The Nechung Record

Christopher Bell (Stetson University)

espite the encroaching Lhasa suburb that now surrounds Nechung Monastery (Gnas chung dgon pa; lit. "Small Abode Monastery"), it is still an imposing structure that greets the visitor on the way up Mount Gepel (Dge 'phel) toward Drepung Monastery ('Bras spungs dgon pa). Once inside Nechung's expansive courtyard, one encounters a vast chain of murals along the gallery wall depicting wrathful protector deities, skinned humans and animals, and oceans of blood. This is the retinue and divine realm of the Dharma protector Pehar (Pe har) and his team of spirits, collectively called the Five Sovereign Spirits (Rgyal po sku lnga). This unique gallery has been noted by many and discussed in great detail by Franco Ricca, but what is often ignored is the lengthy inscription painted on the south wall of the courtyard (see the figure below). This inscription is the Nechung Record (Gnas chung dkar chag), and as a dkar chag it includes a great deal of information on the monastery's founding and contents. Dan Martin succinctly defines the dkar chag as "a text describing the construction and/or content of items which the Tibetan Buddhist traditions consider holy and capable of bestowing blessings (byin brlabs)."2 Considering Nechung Monastery's importance to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas, from the Great Fifth to the present Fourteenth, what follows is the first complete translation and transcription of the *Nechung Record*.

The *Nechung Record* is a detailed list of the sacred items, texts, and relics that were stored at Nechung Monastery after its renovation and expansion in 1682. Yet as with most monastic records, this work also

¹ See Ricca 1999, pp. 93-146.

Martin 1996, p. 504. Martin (1996, p. 505) describes dkar chag as synonymous with gnas bshad and gnas yig when referring to monastic complexes and other sacred sites.

includes praises to and descriptions of the monastery's central deities, details behind its mythic founding, and lists of the workers who effected its expansion. The *Nechung Record* was coauthored by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and his final regent Sangyé Gyatso (1653-1705) and is 75 lines long, with the first 37 lines consisting of the Fifth Dalai Lama's contribution and the remaining 38 lines composed by Sangyé Gyatso. While the wall inscription of the *Nechung Record* was badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution, most of it is still legible today. The text of the inscription is written in the *drutsa* ('bru tsha) Tibetan script. It is presented over a grayed background framed by regal red and gold borders on the left and right, flowing red and gold embellishments on top, and multicolored lotus petals along the bottom. Between the left border and a bare yellow strip next to the text, there is a vertical line of Tibetan written in the Mongolian script (hor yig).

There have been two previous attempts to transcribe and publish the record's contents in Tibetan. The first is a complete transcription produced by a Tibetan scholar named Lingön Padma Kelsang (*Gling dbon Pad ma skal bzang*) in the mid-1980s. At this time, a team of Tibetan scholars conducted an extensive survey of Drepung Monastery for the purposes of textual preservation. This included transcribing the records of the monastery's colleges, often inscribed on the walls of their porticos, as well as documenting their histories, abbatial lineages, and sacred contents. Nechung Monastery was included in this endeavor due to its close historical ties with, and physical proximity to, Drepung. The monastery's information was collected by Lingön Padma Kelsang, who transcribed all its wall inscriptions including the *Nechung Record*. All of this material pertaining to Drepung has been collected in the *Stainless and Clear Crystal Mirror: A Record of Glorious Drepung Monastery*.³

The second transcription of the *Nechung Record* is a partial copy; it consists of a 13-folio block-print manuscript (*dpe cha*) edition of Sangyé Gyatso's portion of the record. Although its publication date and location are unknown, this edition is presented as a distinct text entitled, *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms: the Record of the Pehar Chapel*

Dpal Idan 'bras spungs dgon gyi dkar chag dri med dwangs gsal shel gyi me long; see Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009. I am grateful to the irreplaceable Tsering Gyalbo for drawing my attention to this work and for generously providing me with a copy.

Nechung, which is Exalted by Eight Unprecedented Kinds of Craftworks — Rāvaṇa's Palace Transferred to Earth, where Offerings and Praises are Joyfully Performed [for] the Churning Whirlpool of the Host of Haughty Spirits and the Ocean of Oath-Bound [Guardians].4 While Lingön Padma Kelsang copied the Fifth Dalai Lama's portion of the Nechung Record from the wall inscription itself, it is clear from the philological idiosyncrasies and word choices that he transcribed Sangyé Gyatso's portion from this manuscript instead of the wall. The Tibetan scholar Dobis Tsering Gyal has likewise published a typed transcription of this manuscript.5

Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription has until now been the only full copy of the *Nechung Record*.⁶ However, there are notable differences between the wall inscription of the record and Lingön Padma Kelsang's edition. Unfortunately, whether during transcribing or typing the record, a number of errors crept into Lingön Padma Kelsang's text. These errors include minor typographical mistakes as well as major issues, like misplacing or omitting entire lines of verse. Understandably, Lingön Padma Kelsang also grammatically corrected the original Tibetan text in a number of places, since the wall inscription is rife with distinctive or erroneous spellings. While this is admirable, and even helpful, it ultimately does damage to the original text, the errors and unique spelling of which contain valuable historical data. Nevertheless, Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription has proven indispensable, since it was recorded thirty years ago when the record was less decayed and more legible than it is today.

For this reason, in transcribing the *Nechung Record* anew, I have relied on Lingön Padma Kelsang's text as a base. I then used high definition photographs of the wall inscription taken *in situ* to make any necessary changes in order to produce an accurate facsimile of the

⁴ Mchod bstod dregs pa'i lha tshogs rba klong 'khrug cing dam can rgya mtsho dgyes par spyod pa'i mgrin bcu'i pho brang sa la 'phos pa sngon med bzo sna brgyad kyis 'phags pa'i gnas chung pe har lcog gi dkar chag sa gsum g.yo ba'i nga ro; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da.

⁵ See Dobis Tsering Gyal 2009, pp. 350-359.

⁶ See Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009, pp. 470-488. There are three other shorter records found on various walls within Nechung Monastery, which Lingön Padma Kelsang also transcribed (see ibid, pp. 489-498); however, it is clear that this record is the oldest and most significant.

inscription.7 I also referred to the Roar that Shakes the Three Realms manuscript, as well as Dobis Tsering Gyal's transcription, in order to aid understanding; differences between the wall inscription and the other editions are provided in the footnotes of my transcription. One distinction in the edition below is that abbreviated Tibetan words (bskungs vig) found in the wall inscription are spelled in full in my transcription. I have also separated poetic verses by meter in order to highlight their syllabic differences. These differences make the below transcription a semi-diplomatic edition. Otherwise, this edition is as accurate a copy of the original wall inscription as is possible given its deterioration. For my translation of the wall inscription, I used my transcription while taking advantage of the occasional differences in orthography visible in the other editions. Finally, the wall inscription of the Nechung Record does not have a distinct title, nor does it distinguish between the Fifth Dalai Lama's section and Sangvé Gyatso's section beyond starting the latter on a new line. Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription provides a title for each of the two portions, which I include in my translation for ease of reference.

In terms of structure and content, the *Nechung Record* is very well organized. The first half of the record, composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama, begins with a series of poetic quatrains. The meter length of these verses diminishes gradually in odd numbers—the first quatrain has 19 vowels per line, while the final quatrains have 7 vowels. The contents of these quatrains match the contraction in meter, since the first verses concern the grand Buddhist cosmos while the final verses condense into the specific historical context of the Five Sovereign Spirits, the central protectors of the monastery, as well as Nechung's lineage. It is a beautifully and evocatively rendered mythos. After this panegyric introduction, the prose of the record begins with a detailed doctrinal and philosophical argument for why it is appropriate to venerate protector deities, and why the Five Sovereign Spirits are the best protectors to revere. This is followed by a brief outline of Pehar's past lives, his arrival at Samyé Monastery (*Bsam yas dgon*

I am grateful to Cecilia Haynes for diligently photographing the numerous quadrants of the *Nechung Record* wall inscription using her Nikon D7000 DSLR camera and 18-55 mm lens. These photographs provided me with detailed images of the entire record, line-by-line, from which I could accurately transcribe its legible contents. I am also grateful to Mikmar Tsering, who likewise provided me with detailed photographs of the record.

pa), and his eventual ties to Drepung. The record then discusses Nechung Monastery's expansion, as well as its religious contents and the main *tantras* and ritual texts of its deity cult. The Fifth Dalai Lama's section concludes with more poetic verses praising Nechung and the Five Sovereign Spirits, tying them back to the Tibetan dynasty. The section ends with a colophon.

The second half of the Nechung Record, composed by the regent Sangyé Gyatso, likewise begins with poetic quatrains. These stanzas also descend in meter length, though more simply – from 15-syllable verses straight to 9-syllable verses. Along with this simplicity, there is a noticeable contraction of focus in these verses. The prose of the section follows, and it begins with a much more detailed treatise on the metaphysical importance of the Five Sovereign Spirits. The record then continues Pehar's history where the Fifth Dalai Lama left off, explaining the deity's migration to Tsel Yangön Monastery (Tshal yang dgon dgon pa) southeast of Lhasa and his eventual arrival at Nechung northwest of the city. A stronger connection is made in this portion of the text between Pehar and the lineage of the Dalai Lamas, since their special relationship is consistently emphasized. The next section is the lengthiest as it details the workers and craftsmen involved in Nechung Monastery's 1682 expansion and renovation. After the temporary consecration ceremony is described, the last section concerns the eight different craftworks that make the monastery unique. As with the first half, the second half of the record concludes with poetic stanzas and a colophon. An outline of the record's contents is as follows:

I. Fifth Dalai Lama's Section

- 1) Panegyric verses describing the Buddhist cosmos, Tibetan religious history, and the Five Sovereign Spirits (ll.1-5)
- 2) Doctrinal argument legitimizing protector deities in general and the Five Sovereign Spirits specifically (ll.5-12)
- 3) Pehar's mythic background and role in Tibet (ll.12-17)
- 4) Nechung Monastery's expansion, sacred contents, and religious texts (ll.17-32)
- 5) Concluding poetic verses on the Five Sovereign Spirits and colophon (Il.33-37)

II. Sangyé Gyatso's Section

- 1) Panegyric verses describing the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Five Sovereign Spirits (Il.38-39)
- 2) Metaphysical importance and ultimate enlightened nature of the Five Sovereign Spirits (Il.39-42)
- 3) Continuing mythic history of Pehar from Samyé to Nechung (Il.42-48)
- 4) List of workers and craftsmen involved in Nechung's 1682 expansion and renovation, as well as a description of the monastery's sacred contents (II.49-65)
- 5) Description of the temporary consecration ceremony and the eight types of craftwork that characterize the monastery (ll.65-73)
- 6) Concluding poetic verses on Nechung, the Fifth Dalai Lama, and the Five Sovereign Spirits, as well as the colophon (ll.73-75)

Another text warrants mentioning, given its intertextual significance to the Nechung Record. This is the Summary of the Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Pendenpa along with the Origins of the Great Dharma Protector.8 This work is a short 18-folio biography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden,9 the founder and first abbot of Devang College (Bde yangs grwa tshang) at Drepung Monastery, as well as the original founder of Nechung when it was a smaller chapel. According to Per Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, this text was composed by the regent Sangyé Gyatso.¹⁰ However, this is questionable because the text contradicts a claim made in the portion of the Nechung Record also composed by Sangyé Gyatso, which states that the deity Pehar left Tsel Yangön Monastery with the Second Dalai Lama. The text itself does not explain its authorship; however, it was composed within a century after Nechung Monastery's seventeenth-century expansion. The hagiography quotes heavily from the Nechung Record, placing it after 1682, and was in turn quoted in the Gung thang dkar chag, placing it before the latter

Lcog pa byang chub dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar rags bsdus chos skyong chen po'i 'byung khungs dang bcas pa. See Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db. I refer to this text in abbreviation as the Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden.

⁹ Log pa Byang chub dpal ldan, 1404/1464-1471/1531.

¹⁰ See Sørensen, Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo 2007, p. 217, n. 572.

text's publication in 1782.¹¹ Since the text quotes the *Nechung Record*, it has proven useful for confirming some of the content of the wall inscription that is now too damaged or obscured with age to be legible.

The following translation and transcription are color-coded and organized in various ways. The page numbers for Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription have been included for cross-referencing purposes and are maroon in color, while the line numbers for the wall inscription are blue. Due to unavoidable variations in Tibetan and English word order, the page numbers as listed in the below translation are approximate. Parenthetical words and phrases within the text represent Lingön Padma Kelsang's original correction or interpolation while bracketed words and phrases are my own. I have also maintained the red coloring of key words and phrases found in the text of the wall inscription, used to highlight significant names and terms. As noted above, I have divided the verses of poetry into stanzas to act as an immediate visual cue, separating the framing panegyrics from the enclosed exposition. It is with these changes and emendations that I hope to provide an improved and more reliable transcription of the Nechung Record, as well as its preceding translation. I also hope that this translation and transcription vividly illustrate the need to give greater attention to wall inscription records, given the diverse and extensive content they possess as concrete records from the past. While the other wall inscriptions at Nechung and Drepung have been successfully recorded, others visible at important centers like Samyé, Tsel Yangön, and Meru Nyingpa (Rme ru snying pa) have not. In the case of the Nechung Record, it clearly memorializes just how the monastery, its central deities, and its famous renovators were involved in a robust and extensive world-building project of mythic proportions.

¹¹ See ibid, p. 13.



Wall inscription of the *Nechung Record*, Nechung Monastery Courtyard. (Photo: Cecilia Haynes, 2012)

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[470] Transcription of the Record on the Southern Face of Nechung Monastery's Courtyard

The Nechung Record Composed by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama¹²

- (1) The immutable Dharma body, the great primordial [XX] bliss, appears undifferentiated, limitless, and all-pervading. The perfect enjoyment body, more resplendent than a thousand lotuses XX, is Mighty Hayagrīva...XXXXX. The auspicious manifold display of emanation bodies, which are exceedingly difficult to count X[X], are [all ultimately] the lord who holds five kinds of white lotuses.¹³ As I bow the top of my head in the dust at the feet of these three inseparable bodies, may they bestow [on me] the great blessing of ordinary and extraordinary accomplishments!¹⁴
 - (2) Amid five-colored rainbows and countless peaceful and wrathful deities—which were spontaneously produced from within luminous emptiness and [inseparable] space and awareness—the *vajra*-holding all-pervading lord Tötreng Tsel [Padmasambhava] emanates XXXXXXXXXXXXXX as one. I entreat him to come once again to aid this snowy land [Tibet] and act [as] our most supreme kinsman for the benefit and well-being of the Buddha's teachings and sentient beings!

The lord of Dharma masters, [with] your magical net of the three embodiments—wisdom, benevolence, and spir-

Lingön Padma Kelzang: The numbers given below indicate the lines of the original text, and the X marks represent unclear syllables. As noted, Lingön Padma Kelzang uses X marks to signify syllables that have been obscured by damage. X marks within brackets (e.g., [X]) are my own interpolations based on my observations of the original inscription.

Tib. pad dkar rigs lnga 'chang ba'i gtso. This clearly refers to Padmapāṇi (Tib. Pad dkar 'chang), an epithet for Avalokiteśvara.

While a number of the words that make up this poem are missing because of damage to the original inscription, enough has been salvaged that the overall meaning is clear. This is a prayer to the three bodies (Tib. *sku gsum*; Skt. *trikāya*), particularly of the Lotus Family (Tib. *pad ma rigs*; Skt. *padmakula*), that they might bestow accomplishments (Tib. *dngos grub*; Skt. *siddhi*) on the composer.

itual power—conquered the dark and perverted views of this land and completely endowed it with virtue, pervading [it like] a roaring [wind]. (3) Tsongkhapa,¹⁵ the omnipresent Vajradhara, ¹⁶ the Dharma king of the three worlds, by means of several emanations, sentient beings XXXXXXXX glorious.

Like a luminous five-colored rainbow in the expanse of the sky, the Five Dharma Kings¹⁷—who emanate [as] body, speech, mind, good qualities, and activities—auspiciously appear in order to accomplish each and every pacifying, augmenting, subjugating, and destructive activity. They produce a powerful emanating army of brigadiers, servants, and an ocean of oath-bound protectors.

Tsokyé Dorjé [Padmasambhava] invested the lord of all chiefs¹⁸ with authority, placed a *vajra* [on his head], (4) gave him the immortal *amṛ ta* [nectar] to drink in full, and proclaimed the solemn *samaya* vow. Never forget the oath that was entrusted [to your] care! Increase the well-being of the Buddha's teachings as well as [all] sentient beings in Tibet!¹⁹

[You] were made a servant within the palace of the great $man \not q ala$ of the root and lineage lamas—XXXXX-kyi Wangchuk and so forth.²⁰ Reflect here

Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419; this is the renowned founder of the Geluk sect.

¹⁶ Tib. *kha sbyor bdun ldan;* lit. "endowed with the seven attributes of union." This is an epithet for Vajradhara.

Tib. Chos rgyal sku lnga; this refers to the Five Sovereign Spirits presided over by Pehar.

¹⁸ Tib. *sde dpon yongs kyi rje bo*; given the context, this clearly refers to Pehar.

¹⁹ The last two imperative sentences are directed at the deity Pehar, who was the recipient of Padmasambhava's *samaya* vow in this verse.

²⁰ Tib. XXXXX kyi dbang phyug. I speculate that the figure mentioned here is the treasure-revealer Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212-

and now on [your] promise to accomplish all activities without obstruction!

[You are] the supreme savior who has served and protected in a timely manner the communities of Gendün Gyatso, ²¹ the embodiment of all the Buddhas, and Sönam Gyatso, ²² the crown ornament respected by all—[both of whom] generally and specifically represented the lineage of the Victorious Ones.

There is a great palace displaying terrifying charnel grounds (5) that is completely and constantly filled with riches, such as piles of treasure and clouds of outer, inner, and secret offerings. I offer these in abundance through meditation, *mantras*, and *mudras*.

After beckoning [you] with the yoga of single-minded concentration for a full day and night, ²³ we [hung] colored flags, shouted appeals [to you], played instruments, chanted ritual songs, built up dense clouds of smoke [from] burnt offerings, and sprinkled the *arghaṃ* [oblation]. Since we did this, come here [quick] as lightning and sit on your lotus, moon, and sun [throne]!

^{1270).} The rest of his name would fill in three of the five missing syllables, while the first two are likely *gter ston* (treasure-revealer) or another honorific title.

²¹ Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, 1476-1542; the Second Dalai Lama.

²² Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 1543-1588; the Third Dalai Lama.

²³ Tib. *nyin mtshan dus drug*; lit. "the six times of the day and night." This refers to how a 24-hour day was divided into six 4-hour parts in the ancient Indian system.

[471] The teachings, debates, and writings of the disciplined community that upholds and protects the precious teachings of the Buddha—the roots and branches of which [instill] happiness and well-being—overflow like a lake [in the] summer. Because of this all dharmic activities wax like the moon!

Regarding these [verses], (6) [it is stated] within the [Door that] Leads to Wisdom:²⁴

The holy ones who composed the commentaries wrote praises ²⁵ to the Buddha. Since they expanded the teachings, they perceived these pure words properly and sincerely.

Accordingly, following the example of the excellent hagiographies of past [masters], I performed plentiful offerings and praises and embraced their perspective. The reason—which is not motivated by jealousy toward others—[is as follows]:

In the *Praise Exceeding that of the Gods*²⁶ [it is stated], "I am not partial to the Buddha, nor do I hate [the followers of] Kapila²⁷ and the

²⁴ Tib. *Mkhas 'jug*. This is an abbreviation of *Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo*, a famous treatise on Buddhist scholasticism composed by Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyentsen (Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182-1251), one of the five great forefathers of the Sakya sect. See Sa skya Paṇḍita 1967, p. 6.9-11.

²⁵ Tib. mchod brjod; lit. "offering verses." This term specifically refers to the prefatory stanzas written in honor of the Buddha or deities at the beginning of commentaries.

²⁶ Tib. *Lha las phul byung gi bstod pa*; Skt. *Devātiśayastotra*. This brief text was composed by Śaṃkarapati and found in the commentarial collection of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (*Tengyur*; Tib. *Bstan 'gyur*); see Śaṃkarapati 1982, f.44v.6.

²⁷ An important Vedic sage, the followers of whom generally represent the Hindu opponents of Buddhism.

like. I will only accept he whose words are logical as a teacher."²⁸ Also, the Lord of Knowledge [Dharmakīrti] ²⁹ said, (7) "Since [the Buddha's teachings] are infallible with regard to the primary subjects, we can subsequently infer that [the same is the case] for other [secondary] subjects."³⁰

Regarding the need to enter onto the path that ensures the highest rebirths to be attained and the most transcendent state [of enlightenment], the omniscient [Tsongkhapa] Lobzang Drakpa said, "The stages of the path of the great and glorious Vajradhara thoroughly differentiated the essential points of all secrets." Accordingly, it is said that our Teacher Śākyamuni guided sentient beings onto the sublime path³¹ based on what [teachings] accorded with the capabilities of superior, intermediate, and inferior disciples. Therefore, he taught whatever sections of the Dharma were suitable.

In the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*³² [it is stated]:

"If [you], the Conqueror,³³ definitively taught the three pure guid-

²⁸ My translation of this stanza is indebted to Geshe Wangyal (1986, pp. 64-65).

²⁹ Tib. *rig pa'i dbang phyug*. While this epithet is too generic to give any indication as to whom it refers, it is clear from the quoted verse that the great Buddhist sage Dharmakīrti is intended.

See Dharmakirti 1986, pp. 204.7-205.1 for the original verse. I am indebted to Engle (2009, pp. 85-86) for providing the original context and understanding of this verse.

Tib. *ma dag pa'i lam*; given the obscurity of the original text here, I am reading this as *yang dag pa'i lam*.

³² Tib. *Mdo dgongs pa 'dus pa*. This is the principal text of the Anuyoga Tantras. It can be found in volume 97 (ff.110r-314r) of the Dergé (Tib. Sde dge) edition of the *Tengyur* under its longer title, *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa chos kyi rnam grangs rnam par bkod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo. The colorful history of this important text is discussed in Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, Section 1, pp. 597-739. See also ibid, pp. 911-913.*

³³ Tib. bcom ldan; Skt. bhagavat; this is a common epithet for the Buddha.

ing vehicles,³⁴ (8) [why did you] not teach the one definitive vehicle that spontaneously accomplishes [the doctrines of] causality without seeking enlightenment from others?" [The Buddha] replied, "Since I thoroughly turned the wheels of the causal Dharma [for] those who practice the causal [vehicles],³⁵ (the short path) [of] the Diamond Vehicle will appear in the future."³⁶

[The Buddha] turned the wheels of the causal Dharma for those with intermediate capabilities and below. He taught the Diamond Vehicle of Secret *Mantras* to those with superior [capabilities]. The multitude of fortunate disciples does not need to rely on many eons; they can achieve enlightenment in the middle or at the end of this lifetime, in seven lifetimes, sixteen lifetimes, etc. It is said that in order to overcome the temporary obstacles and discordant factors [encountered] in this method, (9) [one must] entrust activities to, and depend on, powerful Dharma protectors.

In the *Tantras* [it is stated]:³⁷

Tib. 'dren pa'i theg pa gsum po. According to Rangjung Yeshe, this term is synonymous with mtshan nyid kyi theg pa gsum, the 'three vehicles of characteristics.' These are (1) the Vehicle of those who Heard [the Buddha] (Tib. nyan thos kyi theg pa; Skt. śrāvakayāna), who achieve enlightenment as arhats; (2) the Vehicle of Solitary Buddhas (Tib. rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa; Skt. pratyekabuddhayāna), who achieve enlightenment on their own yet do not teach others; and (3) the Vehicle of Bodhisattvas (Tib. byang chub sems dpa'i thegs pa; Skt. bodhisattvayāna), who take the bodhisattva vow. The last vehicle is synonymous with the Great Vehicle (Tib. theg pa chen po; Skt. mahāyāna).

³⁵ This refers to the three vehicles discussed in the previous note.

This dialogue is fully quoted in the *Blue Annals* (see Roerich 1996, p. 158); see also Karmay 1998, pp. 84-85, n. 34, for an updated translation.

³⁷ Tib. rgyud las; the text does not specify from which tantra the following quote is derived.

Many transcendent beings manifest as emanations that naturally arise from the wisdom of the Victorious One. [According to] the ultimate [truth, they] are understood³⁸ to be singularly nondualistic [and are part of] the spontaneously present *man q ala.*³⁹

Accordingly, the Great Sovereign Spirit Pekar⁴⁰ and his retinue are included in such *man q alas* as that of the great Eight *Sādhana* Deities, and are none other than manifestations of the Supreme Heruka.⁴¹ They are [found] among the haughty spirits of [mundane] offerings and praise, and appear in whatever form is appropriate to guide disciples. Because of this, their extraordinary methods (10) are compatible with the essential intention of all the *tantras*.

Moreover, in accordance with the generation stage of the Mahāyoga [tantras], the Five Sovereign Spirits, their consorts, emanations, and ministers, along with their brigadiers, (emanate) from the radiance of the one hundred supreme peaceful and wrathful deities. XX As such, [Padmasambhava's] mind emanation, Ngari [Paṇ chen] Padma Wangyel,⁴² said:

The Five Great Sovereign Spirits—as well as their five self-appearing consorts, such as ChenXX,⁴³ male and fe-

³⁸ I am translating the term rtogs here rather than rdzogs, as per Lingön Padma Kelzang's emendation.

³⁹ Tib. *lhun gyis grub pa'i dkyil 'khor*. This likely refers to one of the three main Anuyoga maṇḍalas called rang bzhin lhun grub kyi dkyil 'khor, which is a Samantabhadra maṇḍala.

⁴⁰ A variant spelling for Pehar.

⁴¹ Tib. Che mchog He ru ka; Skt. Mahottara Heruka. This is the central deity of the Eight *Sādhana* Deities, sometimes considered synonymous with Vajrāmṛ ta, the deity of good qualities.

⁴² Mnga' ris Padma dbang rgyal, 1487-1542; see Ahmad 1999, pp. 164-170.

⁴³ Tib. Spyan XX. The inscription is too obscure to make a clear identification of this deity. The *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.5b.6) reiterates this portion of the text and has the name Chenmala (Tib. Spyan ma la) here, though this does not accord with any of the common names for the Five Sovereign Spirits' consorts.

male bodhisattvas, [472] which are the very essence of the six sense objects, and their cabinet ministers, *shadröl*, *ky-idröl*, ⁴⁴ and external ministers—assemble [from the] natural manifestations of the Five [Buddha] Families.

[He also] said, "The Great Sovereign Spirits, who are endowed with destructive powers, assemble from the unproduced self-manifestations⁴⁵ [of] the peaceful and wrathful Herukas⁴⁶ and their consorts."

In the scriptural transmission of the Anuyoga, [these deities] are the essence of the right, left, and middle [channels],⁴⁷ (11) as well as the male, female, and androgynous haughty spirits.

In the Atiyoga, they must be understood as the very nature of the union of appearance and emptiness. [Padmasambhava's] good qualities emanation, the Dharma King Wangpo Dé,⁴⁸ said:

Summon the assembly of male and female haughty spirits, [who represent] the inseparability of appearance and emptiness, from the expanse of non-duality [in order to perform] the enlightened work of the four activities.

All those [deities are] the conceptualizations [of] one's own mind; free from conceptual elaboration, they are actually the single seminal

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⁴⁴ Tib. *sha grol kyi grol*; the exact meaning of these two works is difficult to ascertain, though it is clear from the context that they refer to groups that help make up Pehar's retinue.

⁴⁵ The *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.6a.2) has *rtsal las* at this point, while Lingön Padma Kelzang suggests *mal las*. My translation is based on the *Hagiography* reading.

⁴⁶ Tib. khrag 'thung; lit. "Blood Drinkers," a common epithet for the tantric Heruka deities.

⁴⁷ Tib. *ro rkyang dbu gsum*. This refers to the three channels (Tib. *rtsa*; Skt. *nā***q***i*) of the subtle body in yogic metaphysics.

⁴⁸ Tib. Chos rgyal Dbang po'i sde, 1551-1603; see Ahmad 1999, pp. 170-178.

drop of the Heruka's⁴⁹ wisdom, which manifests out of ultimate reality on its own.

In the *Three Households* [it is stated]:50

Rikpé Gyelpo Jangchupsem ⁵¹ [said,] "The intrinsic nature of all [things] is one. Thus, it is certainly [the case] that the gods and spirits of the phenomenal world are inseparable from one's own mind. Because of this, once one purifies the mind itself, the gods and spirits of the phenomenal world effortlessly appear."

While one remains firm within the [meditative] states of bliss, clarity, and nonthought, (12) [the Five Sovereign Spirits] effortlessly appear as the five—body, speech, mind, good qualities, and activities. They arise without limitations for the benefit [of all] beings.

⁴⁹ The *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.6a.6) has *he ru ka* at this point. In lieu of the obscure word here, I have chosen to use this reading rather than the inscription's *X ĀḤ*.

⁵⁰ Tib. *khyim gsum du;* given the above pattern this appears to be a text, though which text is being referenced is unknown.

This refers to Jokpa Jangchup Penden, in whose biography it is explained that he received the full ordination name of Rig pa'i rgyal po byang chub [sems] (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.4a.2-3). The sems that I provide as a part of the name immediately follows the byang chub. However, there is some confusion over its placement between the texts. The hagiography places the sems at the start of the next line, making it appear that it is not part of Jokpa Jangchup Penden's ordination name. The wall inscription, by contrast, has the sems immediately follow the byang chub and leaves a noticeable space between it and the next verse. Since this is a translation of the wall inscription, and since the inscription spacing follows a seven-syllable meter structure, I have chosen to understand the sems as part of Jokpa Jangchup Penden's name. It merits noting that the Stainless and Clear Crystal Mirror (Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009, p. 343) summarizes the biographical contents of the Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden in its chapter on Deyang College, and so it renders his name Rig pa'i rgyal po byang chub.

In a conventional sense, throughout King Pekar's [past] lives, the Lord of Secrets [Vajrapāṇi] commanded⁵² [him to relinquish his life essence]. ⁵³ Countless eons ago, there was a devout king named Mahābuta⁵⁴ XXX [and] a monk [named] Lekden Nakpo, ⁵⁵ who became his minister. ⁵⁶ At this time, they were ordained under the abbot Daö Dünting. ⁵⁷ The king's ordination name was Daö Zhonnu⁵⁸ and the minister's was Dün[ting] Nakpo. ⁵⁹ XXXX the king XXXXXXXXXXXX. ⁶⁰ Then, at the Temple where Nine Evil Spirits Gathered, Daö Zhonnu and a Brahmin woman made love, [then] he gave a [perverse] prayer of aspiration, and so forth. Because of this, (13) [he was successively reborn as] the butcher Ragochen, ⁶¹ [then] Chumi

⁵² Tib. [bka'] stsal.

⁵³ Such details of Pehar's involvement with Vajrapāṇi can be found in a seventeenth-century text on Samyé Monastery's history composed by the Sakya hierarch Amézhap Ngawang Künga Sönam (A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, 1597-1659) entitled the Symphony of the Captivating Gods that Grants all Desires and Makes the Wish-fulfilling Dharma Protectors Rejoice: A Good Explanation for the Origins of the Great Monastery of Glorious and Spontaneously Present Samyé and its Guardians of the Teachings (Dpal bsam yas lhun gyi grub pa'i gtsug lhag khang chen po bka' srung dang bcas pa'i byon tshul legs par bshad pa chos skyong yid bzhin nor bu dges par byed pa'i yid 'phrog lha'i rol mo dgos 'dod kun 'byung); see A myes zhabs 2000, p. 405.

Tib. Ma ha abu ta. The *ma ha* here is too damaged in the original inscription to verify. A later source (Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 36) gives the name of this king who would become Pehar as Dharmajvala. This is clearly not the name here, so for now Lingön Padma Kelzang's suggestion stands. In the quote of this line found within the *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.1), the king's name is Dharmarāja.

⁵⁵ Tib. Legs Idan nag po; lit. "Excellent Black One."

⁵⁶ This differs from Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 36), who says that this figure is the minister's son, not the minister himself.

⁵⁷ Tib. Zla 'od dun ting; lit. "Moonlight Diligent Samādhi."

⁵⁸ Tib. Zla 'od gzhon nu; lit. "Young Moonlight."

⁵⁹ Tib. Dun nag po; lit. "Black Diligent One." Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 36) gives his name as Dünting Nakpo (Tib. Dun ting nag po; lit. Black Diligent Samādhi). The original inscription is too damaged to confirm that this was the minister's ordination name here, but it is likely so.

⁶⁰ A significant portion of the story is missing here. However, we can fill in the gaps by drawing on Sle lung rje drung 1979, pp. 36-37. The king preferred exposition (Tib. *bshad pa*), while the minister enjoyed meditation (Tib. *sgom pa*), and the two friends grew apart and started practicing separately. The king's loneliness no doubt paved the way for what follows, which is a heavily summarized account of Pehar's past lives.

⁶¹ Tib. Ra mgo can; lit. "Goat-headed One."

Jangchupbar,⁶² Lenmi Jangchupö,⁶³ and a marmot.⁶⁴ After such lives as these, there was the father Mujé Tsenpo⁶⁵ and the mother Düza Minkarma,⁶⁶ XXX [who had the following children:] Yapjé Lamé,⁶⁷ Tramtok Nyampajé,⁶⁸ Mudü Dramkarjé,⁶⁹ Tramtok Barwajé,⁷⁰ and Dünak Tongjé.⁷¹ Of these five siblings, [Pehar] became the middle named one, Mudü Dramkarjé. At this time, he enslaved all of the eight classes of gods and spirits of phenomenal appearance, such as the gods of the sky, and so forth.⁷² He ate small stars for food, XXX all female Hindering Spirits XXXXXXXXX [and] striking the chests [of] sentient beings.⁷³ [He performed] a variety of malicious acts, such as eating a hundred men for food every day, a hundred women every

⁶² Tib. Chu mi byang chub 'bar; this is an alternative form of Chu mig byang chub 'bar (see Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 38), a literal translation of which is, "Blazing Enlightenment Spring."

⁶³ Tib. Glan mi byang chub'od; lit. "the Dumb Man Enlightened Light." Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 38) explains that this version of the name is given in a non-extant text entitled the *Gathering of Black Clouds* (Tib. *Sprin nag 'khrigs pa*), while the *White Crystal Rosary Tantra* (Tib. *Shel phreng dkar po'i rgyud*) has the alternative, Glan mi dbang phyug'bar.

⁶⁴ Tib. 'phyi ba. Drawing on Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 38), this refers to a story where Pehar, in one of his former lives, transformed into a marmot in order to harass his old friend, Dünting Nakpo, while he was meditating. He was summarily subdued by Vajrapāṇ i.

⁶⁵ Tib. Rmu rje btsan po; lit. "Emperor Lord of the Savage Spirits."

⁶⁶ Tib. Bdud gza' smin dkar ma; lit. "Female Hindering-Planetary Spirit White Eyebrows."

⁶⁷ Tib. Yab rje bla med; lit. "Unsurpassed Lord Father."

⁶⁸ Tib. Khram thogs nyams pa rje; lit. "Obstructing Charlatan Lord of Degeneration."

⁶⁹ Tib. Smu bdud khram dkar rje; an alternative form of this name is Dmu bdud brang dkar (see Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 39), a literal translation of which is, "the Savage-Hindering Spirit White Chest."

⁷⁰ Tib. Khram thogs 'bar ba rje; lit. "Lord Blazing Obstructing Charlatan."

⁷¹ Tib. Bdud nag stong chen; drawing on Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 39), I strongly suspect that this deity's name is actually Bdud nag stong rje, a literal translation of which is, "Lord of a Thousand Black Hindering Spirits." This would also coincide well with the *rje* found in the names of the four preceding deities, as well as their father.

⁷² For a descriptive list of this category of beings, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 264-266, as well as the surrounding chapter.

⁷³ Several words are missing from this section; however, according to Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 40), after enslaving the minor gods, Mudü Tramkarjé ate small stars, bound the sun and the moon to his crown, and tormented all living beings. There is no mention of female Hindering Spirits, so their purpose here remains a mystery.

evening, and a hundred children every morning. (14) [He successively transformed intol a powerful black scorpion surrounded by a thousand scorpion offspring, an eight-year-old child [that appeared] from the sky above, 74 and a white lion. [Padmasambhava] remained firm in AM XXXXX.75 [As a lion, Pehar] glared [at the master], ears upraised and [about] to pounce. [In the] form of an ugly black monk, [he threw down on Padmasambhava's head] a white meteorite (about the size of) a sheep XXXX.76 He transformed into a handsome young layman holding a 108[-bead] crystal rosary in his hand. He then displayed magical emanations with an inconceivable number of weapons, as well as innumerable ministers. At that time, XXXX Dorjé⁷⁷ and the great master Padma Tötreng Tsel, at places such as the Wish-Fulfilling Crystal Cave, conferred empowerments on [Pehar] and (15) bound him under oath. [Pehar then] offered his radiant life essence in supplication, and he promised to protect the precious teachings of the Buddha.

At this point we are aided by A myes zhabs 2000, p. 412, where the story picks up here.

Due to the missing words, the action here is unclear. However, by relying on Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 43) and A myes zhabs (2000, p. 412) — both of which draw on the White Crystal Rosary Tantra—we can infer what is happening at this moment. At this point in the story Pehar encounters Padmasambhava and mischievously attempts to distract the master from meditating. He transforms into a white lion and disturbs the master's man dala configuration, making the threatening gestures that follow. The meaning of aM tshugs here is difficult to ascertain without the remaining words in the line; Sle lung rje drung (ibid) does not mention it, while A myes zhabs (ibid) has khyi tshugs ma byas, which is itself difficult to understand in context.

⁷⁶ See Sle lung rje drung, ibid, and A myes zhabs, ibid.

Ingön Padma Kelzang interpolates this as Garap Dorjé (Tib. Dga' rab rdo rje; Skt. Vajraprahe), who first transmitted the Dzogchen system after divinely receiving it; see Germano 1992, p. 43. However, I have no confidence in this reading, since no other known account corroborates it. Every account has Padmasambhava meditating alone; the one exception is an account cited by Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 49), where Padmasambhava is accompanied by his consort, presumably Yeshé Tsogyal (Tib. Ye shes mtsho rgyal). My own suspicion is that this name refers to Vajrapāṇ i (Tib. Phyag na rdo rje), who has also subjugated and bound Pehar to oath in the course of his lives (see Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 41). However, in lieu of stronger evidence, I have chosen to ignore the interpolation provided and leave the name a mystery.

Nowadays, this snowy land [of Tibet] is described as Noble Avalokiteśvara's realm of conversion. Accordingly, [473] it is said that [the Tibetan kings,] from Lord Nyatri Tsenpo⁷⁸ down to the divine ruler Trisong Deutsen, propagated and expanded the Holy Dharma. [During King Trisong Deutsen's time,] Master Śantaraks ita,79 who adhered to the Sarvāstivāda tradition, was invited [to Tibet], where he established a system that was in accordance with the 18 elements⁸⁰ and the 10 virtuous actions.81 He did not allow the gods and spirits to do XXXXXX.82 According to what Master [Padmasambhava] prophesied, in Jambudvīpa⁸³ XXXX.⁸⁴ Master (16) Padmasambhava was invited [to Tibet], where he erected many [sacred sites], such as Changeless and Spontaneously Present Samyé Monastery, and XX translated countless [texts of] the Holy Dharma. He nominated the Serpent Spirit Zurpü Ngapa⁸⁵ [to act] as protector of [Samyé] Monastery. [However, Zurpü Ngapa] explained that XXX there was a nephew of the Serpent Spirits who [could] (track) riches the size of a small needle, traveling [in one day] the distance a vulture covers in eighteen.86 In accordance with this, Prince Muruk Tsenpo87 invited Pekar

 $^{^{78}}$ This is the first semi-mythical ruler of Tibet.

⁷⁹ This famous eighth-century Indian Buddhist monk is responsible for inaugurating the Sarvāstivādin lineage of monastic ordination in Tibet.

Tib. *khams bco brgyad*; these are the six sense powers (Tib. *rten gyi khams drug*; sight, smell, touch, taste, hearing, and thinking), their objects (Tib. *dmigs pa'i khams drug*; image, scent, texture, flavor, sound, and idea), and the conscious awareness of each one (Tib. *brten pa'i khams drug*).

Tib. dge bcu las; alternatively, dge bcu'i las. These are (1) abandoning the destruction of life (Tib. srog gcod pa spong ba); (2) abandoning the taking of what was not given (Tib. ma byin par len pa spong ba); (3) abandoning improper sexual practices (Tib. 'dod pas log par g.yem pa spong ba); (4) abandoning the telling of lies (Tib. brdzun du smra ba spong ba); (5) abandoning abusive language (Tib. tshig rtsub po smra ba spong ba); (6) abandoning slander (Tib. phra mar smra ba spong ba); (7) abandoning gossip (Tib. tshig bkyal ba smra ba spong ba); (8) abandoning covetousness (Tib. brnab sems spong ba); (9) abandoning malice (Tib. gnod sems spong ba); and (10) abandoning wrong views (Tib. log par lta ba spong ba).

⁸² There are too many obscure words to determine the meaning of this segment.

⁸³ Tib. 'Dzam bu gling; lit. "Rose Apple Continent." In ancient Indian cosmology, this was the name of the southern continent of the world and refers to the Indian subcontinent; it is also a synonym for the world in general.

⁸⁴ Once again, the details of this passage are unfortunately obscured.

⁸⁵ Tib. Zur phud lnga pa; lit. "[The One with] Five Locks of Hair."

⁸⁶ Tib. klu tsha nor rgya khab tsam gyi (rjes su) rgod po'i nyin lam bco brgyad 'gro ba'i de nyid. To clarify this sentence I relied on an extended version of it provided by the

and his supporting elements from the land of Drugu,⁸⁸ and appointed him master of the entire treasury. Likewise, as the principal local guardian of the great Dharma center Glorious Drepung, (17) [Pekar] was asked by the omniscient [Second Dalai Lama] Gendün Gyatso—who upheld the immaculate tradition of the Dharma King Shar Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpé Pel, the embodiment of the power of the wisdom and compassion of all Buddhas—to eternally adhere to past aspirations, to a mind [focused] on enlightenment, and to the unsurpassed general and specific teachings [of the Buddha]. Moreover, in accordance with the awesome *samaya* vow that was fully proclaimed by the Great Master [Padmasambhava], the Dalai Lamas from [the Third,] Sönam Gyatso, and on have worshipped the lord of all the guardians of the [Buddha's] teachings, who more and more supports the excellent virtuous deeds of the religious and secular [government].⁸⁹

Since⁹⁰ all the activities of [such worship] had been increasing, there was also a desire to make his temple abode much larger by expanding it beyond its former [size]. Because of this, the gathering [of] masters also called for it. (18) Likewise, Regent Sangyé Gyatso, who has passed through successive [human] bodies,⁹¹ remembered his past aspirations and accordingly built an extensive divine mansion.⁹² He had murals [of] lamas, buddhas, bodhisattvas, peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities, *ḍākinīs*, and Dharma protectors [painted] inside a sixteen-pillared assembly hall⁹³ that is like no other. In the courtyard

Fifth Dalai Lama in his own autobiography; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1992, p. 27.4-5. This section has further been translated by Tucci; see Tucci 1999, vol.2, p. 735.

⁸⁷ One of Trisong Deutsen's sons.

⁸⁸ This refers to an ancient kingdom north of Tibet that once existed in the vicinity of modern-day Xinjiang Province and Qinghai Lake, Qinghai Province, China.

⁸⁹ Tib. *chos srid*; here this is an abbreviation for *chos srid lugs gnyis*, the Tibetan government that combined religious and secular systems.

⁹⁰ Tib. rten; read as brten.

⁹¹ Tib. rim lus su song ba; this is an obscure epithet, but it appears to be a complimentary one. Given Sangyé Gyatso's series of human lives preceding him (see Lobzang Tondan 1983, vol. 1, pp. 5-11), I am reading this epithet as one honoring a consistently human succession of lives, which is highly prized in Buddhism and a mark of one's wealth of merit.

⁹² Tib. zhing bkod pa; lit. "established a divine realm."

⁹³ Tib. *gtsang khang*; while this term usually refers to shrines, it is clear that the Nechung assembly hall is meant, which still has sixteen pillars today.

[there are murals of] the retinue, the army of the haughty spirits of phenomenal existence. In the XX chapel,⁹⁴ there are bas-relief statues of the 18 deities.⁹⁵ In the top-floor chamber, there are [images of] Master [Padmasambhava] and his 25 disciples on the right as well as on the left, and all the implements, such as offering materials and wrathful gifts, are inconceivable [in number]. [This] was spontaneously accomplished regardless of difficulties. In particular, during an exhortation that arose from the force of a detailed⁹⁶ analysis [of] the outer, inner, and secret sacred objects [of] just the retinue, (19) it was said:

You, [who are] presently the king of all Tibetans, ⁹⁷ emanate five beings with your pure aspiration prayer.

In the great assembly hall, [there are as follows: the text of] the subjugation of the Five Dharma Kings⁹⁸ and their retinue, which comes from the profound treasure text of Nyang Nyima Özer⁹⁹—the body emanation of Master Padmakara [Padmasambhava] and the lord of men Trisong Deutsen; [the corpus of] the principal deity and his retinue [equaling] seventeen,¹⁰⁰ such as the wrathful king Hayagrīva, from the *Guru Guhyasamāja*, the profound teaching of Guru Chökyi Wangchuk—the speech emanation [of Padmasambhava and King Trisong Deutsen]—which [was drawn from] the belly of a Serpent-Hindering Spirit; [statues of] the Great Dharma protector and his retinue, which came from a hidden [source]; and a mustard seed-sized relic of the completely and perfectly [enlightened] Buddha,

⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the original inscription is too damaged here to know which chapel in Nechung this is.

⁹⁵ Tib. *lha tshogs bco brgyad*; I am uncertain to which deities this refers.

⁹⁶ Tib. *zhib mol*; read as *zhib mo'i*, as per Lingön Padma Kelzang's understanding.

⁹⁷ Tib. *mgo nag*; lit. "Black-headed [Ones]." This is an epithet for Tibetans.

⁹⁸ Tib. Chos rgyal sde lnga; in this context, this is an epithet for the Five Sovereign Spirits.

⁹⁹ This likely refers to the White Crystal Rosary Tantra, which was composed by Nyangral Nyima Özer (Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124-1192). Copies of this text are extant at both the historic Nechung Monastery on the outskirts of Lhasa and the new Nechung Monastery established in Dharamsala; however, these copies are off limits to the uninitiated.

¹⁰⁰ Tib. *gtso 'khor bcu bdun*; it is unclear which group of deities this is.

which was an heirloom of King Ajātaśatru.¹⁰¹ [474] These were taken from among the sacred objects of Nakartse¹⁰² and from the dark treasury¹⁰³ of Tselagang.¹⁰⁴ (20)

Regarding body and clothing relics, [Nechung Monastery houses the following:] the hair of Masters Garap Dorjé and Śrī Siṃha;¹⁰⁵ a great XX rosary [made] of some¹⁰⁶ of the white and red *bodhicitta*¹⁰⁷ [produced] by Padma Tötreng Tsel [Padmasambhava] and his consort, [along with their] body and clothing relics; relics of Arsadhara, the King of Zahor; flesh from a seventh-born Brahmin;¹⁰⁸ Indian manuscripts of the Great Translator Vairocana; the crown of Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé;¹⁰⁹ the relics, hat, divan, hand X, and clay miniature of Lord Atiśa;¹¹⁰ the bodily X, tooth, hair, and divan of Dromtönpa;¹¹¹ the clothing of the uncle and nephew translators of Ngok¹¹² and of the translator of Khutön;¹¹³ the relics, heart, hair, and monastic robes of Potowa;¹¹⁴ the relics and hair of Jadül;¹¹⁵ (21) the relics and hair of

¹⁰¹ Tib. Rgyal po Ma skyes dgra; Ajātaśatru (ruled 491-461 BCE) was king of the ancient Indian Magadha empire and contemporary of the Buddha.

¹⁰² Tib. Sna dkar rtse; this is a county southwest of Lhasa.

¹⁰³ Tib. *mdzod nag*. Dark treasury refers to texts that are kept hidden from the public; see Roberts 2007, p. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Tib. Rtse la sgang; this is an area in Kongpo (Tib. Kong po), southeast of Lhasa.

Tib. Shrī Senge; like Garap Dorjé, Śrī Siṃha is another important semi-mythical Dzogchen master.

The inscription is difficult to read here, with the transcription being X cig; however, I am reading it as kha cig.

¹⁰⁷ Tib. *byang sems dkar dmar*; this refers to the drops of male semen and female blood produced and united during tantric sexual yoga.

¹⁰⁸ Tib. *bram ze skye ba bdun pa*; this is an individual who has been reborn as a Brahmin seven times in a row, signifying their holiness.

Tib. Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje; this is the famous monk who assassinated the last Tibetan King, Lang Darma.

 $^{^{110}\,}$ This is Atisa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (980–1054), the great 11th-century reformer of Buddhism in Tibet.

This is Dromtönpa Gyewé Jungné ('Brom ston pa Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas, 1005–1064), Atisa's main disciple.

Tib. Rngok lo khu dbon; this refers to the lesser translator of Ngok, Lekpé Sherap (Rngog lo chung Legs pa'i shes rab, b.10th century) and his nephew, the great translator of Ngok, Loden Sherap (Rngog lo chen Blo ldan shes rab, 1059-1109).

This refers to Khutön Tsöndrü Yungdrung (Khu ston Brtson 'grus g.yung drung, 1011-1075), one of Atiśa's students.

¹¹⁴ This is Potowa Rinchensel (Po to ba Rin chen gsal, 1027-1105), a Kadampa master.

Lord Neuzurpa;¹¹⁶ the relics of the Spiritual Guide Drepa; the blood of Sharawa;¹¹⁷ the relics and clothing of Zhangkamawa;¹¹⁸ a small piece of Khampa Lungpa;¹¹⁹ the hair and mantle of the Arhat of Pelti; the relics of Chim Namkhadrak;¹²⁰ the blood, tooth, hair, hat, urine, mantle, monastic robes, belt, divan, and cushion of the Dharma King Great Tsongkhapa; a finger of the Great Saint Lekyi Dorjé;¹²¹ the relics of the Realized Yogi Jamyang Gyatso; the hair of the seven abbots of Ganden Monastery after Tsongkhapa;¹²² the relics of the Omniscient Scholar;¹²³ a tooth and the monastic robes of the Omniscient Gendün Drupa;¹²⁴ (22) the blood, hair, and belt of the Omniscient Gendün Gyatso;¹²⁵ the clothing of Lord Dungtsepa; the hair of the Scholar Norzang Gyatso;¹²⁶ the mantle of Jamyang Lekchöpa;¹²⁷ the relics and hair of Pan chen Sönam Drakpa;¹²⁸ the relics of Lord Dewachenpa;¹²⁹ the brains, flesh, relic pills of pus, urine, death shroud, monastic robes, belt, cup, assembly garments, and shoes of the Omniscient

- ¹¹⁸ This is Zhangkamapa Sherapö (Zhang ka ma pa Shes rab 'od, 1057-1131).
- ¹¹⁹ This is Khampa Lungpa Śākya Yöntan (Khams pa lung pa Shākya yon tan, 1023-1115), a Kadampa master.
- ¹²⁰ Mchims Nam mkha' grags, 1210-1285; this is an important Kadampa scholar.
- ¹²¹ Grub chen Las kyi rdo rje, 1326-1401; this is the first Lelung Jedrung (Sle lung rje drung) incarnation.
- ¹²² Tib. 'Jam dbyangs gtsang pa bdun brgyud; lit. "Lineage of the Seven Men of Tsang who are [like] Mañjughos a [Tsongkhapa]."
- Mkhas grub Thams cad mkhyen pa; this likely refers to the first Panchen Lama, the Scholarly Lord Gelek Pelzang (Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang, 1385-1438), who was Tsongkhapa's other heart disciple alongside the first Dalai Lama.
- 124 Dge 'dun grub pa, 1391-1474; the first Dalai Lama.
- 125 The second Dalai Lama.
- 126 Nor bzang rgya mtsho, 1423-1513; this was a student of the first Dalai Lama and teacher of the second.
- ¹²⁷ 'Jam dbyangs legs chos pa, b.15th century.
- Pan chen Bsod nams grags pa, 1478-1554; this is a famous Geluk master who was Ganden Monastery's fifteenth abbot, and also served as abbot at Drepung and Sera monasteries.
- ¹²⁹ This like refers to Dewachenpa Gelek Pelzang (Bde ba can pa Dge legs dpal bzang, 1505-1567), the 21st abbot of Ganden Monastery.

This is Jadülzin Tsöndrübar (Bya 'dul 'dzin Btson 'grus 'bar, 1091-1166), an important transmitter of the Vinaya in Tibet.

This is Neuzurpa Yeshebar (Sne'u zur pa Ye shes 'bar, 1042-1118), a Kadampa master.

 $^{^{117}\,}$ This is Sharawa Yöntandrak (Sha ra ba Yon tan grags, 1070-1141), another Kadampa master.

Sönam Gyatso;¹³⁰ the hair of Pan chen Lozang Chökyi Gyentsen;¹³¹ the hair of the Omniscient Yöntan Gyatso;¹³² the hair of the Precious Abbot Könchok Chöpel;¹³³ as well as my own hair, blood, puss, and medicinal pills [that I produced with] the vase consecration of the lama's three bodies.

Within the Sovereign Spirit's red protector chapel, [there are:] (23) a heap of black barley and portions of new and old sacred substances, medicinal pills, sacred supporting items, and such; relics of the Dharma body; many lotus *dhāraṇīs* [from] all over Tibet;¹³⁴ a special [image of] Hayagrīva as well as a statue of Padma Tongdröl [Padmasambhava]¹³⁵ that arose from Myang[ral Nyima Özer]'s treasure texts; my own yellow hat and official seal;¹³⁶ a XX ritual dagger made from a cutch tree [struck?] by a barbaric black mule¹³⁷ in a dark pungent charnel ground; the life force *cakra*¹³⁸ for the Hayagrīva accomplishment and the *cakra* for subduing harmful [forces], which were revealed at Zambulung¹³⁹ [and derived from] a section concealed within the 108 treasures bestowed by the Great Master [Padmasambhava]; as well as each and every life force *cakra* of body, speech, and mind, and subjugation *cakras*.

In general, although there are numerous *tantras* for Pekar, the root *tantras* that are indispensible to the practitioner are: the 32-chaptered *Wealth God's Tantra*, within which there is a general summary as well as individual outer, inner, and secret (24) accomplishment practices; the seven-chaptered *Blue Turquoise Rosary Tantra*, within which there

¹³⁰ The third Dalai Lama.

¹³¹ Paṇ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662; the fourth Paṇ chen Lama.

¹³² Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1589-1616; the fourth Dalai Lama.

¹³³ Khri rin po che Dkon mchog chos 'phel, 1573-1644; this is the 35th abbot of Ganden Monastery.

Tib. *dbu* [sic: *dbus*] *dang stod smad bar gsum*; lit. "the central as well as the three – upper, lower, and middle [parts of Tibet]."

¹³⁵ Tib. Padma mthong grol; lit. "the Lotus that Liberates upon Seeing it."

¹³⁶ Tib. *sbugs*; read as an abbreviation of *sbug dam*.

¹³⁷ Tib. 'dre [sic: drel] rta nag po.

¹³⁸ Tib. 'khor [lo]; in this context, cakras refer to ritual circles of protection. For vivid examples of such cakras, drawn from the Fifth Dalai Lama's own work, see relevant images in Karmay 1988, pp. 80-173. See also Skorupski 2009, pp. 53-119.

¹³⁹ Tib. Zab [sic: zam] bu lung; a holy place in Gtsang.

is the heart practice; the 20-chaptered White Crystal Rosary explanatory tantra, within which are the approach, accomplishment, and application of activities; the Black Iron Rosary Tantra, [475] within which there is the practice of the one-eyed black Hindering Spirit XXX; the Tantra that Harms Pekar, within which are the outer practice and the excellent practice; the Tantra [of] the XX Lion-masked Corpse, within which there is the secret practice; the Tantra of the Nepalese Woman's Dialogue, within which there is the practice of the Hindering Spirit Yapsher;¹⁴⁰ the Tantra of the Sovereign Spirit Life Force and Karma, within which there is the method for subduing the [Sovereign Spirit's] life force; the 108-chaptered Life Force Cakra and the Tantra of Bestowing the Heart Citta, within which there is the [method for] pressing to death; the Tantra of the Sovereign Spirit's Karma, within which there is the inner augmentation [practice]; the ninth chapter of the Tantra of the Great Servant Kuchok Marpo, within which there is the method for subduing royal ghosts;¹⁴¹ as well as the Oral Tantra of Hayagrīva, within which there is the method for mending [the samaya vow of] the Sovereign Spirits.

(25) Regarding the manner in which to implement these teachings: having received them with proper conviction, adhere to them just as the Lord, his ministers, and his subjects do. Regarding also the system of practice: perform the pacifying, augmenting, subjugating, and destructive [actions, as well as] the outer, inner, and secret body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities, of Pekar, the Capricious Spirits, the Savior Spirits, the single male skeleton dancers, the single female skeleton dancers, the lone XX, and their retinue according to [the system of] the butchers, the Three Razor Brothers. 142 Once you have thoroughly assembled all the items for the individual practices, you must unerringly construct such things as the Matram man dala. Having forcefully bound [Pekar] with the approach and accomplishment practices, [as well as] the offerings, amendment rites, and oblations, rely on him like you would a father, control him like you would a son, associate with him like you would a friend, employ him like you would a servant, overpower him like you would an enemy, treasure

¹⁴⁰ Tib. Yab sher; lit. "Father Confronter."

¹⁴¹ Tib. *rgyal 'gong*; in this context this likely refers to Pehar and his ilk.

Tib. Spu gri mched gsum; the identity of these three deities is unclear, though they appear to be forms of the transcendent protector Mahākāla.

him like you would riches, receive him like you would a king, sic143 him [on enemies] like you would a dog, and so forth. [After] omens that the three [acts] – summoning, dispatching, and slaying 144 – of the preceding eight methods for cultivating [a relationship with the deity were successful] appear, subjugate him, integrate your oaths, (26) bind him to his samaya vow, and invest him with authority. Then apply the activities; if they are counteracted, suppress the countermeasures and praise and invoke [the deity]. Through such [methods], offer your enemies [to the deity] as food, cut off [all] errors in increasing the conquering of misfortune, and press intently XX. To conclude the principal protector's [rites], you must end with the three actions of crushing, burning, and blowing away [your enemies]. Thus, [there are] the four essences of the general weapons, the six essences of the tormas, and the nine essences of the cakras that eliminate the ten defects [of recitation]. If the Sovereign Spirit would harm you, [keep] the life force cakra that suppresses misfortune¹⁴⁵ [at] your heart; if he is delayed, keep [the text] on your body. If he runs away, overpower him with the life force cakra and fierce mantras. If there is internal strife, [use] the wheel of death. If he is hostile toward the Wisdom Being, [perform] the meditative stabilization of Hayagrīva. [Within] the crossed man dala of Matram [Rudra],146 in front of the yogin, there is the cakra of Overcoming the Serated Razor¹⁴⁷ at the center of the united Father and Mother [deities]. Separately, there is the cakra of suppressing misfortune (27) at the yogin's navel. This completes the crucial practice that increases the conquering of misfortune, as well as the cakra of full confidence.

In all [of this], the yogins, sponsors, patrons, subjects, and so forth, keep the Five Sovereign Spirits—along with their messengers and servants—close to their hearts and are inseparable from them. In particular, there is the life force *cakra* for each of the five emanating dharma kings, their five great consorts, and their five ministers individually; the life force *cakra* that dispels malice, which came from the

¹⁴³ Tib. rbud; read as rbod.

¹⁴⁴ Tib. bod [sic: 'bod] rbad bsad gsum.

¹⁴⁵ Tib. log mnon [sic: gnon].

¹⁴⁶ Tib. *ma traṃ zhal 'khor bsnol ma*; the meaning of this line is uncertain.

Tib. Spu gri so brgal; this refers to the tantra entitled Dpal lha mo spu gri so rgal gyi rgyud, found in vol. 42 of the Rnying ma rgyud 'bum.

oral instructions of XX Lama Dogupa; and the life force *cakra* that unites the mother and son¹⁴⁸ XX for each X [of] the Five Sovereign Spirits generally.

Regarding [practices for] the great emanating Dharma protector Dorjé Drakden, which the omniscient [Third Dalai Lama] Sönam Gyatso beheld in a vision [during] meditation: in addition to the three above life force *cakras*, there is my own waistcoat; the cycle of methods for increasing family, wealth, and possessions, which is explained within the *Gathering of Black Clouds Sādhana*, (28) as well as the life force *cakra* for augmenting life and merit; the *cakra* of the *Great Outer Tantra that Averts Malevolent Influences*, [possessing] such [content] as Buddhist, Tantrika, and Bönpo spells, [found within] the profound treasures of Künkyong Lingpa;¹⁴⁹ the protective *cakra* that is the object of practice for Uṣṇāṣ asitātapatra;¹⁵⁰ [476] and the life *cakra* of Norbu Petreng¹⁵¹ and [Vajrā]mṛ takuṇḍalī.¹⁵²

The body support itself is the [Nechung] medium, as well as the XX images and sword of the great Sovereign Spirit with whom he is associated, which were bestowed as items for him to infuse. The speech support is the entire yellow scroll of Myang[ral]'s treasure text, the *Great Compassionate Wish-Fulfilling Jewel that Tames* [All] Beings.¹⁵³ The mind support is the Blazing Brilliance of the Adamantine Meteor,¹⁵⁴ which is from that very [same] treasure cycle.

¹⁴⁸ Tib. *ma bu sbyor ba*; this is a Dzogchen phrase referring to when the primordial state (the mother) and knowledge (the son) are united in non-duality; see Reynolds 1996, p. 166.

¹⁴⁹ Kun skyong gling pa, 1396-1477.

¹⁵⁰ This is an important Buddhist goddess.

¹⁵¹ Tib. Nor bu pad phreng; lit. "Jewel and Lotus Garland." Given that this phrase is paired with a deity, it is likely the name of a deity itself; however, it is unclear which deity is being reference. The jewel and lotus motif suggest a form of Avalokiteśvara.

¹⁵² Tib. [Rdo rje] bdud rtsi 'khyil ba; lit. "[Adamantine] Nectar Swirler."

¹⁵³ Tib. *Thugs rje chen po 'gro 'dul yid bzhin nor bu*. This cycle of treasure texts is available in the *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*; see 'Jam mgon kong sprul 1976, pp. 1-275.

¹⁵⁴ Tib. *Gnam leags rdo rje gzi byin 'bar ba;* this line suggests that this is a text drawn from the above-mentioned treasure cycle by Nyangral Nyima Özer; however, a cursory perusal of this cycle reveals no text by this name. Given that this is the mind support, which is usually a reliquary, this may be the name of said reli-

The reincarnate scholar Gökyi Demtruchen¹⁵⁵ gave a sword that he revealed from the Northern Iron Treasury to the Teacher of the Se clan, Nyima Zangpo,¹⁵⁶ [who is] among the seven meritorious sons. Then [you, Gökyi Demtruchen,] and your disciple (29) bestowed [it] as a weapon that liberates [through destruction] the personal enemies of the kings of Ngari, Gungtang, and so forth—the enemies and obstructing spirits in which the ten defects are complete.

Regarding a reliance on the Sovereign Spirit of Activities [Pehar]: there is the Adamantine Meteor that Overpowers the Army of Hindering Spirits, a treasure text rediscovered by Ratna Lingpa;157 iron swords, thigh swords, and barberry daggers, respectively; mantra manuals for summoning, dispatching, and slaving; linga emblems; and various soils and stones from India, Nepal, Tibet, and so forth. Moreover, occasionally there are bundles of fragrant saffron, as well as measures of various clothes, silks, grains, medicines, teas, lumber, foods, and fruits. These completely fill a secluded storehouse, with nothing left out, such as yellow silks. Similarly, the principal [items are] my own images and individual relics - these being [my] monastic robes and hair; [and] the relics of the lord of the Buddhas of the three times [Padmasambhava] - these being his shawl and hair. Other [items] for the principal deity and the entire retinue [include] the holy relics¹⁵⁸ of the Indian and Tibetan root and lineage lamas, as well as dhāran is and mantras, which were mentioned above. (30)

Regarding the life tree of the *gañjira* [spire] on top [of the monastery, there are:] extraordinary *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* placed within it and along the outside of it, written without adding or omitting anything; as well as the accomplishment ritual from the *Spotless Rays of Light*.¹⁵⁹ At its peak there are X relics:¹⁶⁰ my own hair, *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras*, as

quary, the design of which was taken from this treasure cycle. Another possibility is that the reliquary contains the text to which this refers.

¹⁵⁵ Tib. Sprul sku rigs 'dzin Rgod kyi ldem phru can, 1337-1409; the founder of the Northern Treasures tradition (Tib. *Byang gter lugs*) of the Nyingma school.

¹⁵⁶ Tib. Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, b.14th century.

¹⁵⁷ Tib. Ratna gling pa, 1403-1479; an important Nyingma treasure-revealer.

¹⁵⁸ Tib. byin rten; lit. "blessing support."

¹⁵⁹ Tib. 'Od zer dri med; this is a tantra from the Kriyayoga system.

¹⁶⁰ Tib. X *gdung*; the first syllable is illegible; however, given the context, this word is most likely *sku gdung* or *'phel gdung*.

well as the relics mentioned above. In particular, these were arranged above, below, and in-between an image of [Us nīs a]sitātapatra, [as were] protective [amulets] for the country and for one's object of practice; flawless images and mandalas; the most secret protection and aversion rites, as well as rituals for [sexual] union, respectively; life cakras from the Norbu Petreng [cycle] and new treasure texts; Guru Jotsé's¹⁶¹ rite for overpowering [spirits]; a protective [amulet] by Nyang[rel] and one from the Great Almighty [treasure text rediscovered] by [Padma] Lendretsel;162 as well as a rite for averting armies by Tseten Gyentsen. For the victory banners that have, [respectively, liger-, wolf-, vulture-, and monkey-[headed tips, as well as] silk brocade, the establishing ritual was based on *Us n is asitātapatra* cycle. For the supporting banners, [there are:] (31) support items of the body, speech, mind, good qualities, and activities for the seven—the Five [Sovereign Spirits], Dorjé Drakden, and [Dorjé] Drakgyelma – as well as a rooftop ornament ritual that accordingly came from oral instructions.

There are also many kinds of [items], such as thread-cross [structures] for mending, averting, and slaying, as well as supports that [compel] the deities to always remain, 163 which were constructed in secret. Over the course of one week, the *mantric* scholar Lozang Kyechokchen, along with a number of monks, powerfully completed [these, as well as] rituals for thoroughly establishing such [offerings] as continuous *tormas*, immediately-offered *tormas*, daily *tormas*, offering materials, and deity gifts; along with life force *cakras*, flawless support objects, and so forth, which were composed by such figures as Zur Agur. I consecrated [these objects] and recited the benedictions myself.

Regarding the appearance and establishment of the Sovereign Spirits, if concealed spirits were not overpowered then they were not successful. Therefore, overpower concealed spirits with the *sādhana* of

¹⁶¹ Tib. Gu ru Jo rtse; this figure appears to be a prominent Bönpo treasure-revealer; see Bellezza 2005, p. 97.

¹⁶² Las 'brel rtsal, b.1248.

¹⁶³ Tib. chag pa; read as chags pa.

the enemy[-defeating] god Khyungchen Ludrukdül¹⁶⁴ and the exposition within the *Razor* [that Cuts] the Life of the Capricious Spirits. (32)[477] Press down beneath the threshold thirteen masks of such [spirits] as the Nine Spirit Brothers, transgressor spirits, royal ghosts, and ghosts, which harm countries in general and Tibet in particular. For the realization of the Sovereign Spirits, it is explained that you must apprehend [these] indispensible spells that liberate [through destruction], as well as the material supports and soul stones; protect the *samaya* vow; and overpower the concealed spirits and cut off their heads. ¹⁶⁵

Regarding such things as the essential nature of the outer, inner, and secret symbols, they arose from all the detailed ritual practices [and] the undefiled intended meaning of the *tantras* and oral instructions. Accordingly, these were arranged by myself, the thread-cross [structures] and *tormas* were created by the shrine-keeper Ngawang Sherapchen, and the *cakras* and so forth were commissioned by the monk Jamyang Drakpa. Everything was agreeable and of excellent quality. Most importantly, the place, time, and all the outer and inner [ritual] necessities were thoroughly established to the highest degree.

(33) Even though they arise from the Five [Buddha] Families [that emanate from] Samantabhadra—from whom the man dala of the peaceful and wrathful [deities] emanates and is absorbed—the Five Sovereign Spirits, who thoroughly protect the teachings of the Dharma, [take on] wrathful, ferocious, and repulsive forms in order to cure communities of their wrong views.

Tib. Dgra lha Khyung chen Klu 'brug 'dul; lit. "Great Garud a, Subduer of Serpent Spirits and Dragons;" a variant of this is Rdo rje Khyung chen Klu 'brug 'dul. This is Pehar's secret initiation name, bestowed upon him when he was subdued by Padmasambhava; see A myes zhabs 2000, p. 413.

Tib. 'gren bcad; Lingön Padma Kelzang has mgrin bcad, which literally means, "to cut off from the neck." I am translating this phrase as such since 'gren is not a known Tibetan word. It is possible that 'gren is an abbreviation (Tib. bskungs yig); however, if so, I am uncertain of what words it is meant to condense.

In order to accomplish their activities, [the Five Sovereign Spirits'] emanations, consorts, and ministers each take a side, and their armies of right, left, front, and back brigadiers, as well as emissaries and secondary emanations, have the power to completely fill the three worlds.

Within [this] great palace—the outside of which is made from materials precious to gods and humans [and] the inside of which displays charnel grounds—the assembly of the three divine roots densely gathers like clouds; it is like passing into the pure land of the Lotus Light [Palace].¹⁶⁶

The oath-bound guardians accompany them like a shadow follows a body. The outer supports are beautiful white animals; the inner supports are seven-line [supplications written with] wild bamboo, five victory banners, eight auspicious [pillar ornaments],¹⁶⁷ large arrows, and black silks hanging on vulture feathers.

(34) The secret supports are images, various thread-crosses, *tormas*, and such. These plentiful clouds of offerings [that fill] the whole sky, high and low, completely open the one hundred doors of the Sky Treasury and fulfill the awesome *samaya* vow.

¹⁶⁶ Tib. Padma 'od; this refers to the palace in Padmasambhava's pure land.

¹⁶⁷ Tib. *legs brgyad*; read as an abbreviation of *ka 'phan che legs brgyad*.

In the presence of the Abbot [Śāntarakṣ ita], the Master [Padmasambhava], and the Dharma King [Trisong Deutsen], Prince [Muné Tsenpo made] prayers of aspiration to act for the happiness and welfare of Tibet. The fruit [of these prayers] has ripened today [in the form of Regent] Sangyé Gyatso. The haughty one that challenged his abilities and power was appointed¹⁶⁸ [as a guardian] and joined to Brahma.

The stainless tradition of Tsongkhapa, who illuminated the Buddha's teachings like the sun, consequently spread throughout the expanse of the world. The multitudes of great men who more and more support the religious and secular [government] expand its dominion.

[In this] degenerate age, may the government of the great palace possessing the superior joy and happiness of the four [abundances] ¹⁶⁹ —the thousand-spoked wheel of virtuous actions and merit, which is completely exalted throughout the heavens without obstruction—grow like the waxing moon. (35)

¹⁶⁸ Tib. 'tshol ba; read as 'chol ba. I would like to thank Cameron Bailey for suggesting this reading.

Tib. sale bzhi; read as an abbreviation of phun tshogs sde bzhi. The four abundances are (1) spreading the Buddhadharma (Tib. sangs rgyas kyi chos dar ba); (2) possessing wealth (Tib. nor longs spyod dang ldan pa); (3) enjoying the five sense pleasures (Tib. 'dod yon lnga la spyod pa); and (4) achieving the level of liberation (Tib. thar pa myang 'das kyi go 'phang 'thob pa). As the red coloring in the original Tibetan text reveals, this line actually gives the name of the Tibetan government, the Ganden Podrang (Tib. Dga' ldan pho brang).

The blessings of the root and lineage lamas gather like clouds [and] the peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities shower down accomplishments [upon us] like rain. May the [Five] Dharma Kings and their retinue spontaneously accomplish the desired activities, which would be [like] enjoying fully ripened fruit.

Although Regent Trinlé Gyatso¹⁷⁰—who wanted to expand Nechung Chapel long before [now]—finished laying its foundation, the Great Dharma Protector¹⁷¹ said, "A tantric house must be built within my estate." He also prophesied that it would arise accordingly in the future. Moreover, Padma Tötreng Tsel prophesied:

A great minister who is an emanation of Mutri [Tsenpo],¹⁷² possessing a regal manner [and] the name of 'Buddha,' will become the magistrate.¹⁷³

He also [prophesied]:

An emanation of Muné Tsenpo,¹⁷⁴ possessing the name of 'Jewel,' will be born in a fire year in a part of the Ü region.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Tib. 'Phrin las rgya mtsho, d.1667.

¹⁷¹ Tib. Chos skyong chen po; in this context this epithet refers to the Nechung Oracle.

¹⁷² Tib. Mu khri. This refers to the second Tibetan King Mutri Tsenpo (Mu khri btsan po), who was the son of the first Tibetan King Nyatri Tsenpo (Tib. Gnya' khri btsan po); see Haarh 1969, pp. 34-35.

¹⁷³ The belief is that this prophecy refers to Sangyé Gyatso, whose name 'Sangyé' means Buddha, and who was believed to be an emanation of Mutri Tsenpo; see Lobzang Tondan 1983, vol.1, p. 7.

Tib. Mu ni [sic: ne]. This refers to the 39th Tibetan King Muné Tsenpo (Tib. Mu ne btsan po), who was the son of Trisong Deutsen; see Haarh 1969, pp. 56-57.

This prophesy also appears to refer to Sangyé Gyatso, who was believed to have also been an emanation of Muné Tsenpo; see Lobzang Tondan 1983, vol.1, p. 8. Moreover, his personal name was Könchok Dondrup (Dkon mchog don grub) – Könchok means 'jewel.' However, the fire-year birth is an inconsistency, since

In order to protect against interfering Hindering Spirits, [478] this very [person] will entrust [the deities] as guardians and have them protect and avert [misfortune] again and again. (36)

Accordingly, three sons were born to the Dharma King Trisong Deutsen. The eldest, Muné Tsenpo, protected the two traditions, [spiritual and temporal,] here in this Land of Snows. Being as impartial as timely rainfall, he acted for the happiness and well-being of all people and cattle. He even established this chapel for the Great Dharma Protector. In [this] beautiful, majestic, and sublime [chapel] that is superior to others, the three precious supports—and in particular, a wealth of necessities exemplified by countless outer, inner, and secret supports and offering substances for the protector deities that naturally assemble [here] - were [all] piled up. When [Nechung Monastery] XX, along with the gifts for the deities, were completely established and [we] were about to enjoy the celebration of the consecration banquet, Regent Sangyé Gyatso urged [me to write] a record. Accordingly, [I], the Monk of Zahor, Zilnön Zhepatsel, 176 composed [this record]. The scribe was (37) the dance master, monk Ngawang Könchok.

May [all accomplishments] be bestowed!177

Sangyé Gyatso was born in 1653, a Water-Snake year; the next fire year would be 1656.

¹⁷⁶ Tib. Zil gnon bzhad pa rtsal; this is the Fifth Dalai Lama's secret initiation name.

¹⁷⁷ Tib. pra yatstshantu; Skt. prayacchantu. This is the imperative third person plural for the Sanskrit prayam/prayacchati, meaning "to bestow, send forth, produce." I would like to thank Kathleen Erndl for providing me with the root and grammatical details of this word (personal correspondence, August 21, 2012).

A Facsimile of the Addendum to the Nechung Record Composed by Regent Sangyé Gyatso¹⁷⁸

[38]¹⁷⁹ Although he is the father of all Victorious Ones, he [takes on] the appearance of the Bodhisattva Padma Karpo. ¹⁸⁰ Although he—the vast treasure of compassion—was instantaneously liberated, he firmly upholds all beings with compassion. Although he makes offerings of the four [actions] in abundance, he conquers saṃsāra and nirvāṇa in all their glory. May the Omniscience [Fifth Dalai] Lama Lozang Gyatso look after [us] until we reach enlightenment!

[Like] the brilliance of a powerful sun blazing with the natural sunlight of pure wisdom, he directly manifests within the castle of the Haughty Spirits and annihilates the darkness of the demon horde. This self-produced universal monarch who bears the gnostic *mantras* [is] named Padma Gyelpo [Padmasambhava]. He is wreathed in [the light of] the 100,000 suns of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇ a*. May he expand the lotus garden of virtue and auspiciousness!

He fully comprehends the vast wisdom that illuminates all that can be known with the strength [of] the garu¢ a. [39] Therefore, just like gooseberries thoroughly spread across the palm of one's hand, he completely perceives and analyzes all phenomena unadorned as they are. We

As with the description and title at the start of the Fifth Dalai Lama's portion, this title was added by Lingön Padma Kelsang and is not part of the original *Nechung Record* wall inscription.

¹⁷⁹ Beginning here, the inscription numbering reverts from parenthetical to bracketed representations because Lingön Padma Kelsang ceases to record line numbers in his transcription, instead drawing his content from the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript.

Tib. Padma dkar po; Skt. Puṇḍ arīka; lit. "White Lotus." This is an epithet for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, but refers here to the Dalai Lama.

permanently pay homage to this Dharma King with five topknots, ¹⁸¹ Jampel Nyingpo! ¹⁸²

He conquered the great maṇḍala of the Haughty Spirits and, with a neighing roar, ate the host of spirits [throughout] the three worlds. May he, Hayagrīva—who is incredibly red, like a Mount Meru[-sized heap] of naturally radiant coral—protect us!

They [produce] unimpeded various miraculous emanations from the pure expanse, just like the [multiple] reflections of the moon in water, and with a fierce manner they watch after the [Buddha's] teachings. May these Dharma protectors, the Five Sovereign Spirits, delightfully play!

I fully composed¹⁸³ a wreath of stanzas [to decorate] the head [of this work] and placed this melodious chant possessing the eight qualities of poetry in the lines above. As for the present matter, the precious record composed by the unrivaled savior¹⁸⁴ of all sentient beings, including gods, is given above. [40] I offer this minor [work] as a detailed addendum.

The precious teachings of the Buddha spread, flourished, and have dwelled in the world for a long time. They rely solely on the empowering conditions of the holy ones who uphold the teachings. Moreover, they rely on the compassion of the Highly-Exalted Omniscient Lord of the Victorious Ones—who is the secret body, speech, and

¹⁸¹ Tib. Zur phud Inga Idan. This is an epithet for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, of whom Tsongkhapa is believed to be an emanation.

¹⁸² Tib. 'Jam dpal snying po. This is an epithet for Tsongkhapa, specifically in reference to his name in Tuş ita heaven.

¹⁸³ Tib. rgod; read as 'god.

¹⁸⁴ This refers to the Fifth Dalai Lama.

mind of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, 185 the magical emanation of inconceivable wisdom, the one who manifests as the very embodiment of compassion, [479] and the one who is Padmapāṇ i¹86 himself in the form of a tantric master. I will ever remain at the lotus feet of this savior for one-hundred eons. I will properly complete all activities that he desires and clear away discordant conditions.

Ordered [to perform] activities that accumulate 187 and augment concordant conditions without hesitation, bearing on their heads a vajra crown, never transgressing the oath to which they were bound [by] the awesome seal [41] - the worldly and transcendental adamantine protectors are inconceivable [in number]. However, among these, the ones that quickly [accomplish] the most activities, and who are the most fiercely powerful, are the Great Sovereign Spirits that Protect the Dharma. Furthermore, they are the essence of all the qualities of the wisdom and compassion of the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra. Complete enjoyment bodies that are the unhindered inherent radiance of he who is the universal splendor of all samsāra and nirvāṇa arose as the five [Buddha] families. From these, in response to the wicked tamable beings that must be wrathfully subdued, the five [appeared]: the central Sovereign Spirit of the mind [Gyajin],188 who is an emanation of Vairocana¹⁸⁹ – the essence of the wisdom of the Dharmadhātu, the purification of hatred; the eastern Sovereign Spirit of the body [Mönbuputra], 190 who is an emanation of Vajrasattva¹⁹¹ – the essence of mirror-like wisdom, the purification of ignorance; [42] the southern Sovereign Spirit of good qualities [Shingjachen],192 who is an emanation of Ratnasambhava193 – the essence of impartial wisdom, the purification of pride; the western Sovereign

¹⁸⁵ Tib. rgyal ba sras dang bcas pa; lit. "the Victorious Ones and their sons."

¹⁸⁶ Tib. Phyag na padma; lit. "Lotus-holder." This is a form of Avalokiteśvara.

¹⁸⁷ Tib. sog, read as gsog.

¹⁸⁸ Tib. Brgya byin.

¹⁸⁹ Tib. Rnam par snang mdzad. Vairocana is the head of the Buddha family and takes the central position.

¹⁹⁰ Tib. Mon bu pu tra.

¹⁹¹ Tib. Rdo rje sems dpa'. Vajrasattva is a form of Aks obhya (Tib. Mi bskyod pa), who is more generally considered the head of the Vajra family in the east.

¹⁹² Tib. Shing bya can.

¹⁹³ Tib. Rin chen 'byung gnas. Ratnasambhava is the head of the Ratna family in the south.

Spirit of speech [Kyechik Marpo], ¹⁹⁴ who is an emanation of Amitābha¹⁹⁵—the essence of the wisdom of discriminating awareness, the purification of desire; and the northern Sovereign Spirit of activities [Pehar], who is an emanation of Amoghasiddhi¹⁹⁶—the essence of all-accomplishing wisdom, the purification of envy. They [are accompanied by] many primary, secondary, and tertiary emanations, such as five consorts that instill delight and are the inherent nature of wisdom, five emanations that are protective and perform many kinds of activities, five ministers that accomplish [their assigned] activities, lion-masked dancers that entertain, and the four great brigadiers of the right, left, front, and back sides. By relying on them, they accomplish all pacifying, enriching, conquering, and destructive activities. They have great power, are loyal, and are easy to invoke.

Consequently, long ago the great Dharma-protecting King Trisong Deutsen constructed the great Changeless and Spontaneously Present Three-styled ¹⁹⁷ [Samyé] Monastery, together with its temples and sacred images. [43] When the Abbot [Śāntarakṣ ita], the Master [Padmasambhava], and the Dharma King [Trisong Deutsen] were discussing how they would appoint a protector [for the monastery], the Abbot said, "the Hindering Spirits enjoy killing, the Planetary Spirits are vicious, the Serpent Spirits are noxious, the Imperial Spirits are harmful [and cause] pain, the Savage Spirits are too gentle, and the Maternal Spirits are terrifying. None of them [will do], so who is suitable?" The Second Buddha, Great Master Padmasambhava said:

The tutelary deity ¹⁹⁸ of Mongolia is Namlha Jangchub. Once we invite this Sovereign Spirit Shingjachen [here], we will entrust the monastery to him and it

¹⁹⁴ Tib. Skyes gcig dmar po.

¹⁹⁵ Tib. Snang ba mtha' yas. Amitābha is the head of the Padma family in the west.

¹⁹⁶ Tib. Don yod grub pa. Amoghasiddhi is the head of the Karma family in the north.

¹⁹⁷ Tib. zan g.yang; read as zan yang. This refers to the three styles that make up Samyé Monastery's central temple, each story of which was designed in a different cultural style: Indian, Chinese, and Khotanese, traditionally.

¹⁹⁸ Tib. *pho lha*. This usually refers to one of the five personal protector deities (Tib. 'go ba'i lha lnga) that are attached to an individual from birth; see Jovic 2010.

will be indestructible. If we conquer the meditation center of Bhatahor, Pekar will follow after his possessions and come [here]. I will establish his supports at Pekarling.¹⁹⁹

Likewise, [the others said,] "the Sovereign Spirit Pekar, the treasure guardian from the Bhatahor meditation center, is suitable." And so, they conquered the Mongolian meditation center. Along with Dharmapāla of the Zahor royal line, as well as many [of the deity's] possessions—such as a turquoise Buddha [statue] and a conch-shell lion [statue] - [Pekar] was invited [to Tibet] and [44] installed as the guardian of the entire Dharma center [of Samyé]. [480] His outer and inner supports were also established. [Pekar] was entrusted to protect the life pillar of the Buddha's teachings and promised to do so. However, all five great Sovereign Spirits successively came to reside and remain at many such monasteries. Thus, this Great Dharma King [Pekar went] to reside at Yangön Monastery, in the central region to the north. One day during the lifetime of the Omniscient [Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso, though he was uninvited, [Pekar and the Dalai Lama] met at that place [Yangön] in accordance with the [Buddha's] teachings. This was a sign that [the deity] would not transgress his awesome and delightful adamantine oath. Accordingly, [the Second Dalai Lama] spread the Gelukpa²⁰⁰ teachings and, together with the protector of this great Dharma center, he left Yangön by way of a coracle.²⁰¹ Because [he] offered [Pekar] prayers, offerings,

¹⁹⁹ Tib. Pe kar gling; this is a condensed form of Pe kar dkor mdzod gling, the monastic treasury. This exchange is summarized and quoted from the 63rd chapter of the *Padma bka' thang*; see O rgyan gling pa 1996, pp. 384-385.

²⁰⁰ Tib. *zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba*; lit. "the bearers of the yellow hat."

Tib. rta mgo; read as rta mgo can. I would like to thank Bryan Cuevas for suggesting this reading (personal correspondence, October 8, 2012). This segment of the Nechung Record concerning Yangön is summarized in the Gung thang dkar chag; see Sørensen, Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo 2007, p. 216. However, since this segment in the latter text is a summary, it is missing some important details that have affected how Sørensen and Hazod translate this event. Their interpretation is that Pehar left Yangön alone in the form of Hayagrīva, translating rta mgo as such. Yet the full text of the Nechung Record suggests rather that the Second Dalai Lama himself came to Yangön, befriended Pehar, and left with him.

and entrusted actions, [the deity] accomplished the actions that the Omniscient one [requested] without obstruction.

A summary record of [Pekar's] coming here [is as follows]: Moreover, when he was close to being born in the direction of Tölung Tsega²⁰² for the benefit of all beings, [the Dalai Lama] was slightly delayed by a hindrance. [45] At this time, he deliberately went to the glorious Copper-colored Mountain²⁰³ because he was exhausted from benefiting beings. When [he arrived], the great master was teaching the profound Dharma to an assembly of knowledge-bearing dakas and *dakinīs*. There were two protector deities—one large and one small in front of where he was sitting. The [large] one had a black body and white plaited locks²⁰⁴ of hair, and held a sword and a blood-filled skull-cup. The [small] one had a red body and wore leather armor and a leather helmet, the top²⁰⁵ of which was adorned with silk ribbons. He brandished in his hands a red spear and a lasso. He possessed a tiger-skin quiver and a leopard-skin bow case, and wore red leather boots. The [two deities] stood as such with Padmasambhava above and behind them. [The Dalai Lama] asked the great master Padma[sambhava], "Who are these two protectors?" [He replied,] "These two are my attendants and they will accompany [you] as companions. Go to Tibet in order to benefit the [Buddha's] teachings and sentient beings!" Accordingly, they were entrusted as [the Dalai Lama's] servants to accomplish all [desired] activities. [46] As requested, [the Dalai Lama,] together with the two protectors, came to this land in order to benefit [all] tamable beings.²⁰⁶ Later, [after he

²⁰² Tib. Stod lung rtse dga'. The full name of the Third Dalai Lama's birth place is Stod lung rtse dga' khang gsar, located in the Töling valley just west of Lhasa.

²⁰³ Tib. Zangs mdog dpal ri; this is Padmasambhava's pure land.

²⁰⁴ Tib. thor lcog; read as thor cog.

²⁰⁵ Tib. *ldem phru*; read as *ldem 'phru*.

This encounter with Padmasambhava and the two protectors, which is said to have taken place in the intermediate state between the death of the Second Dalai Lama and the rebirth of the Third, was drawn almost verbatim from the biography of the Third Dalai Lama composed by the Great Fifth; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, pp. 16-17. Amy Heller (1992b, pp. 223-225) discusses this event in detail. She explains that the identification of the smaller red deity is ambiguous in this account; however, given its placement at this point in the *Nechung Record*, it seems that Sangyé Gyatso is making the argument that it is Pehar or one of his emanations. For a larger discussion of the identity conflict between the deity Begtse and Pehar's emanation Dorjé Drakden, see Heller 1992a.

was born,] the great omniscient one Sönam Gyatso was placed²⁰⁷ on the great Dharma throne at Glorious Drepung Monastery. Not long after, this great Dharma protector [the red guardian] possessed the human body²⁰⁸ [of the Nechung Oracle]. In this manner, and expressing [himself] here²⁰⁹ [like] Sarasvatī [did when she] vividly revealed herself, he said, "Through the interdependent connections of [our] extensive and unhindered activities that benefit [all] tamable beings, [may] the incarnate one [the Third Dalai Lama] behold me!"²¹⁰ The image was drawn [as such]:

Regarding the way to make the *tangka* display, ²¹¹ however large [you want] the cotton canvas is

²⁰⁷ Tib. *zhabs zung rnam par bkod*; lit. "his two feet were fully established."

²⁰⁸ Tib. *khog*; lit. "the trunk of the body."

²⁰⁹ Tib. 'drir; read as 'dir.

²¹⁰ This and the following verses greatly summarize an encounter between the Third Dalai Lama and Pehar-in possession of the Nechung Oracle-recorded in the Third Dalai Lama's biography. This event, recorded here in a piecemeal and disjointed way, occurred around the turn of 1589, shortly after the Third Dalai Lama was appointed abbot of Sera Monastery. For the full account, see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, pp. 116.3-126.4; see also Department of Religion and Culture 2004, pp. 29-37. Here, the two deliberate on the commissioning of a biographical tangka for the Dalai Lama before the oracle gives iconographic instructions to the painter, Trengkhawa Penden Lodrö Zangpo ('Phreng kha ba Dpal Idan blo gros bzang po, b.16th cent.). This specific quote does not appear to be verbatim, since it paraphrases two disparate elements. The first element is earlier in the exchange and concerns the activities of the Dalai Lama and Pehar working in tandem. This exchange is quoted verbatim below; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 121.3-4. The second element is at the end of the account and makes mention of the goddess Sarasvatī (Tib. Dbyangs can lha mo; var. Dbyangs can ma). The Nechung Oracle explains that when Trengkhawa was beginning to paint a tangka of Sarasvatī, he had doubts about the iconography. In response, the goddess appeared to the Third Dalai Lama in a vision and said, "Behold me, incarnate one!" In similar fashion, when painting the tangka of the Third Dalai Lama's biography, which includes a detailed image of the Sovereign Spirit, the Nechung Oracle says that he proclaimed the same thing; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 126.3-4. The next few lines of verse are quoted verbatim and describe iconographic elements given to Trengkhawa by the Nechung Oracle. Macdonald (1978, pp. 1140-1141) also briefly discusses this event.

²¹¹ Tib. *thang ga'i ljags bkod gnang ba'i tshul*; unlike the following verses, this line does not appear to be drawn verbatim from the Third Dalai Lama's biography. It does not precede the next line in that text.

fine. 212 ... In the middle of those [images] or on one side,²¹³ [paint] the form of the western Sovereign Spirit of speech. He rides a black mule with white heels and is majestic. 214 ... Countless emanations that look like [the Sovereign Spirit] radiate [from him], even more than all of these beings. 215 The emanations of the Sovereign Spirit Pekar are many—even more than the hairs on a tawny horse's [body]. [47] Moreover, a description is for small-minded people [while] this image is [for] you—a great mind, worthy and expansive...²¹⁶

[The Nechung Oracle further] said:217

In general, even though all phenomena do not truly exist, they appear true in a conventional [sense]. With respect to this, in the center of the lotus at the heart of the 1002 Buddhas there is Padmasambhava. When [we] were in the Lotus Light Palace at the peak of the glorious copper-colored mountain, Padmasambhava in-

²¹² For this line, see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 124.3.

²¹³ This positioning is explained in greater detail in the Third Dalai Lama's biography. The Nechung Oracle expounds on the proper iconography for the *tangka*; immediately before this line he states that there should be a monastery in the corner under the Dalai Lama's right knee and a Savior Spirit under his left knee. The oracle then explains that the image of one of the Five Sovereign Spirits should go in-between these two images.

²¹⁴ See Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 124.5.

²¹⁵ This line is preceded by a detailed description of the entities that make up the Five Sovereign Spirits' retinue.

²¹⁶ See Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 125.3-4.

The below lengthy quote is also found in the Third Dalai Lama's biography; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, pp. 121.2-122.1. This prose was spoken by the Nechung Oracle to the Third Dalai Lama while the former was possessed by Pehar.

structed [us] [481] to act for the improvement of the Buddha's teachings. That is to say, the Incarnate One Meaningful to Behold,²¹⁸ through pacifying and augmentative means, performs activities that protect those who bear the [Buddha's] teachings; [while] I, the Sovereign Spirit Pekar, through subjugating and destructive means, accomplish activities that clear away discordant conditions and that bring about concordant conditions for him. Accordingly, both [of us] must also act for the improvement of the [Buddha's] teachings. Please consider this! In particular, Padmasambhava gave the enemies' flesh, blood, life essence, and life breath to me as food rations. [48] For [my] allotted work, he entrusted me with protecting the [Buddha's] teachings, as well as the bearers of those teachings. Because of this, I have also never transgressed Padmasambhava's commands in the past. Again and again I have not transgressed [his commands]. So if there are obstacles to the activities that the One Meaningful to Behold performs in his lifetime, I will clear them away. I will accomplish all the concordant conditions! If there are harmful demons and obstructing spirits, human beings and inhuman spirits are not suitable [for dealing with them] unless they are included among the Haughty Spirits, the eight classes of gods and spirits of the phenomenal world. I am the overlord of all eight classes, the king who is the embodiment of the Haughty Spirits. What demons and obstructing spirits are able to transgress my command? Therefore, [your] entreaty is not insignificant. There is no need to act humble!

Accordingly, [49] this great Dharma protector ultimately [acts] as the guardian of the life stages of the great Omniscient King of the Victorious Ones,²¹⁹ as well as the guardian of all the teachings of the great

²¹⁸ Tib. Sprul sku Mthong ba don ldan. This is an epithet for the Dalai Lamas often used by the Nechung Oracle.

²¹⁹ Tib. Rgyal dbang Thams cad mkhyen pa; in this context this appellation is an epithet for the Dalai Lamas.

[and] incomparable Tsongkhapa; he is like a rampart for the great Dharma center Glorious Drepung [Monastery]. [However,] this [deity] did not have a natural and spontaneously present abode where he could live. Nevertheless, he generated one through meditation and [then], together with his emanations, created a real one. The manager of Glorious Drepung [Monastery] also requested that this new dwelling place, Nechung Pekar Chapel, [be built]. Consequently, by means of the earlier request and through great effort, [construction] began in the Iron-Female-Bird year [1681], in the third month, which celebrates when the Buddha turned the Dharma wheel of the Kālacakra at the great reliquary of Glorious Dhānyakat aka.220 First, I myself made an arrangement of multicolored papers and various [other things]. The area [of the site] was cleared and marked out by the cords of the serpent.²²¹ [50] The Mantrika of Chongyé, Ngawang, performed the methods for subjugating [the Lord of the Soil, interpreted] the planets and stars, and so forth; these are explained in the [geomantic and astrological] literature. On the day when the ground was dug up, there was a dust storm and the sky was turbulent.

There were 22 supervisors. The two chiefs were Kyitöpa Tenpé Gyentsen and Pulungpa Püntsok Pelzang. [Other supervisors included] Chungpa Raptang Marmowa, Rongrang Chönpa, Sawa Druppa, Nang Jungpa, Kartsowa, Gadong Zhidewa, Sharpa Rapsel, Chölung Zhungkar, Kangsar Rapten, Polhawa, the Five folks from Rong, Sönam Dargyé, and Zimchungpa. There were 127 carpenters. Their chief craftsmen were Nesarwa Jamyang and Drachi Gögö, their medium craftsman was Lhasa Lamnyé, and their lesser craftsman was Büdé Mendrup Lingpa; their remaining [craftsmen included] Zadam Tsewang. There were 93 masons. Their chief craftsmen were Drigung Samdrup Tseten and Gyamön Dargyé, [51] and their lesser craftsman was Chukpo Tashi; their remaining [craftsmen included] Madro Menchok. [482] There were 7 bricklayers. Their chief craftsman was

²²⁰ Tib. Dpal Idan 'bras spungs; this site is located in Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh, India and is the place after which Drepung Monastery in Tibet was named.

²²¹ Tib. *Ito 'phye'i thig*. This refers to the practice of using cords to divide the site space into a chessboard-like configuration. This iconometry then determines the location of the serpent-like Lord of the Soil (Tib. *sa bdag*) underneath the ground, to whom offerings must be made before he will grant permission to dig the foundation.

Epa Tsenden and the remaining [craftsmen included] Jamyang. There were 44 [other workers] such as roofers, transporters, leathersmiths, and builders from Mön. When both Sönam Pel and Zangpo acted as supervisors, they gathered stone collectors for corvée labor. In this they followed in the footsteps of the story of Samyé Monastery²²² being built by the Dharma King Trisong Deutsen: [at that time] the gods and spirits gathered a mountain of stones for all to see, regardless of whether it was day or night. There was a great output [of work] and a great number of corvée laborers—nearly 5000. Prior to that, other than one or two bad omens—like Sovereign Spirit diseases²²³—there had been no illnesses and the builders were exceptionally wonderful.

For the murals, there is the great incomparable Tsongkhapa [52], the First Pan chen Lama, and the First Dalai Lama; [as well as] the Lineage of the Seven Men of Tsang who are [like] Mañjughoṣ a;²²⁴ the five successive bodies of the great All-Knowing, All-Seeing Lord of the Victorious Ones,²²⁵ the crown jewel of the five hundred [bodhisattvas?]; the great master of Glorious Uḍ ḍ iyāṇ a [Padmasambhava]; the Eight *Sādhana* Deities; the great Five Sovereign Spirits, their five consorts, and five ministers; the Seven Wild Imperial Spirit Riders; and, in particular, the two physical expressions²²⁶ of this great Dharma King [Pehar]. For the murals in the courtyard, there is the retinue: the 30 chiefs of the Haughty Spirits, the 75 glorious protectors, and the horde of the eight classes [of gods and spirits].

Arranged according to the explanations within the *tantras*,²²⁷ the interstices [of the walls] have innumerable servants and various kinds of wild animals: the outer supports consist of vultures, monkeys, and parrots; the inner supports consist of dogs; and the secret supports

²²² Tib. *lugs gsum mi 'gyur lhun grub kyi gtsug lag khang;* lit. "the changeless and spontaneously present monastery of three styles."

²²³ Tib. rgyal zer; read as rgyal gzer.

²²⁴ Tib. 'jam dbyangs gtsang pa bdun rgyud; this refers to the first seven abbots of Ganden Monastery who followed after Tsongkhapa.

²²⁵ This refers to the first five Dalai Lamas.

²²⁶ Tib. *sku'i rnam 'gyur rnam gnyis*; this refers to the two forms, peaceful and wrathful, of the central deity.

²²⁷ This likely refers to the many *tantras* that concern Pehar, which were listed above in the Fifth Dalai Lama's section, lines 23-24.

consist of silk brocade. The supports that summon the butchers are the victory banners [topped with the heads of] tigers, wolves, [etc.] There is an eight-year-old crystal child with turquoise eyebrows who bares his conch-shell fangs, brandishes a razor in his hand, and rides a white lion. [53] [He is flanked by] a one-eyed black monkey holding an iron knife in his hand and riding a small mule, and a white enemy[-defeating] god wearing a nine-layered robe, holding a flaming razor, and riding a lion. There are 100 arhats on their right, 100 armored [soldiers] on their left, 100 women in front of them, and 100 monks riding black mules [behind them]. [There are also] 100 black Indian Mön dancers holding mendicant staffs in their hands, and 7 black women wearing skull-garlands. There is the butcher [Jatri] Mikchikpu²²⁸ wearing a turban of black serpents and riding a blue horse with a black bottom; Putra Nakpo²²⁹ riding a small mule; an arhat wearing a wooden summer hat and riding a camel;²³⁰ and Jagö Tangnak²³¹ throwing a *vajra*.²³² There are great skeleton servants – 100 of which are holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of vultures, and 100 of which are holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of lions. There are Lords of Life-100 of which are holding aloft flaming [military] standards, and 100 of which are holding aloft silk ribbons and victory banners. There are 100 armored Lords of Life and great skeleton servants. [54] There are 100 quarreling²³³ white lions and 100 racing blue wolves. There are 100 black female Hindering-Planetary Spirits holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of peacocks. There are 100 packs of black horses, black mules, and black dogs. There are 100 camels loaded

²²⁸ This is Mönbuputra's minister.

²²⁹ Tib. Spu gri [sic: tra] nag po; I have incorporated Lingön Padma Kelzang's correction here, since the context indicates that this refers to Pehar's minister, who also rides a mule.

²³⁰ This refers to Kyechik Marpo's minister, Dorjé Drakden, in his original form.

²³¹ This is Shingjachen's minister.

²³² Gyajin's minister, Jarawa (Tib. Bya ra ba), is oddly absent from this list.

²³³ Tib. 'khrab mo byed pa. Lingön Padma Kelzang considers the first word of this phrase to be a misspelling of khrab, making its meaning somehow relate to armor; however, I propose that it is a phonetic misspelling of 'thab mo byed pa, meaning to quarrel or fight. The trend of the next clause appears to agree with this interpretation.

with notched wooden plates ²³⁴ that [summon] Hindering Spirits. There are 100 emissaries²³⁵ mounted on white horses and 100 black Mön. Of those emanations that have a variety of repulsive forms, 100 devas hold aloft silk victory banners; 100 asuras hold aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of tigers; 100 rākṣ asas hold aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of wolves; and 100 gandharvas hold aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of vultures. There are 100 [deities] holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of mongooses and peacocks. [Lastly,] there are 100 [deities] holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of monkeys and cats.

The painters [were as follows]:236 the medium craftsmen were Jamyang Wangpo and Mentangpa Gönpo Tsering. [55] The remaining [craftsmen were] [483] Menlugpa (Sharling) Könchok, Lekpa Gventsen, Jamvang Döndrup, (Shünshak) Kvikyak, Akuk, Sönam, Baklhuk, Drakpa, Köpa, (Jangteng) Tashi, (Zhöl) Lobzang, (Dechen) Püntsok Rabjang, Rinchen Dorjé, Penjor, Samdrup Tsering, (Pentsa) Lobzang, (Gentsang) Tseten, (Tsomé) Dorjé, (Zhendön) Kündrak, (Rampa) Draklokpa, (Zadam) Sönam Tashi, Tashi Döndrup, (Aku) Samdrup, Karkar, Akar, Padma Gyelpo, Lhasung, (Jokpo) Genyen, (Nyenpo) Jamyang, Patsap Gönpo, Genyen Gyelpo, Azin, Samdrup, Gyelpo, Lobzang, Döndrup Chödar, Jamyang Gyeltsen, Sönam Tashi, Dechok, Tenzin, Wangchuk, Lobzang Yarpel, Lhuklhuk, (Rongpa) Sönam Gyelpo, Umzé, (Panam) Gönpo, (Nyiding) Pendé, Tupwang Tenzin, and Tashi Döndrup. [56] Along with [the paintings] there was some varnishing. The wise and compassionate medium craftsman [of the varnishers] was the Tantrika Karpa Tsepel. The remaining [craftsmen included] Ngawang Sönam, Tenzin, (Künga Dorjé), Künga Jangchup, Penden Zangpo, Namsé, Sangyé Döndrup, Ngawang Dodé, Künga Rappel, (Tserna) Kelzang, Namgyel Tsultrim, Künga Gyatso, Ngedön Nyingpo, Lobzang Tenzin, Ngawang Chöpel, Ngawang Yeshé, Lodrö, Sangyé Künga, Sangyé Dönden, Sönam

²³⁴ Tib. *khram shing*; this refers to wooden boards with crosses notched into them that are used in Tibetan sorcery to summon malicious spirits.

²³⁵ Tib. *kingka ra*; Skt. *kiṃkara*; the common Tibetan abbreviation for this word, encountered above, is *ging*.

²³⁶ Many of these names are given a toponym or clan affiliation in the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript; I include these added names in parentheses.

Norbu, (Lhakpu) Shenyen, (Drigung) Lhundrup, Sölsöl, Nesung, Sönam Sherap, Tashi Tsering, Orgyan, Dönyö, Loden, (Tseru) Gadöl, Yönten, Tashi Lhündrup, Püntsok Tsering, Lobzang Döndrup, (Jang) Trönpa Kapa, and (Nyetang) Trinlé Gyatso.

For the bas relief statues, [57] as stated above, there is Hayagrīva and his consort in accordance with the Guru Guhyasamāja [cycle]; the Five Sovereign Spirits, along with their consorts and ministers; Dorjé Drakden as envisioned by the Omniscient [Third Dalai Lama] Sönam Gyatso, which was mixed with the clay of an ancient statue; a miraculous Dorjé Drakden wearing the garments of the Imperial Spirits, as secretly envisioned by the Incomparable Sovereign, the Supreme Savior [Fifth Dalai Lama];²³⁷ as well as Dorjé Drakgyelma. In the Birch Tree Chapel, there is the venerable Lord of the Victorious Ones, the great Ominiscient One [the Fifth Dalai Lama] Ngagi Wangchuk Lobzang Gyatso, which is the chief [statue]; [there are also] the four successive bodies of the Eminent One;238 the great Victorious One Tsongkhapa; Padmasambhava and his two consorts; 239 the Eight Manifestations of Guru [Padmasambhava]; as well as the guardian of the [Buddha's] teachings, Dorjé Drakgyelma. In the four-pillared right upper chapel, there is the Lord of the Victorious Ones, the Omniscient [Fifth Dalai Lama] Lobzang Gyatso, which is the chief [statue]; the great venerable Tsongkhapa; Jamyang Chöjé;²⁴⁰ the Eight Medicine Buddhas; [58] Nāgeśvararāja; 241 Roaring Lion Avalokiteśvara;²⁴² White Tārā; Tārā of the Acacia Forest;²⁴³ Tārā who Protects against the Eight Fears;²⁴⁴ Turquoise [Vajra]vidāran a; as well as

²³⁷ This may refer to the vision the Fifth Dalai Lama had of Dorjé Drakden in 1653; see Karmay 1988, p. 35.

²³⁸ This refers to the four previous Dalai Lamas.

²³⁹ Tib. O rgyan yab yum gsum; Padmasambhava's two consorts are Yeshé Tsogyel and Mandarava.

²⁴⁰ Tib. 'Jam dbyangs chos rje Bkra shis dpal ldan, 1379-1449. This is the founder of Drepung Monastery.

²⁴¹ Tib. Klu dbang gi rgyal po; lit. "Mighty King of the Serpent Spirits." This figure is the head of the system of 35 Confessional Buddhas (Tib. Ltung bshags sangs rgyas so lnga) developed by Tsongkhapa.

²⁴² Tib. Spyan ras gzigs seng ge sgra; Skt. Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara. This form of Avalokiteśvara rides a lion.

²⁴³ Tib. Seng ldeng nags sgrol; Skt. Khadiravan itārā.

 $^{^{244}\,}$ Tib. Sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad skyabs [sic: skyob]; Skt. A $\$ t amahābhaya Tārā.

Pratisarā. In the four-pillared left [upper chapel], there are the Buddhas of the Three Times; the 16 Noble *Sthaviras*; Dharmatala; the Four Great Kings; and Hwashang [Mahāyāna].

The sculptors who built such images [are as follows]: [the chief craftsmen] were Epa Umzé Bakdro and Chöpel, and the lesser craftman was Pelzin. The remaining [craftsmen included] [484] Tsönchung, Lobzang Tenkyong, Orgyan Gönpo, Gyelwar Dargyé, Dzomtruk, Lobzang, Yutruk, Sönam Tsering, Sumga, Tenpel, Jamyang Dargyé, Awar, Norbu Tsering, Döndrup, Horgyel, Sumpel, Lobzang Norbu, and Norbu Dargyé. Their main supervisors were Lodrö Gyentsen, the high monk of Kabok, [59] as well as Chungwa Kyidrung Drapön and Gyeltse Chokbukpa. The supervisors for the corvée laborers were Changra Sönam and Zadam Tsering Döndrup.

The central deities of these paintings and statues were designed according to the instructions and supplemental [texts] explained above, as well as the astrological works; [however,] I did amend them. Prior to doing this, from blessing the craftsmen, tools, and life tree,²⁴⁵ to [writing] the guide book, consecrating [the site], and opening the eyes [of the images], the monk Jamyang Drakpa ordered such activities, which were [discussed] above, and I placed my head at his feet.

The Great Holy Savior of all beings, including gods, [the Fifth Dalai Lama] gave instructions for the silk thread-cross mansions of various Haughty Spirits—such as the Five Sovereign Spirits, their consorts and ministers, as well as Dorjé Drakden²⁴⁶—and, similarly, for the abundant *torma* materials. The shrine master Ngawang Sherap acted as the supervisor [for this].

²⁴⁵ Tib. srog shing; this does not refer to Pehar's soul tree, but rather to the central beam or axis that is placed at the sacred center of all monasteries, statues, and reliquaries – the axis mundi of such a site or object.

²⁴⁶ The original wall inscription has Rdo rje grags rgyal ma, while the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript amends this to Rdo rje grags Idan; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da., f.8a.1. The manuscript also adds *bstan srung* ("Protector of the [Buddha's] Teachings") before the name. Given the context, I am interpreting the emendation to be correct. Nonetheless, that one deity is confused for another carries interesting implications.

Each monk in the college made an effort and they made wonderful things, [such as] [60] victory banners made of embroidered silk, which were topped with banners and included canopies. Their supervisors were Jagowa Lobzang Wangchuk, Peldor, Tashi Kapa, and the head tailor Ratse Shakpa Sönam. The remaining 32 [craftsmen] included (Gongkar) Ngayak.

Along with the images, inside [the monastery] there is, chiefly, the renowned body support [the Nechung Oracle]; consecration supports, represented by the four kinds of relics;²⁴⁷ as well as the outer, inner, secret, innermost secret, and supplemental life force cakras. For the attachment supports, there are three things [that hold the deity's] soul syllables: [1] a [piece of] coral about the length of the Sovereign Spirit's hand, which gathers against his will whatever great power of his is not suitable or desired; [2] an immaculate square of white crystal [the size of] a single finger, which appeared within phenomenal existence [and] which makes it so that, even if the Sovereign Spirit is entrusted with infinite activities, there is no way he will not do them without obstruction; and [3] a complete shell of mother of pearl, [which makes it so] that the Sovereign Spirit will not turn against oneself, the object of accomplishment, or the master with his disciples and attendants, and that there is no way [the deity] will not accompany us like a shadow follows a body. [61] Such [items] originated from the tantras.

Furthermore, [regarding other] precious and high-quality [possessions]: there was a horse in China that would startle whenever it was turned; for this reason, when this would happen, it would need to be [carefully] supervised. This year, the proper karmic connections were right and the horse was presented [to the monastery] by the Dharma Lord Dungé. The horse's features and color were excellent and it had an agreeble disposition.²⁴⁸ Headed by this, there was the best in the world of the jewels of the gods, Serpent Spirits, and humans, such as, chiefly, silver ingots the size of bird's eggs, as well as [chunks of] cor-

²⁴⁷ Tib. *ring bsrel sna bzhi*; this is a variant of *ring bsrel rnam bzhi*. These four are: [1] relics of the Dharma body (Tib. *chos sku'i ring bsrel*); [2] relics of the corpse (Tib. *sku gdung ring bsrel*); [3] relics of clothing (Tib. *sku bal ring bsrel*); and [4] miniature relics (Tib. *nyung du lta bu'i ring bsrel*).

²⁴⁸ Tib. *glo ba tsam pa*; this is read as a variant of *blo dang 'tsham pa*.

al the size of fresh peaches, [pieces of] soul-turquoise the size of goose eggs, pearls, lapis lazuli, copper, and iron; riches, garments, silks, and fabrics; ripened ²⁴⁹ grains like buckwheat and mustard seeds; as well as fruits like mangoes and jujubes. There was [also] a variety of medicinal pills [made from] different medicines—chiefly, white and red sandalwood that was neither poisonous nor fetid—and various kinds of food and drink, like the three whites and three sweets. ²⁵⁰ Each and every one of the items of these final supports, as well as the images, thread-cross mansions, and *tormas*, were complete. [485]

[62] Each day, barley was [ceremoniously] scattered and there were consecrations, as explained earlier, such as with the *cakra* sections. Moreover, during the main instructions, the monk Jamyang Drakpa acted as the supervisor for the recitations. Ngawang Trinlé, Ngawang Gyatso, Lekden Wangyel, the Tantric scholar Lobzang Kyechok, and the Dharma Lord Zilnön Dorjechen transcribed [the recitations]; the monk Jamyang Drakpa also completed [them]. At the time of the offerings, along with Miklha, the shrine master Ngawang Sherap, the monk Jamyang Drakpa, and the Tantric scholar Lobzang Kyechokchen acted according to the oral instructions.

When the <code>dhāraṇīs</code> were being inserted [into the statues], the Nechung Oracle's sword and wooden placard needed to be placed within the statue of [the Third Dalai Lama] Lord Sönam Gyatso's vision [of the deity]. The young monks know this, and now King Pekar and his retinue truly do come [here]. [However], on that day, those who inserted the <code>dhāraṇīs</code> were deceitful, so the known omens did not appear. [63] Then, from that night on, the sculptors from Epa were disturbed by ominous dreams and there were very bad signs. Because of this, they needed to receive blessings, ask the Nechung Oracle for advice, and so forth. These strange [events] took place over several days.

²⁴⁹ Tib. *min pa*; this is read as a misspelling of *smin pa*.

²⁵⁰ Tib. *dkar gsum mngar gsum*. The three whites are curds, milk, and butter, and the three sweets are sugar, molasses, and honey.

On the roof [of the monastery], inside the gañjira spire made from 2,000 zho²⁵¹ of refined gold, blessed supports – chiefly, relics as small as mustard seeds—[were placed]. In order to bring good fortune to the region, an extraordinary circle of protection for pacifying, enriching, conquering, and destroying [was also placed inside the spire]. [There is also] a *tuk*²⁵² support for Dorjé Drakden on the right [of the spire] and [Dorjé] Drakgyelma on the left. In the northern area each of the Five [Sovereign Spirits were placed] in the four cardinal directions, with the Sovereign Spirit of the mind [Gyajin] in the center. On [the roof of] the middle floor, for the support materials, there are victory banners of the four animals as well as silk.²⁵³ On the bottom [roof], the tuks of the five consorts [of the Sovereign Spirits] were placed. A circle of protection was also made in accordance with the oral instructions for each of them, decorated with their support materials. Various aristocratic victory banners, tuk, and silken ribbons were also established.²⁵⁴ When the *gañjira* was finished, the consecration [64] was performed by the monk Jamyang Drakpachen and the tuk rituals were performed by the Tantric scholar Lobzang Kyechokchen.

The [iron] door bands are also decorated with various kinds of images of support materials and offerings. The supervisors for this were Zhika Nyingnying, Laok Tashi, and Lhomö Künga Dorjé. There were 32 blacksmiths. Their lesser craftsman was Otsangpa; the remaining [craftsmen included] Serzhu Kyikyak. There were 52 goldsmiths. Their head craftsmen were Tsechen Sönam Dargyé and Panam Gönpo; the remaining [craftsmen included] Ramgang Norbu. There were 15 silversmiths, such as Orgyan. There were 57 wool-spinners, such as Purtsa. They were supervised by Pari Tenzin and Drachi Norbu Döndrup. There were four dyers [for the wool]: Nyemo Kar-

²⁵¹ Tib. *zho*; this is a traditional Tibetan measurement. One *zho* equals approximately one-tenth an ounce of gold or silver; ten *zho* equals one *srang*, or approximately one ounce of gold or silver; see French 2002, p. 127.

²⁵² Tib. thug. This refers to a type of cylindrical banner found on the roofs of Tibetan monasteries, generally covered with black yak or horse hair; see Alexander 2005, p. 115.

²⁵³ Four of these victory banners are topped with the heads of a tiger, wolf, vulture, and monkey, respectively, while the fifth is silk; see line 30 above.

²⁵⁴ To see the orientation of the *gañjira* and these victory banners on the various levels of Nechung Monastery, see Ricca 1999, pp. 48-50.

ma, Tönpa Tsewang Sitar, the leathersmith Tsewang Dorjé, and the drum-maker Trawa Gopachen. The four acrostic poems²⁵⁵ on both sides of the [monastery's] entrances [were composed by] [65] Darlo Ngawang Püntsok Lhündrup and Namling Paṇ chen Könchok Chödrak. The Indian and Tibetan letters [surrounding the poems] were painted [on the walls] by Gyantsé Jamyang Wangpo and Paksam Tsering. Those who gave the necessary salaries and such were Geshé Dargen and Busangpa Tsewang Tashi.

In the bird year [1681], the heads of Zangri, Neudong, Dratsang, Drongmé, and Drepung, the [Nechung] medium, the monks of Loseling, Gomang, Deyang, and the Tantric College, [486] as well as Geshé Dargen, Tardongpa, and Busangpa conducted the construction feast. In the dog year [1682], the heads of Drepung, monks from Drongmé and Devang College, the [Nechung] medium, Geshé Dargen, and Busangpa conducted the craftswork feast. [After] such things, the [monastery's] possessions and ancient images were properly established at the beginning of the 9th month of the Water-Dog year [1682]. When these were transferred [to the monastery] on the 8th day of the month—an auspicious [configuration of] planets and stars various wondrous omens appeared. [66] Preparations were made for the temporary consecration on the 13th day [of the month]. On the 14th [day], the Dalai Lama²⁵⁶ [ceremoniously] scattered barley and meditated on the man dala of the fierce blood-drinker Vajrakumāra, the great Glorious One. He completed the approach, accomplishment, and activities of the peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities that insatiably drink the nectar of the glorious and holy lama's speech. The tantric master endowed with the three [wisdoms], the monk Jamyang Drakpa, acted as the *vajra* master [for the temporary consecration].

Subjugating external [forces] does not contradict enlightened conduct even for an instant. And so, the monastic assembly of Namgyel Mon-

²⁵⁵ Tib. kun 'khor; these Nechung acrostics have been transcribed in Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009, pp. 660-669.

²⁵⁶ Tib. gong sa mchog; lit. "Supreme Sovereign." This is a common epithet for the Dalai Lama. Given that this portion of the record was composed after the Great Fifth's death, it would seem Sangyé Gyatso is keeping up the appearance of the Dalai Lama's continued existence in official documentation for all to see.

astery²⁵⁷—which abides in the profound yoga of the inner deity, *mantra*, and wisdom—directly inserted the Wisdom Being into the *Samaya* Being²⁵⁸ and consecrated [the monastery]; [as a result,] a rain of flowers fell.

When that happened, the forces that obstructed the preparations were driven out; then the untimely storms were expelled and [the Nechung deity] was invited. At that time, a storm came from the direction of upper Dambak and Drepung, and the whole of Nechung disappeared. From the life tree blessing to the consecration, dhāranī-insertion, and so forth, there was snow and rain by turns. Now, there are cloudless skies one day after another. During the consecration, concluding feast, and such, there was a snowstorm. In particular, although there was no [storm] whatsoever around Kyishö, 259 it stayed swirling over the hill behind Nechung and everybody saw it. From that day on, the magical effigies 260 would suddenly become heavier and heavier, and the carriers realized this. [Also,] Epa Umzé Bakdro had a portentous dream [that concerned him] going to see many monks in the Central Chapel; they squeezed [together] the forces obstructing261 the statues and were absorbed into the statue of the central Sovereign Spirit [Gyajin]. Furthermore, the monks of the college, the lay government officials, and others each had visions or [portentious] dreams. These abundant omens appeared, [showing] that great

²⁵⁷ Tib. Rnam par rgyal ba'i phan bde legs bshad gling; lit. "Palace that Elegantly Teaches the Happiness and Well-Being that Conquers All."

²⁵⁸ See Bentor 1996, pp. xix-xx.

²⁵⁹ Tib. Skyid shod; lit. "Lower Kyi[chu Valley]." This term generally refers to the area around the Kyichu River, including Lhasa; see Sørensen, Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo 2007, pp. 17-27. In this context, it refers especially to the area just below Nechung at the base of the mountain.

²⁶⁰ Tib. *sku gsob 'phrul ma*. It is unclear to what this refers, though it is likely the various statues that were carried to and installed at the monastery.

²⁶¹ Tib. chag dogs byed pa; this is read as a misspelling of chags thogs byed pa.

troublesome Haughty Spirits did actually live [around Nechung].²⁶²

On the 15th day, an auspicious day for planets and stars—the favorable conjunction of Venus and Zeta Piscium—[67] the great Dharma Protector descended into the body of the [Nechung] medium, Tsewang Pelwar, and arranged the inauguration ceremony; this produced [much] delight. [The deity] is inseparably united with and resides within his abode; he is the attentive sentinel of the [Buddha's] teachings and sentient beings, and has promised to effortlessly accomplish the four activities.

Regarding the sublime completion of these wondrous things, this monastery and abode is distinguished by eight kinds of craftwork. The first distinguished [craftwork] is endowed with [the following] special qualities: the characteristics of the soul stones and life force cakras mentioned above are not found anywhere else. In addition to this, even the paintings and sculptures look as if they were produced by the immortal craftsmen of the gods in human form; the appearance of these exceptional works is enchanting. The manufacturers are also visualized as deities, and the paint pigments, tools, and such are likewise consecrated and completely filled with blessings. In short, [68] if those with eye disease do nothing more than [see the basic] form of these paintings and sculptures, [487] they will spontaneously achieve the primordial nature of ultimate reality. Then the ocean of the oath-bound Haughty Spirits of phenomenal existence will assemble in reality, rolling without interruption like rainclouds gathering [in the sky], and perform the actions [entrusted to them].

The second [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: this Dharma Protector consumes an arrangement of whatever life breath [of] mortal

This paragraph is a significant portion of text that is found in the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript, as well as in the transcriptions by Lingön Padma Kelzang and Dobis Tsering Gyal; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da., ff.10a.3-10b.1. Although this additional information is not present in the wall inscription of the *Nechung Record* and was clearly added later to the manuscript, it provides greater detail on the events surrounding Nechung Monastery's 1682 consecration. I include this material in the body of the text as a block quote, in a smaller font, and bolded to distinguish it from the content of the wall inscription proper.

beings he catches through countless manifestations. Even though he is like this, because it is the emanation [most] suitable for subjugating anyone, he appeared as a physical manifestation [of] overwhelming splendor, [who came] by way of a coracle decorated with red turquoise jewels. He then dissolved into this birch Aśoka tree²⁶³ endowed with a marvelous fragrance and abundant flowers and fruits—as the support that delights [this] manifestation—and abides in such a manner. Accordingly, this palace that delights the oathbound [guardian deities] [69] was blessed with the great power that is the manifestation of the deity, mantra, and wisdom of the profound Vajra Yoga by the successive incarnations of the form that is meaningful to behold, who emanated supremely from the center of the lotus that is the heart of all the Victorious Ones of the Three Times—like the 2000 Buddhas of the good eon.²⁶⁴ The great Dharma Protector, with great delight, also became inseparable from this divine mansion that is adorned with many gifts and material offerings; the supports remain unimpaired in the assembly hall. These [supports] are like the life tree of this place—they are the essence of the supreme supports that delight [the deity]. Subsequently, in order to instill delight and [have the deity] protect the [Buddha's] teachings unimpaired, gifts, clouds of ever-excellent offerings, and all the wealth of the gods and humans are together spread out [over] the measureless shrine 265 where the real [offerings] are arranged; [the offerings] are dispersed in this way one after the other. These became the outer and inner supports and thus are distinguished.

The third [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: [70] even if one [just] looks at the beam and rafter junctures at the edges of the Central Chapel, it can make the heart tremble and cause [them] to flee. There are human skins, snakes endowed with the qualities of the five [Buddha] families, razors, knives, and swords, as well as lightning and hail being vomited from the mouths of thunder [dragons]. These superior works of art are terrifying and [make people] shudder in fear.

²⁶³ Tib. *mya ngan med pa'i ljon shing*; lit. "sorrowless tree." This tree's taxonomic name is Saraca asoca.

²⁶⁴ This lengthy epithet refers to the Dalai Lama.

²⁶⁵ Tib. *gzhal yas*; this term here refers to a large shrine dedicated to the deities where their offerings are displayed.

The fourth [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: the internal doors appear as the three bodies [of the Buddha] within the state of the three doors of liberation.²⁶⁶ Beyond this, there are the five doors that represent the Five Great Sovereign Spirits [who are] the self-manifestations of the Five Wisdoms.²⁶⁷ These [five doors] are incredibly vast; they are so wide that even if all the living beings in the three worlds were to enter them at the same time, they would [still] fit through them without a doubt. Even the façades²⁶⁸ [of the doors] reach the pinnacle of existence. [The doors] are regarded as [a sign that] the palace and courtyard of the pair of five necks²⁶⁹ have been accepted into this savage land. Thus, these are special [doors] endowed with magnificence.

The fifth [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: the threshold door frames are fully established with dangling ornaments fastened by the self-existing [forms] of snakes hanging from the mouths of corpse heads. [71] These marvelous [door frames] can cause even an intelligent person's heart to jump up into their throat.

The sixth [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: on the peak [of the monastery, the spire with] the nature of refined gold can block out the splendor of a hundred thousand suns. This great gañjira was established to complete the body, speech, and mind supports, together with the outer, inner, and most profound [supports], in order for the leader of the Haughty Spirits and his retinue to accomplish the four activities without obstruction. This [spire] is a special work of art, such that it rivals the top story of a Flesh-Eating Spirit's palace, where the oath-bound [guardians] are naturally gathered and the garlands of golden roof ornaments²⁷⁰ and garlands of dried human heads are arranged in order by appearance.

²⁶⁶ Tib. *rnam thar sgo gsum*. Symbolically, this refers to the three approaches to liberation: [1] emptiness (Tib. *stong pa nyid*), [2] aspirationlessness (Tib. *smon pa med pa*), and [3] attributelessness (Tib. *mtshan nyid med pa*). Here this term refers to the three doors that lead into the Central Chapel at the back of the assembly hall.

²⁶⁷ These are the five doors that lead into the assembly hall from the courtyard.

²⁶⁸ Tib. *babs gdong*; lit. "surface condition." The meaning of this term is difficult to fully ascertain; however, the context suggests that it pertains to the nature and size of the doors.

²⁶⁹ Tib. *mgrin pa lnga zung*; this refers to the Five Sovereign Spirits and their consorts.

²⁷⁰ Tib. *gser phru'i sba phreng*; the specific meaning of this term is difficult to ascertain.

[488] The seventh [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: on the outside, this abode for the Haughty Spirits was actually established [with] the attributes of a man dala. In the east, south, west, and north [of the monastery], respectively, there is a gate that accords with a color of the four activities, 271 a stylobate sitting on the ground, and an archway supported by pillars; these complete the faultless appearance of the divine mansion. [72] The parapet balustrades on the roofs and the garlands of dried skulls on the ruby-colored friezes radiate light in a hundred directions; therefore, the opportunities for darkness [to take over the ten] directions are diminished. These eight parts represent the eight great planets; 272 such is the special quality [of these structures].

The eighth [distinquished craftwork is as follows]: the wall plaster of blood²⁷³ that liberates [those suffering from] the ten defects is completely stirred [with] bubbling garlands of fat and brains, thus actualizing the house of [Yama,] the Lord of Death. [This blood] is seething and churning like clouds²⁷⁴ close to pouring down a deluge of rain. Furthermore, [the monastery's] sixteen pillars represent the sixteen [deities]—the fifteen Dharma protectors²⁷⁵ and the *kiṃnaras*.²⁷⁶ This design is [truly] distinquished!

²⁷¹ These colors are white for pacifying activities, yellow for augmenting activities, red for subjugating activities, and black for destructive activities.

²⁷² Tib. gza' brgya chen. The eight planets in traditional Indo-Tibetan astrology are [1] the Sun (Tib. Nyi ma; Skt. Sūrya), [2] the Moon (Tib. Zla ba; Skt. Candra), [3] Mars (Tib. Mig dmar; Skt. Man gala), [4] Mercury (Tib. Lhag pa; Skt. Budha), [5] Jupiter (Tib. Phur bu; Skt. Br haspati), [6] Venus (Tib. Pa sangs; Skt. Śukra), [7] Saturn (Tib. Spen pa; Skt. Śani), and [8] Rāhula (Tib. Sgra gcan). The eight parts likely refer to [1-4] the four gates of the cardinal directions, [5] the stylobate, [6] the archways, [7] the balustrades, and [8] the skull garlands.

²⁷³ Tib. *khrag gi zhal ba*; this refers to the ocean of blood painted on the lower register of all the murals along the entrance, courtyard, and assembly hall.

²⁷⁴ Tib. *nam mkha'i glang po*; lit. "the bull of the sky."

²⁷⁵ It is unclear to which fifteen Dharma protectors this refers. Given that this concerns the assembly hall, it could be 15 of its 18 murals, sans the two images of the Nechung Oracle and a painting of Padmasambhava. This could also refer to the Five Sovereign Spirits along with each of their consorts and ministers.

²⁷⁶ Tib. *mi'am ci*; this refers to the animal-headed attendants of the Dharma protectors.

The roars of the terrifying ones, [the Five Sovereign Spirits] who strike and kill, resound like a thousand thunder claps rumbling simultaneously. Accompanying [them], all the Haughty Spirits [of] the eight classes of gods and spirits attached to the field of imputations²⁷⁷ gather automatically, like bees swarming over piles of utterly fetid rotten meat or carnivorous beasts in charnel grounds trotting and running toward the steaming odor of warm flesh and blood. [73] The heaps of their outer, inner, and secret support objects, gifts, and clouds of offerings are piled up throughout heaven and earth without interruption; they are [fully] contained within this great palace for the eight classes of Haughty Spirits.

The great Dharma center [Drepung] — where the ethical monastic community lives—upholds, preserves, and spreads the tradition of the Gentle Savior lama [Tsongkhapa], the immaculate teachings of the Buddha, and is like an overflowing pile of the wise *arhat's* white rice.²⁷⁸ [Located among] its foothills—

This abode, where the eight classes of Haughty Spirits automatically gather, is not small; it can hold the vast expanse [of] existence.²⁷⁹ This grove that pleases the emanating Sovereign Spirit Pekar, his consort, and minister is a marvelous chapel that is distinguished by eight kinds of craftworks.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Tib. brtag chags kyi lha ma srin sde brgyad; this is read as a variant of btags shing chags pa'i lha srin sde brgyad.

²⁷⁸ When combined, the two red words in this last clause cleverly spell out Drepung.

²⁷⁹ Referring to the fourth distinquished craftwork, this line interprets the monastery's name ironically. Despite being called "Small Abode," it is considered a sacred realm vast enough to hold all of existence.

²⁸⁰ As with the previous verse, when the red words of this stanza are combined they spell out "Nechung Pekar Chapel" (Tib. Gnas chung pe kar lcog).

[Nechung] was begun in the Iron-Bird year [1681] and thoroughly established in the third-eon year [called] 'Splendor of Melted Beryl' [1682?].²⁸¹ This amazing monastery, erected with the efforts [of] body, speech, and mind, is marvelous!

[74] Such efforts were necessary; ²⁸² [now] the teachings of those who wear the yellow hats [the Gelukpa] have utterly reached, without obstruction, the pinnacle of existence. The religious and secular [government] of the joyous allvictorious palace pervades everything like the light of the sun and the moon. May the lotus feet of the Omniscient Vajra-Holder, the Universal Lord of the One Hundred [Buddha] Families [the Dalai Lamal, remain steadfast for innumerable eons!283 May the actions he desires [be performed] without delay! May a Dharma banquet always be held [here]!

[The Five Sovereign Spirits] successfully accomplish the [four] activities that pacify, subjugate, destroy, and augment [against] all the diseases, negative influences, and obstacles for those who perform [the above rites]. [These deities] conquer the demon armies, remain [in] vajra-like immortality, and quickly ac-

²⁸¹ Tib. bai dūra [sic: dūrya] zhun ma'i mdangs 'dzin sum ldan lor; it is clear that this line refers to a Tibetan year, though it is uncertain to which specific year it refers. This phrase appears to extend from an esoteric system of poetic labels for specific Tibetan years.

²⁸² Tib. *dges*; this is read as a misspelling of *dgos*.

²⁸³ Tib. bskal pa rgya mtsho; lit. "oceans of eons."

complish [whatever is] desired without exception.

May the auspicious sun of new light simultaneously smile [down on this] lotus grove of virtue and goodness, and destroy the intense darkness of savage beings and malevolent ghosts! May the sun²⁸⁴ of joy and happiness pervade [all existence]!

This record was bestowed by the Supreme Sovereign [the Fifth Dalai Lama]; [75] Drongmepa Sangyé Gyatso handwrote most of it, [having] accepted the responsibility of secretary by way of this finely detailed service. Other writing duties were done by the two Changtens.²⁸⁵ [This record] was written in the Water-Dog year [1682].²⁸⁶ May it be Victorious!²⁸⁷

May all living beings prosper!²⁸⁸

Mongolian script line: May auspiciousness and the flames of Glorious [Heruka] come to [this] ornament of the world,²⁸⁹ an immeasurable mansion where the oceanic sangha gathers!²⁹⁰ May it be virtuous!²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ Tib. *rta bdun dbang po*; lit. "Lord of Seven Horses;" this is an epithet for the Indian sun god Sūrya. This line illustrates the depth of Sangyé Gyatso's poetic knowledge; he was quite skilled at filling the meter with an impressive array of idioms and epithets, as the third quatrain above also illustrates.

²⁸⁵ Tib. *chang bstan*; it is unclear whether this is a name or a job title.

²⁸⁶ Tib. rnga chen gyi lo; lit. "year of the large drum." This is the Water-Dog year.

²⁸⁷ Tib. dza yantu; Skt. jayantu.

²⁸⁸ Skt. śubhamastusarvajagata<u>m</u>.

²⁸⁹ Tib. 'dzam gling; this transliterates and contracts the Sanskrit word Jambudvīpa, which is the continent south of Mount Meru in traditional Buddhist cosmology. This term is often poetically used to refer to the world as a whole.

²⁹⁰ Tib. *dge 'dun rgya mtsho 'du ba'i gzhal yas khang*; this phrase is an entendre and can also be translated as, 'an immeasurable mansion where Gendün Gyatso [the Second Dalai Lama] gathered.' The term *gzhal yas khang* is an ambivalent reading, as the inscription is vague and idiosyncratic at this point.

²⁹¹ Tib. dgeun [dge 'dun] rgya mtsho 'du ba'i gzhal yas khang bkra shis dpal 'bar 'dzam gling rgyan du byon dge'o/.



[470]वादवान्द्रन्वी पद्रेप्यान्यानुस्य क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः विषय

क्कुल'च'श्र'च'ळेव'चॅब'अईट्'चते'ग्वब'ळुट'ट्गूर'ळ्य

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²⁹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: (નૃતુરુ નાના અન્ય અન્ય કૃતાના ત્રે આપેના પોના પોના એક નાના અર્કેસ કેન્ પ્રત્યાન કૃતાના સ્થાન એક નાના સ્થાન સ્થા

²⁹³ Along the top of the record, before the text proper, there is a Sanskrit prayer given first in Rañjanā (Tib. *lanydza*) script and then transliterated into Tibetan letters. Both lines are so obscured by damage to the wall that they are almost completely unreadable, which may explain why Lingön Padma Kelzang did not transcribe them. I do not include these lines in my transcription for the same reason. Presumably, the first stanza of the text given here is the Tibetan translation of this prayer.

²⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: (विश्व प्रक्रिया के प्रविद्या के प्रविद्या

²⁹⁵ It is unclear how many syllables are actually missing between the second and third verses of this stanza, since damage to the inscription has obscured the line breaks as well as an unknown number of syllables. However, the trend of this prefatory poem is that each stanza diminishes in syllable count by odd numbers. The second stanza possesses 17-syllable lines, the third stanza has 15-syllable lines, and so on. The last line of this first stanza is definitively 19 syllables long, making the first three lines likely 19 syllables long as well. Lingön Padma Kelzang gives the first line 17 syllables, though it appears that he missed two syllables at the beginning due to the damage.

²⁹⁶ Given the surrounding stanza of 17-syllable lines, this line is most likely missing 14 syllables.

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²⁹⁷ Instead of X's, Lingön Padma Kelzang adds the following parenthetical note here: (এইটাব্যুক্ত ক্রিব্যুক্ত ক

²⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: স্কুর; corrected to সমুব:

²⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: मनुबः; corrected to मनुबः.

|पश्चेय.त.श्चेय.क्षेट्र.तपु.रच्या.तपु.क्ष्य| पश्चेय.तक्ष्य.चेट्र.तपु.रच्या.तपु.क्ष्य| |ट्रेपट.श्वावय.(८)पट्टियो.लया|

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विद्यः (७) तृषु स्वायः स्व स्वायः |वावर ज्याह्म सुरान्त्र प्राप्त प्राप्त हैं वा वावर ज्याह्म स्वाप्त प्राप्त हैं वा वावर ज्याह्म स्वाप्त हैं वा वावर ज्याह्म स्वाप्त हैं वा वावर ज्याहम स्वाप्त हैं वा वावर के स्वाप्त हैं वा वावर हैं वावर हैं वा वावर हैं वावर है

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³⁰⁰ The lines in these 5 stanzas are all 9 syllables long.

³⁰¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: অনুগুল্বি অন্যান্ত্রগার্ড্রন্ (ইন্)X The stanza being cited, as the text itself makes clear, is from the *Lha las phul du byung bar bstod pa*. After referring to the text directly, and conferring with other texts that cite this stanza separately (see Gung thang 03 2000, p. 352, and Khri byang 03 199?, p. 462), I have concluded that the last two syllables of this verse are actually গ্রুব্রের্ড্র্ See note 26 for details on this text.

³⁰² The lines in these two stanzas are all 7 syllables long.

म्रि.इ.च्यात्त(खे.लक्ष्यक्षी) क्षि.ल.च्रीय्यत्वक्ष्यात्वी न्यत्वप्तप्तःच्रयात्वाक्ष्याःक्ष्यात्वी क्षि.पर्चयात्त्वेयात्तायिक्षयात्त्रात्वा पर्ट्ययात्त्रःच्यात्तात्विकात्त्रात्वा अर्ट्रात्वेर्यात्वात्त्रःच्या

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विवाचित्यात्मः क्षेत्रः । ट्रियः प्रथाचेत्रः अपः क्ष्याः जः ह्यायः वा ट्रियः यायाय्यायः चित्रः ।

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³⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क; corrected to के.

³⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: affar; corrected to affar.

³⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: an; corrected to an.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: 河南河南河 (XXX)河河 In the wall inscription this is clearly a single 7-syllable verse. The 여자 has since been lost, but with Lingön Padma Kelzang's transcription, and the inference that the ending 河河 is most likely 亞河 this only leaves one missing syllable. I provide an interpolation for this missing syllable.

³⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ह्रॅगुल:; corrected to ह्र्गुल:

³⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹; corrected to ₹.

रेग्न्य कृत क्रिया कुत क्रिया केत्र क्षु क्ष्य क्ष्य

ત્રું કેવા ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાફ્યા મૈતા ત્વેરા ત્રી કોવા વિષ્યા છે. ત્રાફ્યા કેવા ત્રાફ્યા મેં ત્રાફ્યા કેવા ત્રાફ્યા મેં ત્રાફ્યા કેવા ત્રી ત્રાફ્યા કેવા ત્રાફ્યા કેવા ત્રી ત્રાફ્યા ત્રી ત્રાફ્યા ત્રી ત્રાફ્યા ત્રી ત્રાફ્યા ત્રાફ્યા ત્રી ત્રાફ્યા ત્રાફ્

ક્રિયા. $\dot{\vec{E}}$ યા. $\dot{\vec{E}}$

³⁰⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a staff after the staff that is not found in the wall inscription. The space is too small to allow for a syllable, but there is the hint of a *shad*. Moreover, this reading makes the next verse 9 syllables long, which is the same length as the three verses that follow it, creating one uniform quatrain.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: X. In the wall inscription there is a clear *shad* line here and the syllable $\S S$ is visible.

³¹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted. In the wall inscription two syllables, কুর্জুন, are visible before the খুর্জুন.

³¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang adds an extra unnecessary X here.

³¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: अन्ने संग्रहः; corrected to अन्ते संग्रहः.

Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ﷺ after the 🏎 that is not found in the wall inscription.

³¹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷལ་ངུ་་ངུ་་. In the wall inscription it appears that both characters in these spaces are colored red to distinguish them from the surrounding words. Moreover, the second character is a partially visible 🞳 that clearly ends in a visarga (ḥ). Since this second character is most likely 🚜, the first, more obscure character is also possibly a mantric seed syllable, though the damage is too severe to make a confident reading. Regardless, Lingön Padma Kelzang's suggestion appears to be false.

|ष्रिट श्चेट स्थाप रहे स्थाप स्थाप | |भूट श्चेट स्थाप स्थाप

विष्याचिर वाष्य्याक्ष्याक्ष्याः भ्राप्त विष्यात् व्याप्त्याः प्रति प्रति प्रति विषयाः विषयः विष

યો તે ક્રિયા મેં મુખા સંત્રાં કો મોના XX ક્રિયા સમા નિવેશ કર્યા ત્રાચા સ્ત્રાં સ્ત્રાં

³¹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: बे; corrected to ब्रे:

³¹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: XXXX(ལལས་མ་འངུས་ལྱང་).

 $^{^{318}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a $_{\tiny{\tiny{MN}}}$ here rather than a shad and space.

³¹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: XX.

My understanding of these verses and their content is aided by the Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.4a.3-4), which provides an approximation of these lines that is closer to the wall inscription than Lingön Padma Kelzang's interpolations.

³²¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 👸 rorrected to 🍕 r.

³²² Lingön Padma Kelzang: वार्षा; corrected to वार्षावा

³²³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: @'55; corrected to g:

³²⁴ Compare with Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.1.

³²⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5'\s\rac{1}{8}\rac{1}{8}'; corrected to 55'\rac{1}{9}\rac{1}{8}'.

³²⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹; corrected to ₹₹.

³²⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5; corrected to 55.

³²⁸ In the Lingön Padma Kelzang transcription, this large section of obscure words has been reduced to XXXX₅ and misplaced 18 syllables back, following 53.5 ... I present here the placement according to the wall inscription. Compare with Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.3-4.

The inscription is damaged here, but drawing on Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 38, as well as Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.6, this name is clearly प्रकृष्य स्थापित करा .

³³⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ặ¬; corrected to ¾.

³³¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ᡧᠭ (ལྷངུ་)X. Lingön Padma Kelzang's transcription is erroneously convoluted here.

³³² Lingön Padma Kelzang: Ŋ¬; corrected to Ŋ¬.

³³³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ¾; corrected to ¬.

The syllable looks like sign; however, the following two syllables are too obscure to make a confident reading.

³³⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

³³⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 👸 xv; corrected to 🖫 xv.

³³⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 85; corrected to 855.

³³⁸ This is Lingön Padma Kelzang's transcription. I suspect it is: $\frac{1}{6}X_i$; but the inscription is too damaged to confirm.

³³⁹ See note 336 above.

³⁴⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: જ્વાર; corrected to જ્વ

³⁴¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹; corrected to ₹.

³⁴² Lingön Padma Kelzang: આ ; corrected to જે.

³⁴³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹; here I interpolate what is the most likely word, ≼ x.

³⁴⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: XXX; corrected to X.

³⁴⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: n; corrected to n.

³⁴⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁴⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ন্যুম; corrected to ন্যুম:

³⁴⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रबंद प्रश्नः; corrected to भूप्रबंद र्पः.

³⁴⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫.

चेश्वरा,ग्रीया,ग्रीटा, ट्वंसीया,श्विटा, वेपटा (1,4) प्रथा,पीया,थी,थ्यं टा, ज्ञां टा, थ्यं ट्वं, थ्वे, थ्वं, थ्वं था, क्वें या, व्यं या, क्वें या, क्वें या, क्वें या, क्वें या, क्वें या, व्यं या,

³⁵⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: จลูดิ:สูงารัสง; corrected to จลูงผลงารสมลง.

³⁵¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: गहुन्नुष:; corrected to नहुन्।

 $^{^{352}}$ There are obscured syllables here not recorded in the Lingön Padma Kelzang transcription.

³⁵³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁵⁴ There are obscured syllables here not recorded in the Lingön Padma Kelzang transcription.

³⁵⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལ་; corrected to ལསམ་.

³⁵⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₤; corrected to ₤.

³⁵⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹₹7; corrected to ₹₹1.

³⁵⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: गुर्बर; corrected to गुर्बर:

³⁵⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🍕 ; corrected to 🔞 . Compare Ta la'i bla ma 05 1992, p. 28.

³⁶⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁶¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

 $^{^{362}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

³⁶⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रिन्:; corrected to प्रानुन:

³⁶⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: नेरः; corrected to नेपरः.

³⁶⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: निहेत्; corrected to हेत्.

³⁶⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: պա; corrected to སསས་.

 $^{^{368}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{95\%}$; corrected to $_{95\%}$.

ર્શ્વ ત્વપ્તુ તર્મના અર્જી દ્વારા (૫૫) ત્વલ્થી $X[\operatorname{MEL}_1] \widehat{g}_1 \cdot \operatorname{End}_1 \cdot \operatorname{Cup}_2 \cdot \operatorname{End}_2 \cdot \operatorname{E$

हें भूट्री ट्रेस्ट्रें अर्वे वगुष्टुं थे कुय रें र्ब्रेट्

<u>|श्</u>रॅ्थ,लश्न.ट्यो.तथ.श्रें.टा.क्श.र्जं.पट्ट्यी

वृत्रः भ्रुप्तः मुल्यः प्राचीः स्ट्रिंट्यः मुन्नः स्ट्रिंट्यः मुन्नः स्ट्रिंट्यः मुन्नः स्ट्रः स्ट्

³⁶⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

³⁷⁰ There is a space here following the hint of a *shad*.

³⁷¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: इति:; corrected to इति:

³⁷² Lingön Padma Kelzang: वह्नुस्पात्रकान्त्री अर्थे X(प्रह्नुबर्ग); corrected to ग्रास्रः.

³⁷³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖅; corrected to 🖫.

³⁷⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ক্র্মনে; corrected to ক্রি:

³⁷⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁷⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang has this ⁵N' at the end of line 19; it is actually at the start of line 20.

³⁷⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang has an extra X here than spacing would allow.

³⁷⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

³⁷⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

ट्यं तर्ट, हे बंबा स्था अट्डंट, वास्ता की भी ट्यं प्रस्ति क्ष्यं हियाना है स्था स्था की स्था की स्था की स्था की भी ट्यं प्रस्ति की स्था हियाना की स्था की स्थ

³⁸⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ব্ৰাপ্তৰ্কা সমোন্ত্ৰ ; the spacing in the inscription doesn't allow for these words.

³⁸¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: كالمارية Corrected to ملكة المارية ا

³⁸² Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁸³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁸⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁸⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ≰¬; corrected to ¬₹¬:

³⁸⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ам; corrected to ааам.

³⁸⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to المراقبة المر

³⁸⁸ In Lingön Padma Kelzang's transcription, these lines were displaced to line 23; see note 397 below.

³⁸⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

³⁹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to

वीर्यस्त्रियो आसूर्यः स्वाया स्वया स्व

³⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds and here.

³⁹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

³⁹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 47; corrected to 55.

³⁹⁷ See note 388 above.

³⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ५२; corrected to ५.

³⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to 🍕 -

⁴⁰⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁰¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁰² Lingön Padma Kelzang adds av here.

⁴⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ध्वास्त्रुव्याः द्वाराष्ट्रवाः; corrected to ब्रेटः.

⁴⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds व्यवाकेट here.

⁴⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ह्यूट; corrected to ब्रह्यूट.

⁴⁰⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: १९२२; corrected to १९५२.

⁴⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₴; corrected to ₴ฐ.

⁴⁰⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: XX; corrected to क्ट कुष्

⁴¹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 55; corrected to 555.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: [PANN]; corrected to GANN].

⁴¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🛒.

⁴¹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🛒 ; corrected to 🖼 .

⁴¹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्रे; corrected to क्र.

Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *tsheg* here, where the wall inscription has a space.

⁴¹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ग्रह्मः; corrected to ग्रहेनः.

 $^{^{419}~}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{\bar{3}\bar{5}}$; corrected to $_{\bar{\bar{3}}\bar{5}}$.

⁴²⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

⁴²¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁴²² Lingön Padma Kelzang has and the word correctly. I am reading this word as a state because it makes greater sense given the context.

⁴²³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྡོགས་; corrected to བརྲུག་.

⁴²⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\neg \neg \neg \neg \neg$; corrected to $\neg \neg \neg \neg \neg \neg$

⁴²⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: वृज्; corrected to अर्ज्जः

 $^{^{426}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to $_{\rm |}$.

⁴²⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 75 corrected to 75 ".

⁴²⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds « here.

⁴²⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 517; corrected to 417.

⁴³⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹a; Lingön Padma Kelzang misses two other nearly illegible words.

⁴³¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

 $^{^{\}rm 432}\,$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds one more X than the space would allot.

⁴³³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ς; corrected to ς.

⁴³⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ସହି; corrected to ସହି:

ืด'สั'สัส'XXส'สู'[ฮัส'ฉินิ'] અઌ.મ૿ૺ.ઋૹૣઌ.દીવોઌ.૮ૹ.વોક્રવોઌ.કૌંન.ૹઌ.ફૌંન.તપુ.ૹૂળ (24) α $\dot{\alpha}$ \dot 'ম'গ্র ข้าเลรฺณ'พรารเลิส 'བฺᠺ॓'ऄऺऺॴ'ऄऺऺऺॸॱಹ॔॔॔॔ 'ऄऺऺऺॸॱ॓॔॓॔ॱऄ॔॔॔ॻॺॱॺॱख़॔॔॔॔ॱऺऺ॔ॱऄॸ যার কৈম বাঁম 'हेब'८८'गाञ्च८ष'ष्ट्रगष'र्गे८'(<u>४</u>०)पंबेब'

435 Lingön Padma Kelzang has 🚉 🧺; there is not enough space for two syllables and what piece of the syllable remains legible clearly shows a *gi-gu* not a *zhabs-kyu*.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: བང་བ་; corrected to སྡོང་བའེ་.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: শ্রু:; corrected to এপ্রু:

⁴³⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴³⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: देवा; corrected to देवावा.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: 55; corrected to 55.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🍇; corrected to 🍇.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: এলুক:; corrected to জ্ব:

⁴⁴⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 51; corrected to 51.

⁴⁴⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5; corrected to 5.

पूर्वा कि अथय हे कि जा क्रूं की टा जा अप स्वाय अप स्वय अप स्वाय अ

⁴⁴⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the wall inscription.

⁴⁴⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to | .

⁴⁴⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ·XX; I have added my own interpolation here based on what is legible in the inscription.

⁴⁵⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

⁴⁵¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁵² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ब୍ଲ୍ୟୁ; corrected to জ্ব্

⁴⁵³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

 $^{^{454}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ରୁଟ୍ର; corrected to ରୁଟ୍ରିମ୍ବ:

Lingön Padma Kelzang: N_{5} ; corrected to N_{5} .

⁴⁵⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: #4781; corrected to #47.

⁴⁵⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁵⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁴⁵⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: पशुपः; corrected to भूपः.

⁴⁶⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁶¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: එல; corrected to එ.

⁴⁶² Lingön Padma Kelzang: अनुज: corrected to अनुज:

 $^{^{463}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: קאָקאי; corrected to אַקקאי.

⁴⁶⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

ल्.चिट्- घष्ट्रया ब्रट्ट- या क्ट्- या अट्- त्य सीया ट्- च्चिट- यर म्यून्य प्त्री व्यक्त- त्या क्ट्रिया प्रमानि या च्रिट्या च्या क्रिया प्रमानित्त क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या या क्ष्या या क्ष्या या क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्षया क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या प्रमानित्य क्ष्या क्ष्य क्ष्या क्ष्य क्ष्या क्

विक्ता स्ट्रिन् स्त्राचित्र स्त्राची स्ट्रिन् स्त्राची स्त्राची स्ट्रिन् स्त्राची स्ट्रिन् स्त्राची स

⁴⁶⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: अश्वेतः; corrected to वर्शेतः

⁴⁶⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆; corrected to 📆.

⁴⁶⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्राईति; corrected to प्रावेद:

⁴⁶⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: वर्गेह्ल; corrected to वर्गेहर.

⁴⁶⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 7; corrected to 57.

⁴⁷⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 👸; corrected to 🚉.

⁴⁷¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ಹոլու; corrected to ಹոլ.

⁴⁷² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ℥որդ; corrected to ℥որ

ब्रि.विश्वयाज्ञात्त्र.टि.टेट.टुप.क.टे.पटीट्ट.। क्रि.ट्रेप्ट. श्रीजाता. ४ ट्रेप्ट.श्रट.क्य.बुव |क्य.ट्ट.। टिट्टेप्ट.श्रट.क्य.तिश्वयाज्ञी.वा.ज्ञ.टिश्चैर। क्षोत्तिप्ट.श्रीजाता. धूच्य.क्य.क्ये.विषात्त्र्पटि.क्ष्ण

⁴⁷³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ĕ⊏; corrected to ¬ĕ⊏:

⁴⁷⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

⁴⁷⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁴⁷⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁴⁷⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ब्रेवे; corrected to ब्रेवे:

⁴⁷⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

[इं.बुट्.यट्य.मैय.मै.अक्ट्र्य.सेच.घट्य.सी.टक्ष्रिंग.टपु.ट्योट.क्वो.पट्.टरीया]

हि. क्षेट्र. मृका चितु, ग्रीब, वाक्षका लाटका त्यारा अधिव स्टार अवाक्ष हिटा भेवाका वाङ्कवा वा ॥ । ब्रिट्र (ब्रिट्र) अटा अहूट (प्रतिका ट्रि. प्रविका ट्रिका ट्रियो जावका त्यार क्रिका क्षेका त्यार अहूटी । स्ट्रियाका त्राप्त , व्राक्षका त्यार , व्याप्त , व्य

⁴⁷⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: हे; corrected to हे.

⁴⁸⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: \S^{qq} ; corrected to \S^{qq} .

⁴⁸¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆; corrected to 🖫.

⁴⁸² Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\mathfrak{J}_{\mathbb{N}}$; corrected to $\mathfrak{J}_{\mathbb{T}}$.

⁴⁸³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: પાર્લુક્; corrected to પાર્લુક્

⁴⁸⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: डेन्; corrected to न्हेन्.

⁴⁸⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🏋; corrected to 🏋

⁴⁸⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: শ্ৰেষ্ট্ৰম; corrected to শ্ৰন্থ্ৰম:

⁴⁸⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ଦ୍ୱିଷ୍ଟ; corrected to ଦ୍ୱି:

क्षियत्वीटः क्षियात्त्रंभीकि.ट्वीयात्तरम्वा स्वात्त्रंपः क्षियाः क्षेयाः तक्षेयाः त्राहेषः क्षेट्राः वा ।श्रःक्ष्वायाः क्ष्यः क्षेयाः यक्षेयः त्राहेषः क्षेयः । ।स्वात्त्रं प्रदेशः स्वात्तः स्वात्तः स्वात्त्रं स्वात्त

पट्टे. ध्रेट. ख्रिया ग्री. तथ्ये तथ्ये स्वाया क्षेत्र. तथ्ये स्वाया मुक्ता तथ्ये स्वाया स्वाया तथ्ये स्वाया स्वया स्वाया स्वया स

⁴⁸⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to عَجْمَ.

⁴⁸⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🍇; corrected to 🕽.

⁴⁹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: STAN; corrected to STAN.

⁴⁹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ସମ୍ପି; corrected to ସମ୍ପି:

⁴⁹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: NG; corrected to NNG.

⁴⁹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: དགད་; corrected to རྐད་.

⁴⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: శౖశూ; corrected to བశౖశూ.

⁴⁹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ±η; corrected to ±ηςν.

⁴⁹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

⁴⁹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: aw; corrected to aw.

⁴⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Էզդ:; corrected to Էւպւ-.

⁴⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: gs; corrected to gss.

⁵⁰⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: aga; corrected to aga.

्रथह् स्तः भ्रूपः होते. भ्रियः हो लक्षः स्त्रुपः स्त्रिपः स्त्रुपः स्त्रुपः स्त्रिपः स्त्रुपः स्त्रुपः स्त्रिपः स्त्रिप

⁵⁰¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁰² Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्राप्य: corrected to क्या.

⁵⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 517; corrected to 512.

⁵⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: αςςςι; corrected to σςςςι.

⁵⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

⁵⁰⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: གངུལ་; corrected to ལངུལ་.

⁵⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹; corrected to ₹₹.

⁵⁰⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵¹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁵¹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁵¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 51; corrected to 51.

⁵¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्वाञ्चयः; corrected to क्वायाः.

⁵¹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

⁵¹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: देगाठा: corrected to देगा.

⁵¹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a www here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵¹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: դ; corrected to դպ.

⁵¹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹5; corrected to ₹5.

⁵¹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 51; corrected to 51.

⁵²⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

पड़िट्यंबेब्यं ग्रीक्षां पड़िट्यंबेब्यं ग्रीक्षां वाड़्ट्र्यं त्यां प्राप्तं वाचपः वु. वाधिकां धि. वु. वाद्यं ताबूट्यं ताबुक्यं तावुक्यं तावुक्यं

ह्रे-त्रीःस्.सं.बोथथः संस्टिट्यःक्षेरः सूर्टा टि.ज.बोध्टे.त्रयःबोर्श्वतःजवो.वटःश्रुः यह्त्व स्ट्रे-त्रीःस्.सं.बोथथः संस्टिट्यःक्ष्यःलुष्टी ౹૮:ઌૢઌ.ઌૢ.૫ૺ૪:ૹ૿ૢઌ.ઌ૾ૺ ౹౾.૾૾ૺ.ૡૢૺઌ.ૹ૿ૺ.ૹૣ૾ૹ.ૹ૽ૺ.ઌઌૣૹઌ. ઌૺૹૺઌૢઌૺઌૺૹૺ

चलुयातान्ता। वश्याक्ष्याक्षयान्त्रात्ता त्रियाक्षयात्र्यात्र्यात्रात्र्यात्रात्र्यात्रात्र्यात्रात्र्यात्र्

⁵²¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁵²² Lingön Padma Kelzang: पञ्चत्; corrected to प्रहेत्.

⁵²³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁵²⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉 .

⁵²⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: קקקעקי; corrected to হ্রব্র্ব্ব্র্থ্রে:

⁵²⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5σην; corrected to 5ση.

⁵²⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཚན་; corrected to བཚནས་.

⁵²⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹; corrected to ₹.

⁵²⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a g here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵³⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ∰5; corrected to ¬∰5.

⁵³¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫.

⁵³² Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵³³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁵³⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Tr; corrected to Tr.

क्रमाक्री, वार्णाक्रिय, स्य. ट. तहीय, ज्याक्री क्रमाक्री, व्य. तर्म, स्था, स्

⁵³⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: पन्ने; corrected to पतिः

⁵³⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁵³⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: קאָקאי; corrected to

⁵³⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ∰å; corrected to ∰å.

⁵³⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ≼¬; corrected to ǯ¬.

⁵⁴⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 55.

⁵⁴¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ৡমস্ম; corrected to ৡমস্থে:

 $^{^{542}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang suggests that this word should be 543%

 $^{^{543}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{\P'};$ corrected to $_{\P'}.$

⁵⁴⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྡང་; corrected to འལྡང་.

⁵⁴⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: _√; corrected to √.

⁵⁴⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5; corrected to 5.

⁵⁴⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 51; corrected to 51.

⁵⁴⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁵⁴⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

वित्याः द्वां कटः क्षय्रायः च्यटा विवाद्वां के व्याप्तायः विद्वां क्ष्यां क्ष्यां क्ष्यां क्ष्यां क्ष्यां क्षयां क्ष्यां क्षयं क्ष्यां क्

रषःयवि:हि:र्ड्यःक्रे:दा:येय|ष[|]

बियःह्यिषायावितः वी.कैजःर्राटः श्ली

|\tilde{\pi} \tilde{\pi} \tild

ट्यूट्यांसीयांस्याः विटान्नर्ट्यट्ना स्थित्याः विदान्न विद्याः स्थितः स्थित् । विदान्न स्थितः स्थित् । विदान्न स्थितः स्यितः स्थितः स्यातः स्थितः स्

⁵⁵⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: वर्देन:; corrected to वर्देन:

⁵⁵¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁵⁵² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ब्रे; corrected to ब्रवे:

⁵⁵³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྡང་; corrected to གནང་.

⁵⁵⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁵⁵⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ¬₴¬¬; corrected to ₴¬¬.

⁵⁵⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 51.

⁵⁵⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 51.

⁵⁵⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁵⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁶⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁵⁶¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ∄N; corrected to ∄.

⁵⁶² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ¬¾¬; corrected to ¾¬.

⁵⁶³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁵⁶⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ริสุร; corrected to ริ ซุสุร.

⁵⁶⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

પશ્ચેપ્ય. ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા યા પ્રથમ પ્રથમ પ્રથમ પ્રથમ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા કર્યા પ્રથમ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રથમ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રથમ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રથમ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રથમ પ્રથમ

⁵⁶⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a g here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵⁶⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रभूत:; corrected to भूत्रा.

⁵⁶⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a star here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵⁶⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ∄ here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵⁷⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

⁵⁷¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁷² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹¬; corrected to ¬₹¬.

⁵⁷³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆 corrected to 📆:

⁵⁷⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 51.

⁵⁷⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁷⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a shad and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

⁵⁷⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₅a; corrected to ₅.

⁵⁷⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: पहरूपा; corrected to पहरूपा.

⁵⁷⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: (2009, p. 353.3): 557. The wall inscription is heavily damaged at this juncture and nearly illegible; however, the syllable count strongly suggests that there is no word at this point.

⁵⁸⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: สุรัส; corrected to สุรัสงา.

⁵⁸¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ज्ञेष:; corrected to ज्ञे.

्रूप्रायः [तपुं तर्रुं,] ुं वाङ्ग ह्रित्रः स्वाप्तः वश्यः तर्जुं तर्निः त्यान्तः त्यान्तः वश्यः वश्यः विवा क्ष्यः विवा क्ष्यः वश्यः वश्य

⁵⁸² Lingön Padma Kelzang: สุรูารสิ; Dobis Tsering Gyal: สุรูารสิ corrected to สุรูารสิ.

⁵⁸³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: aga; corrected to gan.

⁵⁸⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁸⁵ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ♂.

⁵⁸⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ज्राप्त ; corrected to धुन र्स्वप्त :

⁵⁸⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁵⁸⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Fr; corrected to 51.

⁵⁸⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to 🎮:

⁵⁹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: g; corrected to gs.

⁵⁹¹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 597.

⁵⁹² Dobis Tsering Gyal: /.

⁵⁹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ¬¬; corrected to ¬.

⁵⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 57 here.

⁵⁹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🍕; corrected to 🍕:

⁵⁹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds स्व ब्रेट here.

⁵⁹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ग्रीबेख; corrected to ग्रीबेखण:

⁵⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁵⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Ŋ; corrected to Ŋ.

⁶⁰⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🍖; corrected to 🦡.

⁶⁰¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🍇5; Dobis Tsering Gyal: 🝇5; corrected to 🔉4.

⁶⁰² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🏋; corrected to 🚓 .

⁶⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 55; corrected to 1.

⁶⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: สมารับรุศัส; Dobis Tsering Gyal: สมารับรุศัส; corrected to สมารับสุส.

⁶⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶⁰⁶ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 57.

⁶⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 🖫 here.

⁶⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁶⁰⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

<u>ଅ'ୟଟ୍ୟ'ସଂଖ</u>୍ଲିୟ'ସ'ୟ'ହିଁସାଷ'ଈ'ର୍ଜ୍ଞ ઉત્પ যার্ক্সব

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610 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.
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⁶¹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; Dobis Tsering Gyal: omitted; corrected to 58:

⁶¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: à; corrected to à:.

⁶¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds (আলমু) here.

⁶¹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: g.; corrected to gav.

⁶¹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: विषा; corrected to वि.

⁶¹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: nam: corrected to an.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: g; corrected to gar.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: 58; corrected to 58.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्षेत्र; corrected to बेर.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: aga; corrected to ga.

Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 515. here.

Lingön Padma Kelzang adds an here.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: নুর; corrected to গ্রু:

Lingön Padma Kelzang: व्ह्ना; corrected to व्ह्नारा.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹=; corrected to ¬₹=:

Lingön Padma Kelzang: national Tsering Gyal: national Tsering Gyal:

Lingön Padma Kelzang adds राज्य here.

Dobis Tsering Gyal: জঁক

Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶³² Dobis Tsering Gyal: §.

⁶³³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: व्यापाय: corrected to व्यापा:

पश्चिरायाच्यी इति. ट्रा. हो त्यपुर क्षेत्रायाच्या स्वाय्य स्वाय स्वाय्य स्वाय स्वाय्य स्वाय स्वाय्य स्वय स्वाय्य स्वाय्य स्वय स्वय स्वयः स्

⁶³⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रहेपका; corrected to हेपका.

⁶³⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: àg; corrected to àg.

⁶³⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: न्हेगुषः; corrected to हेगुषः.

⁶³⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रदेशका; corrected to क्रेनका.

⁶³⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang places this line two lines prior to here.

⁶³⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: लेला; corrected to महोला.

⁶⁴⁰ Dobis Tsering Gyal: Ar.

⁶⁴¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: គ្នក្យុង; corrected to គ្នក្ម.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\{\xi, \xi\}$; corrected to $\{\xi, \xi\}$.

⁶⁴³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: বুগবা ইন; corrected to গবা ইনম.

⁶⁴⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶⁴⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶⁴⁶ Dobis Tsering Gyal: [5]57.

⁶⁴⁷ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ặr.

 $^{^{648}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ${\bf q}$; corrected to ${\bf q}$.

⁶⁴⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁶⁵⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to جَعَامًا:

⁶⁵¹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ম্বর্জ.

⁶⁵² Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

 $^{^{653}}$ Dobis Tsering Gyal: র্জ.

्यूच् वश्वस् मिक्ता स्टि. शह्स विचान स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्

654 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶⁵⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 35; corrected to 355.

⁶⁵⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶⁵⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds शर्मिन here.

⁶⁵⁸ Dobis Tsering Gyal adds | here.

⁶⁵⁹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: AUTINI.

⁶⁶⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds अवः श्वा here.

⁶⁶¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁶⁶² Lingön Padma Kelzang: अण; corrected to अण:

⁶⁶³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྲོས་; corrected to བསྲོས་.

⁶⁶⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 555 here.

⁶⁶⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 🎮 here.

⁶⁶⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds प्रदेखें, here.

⁶⁶⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: \mathfrak{g}^{\neg} ; corrected to \mathfrak{ag}^{\neg} .

⁶⁶⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds খ্রু here; Dobis Tsering Gyal has ৡর ্ক

⁶⁶⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds क्राउट here.

⁶⁷¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds শূল্ব:ৰ্দ্ৰ্ব্য here.

⁶⁷² Lingön Padma Kelzang adds रुक्षरा here.

⁶⁷³ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 57.

⁶⁷⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ₹58 here.

⁶⁷⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang places this name later in the text.

⁶⁷⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds @ here.

 $^{^{677}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\mbox{\tiny MC}$; corrected to $\mbox{\tiny M}$.

Lingön Padma Kelzang: \S 5; corrected to \S 5.

⁶⁷⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds वहनार्य here.

⁶⁸⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds नुन्दा here.

⁶⁸¹ See note 675.

⁶⁸² Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ﷺ here.

⁶⁸³ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 5/558/ here.

 $^{^{684}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ବ୍ରିଲ୍ଲ୍ଲ here.

पाइ.स्.कैय.ट्यट्टा घष्ट्य याच्चेटी यक्षेत्र 'श्रीटा चट्टा के अक्क्षे हे.यह्त्य 'यह्ट्ट, वि.स.कृत्र स्में प्रह्म प्रकार प्राचित्र प्रचित्र प्राचित्र प्राचित्र प्रचित्र प्

⁶⁸⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 555 here.

⁶⁸⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁶⁸⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds गुन्त्पृतः र्हे हे। here.

⁶⁸⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 🚁 🖫 here

⁶⁸⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: শুঝ; corrected to ⊓ৠঝ.

 $^{^{690}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to $_{|}$.

⁶⁹¹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: སངས་རྱིས་.

 $^{^{692}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds $_{\mbox{\tiny MMS}}$ here.

 $^{^{693}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{\mid}$; corrected to \cdot .

⁶⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds बङ्गान here.

 $^{^{695}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds $*_3$ here.

⁶⁹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds gen here.

⁶⁹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 💸 🖛 here.

⁶⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ੴ; corrected to ੴ.

⁶⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: শুरु; corrected to শু

⁷⁰⁰ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ସମ୍ପି:

 $^{^{701}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷⁰² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 577.

⁷⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ≰≂; corrected to ¬≼≂:

⁷⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ՀՊ; corrected to ՊՊԿ.

⁷⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹¬; corrected to ¬₹¬.

र्म्या पश्चिता हुंच , विचट तपुर मैंया संस्था है, स्वायं स्वयं स्वय

⁷⁰⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྐངས་; corrected to སྐངས་.

⁷⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to ·.

⁷⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to 1.

⁷⁰⁹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 🖘 🗟 🥆

⁷¹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷¹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: নৰ্ন্তন্; corrected to নৰ্ধন্

⁷¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: w; corrected to w.

⁷¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: এইজম; corrected to এইজ.

⁷¹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

 $^{^{715}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{\mbox{\tiny Pl}}$; corrected to $_{\mbox{\tiny Pl}}$

⁷¹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: g:; corrected to gar.

⁷¹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ạ¬ʿar; corrected to ạ¬¬ar.

⁷¹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆 ; corrected to 📆 .

⁷²⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang places the following fragment after the portion bracketed for note 723.

⁷²¹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 55.

⁷²² Lingön Padma Kelzang: র; corrected to র.

⁷²³ See note 720.

⁷²⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang and Dobis Tsering Gyal add অনুস্থা ক্রিক্স here. This addition, as well as the following emendation to ক্রিল্লাজ্যন্ত্র, is also found in the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da., f.8a.1.

्रेस्ट्राट्ट्र, क्रूबर, इंग्राह्मिंतायपुर, यज्ञ्चर विज्ञया अर्ट्र्या क्षेत्राया विज्ञया, [ज्याया] [टा.सुर,], ग्रुंस्ट्रक्य, व्याप्त क्ष्या क्ष्या हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, यज्ञ्चर विज्ञया अर्ट्या क्ष्या विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, यज्ञ्चर विज्ञया क्ष्या विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, विज्ञया विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, विज्ञया हम्प्रह्मिंतायपुर, विज्ञया हम्प्रहम्प्यविष्यप्रहम्प्यविष्यप्रहम्प्रहम्प्रहम्प्रहम्प्रहम्प्रहम्प्रहम्प्य

⁷²⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to ฐ Dobis Tsering Gyal likewise has 🚉.

⁷²⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ੴ; corrected to ੴ.

⁷²⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁷²⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds here.

⁷²⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷³⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ସରି here.

⁷³¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: শ্রন:; corrected to শ্রন:

 $^{^{732}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to $_{|}$.

⁷³³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ५३; corrected to ₹₹.

⁷³⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ቫር-ፕግፕ here.

⁷³⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ապա; corrected to ապ.

⁷³⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: গ্রীমান্ট্রিমারিচ; corrected to কুমার্মা

⁷³⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: कार्ड्यः; corrected to कार्ड्यः

⁷³⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ặག; corrected to ặགས་.

⁷³⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang places this phrase later in this line.

⁷⁴⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ṛ; corrected to Ŋ;

 $^{^{741}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $^{59\%}$; corrected to $^{5\%\%}$

⁷⁴² Dobis Tsering Gyal: 587.

⁷⁴³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्रु; corrected to क्रे.

⁷⁴⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 55; corrected to 55.

⁷⁴⁵ See note 739.

⁷⁴⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्रुप; corrected to क्रुप्पा:

⁷⁴⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

प्रचित्वातिका, चिता, चिता, चिता, क्ष्या, भ्रीट, क्ष्य, स्ता, क्ष्य, स्वा, स्व, स्व, स्वा, स्वा, स्वा,

⁷⁴⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ব্যামনি: corrected to ব্যামনি: Dobis Tsering Gyal: ব্যামনি:

⁷⁴⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ब्रेन्; corrected to मुहेन्.

⁷⁵⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ন্ব্যু: corrected to ন্ব্যু:

⁷⁵¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्षेत्रा; corrected to क्षेत्रा.

⁷⁵² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁷⁵³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ৬५५%; corrected to ৬५5.

⁷⁵⁴ Dobis Tsering Gyal: न्तरः.

⁷⁵⁵ Dobis Tsering Gyal: (NET).

⁷⁵⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉 ; corrected to 🚉 .

⁷⁵⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ₹ar; corrected to ₹<...

⁷⁵⁸ Dobis Tsering Gyal adds a 55' here.

⁷⁵⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a 55' here.

⁷⁶⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ∄N; corrected to ∄.

⁷⁶¹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: प्रहेत.

⁷⁶² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 51; corrected to 51.

⁷⁶³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ¬իճգ; corrected to སྡོན;

⁷⁶⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁷⁶⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: TONY; corrected to TON.

⁷⁶⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷⁶⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 1 here.

⁷⁶⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to 🦡:

⁷⁶⁹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: £.

⁷⁷⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ठाउँपा; corrected to ङ्ग.

⁷⁷¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫

चन्न-भ्रियःशकूच, क्ष्य-ग्रीयःश्चियः श्चियः विष्यः स्थयः ग्रीटः मुंचः ह्म्यः न्यः अकूनः प्रतः यश्चियः विष्यः श्चियः अव्यान्तः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विषयः

⁷⁷² Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रविव्यवः; corrected to प्रविव्यवः.

⁷⁷³ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 🔊 here.

⁷⁷⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 55%; corrected to 77%.

⁷⁷⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: অ্নে; corrected to অ্ন.

 $^{^{776}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds $_{\parallel}$ here.

⁷⁷⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds av here.

⁷⁷⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $P_{\overline{A}}$; corrected to $P_{\overline{A}}$

⁷⁷⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ¬; corrected to ¬.

⁷⁸⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रमुख: corrected to मुख:

⁷⁸¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\frac{1}{7}$; corrected to $\frac{1}{8}$.

⁷⁸² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ឧଞ୍ଚଳ; corrected to ឧଞ୍ଚଳ.

⁷⁸³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: π ; corrected to π ά·.

⁷⁸⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ৬५८५; corrected to ৬५८.

⁷⁸⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷⁸⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: որդ ; corrected to որդու

⁷⁸⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: १९१७; corrected to १९९००:

⁷⁸⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷⁸⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\mathfrak{J}_{\mathbb{N}}$; corrected to $\mathfrak{J}_{\mathbb{T}}$.

 $^{^{790}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds $_{\parallel}$ here.

⁷⁹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: নুধ্বাষা; corrected to নুধ্বাষা:

⁷⁹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷⁹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁷⁹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Հայ; corrected to ձեպ.

⁷⁹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ੴr; corrected to ੴr.

⁷⁹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 55; corrected to 1.

⁷⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🐒; corrected to 🐒.

⁷⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁸⁰⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ភុដ្ឋភិ; corrected to ភុដ្ឋៈ

⁸⁰¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5/6; corrected to 6.

⁸⁰² Lingön Padma Kelzang adds anning: here.

⁸⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्रिप; corrected to क्रा:

⁸⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds Taring Here; Dobis Tsering Gyal: Taring Gyal:

⁸⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 'ARRISE' here.

⁸⁰⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: €; corrected to €.

⁸⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Ŋ; corrected to Ŋ.

⁸⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: එல; corrected to එ.

⁸⁰⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a here.

Enigon i adma Reizang adds 4 nere

 $^{^{\}rm 810}~$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds $_{\mid}$ here.

⁸¹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds _{'55'} here.

⁸¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁸¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: बन्ने; corrected to बन्ने:

⁸¹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 🎙 🖓 here.

⁸¹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: £5; corrected to £5.

⁸¹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁸¹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: գորգ:; corrected to գորգ։

⁸¹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Mar; corrected to Mar.

⁸¹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁸²⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ក្នុង; corrected to ក្ល.

⁸²¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Sas:; corrected to ass.

⁸²² Lingön Padma Kelzang: ፩፫; corrected to ୩୪୯.

⁸²³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: T; corrected to T.

म् क्याया [1] क्ष्यायक्र क्यायक्र क्ष्याया विषया प्रमाय क्ष्या स्वित्त स्वित्त स्वित्त स्वित्त स्वित्त स्वित् स्वित्र स्वित्र

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824 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ठ४८५७; corrected to ठ४८५७; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ठ४८४५५.
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- 830 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5; corrected to 5x.
- 831 Lingön Padma Kelzang: קיין קי; corrected to קיין קי.
- 832 Lingön Padma Kelzang: gw; corrected to gw.
- 833 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
- 834 Lingön Padma Kelzang: र्जः; corrected to परः.
- 835 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
- 836 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫.
- 837 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
- 838 Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्षेत्रः; corrected to क्
- 839 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 55: here.
- 840 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to المجاها الماقة ا
- 841 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ব্দুব্ৰ
- 842 Lingön Padma Kelzang: नते; corrected to नते:
- 843 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ইন্য; corrected to ইন্যুষ্য
- ⁸⁴⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆; corrected to 555.
- 845 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆 ; corrected to 📆.
- ⁸⁴⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 558; corrected to 55.
- 847 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
- 848 Based on the Roar that Shakes the Three Realms manuscript, Lingön Padma Kelzang and Dobis Tsering Gyal both include at this point the following lengthy addition

⁸²⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5; corrected to 55.

⁸²⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: รุฑฺล; corrected to ฐฑฺล.

⁸²⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 57; corrected to 57.

⁸²⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: gw; corrected to gw.

⁸²⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

सूट-दे-प्रटी-कुट-जया नुट-तपु-विट-ह्या विकास क्या मिलेया मुस्ट-प्रटी-कुट-प्रकाशिया प्रवास त्या मिल्या प्रवास मिलेया मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या मिल्या प्रवास मिल्या मिल्य

- 849 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ₹८.
- 850 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ਜ੍ਹੇ.
- 851 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 翰; corrected to 🙀.
- 852 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 51; corrected to 515.
- 853 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
- 854 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🚉.
- 855 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ਹੁਨਾ; corrected to ਹੁ.
- 856 Lingön Padma Kelzang: គ្នា:ង៩៤; corrected to គ្នា«ង៩៤.
- 857 Lingön Padma Kelzang: එ; corrected to එ;
- 858 Lingön Padma Kelzang: प्रह्नुः; corrected to हेन्.
- 859 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.
- 860 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ক্রম; corrected to ক্র:
- 861 Lingön Padma Kelzang: 95; corrected to 95; Dobis Tsering Gyal: 95.
- 862 Dobis Tsering Gyal: omitted.
- 863 Lingön Padma Kelzang: গুট্টব্ৰমা; corrected to এইব্ৰমা:

⁸⁶⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 📆 ; corrected to 📆.

⁸⁶⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫.

⁸⁶⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

 $^{^{867}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{\P};$ corrected to $_{\P}.$

⁸⁶⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: बङ्गबु:; corrected to बहुबु:

⁸⁶⁹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: No.

⁸⁷⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ar; corrected to &r.

⁸⁷¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ব; corrected to ব্রথ:

⁸⁷² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 逝; corrected to 漸.

⁸⁷³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: \hat{g}_N ; corrected to \hat{g} .

 $^{^{874}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to $_{|}$.

⁸⁷⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫.

⁸⁷⁶ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ସରି:

⁸⁷⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: র্মান্ডে; corrected to র্মান্ডের

⁸⁷⁸ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 🍇 📆 🛪 .

⁸⁷⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 547; corrected to 4547.

⁸⁸⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: नवे; corrected to नवे.

⁸⁸¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: מַשְרִיקי; corrected to מַק־יַשְּקסיי; Dobis Tsering Gyal: מַשְרִישָּׁיִקי.

⁸⁸² Lingön Padma Kelzang: 1; corrected to .

⁸⁸³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: Պրթուս; corrected to Վրթուս.

⁸⁸⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 581; corrected to 381.

⁸⁸⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5x; corrected to 5.

⁸⁸⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: gara; corrected to gar.

⁸⁸⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5; corrected to 54.

⁸⁸⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁸⁹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ब्रंगु; corrected to ब्रंगुङा:

⁸⁹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: पश्चा; corrected to भूपा.

⁸⁹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: طبح; corrected to طبح:

⁸⁹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ۵/5=۵/7; corrected to 9/5=۵/7.

⁸⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁸⁹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 537; corrected to 47.

⁸⁹⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: गुर्बूट: corrected to गुर्दूट:

⁸⁹⁷ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ध्यूट.

⁸⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds 5755 here.

⁸⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁹⁰⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ५५११४; corrected to ह्याब.

⁹⁰¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁹⁰² Lingön Padma Kelzang: मुद्धे; corrected to मृद्धे:

⁰³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ध्रेड; corrected to ब्ह्रेड्:

⁹⁰⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: קאָקי; corrected to

⁹⁰⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 587; corrected to 58.

⁹⁰⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🚉.

⁹⁰⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🕬; corrected to 🖏:

⁹⁰⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: अवहेदः; corrected to ङ्वाहेदः.

⁹⁰⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ℠¬; corrected to ¬¬¬.

⁹¹⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ब्रह्मः; corrected to ह्रेन्टः.

⁹¹¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to ممتري:

⁹¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: รรร รถุง; corrected to สรร รถุง.

⁹¹³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: बहुः; corrected to बहाः.

⁹¹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: av; corrected to Sav.

⁹¹⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁹¹⁶ Dobis Tsering Gyal: जहेबा.

⁹¹⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 47; corrected to 57.

 $^{^{918}\,}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $_{^{95}\text{Ce}}$; corrected to $_{^{95}\text{Ce}}$.

 $^{^{919}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ଏଞ୍ଚଳ; corrected to ଞ୍ଚଳ:

⁹²⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: वङ्ग्; corrected to वङ्ग्राः

 ⁹²¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ﷺ; corrected to त्रिक्ष.
922 Lingön Padma Kelzang: त्रङ्गा; corrected to त्रञ्जा.

⁹²³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁹²⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ङ्वालङ्काः; corrected to ङ्वाङ्काः; Dobis Tsering Gyal: क्वालङ्काः

⁹²⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🏣; corrected to 🖼.

 $^{^{926}~}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang adds $_{\mbox{\fontfamily figure}}$ here.

⁹²⁷ Dobis Tsering Gyal: শুর্মন:

⁹²⁸ Dobis Tsering Gyal: স্কুল্ম.

⁹²⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 5,78; corrected to 5,7; Dobis Tsering Gyal: 5,78.

⁹³⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🖫.

⁹³¹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ₹.

932 Lingön Padma Kelzang: क्षेत्र; corrected to क्

⁹³³ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ४५; corrected to ४.

⁹³⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: वेतुङ:; corrected to वेतुङ:; Dobis Tsering Gyal: वेतुङ:

⁹³⁵ Lingön Padma Kelzang: @; corrected to @.

⁹³⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: नञ्जेन; corrected to नञ्जेनाः.

⁹³⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🚉; corrected to 🖫.

⁹³⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🖫; corrected to 🖫 .

⁹³⁹ Dobis Tsering Gyal: हेवे.

⁹⁴⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🏣; corrected to 🛪; Dobis Tsering Gyal: 🖘.

⁹⁴¹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: 🦮 corrected to 🗟

⁹⁴² Dobis Tsering Gyal: SANSAN.

शुभमस्तुसर्वजगतं"

⁹⁴³ Dobis Tsering Gyal: 51.

⁹⁴⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: क़; corrected to क़्र

 $^{^{945}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: $\frac{1}{2}$ %; corrected to $\frac{1}{2}$ %.

⁹⁴⁶ Lingön Padma Kelzang: ಹನಸ್ಥಾಕಿಸ್ಟ್; corrected to ಹನ್ಸ್ ಕಿಸ್ಟ್; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ಹನಸ್ಕಾಕಿಸ್ಟ್.

⁹⁴⁷ Dobis Tsering Gyal: ३५'रे'.

 $^{^{948}}$ Lingön Padma Kelzang: לְּשִׁי; corrected to לְּי.

⁹⁴⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརུལ་བར་; corrected to བརུལ་བར་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: རུལ་བར་.

⁹⁵⁰ Lingön Padma Kelzang: <a>r; corrected to ¬¬.

⁹⁵¹ This final Sanskrit prayer is presented in the Vartu script in the inscription, and is given here in a Devanāgarī font. It is transliterated as follows: śubhamastusarva-jagataṃ. The Tibetan equivalent is: ক্রুবেল্ল্ড্রেক্স্ক্রেক্স্রেক্স্ক্রেক্স্রেক্স্রেক্স্রেক্স্রেক্স্রেক্স্রেক্স্ক্রেক্স্ক্রেক্স্রেক্

⁹⁵² This is the line of Tibetan written in the vertical Mongolian script (hor yig) along the left side of the entire inscription. This text is presented here sideways and in a font approximate to the inscription. In the Tibetan head script (dbu can) the line is as follows: ১৯৯ বিশ্ব কুল ক্রম্মের কুলেই বিশ্ব কুলেই কু