216).
- (128) tx, btab/ otx, gtab/
- (129) tx, gtad nas/ otx, btad nas/
- (130) His full name was, Byan chub rin chen.
- (131) tx, Bla mas. otx, Bla ma.
- (132) tx, bsad/ otx, gsad/ As for Kun dgah bzan po, see DT na 6ab (BA p. 216).
- (133) tx, Se chen gyi thugs la btags nas. otx, Se chen gyis thugs la rtags nas.
- (134) Cf. DT na 6b (BA p. 216).
- (135) His full name was, Kun dgah gshon nu.
- (136) Cf. DT na 6b (BA p. 216).

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- (137) His full name was, Byan chub rdo rje.
- (138) Cf. DT na 6b (BA pp. 216, 217).
- (139) See DT na 6b (BA p. 217): yan gshon dban skyar nas bskos. (Gshon dban was again appointed).
- (140) tx, bzun. otx, gzun.
- (141) These three Dpon chens are omitted from BA (p. 217), though they are all recorded in DT na 6b.
- (142) otx, rtson.
- (143) His full name was, Kun dgah gshon nu.
- (144) otx, Sha lu dpon çe/, tx seems to take "Shwa lu dpon çe ston pa rin chen dpal" as one person, but these must be two persons, as otx shows. Çe should be çes.
- (145) His full name was, Hjam dbyans rgyal mtshan.
- (146) Both tx & otx, ~Kun çe. Çe should be çes. Full name, probably, Kun dgah ye çes.
- (147) Full name, Rin chen bsam gtan.
- (148) Full name, Kun dgaḥ rin chen.
- (149) otx, ~ça/
- (150) skt, Çākyaçrī. otx, Çhaka çrhi. See note (21).
- (151) tx, phyag phyi. otx, phyags phyi.
- (152) Both tx & otx, ~hphred~. DT na 4b gives Na bzah hphren gsol, which is used in the present translation. See DT na 4b (BA p. 212); Bla ma Hphags pa took up the noviciate in the presence of Na bzah hphren gsol at Zul phu on his way to the North.
- (153) tx, bslabs par. otx, omits "par".
- (154) tx, phyag phyi. otx, phyags phyi.
- (155) tx, bshugs/ otx, bshug/ "Bla mchod" used twice here seems to mean "attendant" or "follower".
- (156) tx, phyag phyi. otx, phyags phyi.
- (157) tx, gsuńs. otx, gsuń.
- (158) tx, bsten. otx, brten.
- (159) This means that wherever there are four bhiksus who observe the vinayas, there is the Buddha-dharma.
- (160) tx, bsten/ otx, sten/
- (161) tx, gyi. otx, gyis.
- (162) tx, tshogs pa sde gñis/ otx, tsho pa sde gñis byun/
- (163) tx, deți rtin la. otx, de rtin.
- (164) tx, kyis. otx, kyi.
- (165) It is not clear whether Rdo rje dpal and Byan chub dpal started together or not.
- (166) Full name, Sans rgyas rin chen.
- (167) otx, Çer mgon.
- (168) tx, dus. otx, dus su.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

- BA George N. Roerich: The Blue Annals. Part one. Calcutta, 1949.
- DT Deb ther snon po (Kun bde glin edition) which is in the possession of Prof. Shinten Sakai.
- GHP Alfonsa Ferrari: Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet. Rome, 1958.
- otx The original text of the Red Annals which is in the possession of Mr. Tashi Dahdul Densapa.

Rehu mig Lokesh Chandra: Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan. Part III. New Delhi, 1959.

TPS Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls. Rome, 1949.

tx The Red Annals. Part one. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim, 1961.

元史 Yüan shih.

釋老 元史 202, 釋老 Yüan shih 202, Shih lao.

通載 佛祖歷代通載 Fu tsu li tai t'ung tsai.