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**The Grove of Wondrous Lotus Flowers:
A Brief Account of the Lineage Holders of
the Secret Mantrayāna Schools, Old and
New, in the Snowy Land of Tibet**

Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo



KHYENTSE VISION
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*gangs can bod kyi yul du byon pa'i gsang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsdus ngo mtshar pad+mo'i
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Khyentse Vision Project: Translating the Works of
Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo's main work on the history of the Dharma is conceived as a comprehensive summary of the lineal succession of each of the schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Although styled as a *denrab*, it is perhaps the only one of its kind, as works in this genre are typically dedicated to recording the history and abbatial or lineal succession of one particular monastery or institution. As such, it exemplifies the Rimé outlook of cherishing all schools and traditions as equally valid paths to liberation. However, it is an early work, written around the time that Khyentse Wangpo returned to Derge from his studies and travels in central Tibet (1851), when he was thirty-two. No date is given, but internal evidence suggests that it was composed before 1853.¹ In one instance—the list of the Ganden throne holders—names have been added by an unknown hand, updating the list to the early 1880s.

The structure of the work is the same one used in the section on the history of Tibetan Buddhism in his *Essence Distilled for the Ears of the Fortunate*, an address delivered to an assembly at Ngor Monastery in 1843 but developed here at much greater length. There are sections on the Nyingma, Kadam, Sakya, Kagyu, and Geluk traditions, and a final section on “minor schools,” listed as three pairs, plus the Vinaya transmission. This is a somewhat naïve precursor of the classification of Tibet's Vajrayāna tradition into Eight Great Chariots enunciated in the mature works of Khyentse Wangpo and Jamgön Kongtrul.

In each section, the seats of the tradition concerned and their successive lineage holders are listed, with short biographies of the most important figures; the distinctive features and approaches of that tradition are described, and the corpus of its teachings enumerated; the literature on the history of the tradition and lives of the masters is cited, specifically criticisms by others and their refutations; and finally the origin of the name of the tradition is explained.

The coverage given to each is not perfectly even: the Sakya tradition is accorded the lengthiest and most detailed treatment, especially the Tsarpa branch to which Khyentse Wangpo was heir, followed by the Geluk tradition. The history of the royal monastery of Derge Gönchen and the Situ lineage of Palpung, in his own homeland, are given particular attention. Among the “minor” traditions, most space is given to Butön Rinchen Drub and his classification of the tantras.

Many passages can be identified as borrowings from the various literary sources consulted, a common practice in Tibetan historiography. The most readily identifiable of these are Guru Tashi’s history of the Nyingma tradition, Gö Lotsāwa’s *Blue Annals*, Tuken Chökyi Nyima’s *Crystal Mirror* history of doctrinal systems, the writings of Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk and Jamgön Amé Zhab on the history of the Sakya tradition, and Situ Pañchen’s *Moonwater Crystal* history of the Karma Kagyu tradition.

OUTLINE

THE SEATS AND LINEAGES OF THE EARLY TRANSLATION SCHOOL

Nyingma Monasteries in Southern Tibet

Nyingma Monasteries in Tsang

Nyingma Monasteries in Ü

Drigung

Nyal and Loro

Dagpo

Kongpo

Powo

Nyingma Monasteries in Derge

Katok Monastery

Palyul Monastery

Dzogchen Monastery

Tagten Drubde

Tagmo Gang Monastery

Shechen Monastery

The Teachings of the Early Translation School of Secret Mantra

The Transmitted Teachings

The Revealed Teachings

The Meaning of the Term “Dzogchen”

THE KADAMPA TRADITION

THE SAKYA TRADITION

Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen and His Descendants

The Ngor Tradition

Sakya Monasteries in Central Tibet

The Tsarpa Tradition	
Derge Gönpchen Monastery	
Tartse Khenchen Jampa Namkha Chimé	
The Brothers Jampa Kunga Tenzin and Jampa Naljor Jampal Zangpo	
Other Ngor Monasteries in Kham	
The Influence of the Sakya Tradition on Other Schools	
Successive Holders of the Sakya Tradition	
Sources on the History of the Sakya Tradition	
The Teachings of the Sakya Tradition	
THE KAGYU TRADITION	
The Karma Kagyu Tradition	
Palpung Monastery and the Situ Lineage	
Other Karma Kagyu Monasteries	
The Drukpa Tradition	
Successive Holders of the Kagyu Tradition	
The Teachings of the Kagyu Tradition	
The Meaning of the Names “Kagyu” and “Drukpa”	
THE GANDENPA TRADITION	
Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dragpa	
The Successive Ganden Throne Holders	
Gelukpa Monasteries in Central Tibet	
Drepung Monastery	
Sera Monastery	
Tashi Lhunpo Monastery	
Other Geluk Monasteries in Central Tibet	
The Potala Palace and the Dalai Lama Incarnations	
Other Geluk Monasteries	
Geluk Monasteries in Kham	
Geluk Monasteries in Amdo	
Masters of the Ganden Tradition	
The Teachings of the Geluk Tradition	
The Meaning of the Name “Geluk”	
THE MINOR TRADITIONS	
The Jonang Tradition	
The Shalu Tradition	
Butön’s Classification of Tantra	
The Bodong Tradition	
The Shangpa Kagyu Tradition	

The Zhije Tradition

The Chö Tradition

The Meaning of “Zhije” and “Chö”

The Vinaya Tradition

CONCLUSION

དེ་མཚར་པོ་སྒྲིའི་དགའ་ཚལ།

The Grove of Wondrous Lotus Flowers

Namo Guru Mañjughoṣāya!

At the lotus feet of Guru Mañjuśrīkumāra

And of the ocean of learned and accomplished masters

Of all traditions, which are one and the same,

I constantly bow the crown of my head in worship with hundredfold faith!

In this land, surrounded by snowy mountains, elevated as an elephant's crown, and a special object of the wisdom gaze of the noble and supreme Padmapāṇi, of all the learned masters and adepts who appeared here, the first were the lineage holders of the Early Translation school of Secret Mantra. During the earlier diffusion, there was no Mantrayāna tradition other than that of the Early Translations, [325] the two types of officiants flourished, and the theory and practice of the teachings spread widely. However, during the later diffusion, many different traditions and expositions flourished, and as each successively established its own brilliance, the former receded into the background. Nonetheless, as the mercy and enlightened activity of the victorious ones are boundless, it became so that from Upper West Tibet down to the borders of China, and from the southern Himālaya to Mongolia, there was nowhere that was not filled with monasteries of this tradition, great and small.

The Seats and Lineages of the Early Translation School

No one could purport to account for them all, but the more famous monasteries [326] and those whose religious traditions continue to flourish today can be mentioned. Beginning with the transmitted teachings of the Early Translation school, these are the three kings of Mantrayāna renowned as the So, Zur, and Nub (So Yeshe Wangchuk, Zur

Sherab Jungne, and Nub La Chen Jangchub Nyingpo were fellow disciples),² the seats of the Zur at Uppa Lung (in the Pen Tagma valley near Serdok Chen)³ and Sang Ngak Chöling (on the east side of Shigatse),⁴ and others that were highly developed in earlier times. These days, although the father-son lineage of Sang Ngak Chöling remains unbroken, there is little sign of the continuity of its teaching and practice.

On the side of the revealed teachings, the lineal succession at the seat of the elder treasure revealer Ngadak Nyang Rinpoche, Mawo Chok in eastern Lhodrak,⁵ started with the founder, Ter Chen Nyang Nyima Özer, an emanation of King Trisong Deutsen. His son was Drogön Namkha Pal, whose son was Loden Sherab. His son was Sang Ngak Dudul, whose son was Dodé Senge. His son was Pema Döndrub, whose son was Jampal Norbu, and his son was Kunga Gyaltzen. From about that time, the family lineage divided into many strands, and meanwhile the seat was held by Ngadak Norbu Pelwa and Kunga Özer. [327] Then came Kunga Gyaltzen's son Lhayi Gyaltzen, his son Zangpo Lhundrub, his son Nyang Dorje Gyaltzen and Ngadak Kunga Özer's son Kunga Pal, his son Ngadak Kunga Lhundrub, then Kunga Tenzin, Tenzin Norbu, and finally Tenzin Chögyal. From about that time, the Mawo Chok family lineage appears to have ended, but there are a great many other Nyang family lineages even to this day. Mawo Chok was apparently taken over by the lineal descendants of Chöwang Rinpoche.

The main seat of the younger treasure revealer Guru Chöwang, the Guru Lhakhang in the Layak valley in western Lhodrak, is maintained by Sungtrul Rinpoche these days.⁶ Otherwise, the lineages of Guru Chöwang's son, Pema Wangchen, at Nezhi Monastery in the Tsendro area of eastern Lhodrak⁷ and at Lhadrowa in Yartö, and the descendants of the younger son Tsenden Nyime Özer from Tsangne Tramo, known as the É Dragna Chöje, and so on, have mostly continued up to the present.⁸

Nyingma Monasteries in Southern Tibet

The seat of Ter Chen Ratna Lingpa, the Lhundrub Podrang in Lho Domkhar, was once thriving, but there does not seem to be much there these days.⁹

Chak Jangchub Ling in eastern Lhodrak, the seat of Jangchub Lingpa, a treasure revealer and disciple of Pema Lingpa, [328] is maintained by Mindröling these days.¹⁰

Dudjom Ling Monastery at Lhodrak Kharchu was founded by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama. There is a monastic center for practicing the teachings of the elder and younger treasure revealers, the Northern Treasure tradition, and the secret visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama. It is maintained chiefly by the state and by Dorje Drak Monastery.¹¹

As for the Sungtrul custodians of Lhodrak Guru Lhakhang, the first was Tenzin Dragpa, incarnation of Pema Lingpa, then his disciple Pema Trinle, the son of Pema Lingpa's own son Dawa Gyaltzen. After Guru Lhakhang was offered to him by Chöze Gyalpo Döndrub, it became the seat of the lineage. Next came the greatly learned and

accomplished Third Sungtrul Tsultrim Dorje. Fourth was the Tugse Tulku Tenzin Gyurme Dorje, the reincarnation of Dawa Gyaltsen. He became the main protégé of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama and was endowed with the Lhalung Metok Lhanang Tegchok Rabgye Ling Monastery and its branches (formerly a Kagyupa monastery), which became the seat of the Tugse lineage thereafter.¹² Then the Fourth Sungtrul, Ngawang Kunzang Dorje; the Fifth Tugse, Gyurme Chogdrub Palbar Zangpo; [329] the Fifth Sungtrul, Tenzin Drubchok Dorje; the Sixth Tugse, Tenzin Chökyi Nyima; and the Sixth Sungtrul, Kunzang Tenpe Gyaltsen, took the throne. Of the two incarnations of the Sixth Tugse, the one born to Depa Pushupa assumed the seat, while the other, Tenzin Ngawang Trinle, resided at Dorje Drak. The Seventh Sungtrul, Kunzang Pema Tenzin, was born in Mön Bumtang.¹³ He was a great luminary of the teachings but passed away in his twenties. The Eighth Tugse, born in Lho Domkhar, is the present throne holder.

In Mön, the seats of Drukpa Ngawang Namgyal also practice a synthesis of Nyingma and Kagyu traditions, and the teachings of the Guru's Essential Intent and Pema Lingpa's revelations are widespread. There are also many monastic seats, great and small, inherited by the incarnations of Tenzin Legpa Döndrub¹⁴ and the family descendants of Pema Lingpa.

In Dremo Shong,¹⁵ there are the successive Dreshong Dzogchenpa incarnations of Lhatsun Namkha Jigme and others. In later times the Nyingma teachings seem to have spread there somewhat, thanks to the activity of the omniscient Jigme Lingpa, such as [330] Dungsam Riwo Tengye Ling Monastery (also known as Yanglha Göñ) on the border with India, founded by his disciple Lobpön Jigme Kundröl.¹⁶

Yönpo Do Monastery in Yamdrok was founded by the reincarnation of Tertön Chogden Göñpo,¹⁷ and maintained by his successive reincarnations and by the Peling Sungtrul incarnations.

Nyingma Monasteries in Tsang

On the northern side of Latö in upper Tsang, Sisum Namgyal Monastery, founded by Wangpo Dé's¹⁸ younger brother Yizhin Norbu at Sangsang Lhadrak, is maintained by Dorje Drak. It is the residence of the Ludrub incarnations.¹⁹

Chung Riwoche Monastery was founded by Tangtong Gyalpo. Later, after it was presented to the Yölmo Tertön Tenzin Norbu, it became the seat of the incarnations of his younger brother Gomnyön Chagdor Norbu.²⁰

At the lower end of the Kyawo Khadang lake is a sacred place of the Sakyapa²¹ and the Dadröl Sang Ngak Chöling seat of Metön.²² At the upper end is Gyamkhar Sang Ngak Chöling. The Se family lineage passed from Setön Nyima Zangpo through Setön Göñpo Zangpo and Setön Rinchen Gyaltsen. Thereafter it divided between the Se lineages of Gyamkhar and Trazang.²³

Trazang Monastery was originally founded by Rigdzin Gödem Chen, who was succeeded by his disciple [331] Namgyal Gönpo, and later became a seat of the Setön lineage, from Setön Pema Wangchen on through Tsewang Rigdzin, Namkha Rigdzin, Tugchok Öbar, Kunzang Dzamling Dorje, and so on. Its mantradhara lineage has continued unbroken to the present, chiefly practicing the Northern Treasure teachings, the *Lord of Life*,²⁴ and so on. Furthermore, there are many lesser monasteries, such as Gyang Chöde, and many mantradhara lineages, such as Metön, Kyitön, and the Drölma Pugpa of Tanak.²⁵

The original founder of Nubgön in Tsang Latö is unknown. Later it was occupied by Jampa Chökyi Gyaltzen, his disciple Lodrö Gyaltzen, and so on. Then it was taken over by Khamlungpa Rigdzin Wangyal and became the seat of Khamlungpa's nephew lineage and successive incarnations. It is maintained by Dorje Drak.²⁶

Gangra Ngesang Dorje Ling in Tsang was founded by Rongter Jampal Dorje. Subsequently it became the residence of Nyinda Dragpa, the custodian of the teachings of Nangtse;²⁷ his nephew Lo Chen Ngakgi Wangpo; and his nephew, the great scholar and adept Lo Chen Zhenpen Dorje. Ever since the Great Fifth Dalai Lama presented it to Menlungpa Lochok Dorje, it has been the seat of his successive incarnations.²⁸ [332]

Dupung Zilnön Ling Monastery at Pungpo Riwoche in lower Tsang was established by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁹ At nearby monasteries such as Dechen Ling in Nyemo,³⁰ Dre Gönsar,³¹ and Bönlung Pema Chöling,³² there were many Nyingma masters, such as the Bönlung and Chuzang³³ incarnations.

Orgyen Dro Dren Ling Hermitage, near Lhari Drölma Puk in the Gyaltsé area of Nyangtö in lower Tsang, was founded by the Tsangpa Drubchen Pema Shenpen, an emanation of Rigdzin Yölmowa Tenzin Norbu. It is the residence of his reincarnation Rigdzin Jigme Pawo.³⁴

Tegchok Ling was founded by Drukpa Pema Karpo.³⁵ The Great Fifth Dalai Lama converted it into a Nyingma monastery, chiefly practicing the Northern Treasure teachings and the secret visions. Later, after the arrival of the omniscient Jigme Lingpa, the practice of the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Māyājāla* was established there, which has continued to the present.³⁶

Nyingma Monasteries in Ü

In Ü, Palri Tegchok Ling Monastery in the Chongye valley in Yarlung was founded by Trengpo Ter Chen Sherab Özer. He was succeeded by his son Gyalse Karma Kunzang and then the Yeshe Tsogyal incarnations—Rigdzin Trinle Namgyal, Ngawang Kunzang Pema, Ngawang Lobzang Pema, Pema Chöjor Gyatso, and Tenzin Chökyi Nyima.³⁷ [333]

Tsering Jong Pema Ösal Tegchok Ling, at the head of the nearby Dönkhar valley, was founded by the omniscient Jigme Lingpa. It was sustained for a short while by his

nephew Özer Trinle, Gom Chen Ngawang Chödrak, and others. But nowadays it is barely maintained by the Depa Pushupa and Palri Monastery, and there is no significant succession lineage.³⁸

Tsechu Drubde Hermitage at Chagzam Chuwo Ri was founded by Tangtong Gyalpo. It became the seat of the successive incarnations of his disciple Kyobpa Zangpo, the Chagzam Tulku lineage, and many learned and accomplished masters appeared there, such as Tenzin Yeshe Lhundrub.³⁹

There are two famous Nyingma monasteries in Ü—Dorje Drak and Mindröling. For the first, there are two aspects, the origin of the religious lineage and the lineal succession itself.⁴⁰

First, the origin of the religious lineage: it started with the treasure revealer Rigdzin Gökyi Demtruchen Ngödrub Gyaltzen, his son Namgyal Gönpö, the two Dorjes—Ngagchang Dorje Palwa and Dorje Gönpö—Tsenden Jampa Shenyen, Tsenden Ngawang Dragpa, Chöje Sangye Palzang, Ngagchang Chögyal Sönam, Tugse Namkha Gyaltzen, [334] and Rigdzin Yölmowa Tertön Śākya Zangpo. His disciple Rigdzin Legden Je, one of the Ngari Rigdzin Chenpo brothers, was the second incarnation of Gödem Chen, and his disciple was Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal (the Guru Peme Ewaṃ Chokgar monastic community of his time was the seed of the Dorje Drak Monastery).

Second, the actual succession: first was the reincarnation of Legden Je, the third Gödem Chen incarnation Rigdzin Ngakgi Wangpo, who was also Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal's son, born in the Iron Dragon year (1640). He founded the first Tubten Dorje Drak monastery. He passed away in the Earth Hare year (1699), after which the Yölmo incarnation Tenzin Norbu served as regent. The fourth Gödem incarnation, Zhabdrung Kunzang Pema Trinle, was born at Mönkhar Namse Ling (opposite Samye). He studied with Zur Chen Chöying Rangdröl and the Great Fifth Dalai Lama and developed inconceivable qualities of learning and purity. He lived long, and finally the invasion of the Dzungar armies, lords among demons, was the occasion for him to manifest departure.

His reincarnation, the Fifth Gödem, Kalzang Pema Wangchuk, was born at Chagdu in Nyagrong, [335] a division of the Pombor Gang range. He accomplished the reconstruction of Tubten Dorje Drak and became a luminary of the Early Translation teachings, with vast accomplishment in mental and visionary revelation. The sixth incarnation, Kunzang Gyurme Lhundrub Dorje, was born at Sertok, near the Chagla capital at Dartsedo. He performed amazing acts of clairvoyance and prophecy and excellence in the three spheres of study, meditation, and Dharma activity, but passed away prematurely. His reincarnation, the Seventh Gödem, Ngawang Jampal Mingyur Lhundrub Dorje, was born at Mönkhar Namse Ling.⁴¹

For the lineal succession of Ogmin Orgyen Mindröling,⁴² first the origin of the religious lineage: Natsok Rangdröl, the reincarnation of Ter Chen Ratna Lingpa, was born in Mentang in Lhodrak and reached the far shore of learning, contemplation, and

practice. At the age of forty-two (1535), he founded the Dargye Chöding hermitage in Dranang⁴³ and passed away at the age of seventy-seven. He was succeeded at Dargye Chöding by Tenzin Dragpa, an incarnation of Pema Lingpa, the great scholar and adept Nyotön Do Ngak Tenzin, and his son Rigdzin Trinle Lhundrub. The first in the lineal succession was his elder son, [336] Ter Chen Gyurme Dorje, an incarnation of Lo Chen Vairotsana, known as Drodul Terdak Lingpa, born in the Fire Dog year of the tenth *rabjung* (1646). After studying with his father and the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, he reached the far shore of learning and accomplishment. Starting with the Heartdrop of the Vidyādhara at Yama Lung at the age of eighteen, he revealed many profound treasures. This incomparable pillar of the Early Translation teachings founded Orgyen Mindröling in Drachi in the Fire Dragon year (1676) and passed away at the age of sixty-nine in the Wood Horse year (1714). The middle brother, the first abbot, Gyalse Tenpe Nyima, became a great paṇḍita learned in the five sciences, yet passed away at the age of twenty-seven. The younger brother, great abbot and translator Dharmasīrī, an emanation of Yudra Nyingpo, was so eminent in the qualities of learning, purity, and goodness as to become the single eye of the Early Translation teachings. He was the second in the abbatial succession. He passed away at the age of sixty-five. It was these two Ter Chen brothers alone who rendered great service to the transmitted and revealed teachings of the Nyingma tradition in later times.

The second throne holder Tri Chen Pema Gyurme Gyatso was born the son of Ter Chen Gyurme Dorje⁴⁴ and mother Yönten Drölma. He assumed the throne at the age of thirty and died at the age of thirty-three. [337] Gyalse Yizhin Legdrub was born the son of the Ter Chen and mother Puntsok Palzom and ordained by Lo Chen Dharmasīrī, but due to certain circumstances, he did not live long. The third throne holder, Gyalse Rinchen Namgyal, fled to Kham during the time of upheaval,⁴⁵ through Mön and Tibet to Chagdu in Nyarong, and thus escaped mistreatment. He returned to Ü, restored the monastery, and did great service for the teachings. He passed away aged sixty-five. Their younger sister Jetsunma Mingyur Palgyi Drölma also performed vast activity in teaching and practicing the teachings. She passed away at seventy-one.

Rinchen Namgyal had two sons: the fourth throne holder, Gyurme Pema Tenzin, and the Khenchen Orgyen Tenzin Dorje. Gyurme Pema Tenzin's sons were the fifth throne holder, Gyurme Trinle Namgyal, and Khenchen Gyurme Sang Ngak Tenzin. Trinle Namgyal's children were the sixth throne holder, Gyurme Pema Wangyal; Khenchen Orgyen Chöpel; and Jetsunma Trinle Chödrön. Pema Wangyal's son was the seventh throne holder, Gyurme Sangye Kunga, [338] and his son, the eighth throne holder, Gyurme Yizhin Wangyal, one elevated by the ocean of qualities of learning and realization, is alive and well at present.⁴⁶

All the Nyingma monasteries in central Tibet, great and small, suffered heavy damage at the time of the Dzungar Mongol invasion. Later, the Seventh Dalai Lama

Kalzung Gyatso ordered that they be restored to their former condition, and since then most have been gradually restored to somewhat resemble what they once were.

DRIGUNG

The seat of the Gyalwa Drigungpa was initially founded by Minyak Gomring.⁴⁷ Then Kyobpa Rinpoche took it over, and since then it has been maintained by some thirteen generations of the family lineage as a great center of the Kagyu school. Then, from the time of Ter Chen Rinchen Puntsok, an emanation of Kyobpa Rinpoche, principally the Nyingma teachings were practiced there. To give a brief account of the lineal succession since that time, Rinchen Puntsok's son was Chögyal Puntsok, and of his five children, three were lineal successors. These were Zhabdrung Nāropa, Je Könchok Ratna, and Rigdzin Chökyi Dragpa. The latter was the rebirth of Rinchen Puntsok, [339] and from that time the family lineage ended and successive reincarnations were recognized. These were Könchok Trinle Zangpo, the rebirth of Je Könchok Ratna; Döndrub Chökyi Gyalpo from Jang Yul, the rebirth of Chökyi Dragpa; Könchok Tenzin, an emanation of Könchok Trinle Zangpo; Chökyi Nyima, the rebirth of Döndrub Chögyal; Tenzin Pema Gyaltzen, the rebirth of Könchok Tenzin, born to the Trati Ngagchang family lineage in Kongpo; and Gyalse Jigme Nyinje Özer, the son of the omniscient Jigme Lingpa, and rebirth of Chökyi Nyima.⁴⁸ The precious incarnations of the latter two prosper at present, like the waxing moon.

NYAL AND LORO

In the southern districts of Nyal and Loro, there are some upholders of the Nyingma teachings, such as the successive incarnations of Rigdzin Ngakgi Wangpo's disciple Shazugpa Ngawang Tashi Namgyal⁴⁹ and those of Dre'u Lhe, the seat of Druknyön Kunlek.⁵⁰ In Loro there are the Jora Tamche Khyenpa incarnations of Bodongpa Chökyi Gyaltzen.⁵¹

In É Rong, Tsa Drubde Hermitage, founded by the Rongpa Dzogchenpa Namkha Drukdra Zangpo, [340] is maintained by his successive incarnations.⁵² É Palchok, the seat of Letro Lingpa,⁵³ and Dragna, the seat of Chöje Orgyen Tenzin,⁵⁴ too have not yet disappeared.

DAGPO

Tsele Monastery was founded by the omniscient Chöku Özer,⁵⁵ in the lineage of the disciples of Dagtön Wangchuk Dorje, and his disciple Gyara Longchenpa and others were active there. Later, the new Tsele Gönsar Monastery was established by Rigdzin Sönam Namgyal, and teaching and accomplishment flourished there greatly, but these days it does not seem to be so active. It is maintained by Mindröling.⁵⁶

Regarding the lineal succession at Daglha Gampo: it was founded by the peerless Dagpo Rinpoche and was maintained by his nephew lineage alone for some seventeen generations in the Kagyu tradition. Later, the omniscient Tashi Namgyal, an

emanation of Dagpo Rinpoche, was born into the Dagpo nephew lineage. His rebirth, Dzamling Norbu Gyenpa, chiefly practiced the Nyingma teachings. His successors—his disciple Chenga Sönam Rinchen; Chogtrul Ter Chen Zangpo Dorje; Dewe Dorje Lhundrub Ngedön Wangpo; Chogtrul Kunzang Ngedön Wangpo; the “former” Zhamar incarnation Garwang Gyatso;⁵⁷ [341] up to the Sixth Chogtrul, Jampal Trinle Wangpo, also known as Ter Chen Dorje Gyalpo (he revealed teachings on the wrathful Vajrapāṇi and so on)—were significant upholders of the Nyingma teachings.⁵⁸ There are also many small Nyingma monasteries in Dagpo.

The Taglungpa, Tsurpuwa, Drukpa, and other Kagyu schools also practiced a combination of the Kagyu and Nyingma teachings, but their individual lineages will not be recorded here.

KONGPO

The Nyipuwa family lineage of Ter Chen Sangye Lingpa passed from his son Yeshe Dorje through Sangye Lodrö, Chökyi Gyaltzen, Karma Zangpo, and then to Drubchok Zangpo, who had three sons: Karma Sang Ngak Namgyal, Karma Rigdzin Nyingpo, and Karma Tenkyong. However, the family lineage continued not through them but through the descendants of Drubchok Zangpo’s brother, who settled at Khar Gyawo. Also, the Jakhyung Göṅ, founded by Jakhyung Lama, Lama Palden Senge, a custodian of Sangye Lingpa’s revelations, was maintained by a family lineage.⁵⁹

Tangdrok Monastery was founded by Tsungme Tenzin Dorje. His rebirth was Tsele Natsok Rangdröl, [342] also known as Khechok Pema Legdrub.⁶⁰ His rebirth was Kunzang Pema Legdrub, and his rebirth is Jigme Tenpe Gyaltzen. The seat of Drimé Lhunpo at Kongpo Tsanang and the Bangri seat of Jatsön Nyingpo too have not yet declined.⁶¹

POWO

The seat of Tertön Tagsham Nuden Dorje at Gawa Lung is maintained by his successive incarnations.⁶² The Bakha Sang Ngak Chöling Monastery has been maintained by the successive incarnations of Rigdzin Chökyi Gyatso, of whom the incumbent is a son of the previous Lhodrak Sungtrul incarnation, qualified by insight and realization. These days the monastic assembly seems to be held at the Lhalung Monastery in Lhodrak.⁶³

Nyingma Monasteries in Derge

In Ba Yul there is a monastery of the Dorje Drak tradition called Drubpa Göna⁶⁴ and the Namkö Sang Ngak Chöling Monastery, seat of thirteen generations of abbots with the title Gya Lama, which is still quite active.⁶⁵

In particular, in this realm of the great cakravartin and dharmarāja of Derge, at the heart of Greater Tibet,⁶⁶ the teachings of the Early Translation school have uniquely

flourished, and there are many monasteries great and small, all of them produced by the activity of Gyalwa Katokpa and Drubwang Dzogchenpa. [343]

KATOK MONASTERY

To give a brief account: the originator of the lineal succession of the victorious Katok of the east was Dampa Deshek Sherab Senge, a disciple of Dzamtön Drowe Gönpö, the heart disciple of Dropugpa Śākya Senge, one of the three generations of the Zur lineage founders.⁶⁷ He was born in the Water Tiger year of the second *rabjung* (1122) as a maternal cousin of Je Pagmo Drupa Dorje Gyalpo (at Bemo in the Pekar valley). In accord with a prophecy by Dzamtön Rinpoche, he founded Katok Dorje Den in the Earth Hare year (1159). He passed away at the age of seventy-one.

He was succeeded by

- (1) Chöje Tsangtön Dorje Gyaltzen,
- (2) Gyaltsab Jampa Bumpa (he ordained Karma Pakṣi),
- (3) Che Nga Sönam Bumpa,
- (4) Uwö Yeshe Bumpa (he gave Pagpa Rinpoche empowerments),
- (5) Gyaltsab Jangchub Palwa,
- (6) Gyaltsab Sönam Zangpo (at this time the revelations of Nyang and Chöwang had spread somewhat),
- (7) Gyaltsab Kunga Bumpa,
- (8) Gyaltsab Lodrö Bumpa,
- (9) Gyaltsab Lodrö Senge,
- (10) Gyaltsab Jangchub Lodrö,
- (11) Gyaltsab Jangchub Senge,
- (12) Jangchub Gyaltzen, and the latter's disciple [344]
- (13) Khedrub Yeshe Gyaltzen of Pumbor, an emanation of the great Nyak Jñānakumāra.

These first thirteen holders of the Katok abbacy were an uninterrupted succession of emanations of the Three Bodhisattva Protectors who widely spread the Early Translation teachings.

Then there were the disciples of Dampa Deshek, the three supreme hearers of the valleys: Sherab Gyaltzen, Sherab Palwa, and Sherab Dorje, and the four prophesied sons, who burst through to the height of learning and accomplishment: Druṣṭa Gangpa founded 108 monasteries from there up to the Khawa Karpo mountain, Tsade Che Nga Namkha Dorje founded Tsade Monastery in Gonjo, Mogtön Jampal Senge founded a monastery in the Driчу valley and originated a lineage of siddhas known as the thirteen successors of Mok, and Drubtob Maṅi Rinchen settled at Serak Chok and eventually dissolved his body into light.

After the thirteen successive throne holders came the thirteen successive dignitaries; however, the transmitted teachings gradually dwindled while the revealed teachings

spread. Khedrub Yeshe Gyaltsen's disciple Labtö Namkha Rinchen was succeeded by Drung Namkha Senge, and from then on it became customary to have a *drungpa* and a *chenyenpa*. [345] These were Drung Dorje Lodrö and Chenyenpa Sönam Bum, Drung Gyaltsen Dorje and Chenyenpa Gendun Bum, and Drung Gönpö Dorje and Chenyenpa Namkha Pal. At that time, Ardo Könchok Gyaltsen propagated the Unimpeded Realization Dzogchen teachings, which became widespread. Drung Lhawang Dorje held the abbacy at that time. Könchok Gyaltsen's disciple was Rongpo Könchok Dorje, his disciple was Horpo Śākya Gyaltsen, and his disciple was Tsungme Jangchub Senge. Towards the end of his life, Pumborpa Tashi Gyatso appeared. Drung Nampar Gewe Tsenchen was abbot then.

Among Tashi Gyatso's many disciples were Mogtsa Hepa Chöjung, Tenpa Senge of Gyaltang, Palmo Sherab Zangpo, Gyalrongpa, and so on. Drungpa Tamdrin was serving as abbot. At that time, there was the lama with the name Tsedo and the siddha named Mala Lama, as well as Ngokha Sangye Rinchen, Namkha Gyatso of Palbar, and so on. Namkha Gyatso's disciple was Baso Wangdrak Gyatso. His disciple was Garje Chökyong Gyatso, and his disciple was Jangchub Gyaltsen, [346] the great treasure revealer Longsal Nyingpo.

Also, Ardo Könchok Senge was Gyalrangpa's disciple, and his disciple was the great treasure revealer Dudul Dorje, the teacher of Longsal Nyingpo. Also, Könchok Senge's disciples were Serlo Tenpa Gyaltsen and Chönyi Gyatso. Their disciple was Rigdzin Kunzang Sherab, while Gyalrongpa's disciple was Tagpu Lama Dorje Gyaltsen, and his disciple was Ön Sangye Tashi.

It was around this time that Ter Chen Rigdzin Longsal Nyingpo, the emanation of Langdro Lotsāwa, appeared. He was born in Ra, near Kampo Ne, studied with Garje Chökyong Gyatso and Rigdzin Dudul Dorje, and reached the far shore of listening, reflecting, and meditating on the teachings. Having found a treasure list at the age of thirty-two, he revealed many profound treasures such as the Vajra Essence of the Luminous Expanse from Khe Mingyur Dorje Drak and other places, beginning at the age of thirty-four. At the behest of the great Derge Dharmarāja, he took up residence at Katok and reestablished the teaching tradition. That was during the tenure of Nyin Gön Sangye Tashi at Katok. [347]

Gyalse Sönam Deutsen was born the son of Longsal Nyingpo and Rigden Lhakyi and was the immediate rebirth of Ter Chen Dudul Dorje, an emanation of a yogi named Nuden Dorje, crown of the thousand buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa,⁶⁸ and of Drogben Lotsāwa, and so on. He passed away aged forty-nine. One son, Gyalse Tenpel, succeeded to the lineage. After that, the abbacy was held by Önpo Tsewang Trinle, and the lineage teachings propagated by Drung Namkha Gyatso.

Gyalse Sönam Deutsen's rebirth, Drimé Zhingkyong Gönpö, was born in Ba Yul in Domé as the son of Ter Chen Pema Chögyal. After studying with Drung Namkha Gyatso, the omniscient Situ Rinpoche and others, he developed inconceivable qualities

of learning and purity, and his achievements in the three spheres were vast. Among his contemporaries were two great masters, Trulzhik Wangdrak Gyatso, the illusory dancer in the combined emanational play of Lo Chen Vairotsana and Shubu Palgyi Senge, and Mogtön Rigdzin Namkha Chöwang, the rebirth of Ter Chen Mingyur Dorje.

Among the main disciples of these two [348] were Katok Paṇḍita Gyurme Tsewang Chogdrub, the rebirth of Önpo Tsewang Trinle (born into the Getse Troshul Pöntsang house), and Kunzang Ngedön Wangpo (born into the Chagtsa Pöntsang house), an emanation of Drago Tsöndru Gyatso and the prophesied custodian of the revelations of both Dudul and Longsal. The former served long as the abbot-regent at Katok. Others such as Orgyen Samdrub, one of Situ Paṇḍita's incarnations, also appeared at that time.

After that, Jigme Rigdzin Gönpö, the rebirth of Drimé Zhingkyong Gönpö, born into the former nephew lineage, took responsibility for the monastery, and Jigdral Chöying Dorje, emanation of Mogdrub Rinpoche; the Nyingön incarnation Ösal Dorje Nyingpo; and others were also active. And nowadays, as can be seen from the presence of Jigme Rigdzin Gönpö's rebirth, a product of the earlier lineage, and Chogtrul Rinpoche Chökyi Lodrö,⁶⁹ the rebirth of Orgyen Samdrub and luminary of the teachings, the activity of teaching and accomplishment is flourishing.

PALYUL MONASTERY

Palyul Namgyal Jangchub Ling was established by Rigdzin Kunzang Sherab.⁷⁰ He was born in the Achok division of Palyul, [349] and his hair-cutting ceremony was performed by Garje Chökyong Gyatso. Having studied with Serlo Tenpa Gyaltsen, Chönyi Gyatso, Rigdzin Longsal Nyingpo, and especially having taken both Ter Chen Mingyur Dorje and Rigdzin Karma Chagme as his root gurus, he passed over to the far shore of listening, reflecting, and meditating on the teachings. At the age of thirty he came to Palyul Namgyal Tse at the behest of the Derge king and expanded his mastery of the three spheres. In later life, he founded the Lhari Ösal Dakho Gang hermitage and resided there. He passed away at the age of sixty-three (1699).

He was succeeded by his nephew Pema Lhundrub Gyatso; the latter's heart disciple, the incomparable Pema Norbu; and Lama Karma Tashi, wise and powerful lord of the nephew lineage. In between, Karma Tashi's maternal nephews La Asam and Wangchuk held the abbacy for some time, and now in the presence of Lama Karma Tashi's precious rebirth Karma Gyurme Ngedön and Lama Wangchuk's rebirth, and so on, it is a time for the study and practice of the teachings to flourish and spread. [350]

Additionally, Lama Pema Gyaltsen, born in the Tsangshi region, became a disciple of Khedrub Sogdogpa and Zhippo Lingpa. His disciple was the great scholar and adept Tagla Pema Mati. Of his two disciples, Lama Tsering Dorje and Pema Rigdzin, the two nephews of the former were Kunzang Yeshe Tongdröl and Kunzang Khyabdal Lhundrub. Their two nephews were Kunzang Yeshe and Kunzang Namgyal. The

rebirth of Kunzang Khyabdal was Dorje Pawo, and all up to his rebirth, Yizhin Wangyal, are known as the Dragmarpa.⁷¹

Pema Rigdzin's nephews were Pema Loden and Pema Norbu. Their nephew was Lama Kalzang, and the rebirth of Pema Norbu was the great Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu, the universally renowned master. They were known as the Jomo Nang or Nenangpa line.⁷² The monasteries, great and small, proceeding from the activity of the second buddha Katokpa Dampa Deshek and of the Palyulwa, such as the Khamgong monastery of Garje Chökyong Gyatso's nephew lineage,⁷³ from the borders of Ba Yul and the southern gorges to Godrak Tsangshi,⁷⁴ Rekhe,⁷⁵ upper and lower Nyarong, and Doser Golok,⁷⁶ up to Gyalmo Rong of the east, are endless. [351]

DZOGCHEN MONASTERY

The lineal succession of Drubwang Dzogchenpa is divided into, first, the origin of the religious lineage and, second, the lineage itself.⁷⁷ The teaching tradition of the Heart-Essence of the Great Perfection in general, and in particular the transmission of the profound and secret Heart-Essence of the *Ḍākinī*, was granted as a boon by Orgyen Chenpo Padmasambhava, knower of the three times, to the wisdom *ḍākinī* Yeshe Tsogyalma. The teachings granted to Lhacham Pema Sal and concealed at Tramo Drak in Danglung⁷⁸ were revealed by Pema Ledrel Tsal and widely propagated by the omniscient Drimé Özer. Thereafter, as the nectar of the oral instructions transmitted by Guru Yeshe Rabjampa⁷⁹ and so on established both themselves and others on the path of maturation and liberation, the teaching gave its name to a distinct tradition.

Second, the master of accomplishment, Pema Rigdzin, an emanation of the wisdom activity of the perfect Buddha Ratnaśikhī, the Great Brahmin Saraha, Paṇḍita Vimalamitra, and so on, was born in the area of Riwoche in Kham. Having cleared all doubts by listening and reflecting on the teachings of Khedrub Karma Chagme, Rigdzin Dudul Dorje, Namchö Mingyur Dorje, Rigdzin Chökyi Gyatso and others, [352] and gaining experience in them through meditation, he passed over to the primordial citadel and was showered with flowers of praise by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama. He returned to Kham at the age of sixty, became the preceptor of the Derge king Sangye Tenpa, and at the age of sixty-one, in the Wood Ox year (1685), founded the Orgyen Samten Chöling hermitage in the Rudam Kyitram valley. He departed his physical body at the age of seventy-three (1697).

His successor was Pönlob Namkha Ösal. He was born in Nagshö, renowned as a reincarnation of Drubchen Melong Dorje, and lived long.

The second throne holder of Dzogchen, Gyurme Tegchok Tenzin, was born in Rudam Yangkhyil among the subjects of the Mongolian king Kunga Daching.⁸⁰ After studying with an ocean of masters, such as Pönlob Rinpoche and Ter Chen Gyurme Dorje, he ascended to a high level of realization. His mastery of the three spheres was greatly developed.

Ön Rinpoche Gyurme Pema Kundröl Namgyal was born as the nephew of Pönlob Rinpoche and famed as a rebirth of Ter Chen Dudul Dorje. He took responsibility for the monastery after the second throne holder [353] and passed away at the age of sixty-seven. The third throne holder Ngedön Tenzin Zangpo was born at Hopa in the Da Chu valley and received an ocean-like multitude of teachings from the second Nyima Dragpa incarnation, Ön Rinpoche, and others. His impact, such as introducing the ritual *sādhana*s of the transmitted teachings tradition, was far-reaching. He passed away aged thirty-five.

The second Pönlob Pema Sang Ngak Tenzin was born near the monastery. He was a master of realization but did not supervise the monastery for long. Amid a career of fathomless activity, he passed away at seventy-four. His rebirth, Namkha Chökyi Gyatso, was born in Rudam. His rebirth, Jigme Chöying Ösal born at Latok in Yilhung, is there at present.

The learned and noble Lama Namkha Tsewang Chogdrub, emanation of Yudra Nyingpo and rebirth of Lama Gyurme Kalzang of Trehor, was born in Yilhung. After studying with Ön Rinpoche and others, he became very learned and accomplished. He also took charge of the monastery for a long period and served the teachings with great kindness.

The fourth throne holder Mingyur Namkha Dorje, also known as Jigme Khyentse Wangchuk, [354] was born in Den Yul. In dependence upon the lamas, devas, and dharmapālas in general, and in particular the prophecy of the omniscient Jigme Lingpa, he cut through the net of uncertainty and assumed charge of the monastery. He remains there at present, serving the teachings and living beings with inconceivable mercy and enlightened activity.⁸¹

Tagten Drubde

The Tagten Drubde in Gyarong was gradually established after the visit of Je Ön Rinpoche Pema Kundröl at the age of thirty-seven.⁸² Subsequently, it was maintained by Namkha Tsewang Chogdrub; Kunzang Tenpe Nyima, the rebirth of Je Ön Rinpoche and younger brother of the third Nyidrak incarnation; and at present by his rebirth, Garwang Tugchok Dorje of Yilhung, and Kunzang Tegchok Dorje, the rebirth of Namkha Rinpoche and brother of the Fourth Pönlob.

Tagmo Gang Monastery

Ter Chen Nyima Dragpa Tsal, heart disciple of Drubwang Dzogchenpa, was born at the end of an innumerable line of pure incarnations, including the sublime Avalokiteśvara Cittaviśrāmaṇa, the great Lotsāwa Khön Luwang Sung, and so on, in the Benru Druya area of Nangchen.⁸³ After studying with Drubwang Rinpoche, Ter Chen Dudul Dorje, and others, he became greatly learned and accomplished. [355] After the key to a treasure came into his hands at Tsāri, when he was twenty-three, he went on to reveal an ocean-like multitude of profound treasures, such as the Secret

Heart-Essence of the Three Roots that he revealed from the Dorje Nyingdzong cave at Kham Sinmo Dzong at the age of twenty-eight in the Wood Tiger year (1674). He founded Kalzang Puntsok Ling Monastery at Tagmo Gang in the Water Bird year (1693) and the Ösal Drubde hermitage at Chagru in the Water Sheep year (1703). He passed away in the Iron Tiger year (1710).⁸⁴

Of his two disciples, Lama Kalzang Wangden and Lama Lodrö Gyatso, the second Nyitrul incarnation studied with the former, and Dzogchen Ön Rinpoche studied with the latter and greatly expanded the teaching lineage, as did Hor Lo Chen, Kachupa Tashi Palden, and many others.

The second throne holder, Gyalse Orgyen Tenzin, was the son of the Ter Chen Nyima Dragpa and Ḍākinī Tsering Wangmo and was reputed to be the rebirth of Dagpo Zangpo Dorje. He passed away at the age of twenty-seven. Some five of his reincarnations appeared but did not live long. The present incarnation is the one born as the elder brother of the Fourth Nyitrul, son of Dagpo Ter Chen, and renowned as Tertön Dechen Lingpa.

The third throne holder, the Second Nyitrul, Pema Tegchok Tenpe Gyaltzen, [356] also known as Rigdzin Tenkyong Gyatso, was born in lower Nagshö. He came to the monastery at the age of five and studied with a multitude of teachers, such as Gyalwang Kalzang Gyatso, Gyalse Rinchen, and Lama Kalzang Wangden. Having crossed to the far shore of listening, reflecting, and meditating on the teachings, and of learning, purity, and accomplishment, he was hailed as a kalyāṇamitra in the entirety of the teachings. Among his students, the confirmed recipients of his teaching tradition, such as Önpö Pema Jigme, Pawo Lerab Tsal, Troshul Rigdzin Gyatso, Khewang Ngawang Lodrö,⁸⁵ and so on were many. Those who drank the nectar of his teachings were unimaginably numerous.

The fourth throne holder, Gugu Lama Tenzin Nyingpo, was born in Sok Rongtö. He studied with the Second Nyitrul and others, and his personal purity and experience in meditation were exceptional. He took charge of both upper and lower seats of the lineage.

The fifth throne holder, the Third Nyitrul Rinpoche, Mingyur Pende Gyatso, was born in Yilhung, in northern Derge, to a family of the royal lineage of Ling. He was summoned to Tagmo Gang at the age of five and studied with the third Dzogchen incarnation, Pawo Lerab Tsal, the omniscient Jigme Lingpa, and others, mastering the attributes of listening, reflecting, and meditating on the teachings. [357] His achievement in the three spheres was vast, but he passed away prematurely. His rebirth is the son of Dagpo Ter Chen Dorje Gyalpo, who is alive now. Among his disciples were Nagshö Ter Chen Longchen Rölpa Tsal; Önrul Orgyen Nyima; Drogön Trinle Tendar, the rebirth of Drubwang Tenzin Nyingpo; Orgyen Chögyal, the rebirth of Lama Pema Tenzin; and so on.

SHECHEN MONASTERY

The unrivaled lion of speech, Rabjam Tenpe Gyaltzen, the disseminator of Drubwang Dzogchenpa's teachings, regarded as an emanation of Buddha Aśoka and successor to a lineage of noble incarnations including Ācārya Hūṃkāra, Drogben Lotsāwa, Ngok Legpe Sherab, and so on, was born in Penyul, in Üru.⁸⁶ At Dreyul Kyetsal, he studied many philosophical treatises, and after proving himself on the debate circuit, he was crowned with the title of *rabjampa*, and reached the far shore of the ocean of sūtra and tantra. After meeting Drubwang Dzogchen Rinpoche at Yerpa, he received the nectar of the Heart-Essence teachings. They traveled to Kham together as master and disciple and planted the victory banner of meditative accomplishment. He passed away at the age of fifty-five (1704). [358] His disciples, chiefly Hor Lama Pema Wangchuk, planted the victory banner of meditative accomplishment by the Orgyen Chödzung hermitage at Shechen Monastery.

The second Rabjam incarnation, Gyurme Kunzang Namgyal, was born as the younger brother of the second Dzogchen incarnation. Having reached the culmination of listening, reflecting, and meditating on the teachings, he became a greatly accomplished master. In the Wood Tiger year (1734), at the age of twenty-five, he founded the Shechen Tenyi Dargye Ling monastery. He passed away at the age of fifty-eight.

The second throne holder, Gyaltsab Pema Sang Ngak Tenzin Chögyal, an emanation of Nubchen Namkhe Nyingpo and others, and rebirth of Rabjampa's disciple Drubwang Pema Gyaltzen, was born into the ruling family of Yonge Mingyur Dorje in the Kechu area to the south. After studying with the Second Rabjampa and others, he became greatly learned and accomplished. During his tenure at Shechen, he promoted excellence in the activities of the three spheres.

The Third Rabjampa, Rigdzin Paljor Gyatso, was born near the Gyalrong Tagten hermitage. Studying with the Minling Tri Chen brothers, Gyaltsab Rinpoche, the omniscient Jigme Lingpa, and others, he reached the far shore of a multitude of teachings received. He accomplished wonderful deeds, such as founding the Pema Öling hermitage at Shechen in the Wood Tiger year (1794), [359] but did not live to a great age.

The mahāpaṇḍita of the five sciences, Gyurme Tutob Namgyal, who is the rebirth of Drubwang Pema Gyaltzen's nephew Sangye Rabten; the Fourth Rabjampa, Garwang Chökyi Gyaltzen; and Orgyen Rangjung Dorje, rebirth of Gyaltsab Rinpoche, are those living today.

The Teachings of the Early Translation School of Secret Mantra

Generally, there is no distinction between old and new in the sūtra teachings, and in the mantra teachings too, there is no such distinction for the three lower tantras of Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga. Chiefly, it is the three inner tantras of Mahā, Anu, and Ati of the unexcelled Vajrayāna with their branches, translated before the arrival of Paṇḍita

Smṛtijñānakīrti,⁸⁷ that is meant by the Early Translation or Nyingma tradition. The teaching tradition has three aspects: the long transmission of the spoken teachings, the direct transmission of the revealed teachings, and transmission through profound visions.

THE TRANSMITTED TEACHINGS

The transmitted teachings are those translated during the reign of Trisong Deutsen by Paṇḍita Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Lo Chen Vairotsana, Nyak Jñānakumāra, Nub Chen Sangye Yeshe, and others—the *Magical Net Tantra* of the Mahāyoga development stage, [360] the Eight Heruka Sādhana (Mañjuśrī Body, Lotus Speech, Viśuddha Mind, Amṛta Qualities, Kīlaya Activity, Mātaraḥ, Lokastotrapūja, and Vajramantrabhīru), the *Sūtra That Gathers All Intentions* of the Anuyoga completion stage, and the direct instructions of the Great Perfection, the eighteen instructions of the Mind Series, the nine of the Space Series and the seventeen tantras of the Direct Instruction Series, with the empowerments, explanations, and development and completion stage practices. These all have the four currents of the spoken transmission of the Early Translations. Even today, the empowerments, transmissions and sādhana rituals of (1) the *Sūtra That Gathers All Intentions*, (2) the *Magical Net Tantra*, (3) the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*, (4) the *Churner of the Depths of Hell*, (5) the red and black banner forms of Yamāri, (6) Viśuddha (both the Sakya and So traditions), (7) the Kīlaya traditions of Rongzom Paṇḍita, Rok Sherab Lama, and Khön (the Sakya Kīlaya), (8) the Anuyoga-style Amitāyus sādhana, (9) the *Narrow Approach to the Fort* teaching on the Eight Heruka, (10) the wrathful red Guru in Ödren Wangchuk's tradition, (11) the protector Mahākāla (these days at Dzogchen monastery and so on, there are sādhana rituals for thirteen maṇḍalas; the above-listed eleven, the Vajrasattva of the Mindröling tradition, and the three-part tormā offering), the explanation of the *Māyājāla Gubhyagarbhatantra* entitled *Instructions on the Essence of the Liberating Path*,⁸⁸ the Mind Series empowerment of the eighteen significations of the letter A, the empowerments, transmissions, and guiding instructions of the *Vajra Bridge* teachings of the Space Series, the empowerments of the seventeen tantras of the Direct Instruction Series, and so on, amount to a vast collection beyond imagining, with supporting texts, [361] as demonstrated by the twenty-five large volumes of the Collected Nyingma Tantras.⁸⁹

THE REVEALED TEACHINGS

The direct transmission of the revealed teachings comprises physical and mental revelations. Of the first, there have been one hundred major treasure revealers and one thousand minor ones, of whom, according to Terdak Lingpa, individuals demonstrating a complete and unmistakable path to awakening are regarded as major treasure revealers, and those teaching lesser practices as minor treasure revealers. The former includes those like Ngadak Nyang and his successor, and the latter applies to such figures as Kalden Jipa.⁹⁰

Of the great many treasure revealers who have appeared over time, these days the most famous and important of their revelations are the three on the Eight Heruka: Ngadak Nyang's Assembly of Sugatas in thirteen volumes, Guru Chöwang's Perfection of Secrets in six volumes, and Gödem Chen's Wrathful Self-Arisen in four volumes from the Northern Treasure tradition. These are grouped with the Guru's Essential Intent of Sangye Lingpa, and the Kīlaya cycles—Chöwang's Razor Kīlaya, Ratna Lingpa's Unsurpassed Ultrasecret Kīlaya, and so on—as a trio, the Ka Gong Pur Sum.⁹¹

In the blessing-bestowing peaceful and wrathful guru yoga series, there is the Secret Assembly guru yoga of Guru Chöwang, the guru yoga of the Northern Treasure tradition, the Jewel Ocean of Pema Lingpa, Ratna Lingpa's guru yoga, [362] Nyang Ralpachen's red wrathful Guru, Ratna Lingpa's red wrathful Guru series, and so on.

In the ultimately profound Dzogchen path series, there are Dangma Lhungyal's Heart-Essence of Vimalamitra, the Guru's Inner Essence of Longchenpa, which is its core, the Heart-Essence of the Dākinī of Ledrel Tsal, and Longchenpa's Inner Essence of the Dākinī, which expands on its significance. These constitute the Four-Part Heart-Essence. The profound inner essence compositions extract the essential meaning of the two Heart-Essence revelations. Of these, the empowerments, transmissions, and guiding instructions of the Heart-Essence of Vimalamitra and Inner Essence of the Dākinī and the empowerments and transmissions for the others are still unbroken, as well as Dzogchen teachings, such as the Unimpeded Realization of the Northern tradition, the Samantabhadra's Essential Intent of Pema Lingpa, Ratna Lingpa's Heart-Essence of the Luminous Expanse, and so on.

In the series of sādhana for Mahākāruṅika, patron deity of the Land of Snows, there are the empowerments, transmissions, and guiding instructions for the Gyalpo Kabum (*Maṇi Kabum*) revealed by Drubtob Ngödrub and Nyang Ralpa Chen, the Collected Quintessence of Guru Chöwang, the Assembly of All the Sugatas from the Mindröling tradition, and so on. The combination of these three aspects is called La Dzok Tuk Sum.⁹²

Then, there is the cycle of destructive rites, such as Gya Zhangtrom's Yama, Lord of Life, the Iron-Like and Iron Scorpion (popular in the Northern Treasure tradition), and Further Repulsion (popular in the Drigung tradition); Rinchen Lingpa's Nāgarakṣa; the Hayagrīva cycles including the Ultrasecret Wrathful Hayagrīva,⁹³ revealed by the group of three tertöns, [363] the Secret Sādhana of Kyergangpa's tradition, and Nyangral's Iron-Maned Black Hayagrīva revelation; the cycle of action deities, such as Nyangral's Fierce Black Lady revelation, and the Loktri of Nyangral and Guru Chöwang's revelations, and so on; and an unimaginable series of dharmapālas such as the four-armed Mahākāla of Nyangral's revelation, the Paṇḍakamahākāla of Guru Chöwang, the Gaṇapati of Diri Chödruk,⁹⁴ the Rāhula of Ledrel Tsal, Damchen Garwa Nagpo of Ratna Lingpa, the Ekajaṭī of the Heart-Essence of Longchenpa, and so on.

Concerning the main treasure revealers, Orgyen Rinpoche spoke of the Five Royal Treasure Revealers attended by one hundred treasure-revealer subjects, who are Nyangral the elder and Chöwang the younger, Pema Lingpa, Dorje Lingpa, and Do Ngak Lingpa,⁹⁵ making five. In particular, Nyangral, Chöwang, and Gödem Chen are known as the three supreme incarnations. Ledrel Tsal, Gya Zhangtrom, Pema Lingpa, and Ratna Lingpa of the Southern tradition, and Sangye Lingpa of Kongpo are famously authentic. The activity of the later revealers, Terdak Lingpa, Jatsön Nyingpo, Dudul Dorje, Longsal Nyingpo, Nyima Dragpa, Tagsham Nuden Dorje, Chöje Lingpa, Yonge Mingyur Dorje, Rölpe Dorje, and so on, was vast.

Of mental revelations, there are many currents, such as the vast and profound Seven Treasuries and the Heart-Essence series of the omniscient Longchenpa, [364] the mental revelations and Sky Teachings of Namchö Mingyur Dorje, and the omniscient Jigme Lingpa's Heart-Essence of the Vast Expanse. There are quite a few in the category of profound visions, such as the Heart-Essence of Yutok Yönten Gönpo, the Accomplishing the Life Force of the Vidyādhara of Lhatsun Namkha Jigme, and the twenty-five secret visions of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama.

In terms of the collected works of past masters, the transmissions of Longchenpa's Seven Treasuries, the collected works of Dorje Drak Rigdzin Pema Trinle, Terdak Lingpa, Lo Chen Rinpoche Dharmaśrī, the nine volumes of Jigme Lingpa's collected works, and so on, are still current.

Thus, one must get a correct grasp of the definitive scriptures of the spoken transmission, the trio of Do, Gyu and Sem,⁹⁶ ornament this with the profound instructions of the revealed teachings, and put them into practice.

Those who did the spoken transmission of the Early Translation teachings great service were the trio of Nyak Jñānakumāra, Nub Sangye Yeshe, and Zur Śākya Jungne, the trio of Dampa Deshek, Tsangtön Dorgyal, and Jampa Bum, Rongzom Paṇḍita, and so on. Those who served both the transmitted and the revealed teachings were Yungtön Dorje Pal, Ngari Paṅchen, Drigung Rinchen Puntsok, the omniscient Sherab Özer, Jangpa Rigdzin Legden Dorje, [365] Pal Tashi Tobgyal, Sogdogpa Lodrö Gyaltzen, Gongra Lo Chen Zhenpen Dorje, Sungrul Tsultrim Dorje, Rigdzin Trinle Lhundrub, and especially kind were the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Dorje Drak Pema Trinle, Minling Ter Chen and his brother, and the omniscient Jigme Lingpa. The lineages of their disciples have continued undiminished up to the present. Once more, emphasizing the study and practice of the authentic transmitted and revealed teachings of the masters of the Early Translation tradition mentioned above, it is well that they not decline but prosper and the activity of each tradition, such as benefitting others, be maintained.

Those interested in the full history of the Early Translation school⁹⁷ can consult the history of the *Māyājālatantra* by Dröl Chen Samdrub Dorje,⁹⁸ the histories of the *Sūtra That Gathers All Intentions* by Pema Trinle and Minling Lo Chen,⁹⁹ the extensive history of the Heart-Essence of Vimalamitra,¹⁰⁰ the Seven Descents,¹⁰¹ the

supplement to the Heart-Essence transmission history by Minling Ter Chen,¹⁰² the *Black Hundred-Thousand-Word Commentary on Kīla*,¹⁰³ the short history by Minling Khenchen Orgyen Tenzin Dorje,¹⁰⁴ the omniscient Jigme Lingpa's *World-Encompassing Ornament* history of the Collected Nyingma Tantras,¹⁰⁵ [366] the *Divine Drumbeat* catalogue of the Collected Nyingma Tantras by Katok Paṇḍita,¹⁰⁶ the *Ocean of Marvelous Tales* extensive history of the transmitted, revealed, and visionary teachings, and succession of throne holders of the Early Translation tradition by Takgang Khechok Ngawang Lodrö (this has a very detailed account of the transmission of the revealed teachings),¹⁰⁷ and so on. In response to the many critiques of the Nyingma tradition by Gö Khugpa Lhetse,¹⁰⁸ Drigung Palzin,¹⁰⁹ Karmapa Mikyö Dorje¹¹⁰ and others, there are the refutations by the omniscient Longchenpa,¹¹¹ the incomparable Samten Lingpa and Ngari Paṇḍita,¹¹² Karmapa Mikyö Dorje's auto-response, the refutation by Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa,¹¹³ the refutations by Lama Sogdogpa in both verse and prose,¹¹⁴ the *Vajra Laughter of Scripture and Logic* by Minling Rabjam Orgyen Chödrak,¹¹⁵ passages from the omniscient Jigme Lingpa's *History of the Dharma* and *Various Discourses*,¹¹⁶ the chapter on refutation by Katok Paṇḍita,¹¹⁷ the writings of Tuken Dharmavajra,¹¹⁸ and so on.

The Meaning of the Term "Dzogchen"

The term *Mahāsandhi* (mahāsamādhi is a corrupted form, but there are even those who maintain that it can be translated as "great meditative absorption") [367] translates as "perfect concentration" or "mind of great equanimity." Being untainted by the philosophical views of the eight lower vehicles it is "perfect," and being unsurpassed it is "great," which is compatible with the Sanskrit. It can also be taken as "the great perfection-stage"; the *Testament of Mañjuśrī* says, "Dzogchen is the embodiment of primordial wisdom," meaning that it is the second stage of the second perfection stage.¹¹⁹

The Kadampa Tradition

Regarding the New Translation Tantras: starting with the translations of Lo Chen Rinchen Zangpo, these were defined by the translation, teaching, and practice of Ngok the elder Legden Sherab and younger Loden Sherab, Drogmi Śākya Yeshe, Gö Lotsāwa Khugpa Lhetse, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, and others. Therein, some time after the beginning of the later diffusion of the teachings,¹²⁰ Jowo Je Palden Atiśa came to Tibet,¹²¹ and from the great profusion of his disciples such as the trio of Dromtön, Ngogtön, and Khutön came the Jowo Kadampa school, whose activity was as infinite as the sky. Highly developed at one time, its monastic seats, teaching lineages, and so on are beyond account, but to describe a few of the most important:

Reting of the north, solitary retreat of the jinas, [368] was founded by Dromtön Gyalwe Jungne, who was Avalokiteśvara in person, following a prophecy by Jowo Atiśa, at the age of fifty-one in the Fire Sheep year (1057) (some say it was founded in the

Monkey year when he was fifty-two).¹²² It became the fountainhead of the Kadampa teachings. These days, there is no particular teaching lineage, but the monastery is led by the successive incarnations of the Ganden throne holder Ngawang Chogden and is very developed.¹²³

Pal Sangpu Ne’utok Monastery (on the way down from Lhasa, it is on the far side of the river, opposite Nyetang) was founded in the Iron Pig year (1071) by Ngok Legpe Sherab, an emanation of Mañjuśrī. Subsequently, it was in the care of Ngok Lo Loden Sherab, the sun of the teachings and became the source of all monastic philosophy colleges. But today there is no monastic community, just the objects of worship in the temple.¹²⁴

Yarlung Sölnak Tangboche (near Göntang Bumpa) was founded by the kalyāṇamitra Drumer and others in the time of the great Lumé¹²⁵ at the start of the later diffusion. Subsequently, it became a monastic teaching center under Khutön Tsöndru Yungdrung, an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, and later developed greatly. But today there is only a minor monastic community.¹²⁶

Nartang Monastery in Tsang (near Tashi Lhunpo) was founded by Tumtön Lodrö Drak [369] in the Water Bird year (1153) of the first *rabjung*.¹²⁷ These days it is in the care of Tashi Lhunpo.¹²⁸

Pal Tsetang Monastery in Ü was founded by Tai Situ Jangchub Gyaltzen and later developed greatly and became a center of the Kadam teachings beyond imagining, but these days the teaching tradition is Kagyu mixed with Geluk. There are no branches, and even the monastery itself exists only in name.¹²⁹ It will not be described in detail here, but that can be found in the history of the *Book of the Kadampa*,¹³⁰ in the *Great History of the Kadampa Tradition* by Lé Chen Kunga Gyaltzen of Tsedong,¹³¹ the *Sun That Fully Illuminates the Kadampa Teachings* by Jamgön Amé Zhab,¹³² and so on.

The term “Kadam” was understood to mean taking “the entirety of the teachings (“Ka”) of the enlightened ones as instructions (“dam”) for the awakening of individuals,” but eventually became the name of the particular teaching tradition.

The Kadam teaching was originally an unimaginably great tradition composed of scripture, precepts, and pith instructions, but these days it is described as the Six Scriptures—meaning the *Jātakamālā* and the *Udānavarga*, the ground of faith; the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the ground of conduct; [370] and the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*,¹³³ the ground of meditation, as well as the transmission of Jowo Atiśa’s *Hundred Minor Teachings*. The precepts are the mind-training instructions, such as the *Seven Points*, the *Eight Sessions*, the *Eight Verses*, and so forth, the transmissions of many other mind-training texts, old and new. The pith instructions are the empowerments, transmissions, and guiding instructions for the *Sixteen Spheres*, which are the secret teachings of the “precious book”;¹³⁴ and the instructions on Atiśa’s foundational *Bodhipathapradīpa*.¹³⁵

Furthermore, there are the transmissions of the *Pile of Jewels*, a collection of exemplified teachings and exemplified instructions, the *Collected Sayings of the*

Kadampa Masters,¹³⁶ the *Little Blue Book*, the root text of Drolungpa's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*,¹³⁷ the *Great History of the Kadampa Tradition*, and so on.

Then there is the Bodhicittotpāda of Asaṅga's tradition introduced by Jowo Atiśa; the empowerments for Guhyasamājalokeśvara, for the twelve maṇḍalas of the *Sarva durgatipariśodhanatantra*, for Akṣobhya and so on; the authorizations and instructions for the four deities of the Kadam tradition;¹³⁸ authorizations for the Hundred Sādhanas of Nartang; a great assortment of authorizations and pith instructions for the Sixteen Arhats, Nāgeśvararāja, Avalokiteśvara, the twenty-one Tārās, Bhūrkuṃkūṭa, white Jambhala and so on; and the authorizations for several forms of the Kartarīdhara Mahākāla, which are mainly current among the masters of the Riwo Gandenpa tradition. [371]

Noble exponents of the teachings great beyond imagining have appeared, such as Khu, Ngok, and Drom,¹³⁹ the "three brothers,"¹⁴⁰ and Lang and Shar,¹⁴¹ who were like the sun and moon.

To summarize the approach to liberation followed by all of them, Dromtön Rinpoche said:

The wondrous teachings are those of the Tripiṭaka,
Beautifying the three types of individuals instructed.
For any being to count the golden rosary
Of the Kadam teachings will prove worthwhile.

And just so, with a correct grasp of the scriptures ("Ka") of the Tripiṭaka, the three types of individuals put the instructions ("dam") into practice, understanding every teaching from the *Vinayakārikā* up to the *Guhyasamājantra* to be a means to awakening for particular individuals, and the entirety of different teachings is seen to be without contradiction. Once the meaning of all those teachings pacifies the individual's mindstream, every word of buddhavacana appears as instruction. When bodhicitta and the correct view are skillfully handled, the intent of the jinas is within easy reach. When revulsion with cyclic existence and renunciation arise at heart, one lives by pure ethics, and wrongdoing ceases by itself.¹⁴² Even if one's accomplishment in samādhi or deity meditation is amazing, [372] by striving to keep it hidden like a butter lamp inside a pot, one reaches the āryabhūmi.

In short, the spiritual career of the Kadampa, learned and noble, ornamented by meditative realization, thoroughly pure like the interior of a lotus flower, is renowned as widely as the wind blows. The master of the seven divine teachings,¹⁴³ whose body is ornamented by the four deities (Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, Acala, Tārā), speech by the Tripiṭaka, and mind by the three trainings, becomes worthy of the title "spiritual teacher who delights the jinas."

The Sakya Tradition

One hundred *yojanas* to the north of the Indian *Vajrāsana* is the *Vajrāsana* of the Tibetan Land of Snows at Drompa Sakya in Tsang Latö.¹⁴⁴ The Sakya tradition was founded by Khön Könchok Gyalpo in the Water Ox year (1073) when he was forty and maintained by his son Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo and so on in an unbroken family lineage that continues to the present. In between, during the Lhasa Dzungpa period,¹⁴⁵ it suffered serious decline, but since the restoration by the great Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen, it prospered, for which the later Sakya tradition is solely indebted to him.

Following the exhortations of the wise that recounting the careers of the [373] much-respected family lineages of the noble land of India and of the Khön Sakya lineage of the Land of Snows is a gateway to limitless merit, at least their names will be mentioned here. Of the three divine brothers of the *ābhāsvaradeva* who came down to the high and pure land of upper Ngari, or the snows of Sheltsa Gyalmo of the north,¹⁴⁶ through the merit of the cool land of Tibet, the seven Masang brothers were born from the union of the middle brother (1) Yuring and Muza Dembu. The six elder brothers returned with their father to the divine realm. The son of the seventh brother (2) Masang Chije and his wife Togcham Urmi was Pawo Tak, and his son was (3) Tagpo Öchen. They took suprahuman form and dwelled in the sky, and up to the latter's son (4) Yapang Kye, they were renowned as belonging to the *ābhāsvaradeva*. He killed the *rākṣasa* Sinpo Tragmik¹⁴⁷ and took his wife Yadrük Silima for himself. During the conflict between gods and demons, a son was born to them and named Khön Bar Kye,¹⁴⁸ and thus Khön became the name of the family line.

His son was Khön Palpoche. His elder son was Nāgendarakṣita, or Luwang Sungwa, the heart disciple of Ācārya Padmasambhava [374] and one of the “seven men on trial” ordained by Khenchen Śāntarakṣita, and the younger son was Dorje Rinchen, who mastered *vidyāmantra*. Dorje Rinchen's seven sons generated several family lineages. The sixth, Sherab Yönten, had three sons, one of whom was Tsultrim Gyalpo. He had three sons, one of whom was Tsugtor Sherab, who had seven sons. The eldest, Getong, had a son named Balpo. His son was Śākya Lodrö. His sons were Rok Sherab Tsultrim and the unrivaled master Könchok Gyalpo.

Sherab Tsultrim was the successor to an unbroken line of *vidyādharas* of the Early Translation tantras who attained the two *siddhis* through the practice of *Kīlaya* and bound protectors such as Karmo Nyida and Duki Gyalpo, sister and brother, to his command.

Through previous aspiration and activity, Könchok Gyalpo practiced the New Translations, and after founding the great monastery of Pal Sakya, he became known as Khön Sakyapa. In this way, the pure renown of the Sakya descendants of the divine Khön, a lineage with three excellent titles,¹⁴⁹ spread throughout Jambūdvīpa. [375]

His son Pal Tsewa Chenpo Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo was Avalokiteśvara in person. As a child, he resumed the noble bearing of previous lives, and at the age of eleven he

was graced by Ārya Mañjuśrī and saw all the key points of the path of the transcendent perfections¹⁵⁰ at once. The mahāsiddha Virūpa appeared to him in person to grant instruction in the great secret treasury of the ocean of tantras. He studied the sūtra teachings with Drangti Darma Nyingpo. He received the Secret Mantra teachings in general from his father, from Lama Bari Lotsāwa, Mal Lotsāwa, and others, and received the nectar of the precious Sungngak Lamdre teachings from Zhangtön Chöbar. He became like a freshly blossomed lotus of realization. He attained the vajra state of inexhaustible miraculous play; for instance, at the time of death, he projected himself in four forms, each proceeding to a different pure realm. His learned and accomplished disciples, such as the three with supreme accomplishment, the seven who perfected patience, and so on, were as limitless as the sky. His sons were Kunga Bar, Sönam Tsemo, Dragpa Gyaltsen, and Palchen Öpo, the first of whom passed away in India.

Lobpön Rinpoche Sönam Tsemo's learning was renowned as far as the banks of the Gaṅgā river in Āryāvarta. [376] The wisdom ḍākinīs affixed words praising this emanation of Durjayacandra as a mahāpaṇḍita of the five sciences above the gate of the Vajrāsana temple. Through inconceivable activity in teaching and meditation, he attained the level of vajra rainbow body.

Jetsun Dragpa Gyaltsen, through the grace of Ārya Mañjuśrī, opened the treasury of mastery in the Tripiṭaka and four classes of tantra. His father Jetsun Sakyapa bestowed in the state of luminosity the direct transmission of the Lamdre teachings upon him, and he ascended to a high level of realization. The qualities of his learning, purity, and attainment were so inconceivable that even Śākyaśrībhadrā, the paṇḍita of Kashmir and third future Buddha, strummed the sārāṅgī of praise for him as a vajradhara in the maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja, dissolved his own pride, bowed to his lotus feet, and imbibed the nectar of his instruction, gaining certainty in him as the crown ornament of millions of the vajradharas of India and Tibet. He also gave him a blessing to extend his life span, making the vast and profound teachings shine like the risen sun.

His younger brother, the vidyādhara Palchen Öpo, had two sons, Sakya Paṇḍita and [377] Zangtsa Sönam Gyaltsen. As the great Sakya Paṇḍita, Mañjuśrī in person, had been a kalyāṇamitra turning the wheel of the noble Dharma in twenty-five successive previous lives, in this life too he could master any body of outer or inner knowledge just by hearing it, or even a part of it, only once. In particular, through the blessing of the gurus of the Lamdre lineage, he perceived Jetsun Rinpoche Dragpa Gyaltsen as indivisible from Mañjuśrī, thus securing all the outer, inner, and secret auspices for accomplishing the teachings. Overflowing with the qualities of learning and attainment and with activity benefitting others, his renown reached from the noble land of India all the way to China. He was extremely learned in all branches of knowledge, could take siddhis even from worldly deities, and defeated six non-Buddhist masters, including Hārinanda, with the powers of scriptural authority and

reasoning, and the favor of the tutelary deity, compelling them to become Buddhist. Finally, having been invited by Godan, King of China, he passed away at the Trulpe Dé temple of the north,¹⁵¹ in a display of inconceivably wonderful signs.

Zangtsa Sönam Gyaltzen's sons were the Chögyal Pagpa and [378] master of accomplishment Drogön Chagna.

Chögyal Pagpa Rinpoche Lodrö Gyaltzen, being the deliberate incarnation of a bodhisattva dwelling on the great stages,¹⁵² had most exceptional intelligence, loving kindness, bodhisattva conduct, and so on from the start, blossoming into the title “pagpa” and opening an inexhaustible treasury of fortitude in awareness and liberation. Such was the perfection of his deeds of body, speech, and mind and performance of miracles, such as dismembering his body with a sharp sword and displaying the severed head and limbs as the assembly of the five sambhogakāya buddhas, that he inspired the undivided faith of even the cruel Mongol emperor,¹⁵³ upon whom he conferred the Hevajra empowerment three times. On the first occasion, he was rewarded with the thirteen myriarchies of central Tibet, on the second, with the three regions of greater Tibet, and on the last, with the great land of Khotan in China, a supreme endowment. According to a prophecy in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa:¹⁵⁴

A noble monk known by the letter “DHĪḤ” (DHĪḤ stands for Lodrö and thus the first element of his name) will make the Buddha's teaching known.

And just so, taking the form of a king among monastics, upholding the doctrine without fear or favor, [379] he made the teaching and practice of the entire path and the well-being of the Land of Snows shine like the sun. He performed deeds beyond imagining, such as inspiring involuntary faith in the learned scholar of Nartang, Chomden Rigpe Raldri,¹⁵⁵ through the strength of his accomplishment, and the missives praising him as dharmarāja of the triple world resounded throughout the three realms.

Then Drogön Chagna's son Dharmapālarakṣita held the throne for several years, after which, Dagnyi Chenpo Zangpo Pal, the son of Zangtsa's son Lobpön Yeshe Jungne, came to the throne. Of his fifteen children born to seven different queens, Tishri Kunga Lodrö divided power between four labrangs—Zhitok, Rinchengang, Lhakang, and Duchö—shared between his younger brothers.

Zhitok Labrang had many learned and accomplished throne holders, from Khetsun Namkha Legpa to Dag Chen Lodrö Wangchuk.

For Labrang Rinchengang, of the three brothers Kunga Nyima, Jamyang Dönyö Gyaltzen, and Palden Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen, [380] the latter became an important turner of the wheel of learning and accomplishment. He inherited an ocean of spoken transmissions, attended on most of the learned teachers of the Land of Snows, and had an unimaginably great series of heart disciples, including the two great mantradhara regents, eight holders of his secret teachings, eleven famed scholars, and so

on. The survival until today of the Sakya Lamdre Tsogshe and Lobshe spoken transmissions is solely due to this master's activity.

Jamyang Dönyö Gyaltzen's son was La Chen Kunga Gyaltzen. His son was Jamyang Namkha Gyaltzen. His sons were Gyagarpa Sherab Gyaltzen and Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen, all matchless upholders of the teachings known as the "inner transmission of the heads," such as the uncommon instructions on the greater and lesser forms of Mahākāla and so on.

Lhakhang Labrang was held by Ngawang Kunga Legpe Jungne and his brother Kunga Gyaltzen, and up to the time of Chökyi Gyaltzen and Kunga Legpa there were throne holders with the qualities of learning, purity, and attainment.

For Duchö Labrang, [381] the origin of the current family lineage was also Zangpo Pal's three sons, Dag Chen Kunga Legjung along with his brothers, his son Dragpa Gyaltzen, his son Namse Gyaltzen, his son Namkha Legpa, and his son Namkha Gyaltzen. His sons were Sa Lo Jampe Dorje and his four brothers, Kunga Sönam, Ngakgi Wangchuk, Jampal Dragpa, and Sangye Tseten. The latter had two sons, Dag Chen Kunga Samdrub and his younger brother Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen. The former resided at Tsedong, and the Tsedong family lineage continued there up to the time of Ngawang Norbu Gyen.¹⁵⁶

Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen and His Descendants

The supreme incarnation and great mantradhara Kunga Rinchen, emanation of Lo Chen Vairotsana and Jetsun Dragpa, returned to Sakya. Studying with Sa Lo Chenpo, Ngor Chen Kunga Lhundrub, and others, he mastered the ocean of the qualities of scripture and realization. Unable to bear the damage done to the mother monastery, he pressed the vajra dharmapālas to his service and annihilated the opponents in all but name. Performing the activity of the three spheres, building an outer temple, furnishing it inside with the supports of the Three Jewels, and [382] establishing in between a monastic community, a curriculum for the study of philosophy, the ritual practice of Mantrayāna, and the absorption of the essence in meditation, he infused the glorious Sakya teachings and community with his kindness.¹⁵⁷

He had two sons, Jamyang Sönam Wangpo and Ngagchang Dragpa Lodrö.¹⁵⁸ From their time, instruction in the oral transmission, which had been in decline, started to flourish again. The latter's son Jamgön Amé Zhab Kunga Sönam studied with many noble masters such as his uncle Sönam Wangpo, Mu Chen Sangye Gyaltzen, the vajradhara Wangchuk Rabten, and Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak, receiving an ocean of instructions from the sūtras, tantras, and oral transmissions. His teaching activity and writings, such as his histories and explanations of the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Yamāntaka*, and *Hevajra* tantras, Kilaya, and so on, were manifold.

His son Jamyang Sönam Wangchuk studied with his father, Shalu Khenchen, and others and was active in religious and political affairs. His son Ngawang Kunga Tashi

studied with [383] his father and grandfather, as well as Jampa Ngawang Namgyal, Lhundrub Palden, Jampa Ngawang Lhundrub, Zangpo Gyaltzen, the Minling Lo Chen and others, imbibing the nectar of their speech. His son Jamgön Sönam Rinchen studied with his father and many teachers, such as Chobgyepa Khyentse Rabten, Trolungpa Sönam Chöpel, Ngor Chen Sönam Zangpo, and Tartse Namkha Samdrub. His sons were Jamgön Ngakgi Wangpo Kunga Lodrö—the illuminator of the teachings in the kaliyuga—and his brother.

Jamgön Kunga Lodrö was born a successor to the master of immortality Jetāri in India and masters such as Tsechen Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo and Dag Chen Dorje Chang in the Land of Snows, in the emanational play of the illusory web of Ārya Avalokiteśvara’s wisdom, and opened the lotus of wisdom in this life with ten million repetitions of the Arapacana and so on. He extended the cool shade of his mercy and mastered all the qualities treasured by the wise. From numerous teachers including his father, [384] Jetsun Khachö Wangmo, Tartse Namkha Samdrub, Dragtsapa Losal Tenzin, and Ngor Chen Sangye Yeshe, he received an unimaginable multitude of empowerments, transmissions, and oral instructions from all traditions, mainly his own. In particular, he received the entirety of oral transmissions, including the Lamdre Lobshe and the Kangyur from Nesarpa Ngawang Kunga Legpe Jungne, like a vast and deep ocean of instruction. Constantly engaged in the concentrated practice of visualization and recitation of some thirty deities, such as the three stages of meditation on the glorious Hevajra, he was in communication with many of them. The vajra dharmapālas vowed to accomplish his activity, the oath-bound Putra brothers and sister and the Kardu Kīlaya protectors worked at his command.¹⁵⁹ He was so skilled that whatever empowerment or instruction he was teaching arose spontaneously in his mind. Once when he was to give the outer Virūpa protection part of the Lamdre Lobshe, the astrologers were expecting a solar eclipse and plotted it on a chart according to the Jedrub system,¹⁶⁰ but this master assumed the form of the yogeśvara Virūpa and, [385] by not allowing the prāṇa in the right channel to enter the central channel, his power prevented the eclipse, and in such ways the signs of his attainment were infinite.

He commissioned many sacred images over time, his teaching activity was continuous, and his writings amount to twelve large volumes, such was his kindness as a reviver of the teachings. His main disciples included many noble exponents of the teachings—the brothers in the Sakya family lineage, Tartse Dorje Chang Namkha Chimé, Nesar Chogtrul Namkha Legpa, the Chobgye Tri Chen brothers, Zimwok Tulku Tenzin Trinle, Rinchen Gyaltzen the adjunct teacher at Sakya, the master of the five sciences Kunga Tashi, Rikhu Tulku Kunga Khedrub Wangpo, and others—and the unimpaired endurance of the teaching tradition to this day, the empowerments, transmissions, oral instructions, practice manuals, and so on of the Jetsun Sakyapa, is solely due to this kindness.

His sons Jamgön Wangdu Nyingpo and Kunga Pende Gyatso received an ocean-like multitude of instruction from many noble teachers, chiefly their father, and through their teaching and meditation activity they multiplied the benefit for the teachings and living beings. [386] The former's sons—Tri Chen Padma Dudul Wangchuk or Kunga Tashi, Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen, Jamgön Kunga Gyaltzen, and Gönpö Ngödrub Palbar—listened, reflected, meditated, and taught the instructions, chiefly of their own tradition, from their father and the paṇḍita of the five sciences Kunga Tashi.

The Tri Chen's son Tri Chen Tashi Rinchen received teachings from his father and from Tartse Dorje Chang Jampa Kunga Tenzin. Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen's son Jamgön Dorje Rinchen¹⁶¹ received an ocean-like multitude of vast and profound instructions from his father Jamgön Kunga Gyaltzen, Yongzin Lodrö Gyatso and others. At a very young age, recovering the noble bearing of previous lives, he demonstrated amazing behavior beyond imagining. His continuous teaching activity as a crown jewel of learning and attainment firmly endures.¹⁶²

The “lower seat” at Tsedong in Tsang¹⁶³ was maintained by Dag Chen Kunga Samdrub and the other holders of the Duchö Labrang family lineage, in which many noble upholders of the teachings appeared, such as Tri Chen Sönam Lhundrub. [387] Later, the family lineage came to an end, but there was a series of incarnate successors who are now recognized by the main monastery.

The Ngor Tradition

The seats of some other famous holders of the Sakya tradition include Ngor Ewaṃ Chöden, which was, as foreseen in the pristine jewel mirror of Sakya Mahāpaṇḍita's wisdom-vision, founded by Ngor Chen Dorje Chang Kunga Zangpo in the Bird year (1429), when he was forty-eight. Concerning this vajradhara, the *Sūtra on Upholding the Roots of Virtue*¹⁶⁴ says:

At that time, an incarnation of Lokeśvara will appear.
At that time his reincarnation will be the Bhikṣu Kunga Zangpo,
Outstanding in moral discipline as in his vast learning,
Outstanding for having crossed to the far shore.

And in the *White Lotus of the Noble Dharma*:¹⁶⁵

Kunga Zangpo, an exponent of my teachings,
Will worship sixty times ten million sugatas
And attain buddhahood in a future life.

So lauded in vajra prophecies, he was born into the luminous Khön lineage. From Shar Chen Yeshe Gyaltzen, Drubchen Buddhaśrī, Sazang Pagpa Zhönu Lodrö, and others, he received an ocean-like multitude of vast and profound instructions. [388] Through study and reflection on the sūtras and tantras as well as the mundane sciences, he cut

away all doubt, and after putting them into practice in meditation, he ascended to a high level of attainment. In visions of luminous clarity, he was graced by the Jetsun Sakyapa, the father and his sons, and his teaching activity was that of a second buddha. His writings, mainly on tantra, fill four volumes. Most of all, having spread the maturation and liberation instructions of the four classes of tantra throughout space, his incomparable kindness to the Vajrayāna was such that his pure renown as “the vajradhara of the age of conflict” was inscribed on the earrings of the sky maidens.¹⁶⁶ He had an unimaginable multitude of heart disciples who attained proficiency in the teachings and siddhis, and from Upper West Tibet to the borders of China, they established greater and lesser monasteries beyond count, for the perpetuation of his teaching activity.

After the vajradhara passed away at the age of seventy-five (1456), having reached the end of attainment, Mu Chen Sempa Chenpo Könchok Gyaltzen, who was Cakrasaṃvara incarnate as a saffron-robed monk, took the throne. He was born into the Zhang family¹⁶⁷ at Tagmo Lingkya. [389] After studying with some forty teachers, including Rongtön and the vajradhara Ngor Chen, he reached the far shore of listening, reflecting, and meditating on the teachings. After the vajradhara’s death he took the throne for three years and sustained his affairs and teaching activity (there is one volume of his collected writings). Among his heart disciples there were the lineal successors of the Lamdre Tsogshe, such as the omniscient Gorampa Sönam Senge, and of the Lobshe, such as Dag Chen Dorje Chang Lodrö Gyaltzen, for this master himself was the source of both. In later life, he remained in meditation at Mu Samten Puk¹⁶⁸ and ascended to the level of attainment. He left his body behind at the age of eighty-three. He was succeeded by:

- (3) Gartön Jamyang Sherab Gyatso of Tsang Chumik (he was in visionary contact with Jamyang Sapañ and many of his writings are extant)
- (4) Ngor Chen’s nephew¹⁶⁹ and emanation of the mahāsiddha Virūpa, the noble regent Kunga Wangchuk (he composed one volume of collected writings)
- (5) The upholder of the teachings of the glorious Sakya skilled in both sūtra and tantra, the omniscient Gowo Rabjampa Sönam Senge (he had four volumes of writings on Mantrayāna and a great many on Sūtrayāna)

All up to then were the vajradhara’s heart disciples;

- (6) Yongzin Könchok Pelwa, [390] in Ngor Chen’s nephew lineage (in his time the teachings were greatly spread, in accord with a prophecy that “the light of the teachings of the lord vajradhara will pervade”)¹⁷⁰
- (7) Mu Chen’s nephew, the greatly learned and accomplished Sangye Rinchen (he had one volume of writings such as Lamdre instruction manuals)
- (8) Gyalwa Lhachok Senge (Ngor Chen’s nephew lineage), who was in visionary contact with Lobpön Sönam Tsemo

- (9) The manifestly omniscient Jamyang Ngor Chen Könchok Lhundrub (maternal nephew of Yongzin Rinpoche)¹⁷¹
- (10) The emanation of Pagpa Rinpoche and all-round exponent of Sūtra and Mantra Jamyang Sangye Senge (he was of Ngor Chen's nephew lineage)
- (11) The incomparable Könchok Palden, who attained mastery and siddhis (he was of Könchok Lhundrub's nephew lineage and some of his writings are extant)
- (12) The mahāpaṇḍita of the five sciences born into the scholarly Drangti family Tartse Namkha Palzang (he had three volumes of compositions on the *Vajrāvalī* and so on)¹⁷²
- (13) Jampa Kunga Tashi, who was born into the Kuzhang family of Dag Chen Sharpa¹⁷³
- (14) The Tsedong throne holder Jamyang Kunga Sönam Lhundrub
- (15) The master of learning and attainment Drubkhangpa Palden Döndrub (he was born into the family of Sakya Pönchen Özer Senge,¹⁷⁴ and there is one volume of his extensive writings) [391]
- (16) The master of attainment Drangti Khenchen Namkha Sangye
- (17) Shar Chen Sherab Jungne, emanation of Atiśa, boundless in learning and activity
- (18) Drangti Khenchen Namkha Rinchen
- (19) Dagpo Gyaltsewa Jangpa Ngawang Sönam Gyaltzen (he was the holder of both Ngorpa and Tsarpa traditions)¹⁷⁵
- (20) Khangsar Khenchen Sönam Gyatso of Nartang Paljor Ling
- (21) Khenchen Jamyang Palchok Gyaltzen, nephew of Drubkhangpa (the first throne holder to visit Derge)
- (22) Drenchok Namkha Palzang, born into the Mongol imperial family (he served as regent for the Tartse throne)
- (23) Jamgön Lhundrub Palden, the luminary of Shar Minyak
- (24) Khenchen Jampe Yang Sangye Puntsok of lower Ngari, Dharma sun of the degenerate age
- (25) The bodhisattva mahāsattva Sangye Tenzin, born into Dag Chen Sharpa's lineage
- (26) Khenchen Jampa Sheja Zangpo of Dzilung in Shabtö (he was a maternal cousin of Tartse)
- (27) Jampa Tsultrim Palzang of Shar Minyak Gang, emanation of Mañjuśrī
- (28) The incomparable Sönam Palden of Chukzhung Palkya in Tsang [392] (he traveled to Derge as the attendant of Khenchen Sangye Puntsok)
- (29) The master yogi Jamgön Jampa Sönam Zangpo of Khangsar
- (30) Khenchen Tashi Lhundrub of Domkhar in Tsang, an emanation of Śrī Dīpaṅkara
- (31) Jampa Tsultrim Lhundrub, master of boundless learning (he was born in Dartsedo to the east)
- (32) Drangti Khenchen Namkha Samdrub, master of attainment

- (33) Khenchen Dorje Chang Palden Chökyong, emanation of the yogesvara Virūpa
(he was born at Ngor Paldrong)
- (34) The incomparably learned and realized Jamgön Sangye Palzang
- (35) Khenchen Jampa Sönam Lhundrub of Khangsar
- (36) The Bodhisattva Shar Chen Rinchen Mingyur Gyaltzen
- (37) Jamyang Chökyi Lama Sangye Yeshe, nephew of
- (38) Jamyang Chöje Könchok Dragpa
- (39) Ngawang Chökyong Zangpo of Khangsar
- (40) The learned and accomplished Sangye Dragpa
- (41) The incomparable Puntsok Döndrub
- (42) The greatly learned and accomplished Jampa Kunga Sönam [393]
- (43) The omniscient Drangti Khenchen Jampa Namkha Chimé
- (44) The comprehensively learned Khedrub Ngawang Damchö
- (45) The lord of speech Khenchen Sönam Paljor
- (46) Drangti Khenchen Dorje Chang Jampa Kunga Tenzin
- (47) Ngawang Lodrö Zangpo of Khangsar
- (48) The thoroughly learned master of speech Yongzin Paṇḍita Palden Chökyi Gyaltzen
- (49) Jampa Palden Zangpo, emanation of Palden Chökyong's nephew Rinchen Chogdrub
- (50) Drangti Khenchen Naljor Jampal Zangpo, overlord of the hundred classes of bodhisattvas
- (51) And up to the incomparable Khangsar Khenchen Ngawang Lodrö Tenzin.¹⁷⁶

They maintained the exposition of scripture and reasoning, experiential accomplishment in meditation, and the ritual practices down to the smallest detail, unmixed with those of other traditions, in accordance with how Jetsun Sakyapa, the father and sons, and the great Vajradhara Ngor Chen explained the sūtras, tantras, and commentaries that were expounded by the paṇḍitas, translated by the lotsāwas, meditated on by the siddhas, and which the learned accepted as authentic. Therefore they became an object of undivided praise by those of sound judgement in whom the lotus of intelligence has blossomed. [394]

Sakya Monasteries in Central Tibet

Nälendra Monastery, which translates into Tibetan as “power of continuity,” in the valley of Penyul, was founded by the lion of speech and omniscient scholar Rongtön Sherab Gyaltzen, emanation of Paṇḍita Kamalaśīla and Ma Lotsāwa Rinchen Chok, in the Fire Dragon year (1436) when he was seventy.¹⁷⁷ It was maintained by the omniscient Tashi Namgyal, the “master of the lower chamber,”¹⁷⁸ and others. At that time, it was a great center for the study of philosophy, but after a period of decline, Dag Chen Dorje Chang called on “a lotsāwa of the Che lineage born in a dog or a dragon year,” whom he identified as Khyenrab Chöje Rinchen Chogdrub of the Shalu

Kuzhang family, to come and reside there, after which it became a tantric academy.¹⁷⁹ Later, under the successive Chöje Chobgyepa incarnations, including Khyenrab Tenzin Zangpo, Khyenrab Jampa Ngawang Lhundrub, Öñ Khyentse Rabten, and the successive Zimwok incarnations, from Khedrub Sangye Tenzin, the rebirth of Zhabdrung Norbu, to the omniscient Jampa Ngawang Tenzin Trinle and Chetsun Jampa Ngawang Tenzin Nyendrak, it was a gateway to the ocean of the tantras and pith instructions, such as the lion's roar of the secret and profound Lamdre Lobshe.

[395]

Gongkar Dorje Den Monastery was founded by the powerful master Butön Kunga Namgyal and maintained a teaching program combining the Dzongpa branch of the Sakya tradition with Butön Rinchen Drub's tradition. Subsequently, it flourished greatly, and the practice of the maturation and liberation stages, sadhāna rituals, and so on related to the four classes of tantra continues there virtually undiminished to this day.¹⁸⁰

Ngamring Chöde Monastery in Tsang had a succession of abbots such as Śākya Senge. It was one of the greatest monastic centers for the study of philosophy.¹⁸¹

Dreyul Kyetsal Monastery in Tsang Rong was founded by Jamchen Rabjampa Sangye Pel in the Earth Snake year (1449) when he was thirty-six. It became a great college of philosophy.¹⁸² There were many other Sakya monastic centers for the study of philosophy besides these.

Serdok Chen Monastery in Tsang was founded by Pañchen Dönyö Palwa. It was expanded by Pañchen Śākya Chogden, who came there at the age of forty-two (1469). Subsequently, the monastery and its branches flourished very greatly, but these days the monastic community has all but disappeared.¹⁸³

Tubten Namgyal Ling Monastery in Tsang Tanak was founded by the omniscient Gowo Rabjampa Sönam Senge in the Water Snake year (1473) when he was forty-five. [396] The philosophy college continues to this day, and the philosophy college at Sakya's Lhakang Chenmo adopted its teaching program. There were also many branch monasteries.¹⁸⁴

Nyenyö Jagöshong Monastery was founded by Pañchen Bumtrak Sumpa in the Earth Bird year (1489) when he was fifty-seven. It is one of the main centers of the philosophical tradition.¹⁸⁵

Shelkar Gyaltsé Chöde in Nyangtö in Tsang was founded by the Dharmarāja Rabten Kunzang Pak. There are some sixteen monastic colleges belonging to the Sakya, Butön, and Geluk schools, and the monastery is flourishing even now.¹⁸⁶

Dar Drangmo Che in upper Tsang became the main seat of Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso. There is still a community following his tradition there today.¹⁸⁷

Tashi Chöde in Yarlung was founded by Tsar Chen's disciple, the powerful master Yölwa Dorje Chang Zhönu Lodrö. Later it was taken over by Kangyurwa Gönpö

Sönam Chogden and the other holders and incarnations of the Nesar nephew lineage.¹⁸⁸

The Tsarpa Tradition

Concerning the tradition of Chöje Tsarpa, holder of the treasury of the ocean of the Sakya oral transmission, the precious teachings on the Lamdre were passed principally from Ngor Chen Dorje Chang to Mu Chen Sempa Chenpo, [397] who passed them to Dag Chen Dorje Chang Lodrö Gyaltzen as a transmission to a single recipient. The entire teachings of three transmission lines, including the transmission from his father, Jamyang Chöje, all fell to Dag Chen Dorje Chang. In the same way, the thirteen golden Dharmas, and greater and lesser forms of Mahākāla transmitted by Chöje Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen to the Yarlung Lupa,¹⁸⁹ and the personal transmission to a single recipient all fell to Dag Chen Dorje Chang, the emanation of Pal Tsewa Chenpo, supreme among the learned, crown ornament of siddhas, ocean of profound and vast instructions.

The disciples who imbibed the nectar of his teachings were unimaginably numerous. Of those who received the instructions of the uncommon spoken transmission like a pot filled to the brim was Doringpa Kunpang Kunzang Chökyi Nyima Loden Sherab Gyaltzen Palzangpo, who appeared in the succession of incarnations of Buddha Krakucchanda among the many learned and realized masters of India and Tibet. This master attended upon seventy-two learned and realized masters of all traditions, the new translations and the old, including Ngor Chen Dorje Chang Kunga Zangpo and his disciples, and eliminated doubts with regard to the ocean of instructions from the sūtras and tantras through scriptural authority and reasoning.

In particular, [398] attending upon Dag Chen Dorje Chang with the three kinds of service, he listened to, reflected on, and thoroughly mastered the entirety of the spoken transmissions qualified in four ways,¹⁹⁰ such as those of the Lamdre. He perfected the practices down to the smallest detail. Spending his entire life in remote mountain hermitages, such as Kha'u Dragzong,¹⁹¹ and never departing from the daily four-session practice, he ascended to a high level of accomplishment. Uninterruptedly proclaiming the melodious lion's roar of the secret and the deep, he spread the profound instructions of the spoken transmission to the ends of the earth, strumming the taṃbūrā of what became renowned as Jetsun Kha'upa's tradition.

Among his many disciples, his unique spiritual son was Dharmarāja Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso, appearing as the latest in a series of incarnations of learned and accomplished masters as beautifully arranged as a garland of mandāravā flowers, such as Mahāsiddha Virūpa in the noble land of India and the omniscient one of the age of dispute in the Land of Snows, Butön Rinchen Drub. No sooner was the flower of his exemplary form born, on a well-appointed spot near Mugu Lung in the Mangkhar

valley, than he naturally recovered the qualities of intelligence, purity, and goodness from previous lives. The vajra dharmapālas took on a multitude of forms to accomplish his work, [399] he could directly see the vajra maṇḍalas of the three seats,¹⁹² and with many wondrous episodes of progress on the spiritual path, once trained in the philosophical approach of Sūtrayāna at Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, he subdued the pride of the professors of scripture and reasoning. To the cause of an unshakeable faith in the Sakya tradition awakened from prayers in previous lives, and in Do Ringpa, the herd-leader of siddhas, was added the condition of Vajrayoginī appearing in person to instruct him. He then proceeded to the Kha'u Dragzong Nagpo hermitage, the second Oḍḍiyāna of the snow mountain land.

There he received vast and profound instructions beyond imagining, such as the spoken transmission of the Lobshe with four-fold authentication, not spoken to ordinary ears in the Sakya tradition. Not leaving it at mere listening, he reflected on the practice down to the smallest details to eliminate misconceptions, and after experiential practice in meditation, signs of warmth manifestly appeared. He saw the nature of reality as spontaneously emergent primordial wisdom, all phenomenal appearances arose as the sphere of the deity, and the vajra dharmapālas carried out his work like minions. In particular, on assuming the throne of the omniscient Butön Rinpoche, he placed the samayavajra on the crown of Yama, the lord of death, convincing those with discerning judgment that he was the wrathful Mañjuśrī in monkish form.¹⁹³ [400] In addition, by studying with sixty-three noble teachers of all traditions, he inherited the entirety of profound instructions for the attainment of common and supreme siddhis that existed in the Land of Snows, becoming the second vajradhara of the degenerate age.

Residing and teaching (there are some four volumes of his collected writings) at places such as Dar Drangmo Che, Mangkhar Tubten Gempel, and Chalung Dorje Dragzong,¹⁹⁴ the pure renown and exquisite scent of this lotus pool of learning and attainment in full blossom naturally gathered noble adepts of his own and other schools like a swarm of fortunate bees. He volubly imparted the nectar of the profound spoken transmission to them, an unimaginably great group of disciples enriched by scriptural learning and direct realization.

Of these, the foremost, with a perfect grasp of the secret teachings, was Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk of Nesar, born into the divine Azha family lineage, who was linked with him in master-disciple relationships in many previous lives and in this life too became his unique spiritual son, as is seen from the references to “Tsar Chen, the father and son” in the literature. This master studied with many learned and accomplished masters of the Old and New Translation traditions, chiefly [401] Jetsun Gorumpa Kunga Legpa, the heart disciple of both Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen and Do Ringpa, and Je Tsar Chen. From the New Translation side, he received 116 major empowerments, ninety-four blessings, 178 authorizations and subsidiary teachings,

and over 121 guiding instructions. From the Early Translation side, he received 171 major empowerments, thirty-one minor empowerments, thirty-eight guiding instructions, and so on. Having listened to and reflected on hundreds of volumes of supporting transmissions, he eliminated all misconceptions.

He reproduced texts and paintings of the maṇḍalas and knew the practices down to the smallest details proper to each, such as how to make the tormas offerings and how to hold the vajra and bell, without mixing them up.

His teaching and practice activity in the ocean of the sūtra and tantra traditions was boundless as the sky, and he too took the throne of Butön Rinpoche. Most of all, he completed listening, reflecting, and meditating on the Lamdre spoken transmission authenticated in four ways and put many of his teachings into writing (four volumes, mainly on the spoken transmission), making him the single eye of subsequent lineage holders. In sum, it is absolutely clear that his qualities of wisdom, love, and power [402] delighted the wise, and the accomplished determined him to be solely worthy of veneration.

There was also the great abbot of Nyenyö Jagöshong and embodied voice of Sarasvatī, Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso (some eleven volumes of writings on both sūtra and tantra, excellent in meaning), blessed by Jamgön Sakya Paṇḍita with boundless knowledge, crown jewel of all philosophers; Yölwa Zhönu Lodrö, the great abbot of Nedong Tse Tsogpa, emanation of the hidden yogi Nyentön,¹⁹⁵ whose qualities of learning, purity, and attainment were beyond compare; and Bökharwa Maitri Döndrub Gyaltzen, lord of the spoken transmission and master of power. These were the four heart disciples of Tsar Chen. There was also Khenchen Labsum Gyaltzen, a disciple of both the father and the son, the Vajradhara Wangchuk Rabten, and endless others.

Of Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk's many disciples, the lineage descended from these three: the Bodong Khenchen, Labsum Gyaltzen of Dingma; his own nephew, the Nesar Vajradhara, Wangchuk Rabten; and the powerful mantradhara of the resultant vehicle Sönam Chöpel of Gönsar. Their successors were the reincarnation of Tsar Chen Rinpoche, [403] the great Kangyur master of the Nesar nephew lineage, Gönpö Sönam Chogden; Shalu Khen Rinpoche Sönam Chogdrub, lord of the ocean of tantra; the great abbot of Pal Nälendra, Chobgyepa Chetsun Khyenrab Jampa Ngawang Lhundrub; Mor Chen Ngawang Kunga Lhundrub, masterful expositor of the entirety of sūtra and tantra and sun of the teachings in the dark age; the reincarnation of Khyabdak Kangyurwa, Nesarpa Ngawang Kunga Legpe Jungne; Jamgön Kunga Lodrö of Sakya; and the Nesar incarnation, Yarlung Chogtrul Rinpoche Namkha Legpa Lhundrub, along with their disciples, up to the present Chogtrul incarnation¹⁹⁶ and great illuminator of the teachings, who all made the sun of the teachings of the uncommon Lobshe shine.

Furthermore, Sakya throne holder Jamyang Sönam Wangpo's receiving a little of the powerful Zhönu Lodrö's teaching was the auspice for the teachings of the father

Tsar Chen to flourish at the mother monastery. Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak, disciple of Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso and Ngagchang Sönam Chöpel, [404] taught Sakyapa Jamgön Amé Zhab and others at Sakya, while Ngawang Sönam Gyaltzen of Gyaltsé and others spread the teachings at Ngor Ewaṃ. Bökharwa Maitri Döndrub Gyaltzen became a guru of Gyalwang Sönam Gyatso, sun of the Yellow Hat teachings, opening the way for teaching activity among the Geluk. The Fifth Dalai Lama received the entire spoken transmission from Kangyurwa and Shalu Khenchen, which became a real boon for the Lobshe teachings. Dorje Drak Rigdzin Pema Trinle and Rigdzin Terdak Lingpa also imbibed the nectar of the profound teachings from Kangyurwa, Mor Chen, and others so that the great holders of the Nyingma tradition opened wide the lotus of approval for these teachings. Most of all, after receiving the entirety of the spoken transmission from Khyabdak Nesarpa, Jamgön Kunga Lodrö made the mother monastery like the fountainhead of the Lobshe teachings for all of Ü, Tsang, and Kham.

Vajradhara Khyenrab Jampa; his nephew Khyentse Rabten; Tsedong Tri Chen Khyenrab Tenzin Lhundrub; Nesarpa's disciple Dzongshar Bongdrukpa Chöje Losal Puntsok;¹⁹⁷ [405] his disciple Chobgye Tri Chen Ngawang Kunga Khyenrab; Jamgön Kunga Lodrö's disciple, Tsedong Tri Chen Gendun Tashi Paljor; the Zimwok incarnations, Ngawang Tenzin Trinle and his successor;¹⁹⁸ and others transmitted the nectar of the Lobshe teachings at Tsedong Sisum Namgyal Monastery and at Nälendra.

Due to the teaching activity of Khyabdak Kangyurwa, Shalu Khenchen, Mor Chen Dorje Chang, and others, Shalu Monastery, Vajrāsana,¹⁹⁹ Tubten Rawame,²⁰⁰ and so on also maintain Lobshe instruction lineages.

Following the omniscient Tartse Khenchen Jampa Namkha Chimé's introduction of the chariot of the profound Lobshe teachings at Ngor Ewaṃ Chöden and Lhundrub Teng in Derge, his two nephews and others fostered endless holders of the teachings of the spoken transmission with four authentications there.²⁰¹

In short, the activity of Tsar Chen, the Dharmarāja, permeated his own school and most other schools, such that he performed the role of a second buddha, for the Buddhadharma in general and the Vajrayāna tradition in particular, in this age of degeneration.

DERGE GÖNCHEN MONASTERY

Lhundrub Teng Monastery, seat of the successive dharmarājas of Derge, [406] most powerful in merit among the lands of Greater Tibet, resting easily atop ten million competing flowers, was founded by Mahāsiddha Tangtong Gyalpo, Ācārya Padmasambhava in womb-born form, with the patronage of Derge King Botar Tashi Senge.²⁰² This mahāsiddha being Ngor Chen Dorje Chang's disciple was the auspice determining that the monastery would sustain Chöje Ngorpa's activity, as it does to

this day. In between, the abbacy was held by successive generations of the Derge royal family, and later Shar Chen Kunga Tashi became the first abbot invited from Ngor.²⁰³ After him, King La Chen Jampa Puntsok specially invited Drubkhang Palchok Gyaltzen,²⁰⁴ who refuted all those with false religious pretensions, initiated philosophical study, ritual conduct, and essential meditative practice, just as prescribed in Ngor Chen Dorje Chang's teaching, and established a program of sādhana rituals, such as the Five Maṇḍalas of the Ngor tradition.

Then in succession came Khenchen Sangye Puntsok, Jamgön Tashi Lhundrub, Vajradhara Palden Chökyong, Sharchen Mingyur Gyaltzen, Ngawang Chökyong Zangpo, Drangti Namkha Chimé, and [407] his nephews and heart disciples—Vajradhara Jampa Kunga Tenzin and his brother Naljor Jampal Zangpo. In addition, many other noble ones, such as Jamgön Tashi Palden, Khedrub Sangye Palzang, Jamyang Sangye Yeshe, Khetsun Kunga Chöpel, Lama Tashi Wangchuk, Lobpön Jampal Dragpa, and Zhu Chen Mahāpaṇḍita Tsultrim Rinchen, emanation of Śāntarakṣita, spread the Ngor Evaṃ tradition throughout the world.

Through the activity of Jamyang Sönam Wangchuk, father and son,²⁰⁵ Tri Chen Lama Sangye Tenpa established the sādhana ritual of the Sakya ancestral teachings on the Bhagavān Vajrakumāra which furthered the noble Sakya tradition. This practice has been maintained by the successive Sakya Menla lamas and Purba lamas.²⁰⁶

The bodhisattva Tenpa Tsering invited Ngawang Kunga Legpe Jungne of Nesar, who established the sādhana ritual of the Bhagavān Kālacakra in Butön's tradition, set up statues of Vajra Mahākāla and retinue according to the particular practice of the Tsarpa tradition [408] to the east of the palace, and established both regular and occasional tormas offerings.

The activity of Chöje Tsarpa's teachings was initiated in Derge by Tubten Khenchen Zangpo Gyaltzen, Mor Chen's disciple Khedrub Sangye Gyatso, and others. Later on, through Derge La Chen Jampa Kunga Sangye Tenpe Gyaltzen's patronage of two successive Nesar Chogtruls and so on,²⁰⁷ the teachings of the profound spoken lineage were extensively spread.

Thus, the teaching and practice chiefly of the Sakya, Ngor, and Tsar traditions and all other traditions, such as the Mañjuyama of the Early Translation school, flourished there. At the behest of Khenchen Tashi Lhundrub, and then Palden Chökyong and so on, many wondrous printing blocks for the Kangyur, Tengyur, Sakya Kabum, and other canonical scriptures were produced, so that the monastery became a singular treasury of Dharma.²⁰⁸

TARTSE KHENCHEN JAMPA NAMKHA CHIMÉ

As for the biographies of the Derge forefathers who did the monastery great service, these can be found in the *Royal Genealogy* by Drungyik Tenzin²⁰⁹ and in the individual autobiographies of the Khenchens from Palchok Gyaltzen up to Chökyong Zangpo.²¹⁰

It is opportune here [409] to briefly recount the biographies of three most kind lamas, Drangti Khenchen Vajradhara Jampa Namkha Chimé and his nephews, Jampa Kunga Tenzin and his brother.

The omniscient Khenchen Jampa Namkha Chimé was born into the lineage of learned and accomplished adepts, including Drangti Gyalnyen Kharpuk, one of the nine skilled physicians of King Trisong Deutsen, the dharmarāja and emperor of Tibet who was Mañjuśrī in person, long ago, Drangti Lotsāwa Jayarakṣita, Drangti Darma Nyingpo, and so on. In his youth, he blossomed with a noble predisposition beyond the ways of children and mastered unimaginable qualities like recalling previous lives, beholding the truth of suffering, and realizing everything to be mind. Then he proceeded to the peak of the garden of great liberation, or Tartse Labrang, at Śrī Evaṃ Chöden and entered the shade of the white parasol of the Buddhadharmā. He entirely perfected both outer and inner studies and the measurements for drawing maṇḍalas, becoming a paṇḍita who memorized many of the treatises on sūtra and tantra and professed them effortlessly—namely, the seven essential treatises for the study of the *Hevajratantra*, the four minor tantras, and so on. [410] He received the nectar of the precious Lamdre from Khangsar Khenchen Ngawang Chökyong Zangpo.

In particular, in the Tubten Lhakhang at Pal Sakya, the vajrāsana of the Land of Snows, he received the pure vows of the higher monastic ordination transmitted by Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaśrī and Jamgön Sapaṅ from Khenchen Jampa Jinpa Tashi, and having unmistakably received from Jamgön Kunga Lodrö the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions and the causal empowerment for Śrī Hevajra, he practiced the triple vow and cherished the precepts of each as dearly as his own eyes. Especially, he received from that master the entirety of the four-times authenticated Lamdre of the Sakya, chiefly the instructions on the Tsogshe and Lobshe teachings, eliminating all misconceptions through listening and reflection, and through experiential realization in meditation he became empowered as a master of the teachings.

Furthermore, he imbibed the nectar of vast and profound instructions with an unquenched thirst from over fifty noble teachers, such as Rinchen Chogdrub, the nephew of Pende Khangsar,²¹¹ and the vastly learned Kunga Sönam of Kyomda,²¹² and [411] cherished them down to the smallest details. Never stirring from the regular practice of four-session yoga, he ascended to a high level on the grounds and paths. He was in direct communication with the entirety of visualized deities, such as Ācārya Padmasambhava, the vajra dharmapālas wore the crown of his command on their heads, he could directly see the future, such as the death and rebirth of individuals, and those of good fortune witnessed signs of his attainment, like driving a kīla into hard rock.

In short, despite having crossed the ocean of the qualities of learning, purity, and attainment, he kept his own qualities hidden like a lamp inside a pot, out of affinity with the path of the Jowo Kadampa, and never admitted to having such qualities

himself, which in itself is extraordinary. While serving on the throne of Je Ngor Chen Dorje Chang, he protected the constituents of Ngor Ewaṃ from the threat of the Nepalese army²¹³ and brought benefit on both spiritual and worldly levels.

Enchanted to hear of such a reputation, he was invited and honored by the dharmarāja and royal family of Derge. [412] At Lhundrub Teng and other major and minor monasteries in that region, he genuinely spread the study and practice of the teachings, giving empowerments, transmissions, and guiding instructions, teaching ritual practice, the yogas of the two stages, and so on. As a result of this constant teaching activity, such as teaching the Lobshe twice and the Tsogshe on many occasions, he produced many great exponents of the teachings, including his two nephews. Through unimaginable activity of the three kinds, teaching, accomplishment, and beneficial deeds, he oversaw the instruction of students in that region for some time, before imparting his final testament at length to his nephew Jampa Naljor Jampal Zangpo. At the age of fifty-six (1820), amid many wondrous signs, he passed away at the Pende Kunkhyab Ling Labrang in Lhundrub Teng. His remaining work was completed by his nephew with the patronage of the great Derge Dharmarāja.

The Brothers Jampa Kunga Tenzin and Jampa Naljor Jampal Zangpo

Khenchen Jampa Namkha Chimé's main disciples were his two nephews, the Khenchen Vajradhara brothers, unique refuge for us beings, including the devas. First, the overlord of the ocean of buddha families and maṇḍalas, Khenchen Vajradhara Jampa Kunga Tenzin: [413] He was born into the learned Drangti family in the Fire Monkey year of the thirteenth *rabjung* (1776). As a youth, he entered the Tartse Labrang at Pal Ewaṃ Chöden, source of myriad precious qualities. Renunciation and compassion were naturally born in him. Once the treasury of wisdom opened for him, he could easily master anything from regular Dharma practice up to the major treatises of the sūtra and tantra canons, such as the seven essential treatises for the study of the *Hevajratantra*.

Endowed by Vajradhara Namkha Chimé with the benefit of the triple vow and poised on the jeweled throne of the Buddhadharma in its entirety, being untainted by the slightest downfall, the fine scent of moral discipline pervaded wherever he was. He received an ocean-like multitude of vast and profound instructions, such as the four-times authenticated spoken transmission of Jetsun Sakyapa, from twenty-five teachers, chiefly the noble Khenchen himself, and by reflecting on the composition of the words and the intent behind their meaning, right down to the minor practices, he eliminated all misconceptions and gained a true understanding.

He performed the foundational recitations of numerous deities, including those for Śrī Hevajra twice over. [414] By meditating one-pointedly in the regular practice of the two-stage profound yoga, he came within sight of innate primordial wisdom and

perfected the two bodhicittas. The Buddha and Sixteen Arhats, the Second Buddha Padmasambhava, and others showed him their faces and smiled upon him. The vajra dharmapālas and local guardians committed to virtue carried out his activity. In nine years on the throne of Je Ngor Chen Dorje Chang, through his teaching, debating, and composing, and his wisdom, love, and power, he made the teachings of the Second Jina Ngor Chen shine like the sun.

At that time, he was invited by the great Derge Dharmarāja, and such was the good fortune of Greater Tibet that he visited twice, conducting activities meaningful for all involved. He restored practice traditions of maturation and liberation, started new ones where none existed, and having clarified all stains of delusion, kindly spread benefit for the teachings and living beings as a whole—especially for the tradition of Tsechen Nyingpo. He ordained the great dharmarāja to the bhikṣu vows. At the upper and lower seats of Sakya and Ngor and elsewhere, he taught the Lamdre Tsogshe numerous times, the Lobshe three times, the *Vajramālā* twice, and so on, turning the Dharma wheel unceasingly. [415] The heart disciples who grasped the secrets of his speech were such as the Sakya throne holder Jamgön Kunga Tashi; his son Tashi Rinchen; the Yarlung Chogtrul incarnation; Derge La Chen Jampa Kunga Sangye Tenpe Gyaltzen; his own nephew, sun of the entirety of the teachings; Kunga Jampal Dragpa, the incomparable master of learning Zhabdrung Chung Rinpoche; and others.²¹⁴

In short, he remains at present like a second buddha on the crowns of the upholders of the Sakya, Ngor, and Tsar teachings. I pray that his lotus feet endure with adamant firmness throughout the ocean of eons to come and that his activity pervades space.

This master's brother, Vajradhara Jampa Naljor Jampal Zangpo, was born into the noble lineage in the Earth Female Bird year of the thirteenth *rabjung* (1789). Having come to Ngor Ewaṃ Chöden, he entered the precious Buddhadharma in the presence of Vajradhara Namkha Chimé. While he was in training, striving to memorize the major and minor scriptures and so on, he repeatedly had luminous visions of Yogeśvara Virūpa and Sakyapa Chenpo granting their blessing. [416] The omniscient Khenchen Jampa Sönam Paljor ordained him to the bhikṣu vows in the pure lineage passed down by the noble adepts of Pal Ewaṃ, and by training in moral discipline, he established the basis.

Serving Vajradhara Namkha Chimé in the three ways,²¹⁵ he received an ocean-like multitude of instructions in sūtra and tantra, and reflecting on them, he eliminated all doubts. Endeavoring one-pointedly in the practice of the two-stage profound yoga, renunciation and great compassion were effortlessly born in him. Perceiving the lama as indistinguishable from the deity, he achieved unfeigned devotion and other impeccable qualities within. He maintained all the practices, gross and subtle, correctly, just as Khenchen Lama taught, and received no end of vast, profound instructions

from many other masters. Meanwhile, he gained the sense of needing nothing whatsoever, seeing all the appearances of the eight worldly dharmas as dreamlike. Simply the fact that he never held partial views influenced by attraction or aversion with respect to the religious or the mundane was itself an inconceivable wonder.

Following a prophecy from the wisdom-vision of Vajradhara Namkha Chimé, [417] he occupied the excellent Dharma throne of the second omniscient one Ngor Chen for seven years (1835–1842) and laid on a religious and worldly feast. He developed institutional discipline, personal conduct, and so forth as it had been in the time of the noble forefathers, extending these to the latter-day Ngor Ewaṃ community with great kindness. Then, despite his extraordinary aspiration to strive in the practice of the profound path of Lamdre, he was summoned by the Derge dharmarāja and religious benefactor Damtsik Dorje and his brother and proceeded to the monastery of Lhundrub Teng. Revered by all from the highest to the lowest, and with the material offerings from each, he sustained the inconceivable activity of bringing benefit to all involved in four ways.²¹⁶ Making the prayer that his body, speech, and mind remain with adamant firmness until the second jina Ajita illumines the world with the nectar of Dharma, and that his activity expand like a lake touched by moonlight, I pray that through his blessing it may be so.

OTHER NGOR MONASTERIES IN KHAM

Of the many monasteries, great and small, in the kingdom of Derge in Dokham following the tradition of Ngor Ewaṃ, the great monastery of Lhundrub Teng chief among them, [418] most were restored in the time of Tri Chen Sangye Tenpa and Dharmarāja Tenpa Tsering, and the original founders are uncertain. Furthermore, there are many in Gatö, both great and small, such as Kyegu Döndrub Ling.²¹⁷ There is the seat of Dhipu Chöje or Ali Chöje in Amdo Ngawa,²¹⁸ a great monastery combining the study of philosophy and tantra, and one of many monasteries of the Ngor tradition, great and small, from Upper West Tibet down to the lands that border China, but they are not discussed here individually.

The Influence of the Sakya Tradition on Other Schools

Moreover, while many different religious schools exist in this land ringed by snowy mountain ranges, most originated, directly or indirectly, from the tradition of Jetsun Sakyapa and regard it with devotion. Many great adepts of the transmitted and revealed teachings of the Nyingma school: the So, Zur, and Nub family lineages and the emanated treasure revealers, such as Guru Chökyi Wangchuk, and those from the Kadam school: Jayulpa²¹⁹ and Dokongpa,²²⁰ Namkha Bum, ²²¹ Chim Namkha Drak, Chomden Rigpe Raldri, and many others purported to be great masters, all drank the nectar of Chöje Sapaṅ and his nephews' speech. [419]

The great Chapa Chökyi Senge, master of logic and holder of the lineage of the great Ngok Lotsāwa Loden Sherab, regent of the Buddha in the Cool Land of Tibet,

Nyangdrenpa Chökyi Senge, and others received the profound instructions on maturation and liberation from Sa Chen's disciple Kyur Aseng.²²²

The great Pagmo Drupa Dorje Gyalpo, who was like the fountainhead of the thousand Kagyu schools, attended Sa Chen for twelve years and taught the Lamdre scriptures. Later, after drinking the nectar of Jetsun Dragpa's teaching, he opened the lotus of realization. Once Dagpo Rinpoche enhanced his realization, Pagmo Drupa became renowned as his main disciple and successor to the lineage. Most of the Kagyu schools—the Drigung, Taglung, Tropu, Drukpa, and so on—originated from his disciples.

Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa, the founder of the Kamtsang Kagyu school, received Lamdre and other teachings from Sa Chen's disciples Pal Ga Lotsāwa Zhönu Pal,²²³ Khampa Aseng, and Shen Dorseng.²²⁴

The Shangpa Kagyu Mahāsiddha Mogchogpa received Sakyapa teachings from Khampa Aseng. The hidden yogi Sangye Nyentön studied at the feet of Jetsun Dragpa for a long time and absorbed the profound meaning of the Lamdre and so on.

The omniscient Butön Rinpoche developed his skills in teaching, debate, and composition after studying virtually all the tantric and philosophical teachings transmitted by the Sakyapa [420] and was graced by the jñānakāya of Jetsun Dragpa. Chöku Özer, the omniscient one of Jonang, was a disciple raised on the teachings of Sapaṇ. Dölpopa Sherab Gyaltzen also studied philosophy at Sakya, and there is a story that in the later part of his life, the Prāsaṅgika view was born in him through a blessing from Sakya Paṇḍita.²²⁵ The Bodongpa lineage masters from Shongtön Lotsāwa Dorje Gyaltzen to Bodong Chogle Namgyal were counted as Sakya kalyāṇamitras, and it can be seen from the biography of Chogle Namgyal that he identified as a follower of the Sakya school. Gyalse Togme also received instructions of the Sakya tradition beyond imagining from Chöje Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen and others.

In the Riwo Ganden school as well, which nowadays is as dominant as the sun and moon, the father and son founders came from among the disciples of the Sakya Lé Chen Rendawa Zhönu Lodrö, members of a group of seven consummate professors, wherein they were known as the Supreme Son, Lobzang Dragpa, and the Supreme in Debate, Darma Rinchen.²²⁶ Je Rinpoche also received many profound teachings from Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen, Sazang Mati Paṅchen, and others. The preference for teaching philosophy in the Sakya tradition and tantra in Butön's tradition [421] can even be seen from a verse, weighty in meaning, in Jamgön Lama Tsongkhapa's biography that says:

The disciples inheriting the religious lineage
Of the Sakya, the Buddha's regents in this world,
Are accepted as the holders of the Dharma by not a few scholars
In this snow mountain land, which is now its home.

Successive Holders of the Sakya Tradition

As for those great contributors to the Pal Sakya teachings: in Khön Könchok Gyalpo's time, the New Translation Mantrayāna teachings were introduced. They were established by Pal Tsewa Chenpo, and the Jetsun brothers made them flourish and spread. During the time of the Chöje Sapaṅ and his nephew, when the entire Land of Snows was brought under the shade of the parasol of Sakya's political and religious dominion, they became extremely widespread, and the philosophical tradition was upheld by the Shar, Nub, and Gung Labrang at the mother monastery and the practice tradition by Tsok, Nyen, and Zhang.²²⁷ All the teachings of both traditions fell to Chöje Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen.

After that came the Six Ornaments who beautified the Land of Snows: the two learned in sūtra, Yagtruk Sangye Pal and the omniscient Rongtön Sheja Kunrik, or alternatively Rendawa Zhönu Lodrö; the two learned in mantra, [422] Ngor Chen Dorje Chang Kunga Zangpo and Dzungpa Kunga Gyaltzen, the two Kungas; ²²⁸ and the two learned in both, Gowo Rabjampa Sönam Senge and Serdok Paṅchen Śākya Chogden, who spread the feast of teaching and practice in one hundred directions.

Furthermore, there were Nya Ön Kunga Pal, Khenchen Tsöndru Pal,²²⁹ and innumerable masters, such as Mahāsattva Zhönu Gyalchok, Jamchen Rabjampa Sangye Pel, Markham Dragpa Zangpo,²³⁰ the omniscient Namkha Sönam,²³¹ Rongtön Dönyö Pal, Jamyang Kunga Chözang, Mu Rabjampa Jampa Tugje Palzang, Bum Rabjampa Jampa Chökyi Döndrub, Zhung Gyapa Ngödrub Palbar, Ngaripa Lhawang Lodrö,²³² Tagtruk Kunga Paljor,²³³ Sheldrong Paṅchen Lodrö Chökyi Gyalpo,²³⁴ Zi Kachupa Śākya Lodrö, Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso, Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak, Ngawang Tenpe Dorje,²³⁵ and so on. [423] They defined the Sakya philosophical teaching tradition based on the six great treatises through teaching, debate, and composition and founded many great monasteries where the philosophical tradition was unmistakably taught.

On the Mantrayāna side, especially Tegchen Chöje Kunga Tashi, Gyagar Sherab Gyaltzen, Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen, Sa Lo Kunga Sönam, the holders of the father-son lineage from Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen to Ngakgi Wangpo Kunga Lodrö,²³⁶ and Tsedong Tri Chen Sönam Lhundrub contributed greatly to the teachings at the upper and lower seats at Sakya and Tsedong. The omniscient Ngor Chen Könchok Lhundrub said:

An ignorant low-life beggar child
May be named Savior of the World by his followers,
And the illusory torrent of their thousand acclaims
Shake the world—but this is not comparable.

It is just so that the qualities of wisdom, spiritual efficacy, and so on with which the members of these precious Sakya family lineages are born cannot be matched even

partially by other purportedly great incarnations or lineage holders. This remains an evident truth even today. [424]

Specifically, the holders of the great Vajradhara Ngor Chen's teaching tradition were Mu Chen Könchok Gyaltzen, the omniscient Gorampa Sönam Senge, the omniscient Könchok Lhundrub, Pañchen Namkha Palzang, the learned and accomplished Drubkhangpa Palden Döndrub, Jamgön Sangye Puntsok, and Zhu Chen Mahāpaṇḍita Tsultrim Rinchen, all of them incomparably learned and accomplished masters. Besides, there were many other greatly learned masters of vast activity, such as Khenchen Tashi Lhundrub, Vajradhara Palden Chökyong, and Rinchen Mingyur Gyaltzen.

The Dzongpa tradition was taught and practiced by Mu Sepa Dorje Gyaltzen and the omniscient Dorje Denpa Kunga Namgyal and their lineal descendants.

The tradition of Tsarpa Chöje, lord of the ocean of spoken transmission: the core transmission of the Lobshe went from Khyentse Wangchuk, Khenchen Labsum Gyaltzen, and others up to Nesarpa Ngawang Kunga Legpe Jungne, the elder and younger. It was further transmitted by Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso, Bökharwa Maitri Döndrub Gyaltzen, Gönsarpa Sönam Chöpel, [425] Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak, Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, Drubchen Sangye Gyatso, and others. Those of the orally transmitted golden Dharmas from Chöje Tsarpa's tradition, such as the Nāro Khecarī cycle, were taught by Mor Chen to Jamyang Dewe Dorje, Tagpupa Lobzang Tengyen, Changkya Rölpe Dorje, Tuken Lobzang Chökyi Nyima, Tagpupa Chökyi Wangchuk,²³⁷ and others. Zhiwa Lha Pagpa Gelek Gyaltzen received them from Nesarpa. Thus, they were greatly diffused among the Geluk, who seem to have many writings about them.

Sources on the History of the Sakya Tradition

For full biographies of the holders of the glorious Sakya tradition, there are:

- Könchok Lhundrub's *Ship for Sailing the Ocean of the Doctrine: A History of the Dharma*, with Jamgön Sangye Puntsok's supplement²³⁸
- the *Chronology of the Dharma* by Mangtö Ludrub²³⁹
- Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak's *Beautiful Array of Precious Jewels: An Expansive Discourse on the Six Great Treatises*²⁴⁰
- the *Garland of Fresh Flowers: A Brief Discourse on the History of the Dharma* by Chö Namgyal of Tanak Tubten Monastery²⁴¹
- Könchok Lhundrub's genealogy of the Sakya lineage in verse²⁴²
- the extended genealogy by Amé Zhab [426] entitled *Treasury of Wonders*, with a supplement by Kunga Lodrö²⁴³
- the individual biographies of Sakya Lotsāwa Chenpo and the throne holders from Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen up to Kunga Lodrö and his sons²⁴⁴

- three volumes of biography of the Ngorpa Lamdre and abbatial lineages from Jetsun Virūpa up to Khenchen Tashi Lhundrub²⁴⁵
- the subsequent biographies of Palden Chökyong, Mingyur Gyaltsen, Chökyong Zangpo, and so on²⁴⁶
- the *Jewel Rosary* history of the Ngor abbatial succession by Khenchen Sangye Puntsok, with supplements by Palden Chökyong and others giving brief biographies of the throne holders up to Könchok Dragpa²⁴⁷
- five volumes of the collected biographies of the Tsarpa lineage holders from Dag Chen Dorje Chang up to Nesarpa Legpe Jungne (there are printing blocks for the part up to the biography of Shalu Khenchen at Drepung Monastery)²⁴⁸
- the *Comprehensive Explanation of the Lobshe* by Jamyang Khyentse and its supplement²⁴⁹
- the *Great History of the Lamdre Teachings*, root text and commentary, by Jamgön Amé Zhab and his histories of the transmission lineages of Cakrasaṃvara, Guhyasamāja, the Yamāntaka cycle, Mahākāla, and the first history of the Kīlaya practice²⁵⁰
- the *History of Mahākāla* by Tsar Chen, Ngawang Chödrak, and others²⁵¹ [427]
- Ngawang Chödrak's histories of the Lamdre, Cakrasaṃvara, Yamāntaka, and other lineages and of the three red deity cycles, which are to be found in the respective volumes of these teachings²⁵² and
- Tuken Lobzang Chökyi Nyima's history of the Vajrayoginī lineage holders.²⁵³

To summarize the point of the life stories of such noble and authentic masters of the teachings, Jetsun Sakya Paṇḍita said,

First, one must become proficient in the entire subject matter. In the middle stage, one must profess one's understanding to learned audiences. Finally, having striven to familiarize oneself with the meaning, one must meditate. This is the core approach of all the jinas of the three times.

Thus, the learned and accomplished teach and practice what the paṇḍitas and lotsāwas translated and defined on the basis of flawless ethical discipline, and so reach the end of extensive learning in the ocean-like vastness of the doctrines of sūtra and tantra, known and proven as authentic to all with discerning intellect.

Through intelligent reflection on the arrangement of the words, the explanation of their meaning and the intent behind it, and the actual and metaphysical aspects of the ritual practices down to the minor details, the intention behind them and its requirements, the differences between this and other schools of thought, and so on, [428] a fine-grained resolution of all doubts is achieved. Explaining the doctrine to others, composing commentaries and so forth must always be qualified by scriptural authority and reasoned argument and conducted correctly according to the spoken

instructions transmitted by the lineage teachers, not mixing it even slightly with what others say it is or colored by one's own imputations.

Concerning the practice of the profound path in general, and in particular, the precious spoken transmission of four-fold authentication, passed down uninterruptedly from the overlord Mahāvajradhara and Mahāsiddha Virūpa through the learned and accomplished masters of India and Tibet, all humans with no dogs in between,²⁵⁴ from which the breath of the dākinīs has not evaporated: in the initial stage of the cause, the empowerments ripen the recipient, in the middle stage of the path, one sustains the unceasing stream of empowerment in the four-session practice and familiarizes with the four paths of the two levels until the final stage of fruition, when the empowerments confirm the recipient, in this life or in the intermediate state, on the path to the supreme siddhi of mahāmudrā, which far excels all others. Many with a secure grasp of the vast and profound instructions for attaining the supreme siddhis with the common siddhis as secondary, or attaining the common with the supreme as secondary, have easily reached the two siddhis, temporary and ultimate, for themselves and all others. [429]

Furthermore, one should maintain the tradition of one's own school correctly, rather than trying to follow others, and avoid excessive attraction or aversion to any school, such as cursing another with partisan emotion on the strength of nothing more than a few intellectual criticisms.

If one gains inner realization, or even masters great powers of clairvoyance, one keeps it hidden. The *Śrī Guhyasamājantra* says:

Outwardly, keep the conduct of a śrāvaka; inwardly, delight in the collected meaning of all three vehicles.

It was by putting this into practice that paṇḍitas professing the entirety of the sūtras, tantras, and common sciences in the style favored by the Great Chariots of India and Tibet came to be, and it was by meditating unmistakably on the path taught in the tantras that unimaginably great siddha yogeśvaras appeared, in whose mind the original wisdom of Mahāmudrā and the qualities of the grounds and paths have arisen. The religious program taught and accomplished by these masters continues to this day.

The Teachings of the Sakya Tradition

Entering the gate of the precious teachings has two aspects: the basis for entering and the object of listening and reflection. The first consists of the pure pratimokṣa ordination lineage [430] passed down by Paṇchen Śākyaśrī²⁵⁵ to Jamyang Sapaṅ and others (the ordination lineage of Sakya Lhakhang Chenmo) and the ordination lineage passed down by Khenchen Dorje Pal²⁵⁶ and others to the omniscient Ngor Chen Kunga Zangpo, father and sons (the ordination lineage of Ngor), along with their practices.

The second is divided between the Causal Vehicle, or Lakṣaṇayāna, and the Resultant Vehicle, or Vajrayāna of Secret Mantra. For any beginner entering the gate and starting on the path of learning, there is the excellent teaching program of the Six Treatises:²⁵⁷ (1) the treatises on logic, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* and Saṅgā's *Tsema Rigter*;²⁵⁸ (2) Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*; (3) Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*; (4) Asaṅga's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, an exposition of the Prajñāpāramitā; (5) Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvātāra*; and (6) Saṅgā's *Domsum Rabye* treatise, which is common to both the sūtra and mantra paths.²⁵⁹ These are taught widely in monasteries, such as the Tubten Lhakhang Chenmo at Sakya, Tubten Namgyal in Tanak, upper and lower Kyetsal, Tubten Rawamé, Dagpo Dratsang in Namrab,²⁶⁰ Dhipu Gön in Amdo, and so on. The reading transmissions of many such treatises, the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, the *Parting from the Four Attachments*, *Seven-Point Mind Training*, and so on, are in the practice category.

The second division includes the four classes of tantra in general, and the Lobshe spoken transmission and thirteen Golden Dharmas in particular. In the writings of the lamas concerned, [431] the first is further divided into general teachings and subsidiary teachings. The first subdivision includes the *Vajrāvalī* empowerments,²⁶¹ and authorizations for the Hundred Sādhanas,²⁶² the *Ocean*,²⁶³ the Hundred Sādhanas of Nartang, and so on.

The second subdivision includes first, in Kriyā Tantra, the general empowerment for the three families of Kriyā Tantra, and the individual tantras. These include the empowerments for Śākyamuni, the buddha of the Tathāgata family, as central deity of the Sixteen Arhats, as Raśmivimala, as Bhaiṣajyaguru, Nageśvara and so on. There are also the cycles of Mañjuśrī, lord of the Tathāgata family, in the white form of Mati Paṅḍita's tradition,²⁶⁴ in Arapacana form, Prajñācakra form, Vādisiṃha form, and so on. For the mother of the Tathāgata family there are the empowerments of the five protectresses, Mārīcī, and Grahamāṭṛkā. For the uṣṇīṣa of the Tathāgata family, the empowerments of the twenty-seven-deity Sitātapatrā, the seventeen-deity form, Vimaloṣṇīṣa, and so on. For the wrathful deity of the Tathāgata family there are the white and blue forms of Acala, the nine-deity form of Amitāyus, lord of the Padma family, the *Immortal Drumbeat* form, the white Amitāyus of Mitra's tradition, and the "grasp of immortality" form of the Kurava Amitāyus sādhana.

For Avalokiteśvara, lord of the Padma family, there are the authorizations and instructions for the thirty-seven-deity form in Nāgārjuna's tradition, the eleven-faced form in Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī's tradition, the Mahākāruṇika of Kyergangpa's tradition, the combined Mahākāruṇika and Mahāmudrā of the Sakya tradition, [432] Avalokiteśvara as foremost of three companions, the five-deity Amoghapāśa, the Siṃhanāda form and so on. For the mother of the Padma family there are the authorizations for the white Tārā of nine transmissions and for the "six light rays" form of white Tārā, with profound guiding instructions and pith instructions, Tārā the beauty of the acacia

forest, without retinue, the twenty-one Tārās of Jowo Atiśa’s tradition, Tārā the dispeller of all obstacles, the red Tārā of the dominance class of ritual, and so on, in addition to the guiding instructions for the four maṇḍalas, and the cycle of Śramaṇadevī. For Hayagrīva, wrathful deity of the Padma family, there are the authorizations and instructions for Jangsem Dawa Gyaltzen’s tradition, Siddharājñī’s tradition, and yellow Parṇaśabarī, the wrathful female deity of the Padma family.

There is the nine-deity empowerment of Akṣobhya, buddha of the Vajra family, and Vajrapāṇi, lord of the Vajra family, in Drozangma’s tradition, Vajravidāraṇa in Bari Lotsāwa’s tradition, Bhūrkumkūṭa, emissary of the Vajra family, in the Sakya tradition and in Jowo Atiśa’s tradition with pith instructions, and his female counterpart Bhūrkumkūṭī. There are also seventeen assorted authorizations, including wealth deities such as yellow and black Jambhala in Bari Lotsāwa’s tradition, the white Jambhala riding a dragon in Jowo Atiśa’s tradition, with its instructions, and the great yellow Vaiśravaṇa (these are common to all classes of tantra, upper and lower), along with a multitude of practice instructions.

Second, in Caryā Tantra, [433] there are the empowerment of five-deity Mañjuśrī Arapacana, lord of the Tathāgata family, and the authorization for the Ekavīra form of Mañjuśrī.

Third, Yoga Tantra includes the supplementary tantras of the twelve purification maṇḍalas,²⁶⁵ chiefly Sarvavidvairocana, the “destroyer of death” form of Vajrapāṇi, and so on, and there are reading transmissions of many manuals, such as the “three cycles to benefit others” root texts on Sarvavid.

Fourth, in Niruttarayoga Tantra, there are three: first are the Father Tantras, including the empowerments and transmissions for Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya, Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra, and Avalokiteśvara, the empowerment for five-deity red Yamāntaka with its profound guiding instructions, the empowerments for thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇayamāri, the Vajrabhairava of the Sakya tradition, the Aṣṭavetāla form of Vajrabhairava in Ra Lotsāwa’s tradition, and thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇayamāri in Ra’s tradition. There are also the fixing the mind on the tips of the deity’s horns instruction of Kyo’s tradition, the guiding instructions for the ḍākinī’s spoken transmission of Ra’s tradition, the transmission of the background materials in four volumes, the authorizations for the extensive Mahāmayūrī, vanquisher of poison, the Ekavīra form of Vajrabhairava, with the four forms of Karma Yama, and their four volumes of background materials.

Second, from the six divisions of the Mother Tantras, in the Heruka class are the *Ḍākinī Ocean* arrangement of Saṃvara according to the Kālacakra commentary and, according to the ultimate secret yoga in the tradition of Lūipa, Ghaṇṭapāda, and Kṛṣṇacārin, the empowerment of the donkey-faced form of Saṃvara, [434] the blessings of the Vārāhī cycle in the Chal tradition, and the illuminating wisdom form of white Vārāhī. In the Padmanarteśvara class are the empowerment for five-deity Kurukullā,

the blessing of Amitāyus in Siddharājñī's tradition (included in the Heruka class of tantras), and guiding instructions for Mahākāruṅika in Tsembupa Darma Özer's tradition (also included by some among the Father Tantras). In the Aśvottama class there are the empowerment for Bhagavān Vajrakumāra, with its instructions, and authorization for the twenty-one Tārās in Sūryagupta's tradition.²⁶⁶

Third, from the Nondual Tantras, there are the seven empowerments in the four transmission currents of Hevajra, which are the esoteric, the commentarial, the Saroruhavajra tradition and the essence of body, speech, and mind Hevajra of the Kṛṣṇa tradition; the empowerments for the fifteen-deity Nairātmyā of the feminine aspect; the explanatory *Vajrapañjaratantra* and complementary *Samputatantra*; and the authorizations for the three deities of expansive activity from the *Vajrapañjara*, who are the Bhūtaḍāmara form of Vajrapāṇi, white Prajñāpāramitā (check whether there is a separate practice), and white Pratisarā. There are also the complete empowerments of body, speech, and mind for the *Kālacakrat Tantra*, and the authorizations for the three deities of expansive activity described in that tantra, who are Vajravega, Śābala Vajragaruḍa, and Viśvamātṛ. [435]

Second, the uncommon spoken transmissions and Golden Dharmas: First, from the precious Lamdre teachings, there are the causal empowerment from the esoteric tradition of the *Hevajratantra*, the transmission of the aṣṭamantra, the path empowerments, the transmission of the hundred-syllable Vajrasattva mantra, and the blessings of the outer and inner guru yoga Lam Zab, the Ratnasambhava guru yoga, the simultaneous absorption of the three letters, outer and inner Virūpa protection, Nairātmyā, the *Explanation of the Hidden Path*, the *Clarification of the Symbolic Meaning*,²⁶⁷ the common and uncommon symbolic word transmissions, the grant of a prediction of the student's practice, the application of the seal of ten secrets, the Vajravidāraṇa of Virūpa's tradition, and of the protection of the dependent arising formula, the authorization for the lone Mahākāla of the Lamdre tradition, the practical instructions for both the Tsogshe and Lobshe, physical and yantra exercises, and background materials including numerous volumes of the individual biographies of the masters of both Tsogshe and Lobshe transmissions. Lastly, there are a multitude of reading transmissions of the *Yellow Volume* of Lamdre texts, including the *Cycles of the Path*,²⁶⁸ the *Red Volume* and *Black Volume*, the *Blue Volume* of Tongrawa, the *Explanation for the Benefit of the Sons*,²⁶⁹ Tsar Chen's *Sunbeams* exposition,²⁷⁰ Khyentse's practice manuals,²⁷¹ and the writings of later lamas, such as Mangtö Ludrub, Ngawang Chödrak, Ngawang Tendor, and others.

In the spoken transmissions "not to be passed beyond the boundary wall," [436] renowned as the Thirteen Golden Dharmas, there are the three cycles of the Red Lady, or three cycles of Khecarī, which pertain to the attainment of supreme siddhis with the common as secondary. These are the (1) blessings of each of the Ngorpa and Tsarpa traditons of the Khecarī of Nāropa, practice instructions for the development and

completion stages, the blessing of the actual demonstration of the nature of reality, and the guiding instructions for the great central channel, the blessings of (2) the Khecarī of Indrabhūti and (3) Khecarī of Maitrīpa, and three volumes of background materials. The Three Red Cycles, which pertain to the attainment of the common with the supreme as secondary, are (4) Kurukullā, including the common and uncommon authorizations of the Ngorpa tradition (the outer accomplishment), the common and uncommon authorizations of the Tsarpa tradition (the inner accomplishment), the blessings of the five-deity secret accomplishment of Ḍombī Heruka’s tradition, and one volume of transmissions; (5) the five authorizations for Gaṇapati, being the uncommon great red of Ngorpa tradition, the uncommon twelve-armed great red of Tsarpa tradition, the special great red, the white Gaṇapati of Jowo Atiśa’s tradition known as Rāgavajra, and the four-armed Gaṇapati, with one volume of transmissions; (6) the wrathful Ṭakkirāja with two authorizations, the uncommon Ṭakkirāja of the Ngor tradition, and the Roar of Secret Mantra, with one volume of transmissions, along with the transmitted pith instructions for their practice. [437] The three minor red cycles, also known as the three deities from the empowerments of Nyen Lotsāwa,²⁷² are (7) the Garbhasuvarṇasūtra form of Kurukullā, (8) the red Vasudhārā, and (9) the goddess Tinuma, with their authorizations and transmitted pith instructions; and the authorizations and pith instruction transmission for (10) the blue Siṃhamukhā, (11) the black Mañjuśrī, (12) Śābala Vajragaruḍa, and (13) the life-force practice of red Jambhala.

With the addition of the authorization and transmission of Siṃhanāda’s instruction for uninhibited speech (14) to the Thirteen Golden Dharmas, one has what are known as the Fourteen Golden Dharmas of the Lupa. Also included in the Thirteen Golden Dharmas are the authorization for the *nirmāṇakāya* form of Amitāyus, the meditation instructions for the three Jambhalas combined, which is the Golden Dharma of Nyen Lotsāwa, and the transmission of the instructions for the three Daṇḍadevī sisters.

Of the transmitted teachings on the ocean-like multitude of vajra dharmapālas that are the weapons for the defense of the teachings of the glorious Sakyapa, father and sons, the foremost are the Pañjaraṇātha and Caturmukha forms of Mahākāla. The four transmissions for Pañjaraṇātha are the lone Mahākāla of the Lamdre tradition transmitted by Gayadhara²⁷³ and the lone Mahākāla of Bari Lotsāwa’s tradition from the Hundred Sādhanas collection, with their authorizations and transmitted instructions; [438] the reading transmission of the three razor cycles transmitted by the Kashmir Paṇḍita Śākyaśrī; and the extremely profound and vast cycle transmitted by Lama Mal Lotsāwa, with its maturation and liberation aspects, and background transmissions.

The first of these comprises the unceasing empowerments and unceasing authorizations, of which the first includes the five empowerments of the five-deity

Mahākāla, the eight-deity form, eleven-deity form, and the five-deity Kartarīdhara (transmitted by Gayadhara) of the spoken transmission tradition. The second comprises Mahākāla with consort, the three-deity practice, the common and uncommon eight-deity practices, the eight-deity practice of the Ngor tradition, the common and uncommon twelve-deity practices, the general instructions for the ten wrathful deities, secret instructions for the nine deities, the authorizations for the additional solitary form of Dhūmāvātī, general and secret, the naked one holding a copper knife, the black-cloaked one holding a copper knife, the common and uncommon Putra forms, and the common and uncommon Yama as a black demon servant. The second comprises the general and secret instructions and additional longevity practice of white Mahākāla. The third comprises the blazing volume,²⁷⁴ its supplement, the spoken lineage, and further supplement with the teachings of the later lineage holders, as well as the supplement arranged by Kyomda Sönam Wangchuk in two large volumes, the volume by Gyijang Lotsāwa, [439] and the volume on Dhūmāvātī.

In the cycle of the four-faced Kṣetrapāla Caturmukha, there are (1) the common form for the recitation stage, (2) the common form for the meditation stage and (3) the uncommon forms, (4) the masked form, (5) the authorization for the preliminary secret instructions, (6) the common white form that brings longevity and (7) the uncommon form, (8) the yellow form that brings prosperity, (9) the red form that brings domination, (10) the blue form that destroys obstacles, (11) the nine-deity yellow form that brings wealth, (12) the Mahākāla for transforming the centers of body, speech, and mind, (13) the garuḍa-faced Mahākāla, (14) the one who shows the time of death, (15) the brahmin-like form bound to one's command, (16) the black lion Jñānamahākāla, and (17) the six cycles of the black brahmin butcher form.

In the Ngor tradition, there are the authorizations for the protector of the recitation stage and the three-deity Begtse and consort with manifold retinue, with the secret and longevity instructions for Caturmukha. These are listed in the *Jewel Necklace* catalogue,²⁷⁵ which contains the common forms in one volume, the uncommon forms including the one-to-one transmission of Hala Nagpo, mother and child, in another volume, and Begtse in another. Then there are the authorizations for white Mahākāla, Magzorma, and Śmaśānapati with consort as well as a volume of their instructions, authorizations for the tiger-riding Mahākāla of the Nub tradition, and the three Mahākāla brothers (of Kriyā Tantra).

Third, in the collected writings of the tradition, there are the collected works of the five Sakya elders in fifteen volumes, [440] the collected works of Gyalse Togme in one volume, the collected works of Vajradhara Ngor Chen in four volumes, one volume of Mu Chen's collected works, the omniscient Gorampa Sönam Senge's four volumes on Mantrayāna, four volumes of Könchok Lhundrub's collected works, one volume of Palden Döndrub's collected works, the collected works of Zhu Chen Paṅḍita Tsultrim Rinchen in ten volumes, which are complete collections, as well as the miscellaneous

works of Tsar Chen and his disciples, Pañchen Namkha Palzang, Ngawang Chödrak, Sangye Puntsok, Mor Chen Kunga Lhundrub, and others, like an ocean of profound teachings of sūtra and tantra.

The monasteries upholding the Sakya, Ngor, and Tsar traditions too support a profusion of teaching and accomplishment activity, such as the nine-deity Amitāyus, the drumbeat form of Mañjuśrī, Akṣobhya, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Vajravidāraṇa, and white Tārā from Kriyā Tantra; the Sarvavid Vairocana and “destroyer of death” form of Vajrapāṇi from Yoga Tantra; and from the Niruttarayoga Tantra, Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya and Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra of the Father Tantras, the Saṃvara of Lūpa’s and Kṛṣṇacārin’s traditions of the Mother Tantras, and the Hevajra of the esoteric instruction tradition, Vajrapañjara, and Saṃpuṭa of the Nondual Tantras, which are known as the Seven Maṇḍalas of the Ngor tradition. They also practice sādhanā rituals, such as fifteen-deity Nairātmyā; the red, black, and Bhairava forms of Yamāntaka; the thirteen-deity Vajrabhairava; the Ḍākinīsāgara; the ancestral teachings on Viśuddha and Vajrakīlaya; Śrī Kālacakra; [441] and expulsion rites, such as those of Bhagavān Vajrabhairava and Vajramahākāla (at Gongkar Dorje Den, Tashi Chöde, and so on, many of these rituals combine the Sakya and Butön traditions).

Concerning the meaning of the term *Sakyapa*, Jetsun Rinpoche Dragpa Gyaltzen said:

The white earth behind the monastery is like a lion’s face. Palden Sakya, the monastery itself, is the lion’s body, the resting place of Vajradhara, who fulfills the wishes of the six kinds of beings.

Thus, the place-name became applied to the tradition itself.

There have been no major critiques aimed at the glorious Sakya tradition, but responses to minor criticisms posed by Geluk scholars, such as Khedrub Je Gelek Palzang, the omniscient Butön Rinpoche, Bodongpa Chogle Namgyal, and so on, can be found in the works of Vajradhara Ngor Chen, the omniscient Gorampa Sönam Senge, and others. Pañchen Śākya Chogden raised questions about the triple vow, and the omniscient Druk Chen Pema Karpo also had slight objections in this regard. [442] Questions about the explanation of the *Hevajratantra* were answered by the omniscient Gorampa, Lowo Khenchen, Ludrub Gyatso, Ngawang Chödrak, and others, criticisms of Chöje Ngorpa by proponents of the Dzongpa school were dealt with by the omniscient Könchok Lhundrub, Ngawang Tenpe Dorje and others, and sarcastic comments on the secret Lobshe teachings by the Jonangpa and others were addressed in a vast and profound way by Mangtö Ludrub and Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak. If examined with the eye of discriminating intelligence, these are free of any misconception and provide reasons that vindicate unmitigated faith in those teachings.

The Kagyu Tradition

At around the same time as the rise of Sakya, the matchless tradition of the spoken transmission from Dagpo also became extremely widespread.

Dagla Gampo²⁷⁶ was founded by Dagpo Rinpoche Sönam Rinchen, the sun-like disciple of Mila Zhepe Dorje, great pillar of the practice tradition of Lord Marpa, when he was in his forties (in the 1120s). It became the source of all the Kagyu lineages and was subsequently maintained by his nephew Gomtsul Tsultrim Nyingpo [443] and by successive incarnations, such as the omniscient Tashi Namgyal.

The “forest of Samantabhadra” at Pagmo Dru (Densa Tel) in Ngamshö²⁷⁷ was founded by the Jagannātha Pagdru Dorje Gyalpo at the age of forty-nine (1159). It was maintained for a short time thereafter by the disciples from Drigung and Taglung, and subsequently, the throne was held by Chen Nga Dragpa Jungne of the Lhazik Lang clan and successive Chen Nga of the family lineage. These days, while the sacred contents of the temples remain, the teaching lineage has largely disappeared.

Pagmo Drupa’s disciples were the founders of the Kagyu lineages known as “the four pairs” or “eight branches”: the Drigungpa and Taglungpa, the Yabzangpa and Shugsebpa, the Marpa and Yelpa, and the Tropuwa and Ling Repa.

Of those, Drigung Tel,²⁷⁸ the vajrāsana of the north, was initially founded by the precious Pagmo Drupa’s disciple Minyak Gomring. Later, Kyobpa Jigten Sumgön, emanation of Ārya Nāgārjuna, came there at the age of thirty-eight (1179) and made it his residence. It was maintained by the nephew lineage, Khenchen Gurawa, Sönam Dragpa, and so on, and by Pal Chökyi Dragpa and successive incarnations.

Taglung Monastery of the north was founded by the precious Taglung Tangpa Tashi Pal at the age of thirty-seven (1180) and was maintained by his nephew Rinchen Gön and so on, [444] and later by successive incarnations. Today both monasteries are highly developed. Riwoche Monastery in Kham was founded by Sangye Öñ, third in Tangpa Rinpoche’s nephew lineage.²⁷⁹

Zara Monastery in Drarab was founded by Kalden Yeshe Senge and maintained by his disciple Gyalwa Yabzangpa Chökyi Mönlam and others.²⁸⁰

Nyepu Shugseb Monastery²⁸¹ was founded by Gyergom Chenpo Tsultrim Senge of Yarlung and subsequently flourished greatly.

Shogön Monastery²⁸² in Kham was founded by Chöje Marpa Sherab Yeshe. These days, the teaching tradition continues a little among the Palyul community.

Do Dzong in the east, Yelbuk in the south, and Tana in the north were founded by the Jagannātha Sangye Yelpa Yeshe Tsek.²⁸³ These days the monastery is still there, but the teaching tradition seems to have largely disappeared.

Tropu Monastery²⁸⁴ in Tsang was founded by Rinpoche Gyaltsa, of Nub Namkhe Nyingpo’s family lineage, and his brother Kunden Rechung. The achievements of their nephew, the Tropu Lotsāwa Jampe Pal, who invited Pañchen Śākyasri and others and built the Maitreya statue eighty cubits tall, left a great impression. The lineage was

known as the Tropu Kagyu. Today only the monastery remains, and there are no successors of the lineage, [445] although the omniscient Butön Rinpoche too was primarily educated in this tradition.

Napu Chölung Hermitage²⁸⁵ in Ü (near Dorje Drak) was founded by Lingje Repa Pema Dorje, the Pagmo Drupa disciple who attained complete realization. Today only the hermitage remains, and the lineage has no successors, but as the Drukpa school originated with his teaching, the continuity of his enlightened activity became as vast as the sky.

Barom Monastery²⁸⁶ of the north was founded by Dagpo Rinpoche's disciple Barom Repa Darma Wangchuk, and later expanded by Tishri Repa and others.

Tsal Gungtang²⁸⁷ was founded by the Jagannātha “Zhang the unborn” Yudragpa Darma Drak, a disciple of Dagpo Gomtsul, and maintained by the incomparable Śākya Yeshe and others, and flourished greatly for a time.

Tsurpu Dowo Lung Monastery in Tölung was founded by Dagpo Rinpoche's disciple Je Dusum Khyenpa at the age of eighty (1189). He had founded monasteries, such as Kampo Ne in Kham, at the age of fifty-five (1164), and Karma Göñ at the age of seventy-seven (1186). The throne was held by Jangchub Ngödrub of Layak and others, and thereafter by successive incarnations starting with Karma Pakṣi, [446] giving rise to the renowned Kamtsang Kagyu, the essence of all practice traditions.

The Karma Kagyu Tradition

The glorious Karmapa incarnations are the supremely noble Padmapāṇi deliberately taking human form. The great Je Dusum Khyenpa was born in Kham Treshö, a part of Greater Tibet. Travelling to Ü-Tsang, he heard and reflected on the teachings chiefly of the Jagannātha Dagpo Lharje. Putting them into practice, he manifested ascension to a high level of accomplishment. He beheld a vision of the jñānaḍākinīs crowning him with a black hat of golden radiance, and it is from wearing that hat of fourfold liberation that the utpala flower of his renown as the “Black Hat Lama” first opened. After founding those monasteries, he entrusted the teachings of the lineage transmission to Sangye Ra Chen. At the age of eighty-four (1193), his joyous gaze reverted to the tranquil realm.

Of his successive reincarnations, the second, Karma Pakṣi was born at Lé Tsagto in the Drichu valley in Domé. His miraculous manifestations and enlightened activity were infinite. He entrusted the teachings of the lineage transmission to Mahāsiddha Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal. He passed away at the age of seventy-four (1283).

The third, the omniscient Rangjung Dorje, was born in Gungtang in Mangyul. [447] Absolutely unstained by birth from a womb, with memory of past lives, his spiritual career was astounding and beyond conception. His foremost disciple was the first holder of the red crown, Zhamarpa Dragpa Senge, who entrusted the teachings of the lineage transmission to Yungtönpa Dorje Pal.

The fourth, Chöje Rölpe Dorje, was born at Ala Rong in the Ngö region of Kham. He even ushered Jetsun Lobzang Dragpa²⁸⁸ through the gateway of the teachings.

The fifth, Dezhin Shegpa, was born at Ösal in Nyangpo. He was revered by many great figures, such as Yongle, the Great Ming emperor of China. His mercy and enlightened activity were beyond imagining.

The sixth, Tongwa Dönden, was born near Karma Gön Monastery in the Ngom valley in Kham. Among his disciples was the first Gyaltsab incarnation Goshri Paljor Döndrub.

The seventh, Chödrak Gyatso, was born at the mouth of the Ngö valley. He sustained vast activity in teaching, debating, and composition.

The eighth, the omniscient Mikyö Dorje, was born in the Ngom valley. He became a great paṇḍita professing all fields of knowledge without impediment and composed many commentaries.

The ninth, Wangchuk Dorje, was born in lower Tre, at the foot of the Khawa Langri mountain.²⁸⁹ [448]

The tenth, Chöying Dorje, was born at Martö Gunda in Golok. At that time, the Karma tradition suffered significant damage, but by traveling to faraway places, such as Jang Yul, this master evaded attack.

The eleventh, Yeshe Dorje, was born in Golok.

The twelfth, Jangchub Dorje, was born in Öntö Kyilé, in the kingdom of Derge.

The thirteenth, Dudul Dorje, was born near Lhoné Geri.

The fourteenth, Khyabdak Tegchok Dorje, was born near Ogmin Karma Gön in the jurisdiction of Riwoche. He opened the lotus of mastery in all fields of learning, and expanding the three spheres of activity, such as teaching, debate, and composition, his presence remains firm.²⁹⁰

In short, these noble incarnations could remember their past lives from the time of birth, reawakened qualities inherited from past lives through deeds of learning and accomplishment, and so on, and their superiority over other purported incarnations is something evident to all with eyes and ears.

Dechen Yangpa Chen Monastery²⁹¹ of the north was the seat of the successive Zhamar incarnations. At the culmination of a series of learned and accomplished masters with a common field of teaching activity who were incarnations of the Buddha Amitābha's wisdom-mind, [449] came the Third Karmapa's heart disciple Zhamarpa Togden Dragpa Senge (born at Sha in Pombor), Pal Khachö Wangpo (Jema Lung in Nam), Tulku Chöpal Yeshe (Khedrak Do in Nyangpo), Chökyi Dragpa Yeshe Palzangpo (Khasar in Treshö), Könchok Yenlak (Tsakyen Zhung in Kongpo), Mipham Chökyi Wangchuk (Drigung family lineage), Yeshe Nyingpo (lower Golok), Palchen Chökyi Döndrub (Yölmo Gangra), up to the ninth, Je Chödrub Gyatso (Depa Tashi Tse family),²⁹² whose inconceivable qualities of learning, nobility, and accomplishment attracted flowers of praise from all the learned and accomplished masters of India and Tibet. However, in the time of the tenth

incarnation, Chödrub Gyatso, during the Gorkha troubles, a disaster for the continuity of the teachings, he was deposed by the government, the Yangpa Chen monastery was converted to the Geluk school, and the enthronement of future incarnations banned. But as the enlightened activity of the jinas is constant, pervasive, and spontaneous, who can put a stop to it?²⁹³

PALPUNG MONASTERY AND THE SITU LINEAGE

In the east of the kingdom of Derge in Dokham, the great reservoir of teaching and practice known as Palpung Tubten Chökhör Ling [450] was founded by the omniscient Situ Rinpoche Tenpe Nyinje, who is overtly praised in vajra prophecies by those with the wisdom-eye of Padmasambhava, knower of the three times,²⁹⁴ in the Fire Sheep year (1727) when he was twenty-nine. It was maintained by his nephew lineage and incarnations, and it flourished greatly, with many branch monasteries as far away as the land of Jang (Lijiang).

The Situ incarnation lineage proceeds from endless pure emanations, such as Ḍombīpa in India and Marpa Lotsāwa of Lhodrak in the Land of Snows. In particular, there were Rechen Sönam Dragpa, the heart disciple of Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa;²⁹⁵ Yeshe Ö, the attendant of Karma Pakṣi;²⁹⁶ Rigowa Ratnākara from Rangjung Dorje's time;²⁹⁷ and the miracle-working imperial minister, emissary to the arhats, of Rölpe Dorje's time.²⁹⁸ In Dezhin Shegpa's time, the great prodigy Chökyi Gyaltzen of the Ogmin Karma nephew lineage was appointed in charge of the middle seat²⁹⁹ and awarded the title of Tai Situ, a crystal seal, and so forth by the Ming emperor of China, by which title the lineage has been known ever since.³⁰⁰

After that, Situ Tashi Namgyal and Tashi Paljor were born into the nephew lineage of the middle seat, Mitruk Chökyi Gocha [451] was born at Tsimda in Zurmang and resided at Pungri of the east, and his successor was Situ Norbu Sampel. His reincarnation was Situ Chökyi Gyaltzen Gelek Palzangpo, and his reincarnation Mipham Trinle Rabten was born in Meshö in the kingdom of Derge. Up to that time they all resided at the middle seat, Karma Monastery.

His emanation, the omniscient Chökyi Jungne, blossomed as a lotus of perfection from the Dru clan lineage at Alo Dingring Gang in the Ata Rong valley in the kingdom of Derge in the female Earth Hare year (1700). By manifesting his inherent qualities, his renown spread through all quarters. From Lama Karma Paldrub and Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu,³⁰¹ he learned grammar, poetics from Lama Chöwang, astrology from De'umar Geshe,³⁰² and Pramāṇa, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Madhyamaka, and Prajñāpāramitā from Kyetsal Drungrampa Sönam Namgyal and others. He learned painting from Kongpo Tulku, and from many scholars of India, China, and Tibet, including Chagzö Kyechok³⁰³ and Pöntsang Yeshe Samten,³⁰⁴ he learned medicine, and so on, such that his learning in even the ordinary branches of knowledge was entirely exceptional. [452]

He was kindly instructed in the three vows by the Eighth Zhamar, Palchen Chökyi Döndrub, and from him, the Twelfth Karmapa and Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu and others received an ocean-like multitude of profound teachings on sūtra and tantra. In terms of all-round mastery of the ordinary branches of knowledge, since the passing of Jetsun Sapaṅ and Shong and Pang, father and son,³⁰⁵ none but this master have achieved such a standard as is apparent to the minds of learned people, although biased fools would never see it. Indeed, when even great paṇḍitas of the noble land of India, such as Viṣṇupati and Prabala, constantly cast flowers of praise, why pay any attention to the disapproval of a few fools in Tibet? But for the passage of time, his realization was equal to the omniscient ones of the age of strife, such as Ratnākaraśānti, Abhayākara Gupta, and Śākyaśrī.³⁰⁶ His compositions too, each line like the nectar of eloquence dripping into a pot, are indistinguishable from the writings of the scholars of Āryāvarta. They amount to fifteen large volumes, his commentary on Sanskrit grammar foremost among them.³⁰⁷

Although he was due to occupy the middle seat of Karma Göṅ, [453] at the command of the great Derge Dharmarāja, he founded the monastery of Palpung Tubten Chökhör Ling and resided there. Among his heart disciples were many who attained the supreme siddhis, such as the Thirteenth Karmapa,³⁰⁸ the Ninth Zhamarpa, and Pawo Rinpoche,³⁰⁹ and scholastic masters, such as Druk Yongzin Rinpoche³¹⁰ (many informal writings on ordinary disciplines including grammar), Khamtrul Chökyi Nyima (commentaries on poetics, philosophical terminology, the *Abhidharmakośa*, and so on), his nephew, the Satsa incarnation Karma Ngelek Tenzin³¹¹ (three volumes on medicine and astrology), and Mahāpaṇḍita Bé Lo Tsewang Kunkhyab (many informal writings on grammar, poetics, astrology, Buddhist philosophy and so on). In fields such as medicine and the manufacturing arts, whatever correct exposition and practice there has been in the entirety of these disciplines up to the present day is solely due to the kindness of this great omniscient master.

The successors to the throne of Palpung were his nephews Karma Sampel, reincarnation of Rigdzin Longsal Nyingpo; Karma Samten, an emanation of Yutok Yönten Göṅpo; and others. Then were his own precious reincarnations, masters of the ocean of qualities of learning, nobility, and attainment and singular crown jewel of all the holders of the Kamtsang tradition, [454] the Six Lotus-Tongued Ones prophesied by Orgyen Chenpo, knower of the three times, of whom Pema Wangchen or Pema Nyinje Wangpo was the first,³¹² and then Karma Sampel's reincarnation Wangi Dorje,³¹³ and his reincarnation Önrul Drubgyu Tenzin Trinle,³¹⁴ Karma Ngelek Tenzin's reincarnation Karma Rinchen, and Karma Samten's reincarnation Karma Ngedön Tenpel, all expanded the activity of the three spheres.

OTHER KARMA KAGYU MONASTERIES

The Nenang Hermitage “of the victors” in Ü was initially founded by Zhamar Dragpa Senge³¹⁵ and later became the seat of the successive Pawo incarnations. This title first belonged to the incarnations of Tertön Rinchen Lingpa in the southern region of Loro, Gyaltzen Palzang and Zhönu Lhundrub Wangpo, and up to the time of Chöwang Lhundrub (born in Yarlung), they belonged to the Nyingma tradition.³¹⁶ He was appointed by the Seventh Karmapa to take charge of Lho Drowolung and Sekhar Gutok, and converted them to the Kagyu tradition.³¹⁷

From his reincarnation, the omniscient Tsuglak Trengwa (born at Gang Gyu in Nyetang), the lineage continued through Tsuglak Gyatso (born in Kharyul Bande Lung), Trinle Gyatso (born in Shelkhok in Tawu) (although this was a time of decline for the Karma tradition, the omniscient Fifth Dalai Lama looked upon this master favorably and permitted him to take charge of Nenang, the tantric college in Drak, and so on),³¹⁸ [455] Tsuglak Döndrub (Chushul), Tsuglak Gawe Wangpo (Öntö), and Tsuglak Chögyal (younger brother of Situ Rinpoche). The light of their learning and attainment opened the lotus of the minds of the intelligent.

Zurmang Monastery in Kham was founded by Drung Masé Lodrö Rinchen.³¹⁹ The Zurmang Kagyu branch of the Kamtsang Kagyu tradition flourishes greatly even today.

The Pal Ritse hermitage at Nedo in Ngom Yul was founded by the mahāsiddha Karma Chagme, a disciple of Zhamar Chökyi Wangchuk renowned as an emanation of the Eighth Karmapa and luminary of both the Nyingma and Kagyu traditions.³²⁰ It was maintained by his successive reincarnations. The activity of the Nedo Kagyu tradition that began here opened doors in all directions is reputed to have produced some fifty volumes of written teachings and brought great benefit to living beings.

The Drukpa Tradition

Ralung Monastery in the Nyangtö region of Tsang:³²¹ in accord with a vajra prophecy by the Lake-Born ācārya Padmasambhava that “at a place called Saral, where three valleys meet, an emanation of Ratnadhara will appear,” the wisdom embodiment of the great compassion of all the buddhas and emanation of Padmapāṇi, [456] known in the noble land of India as “Mahāsiddha Nāropa” who proclaimed the great lion’s roar of Vajrayāna, was reborn in this Land of Snows as Tsangpa Gyare Yeshe Dorje. He was renowned as the most highly realized master this side of the river Gaṅgā and a disciple of Ling Repa Pema Dorje, who was fit to be a kinsman of the great Mahāsiddha Saraha. He founded this monastic seat after a prophecy from Mahāsiddha Ling Repa, founded Longdöl Monastery after a prophecy from Lama Zhang, and Druk Monastery after a prophecy from Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa.

At the upper seat,³²² this master was succeeded by (1) Önre Darma Senge, (2) Chöje Zhönu Senge, (3) Jangsem Nyima Senge, (4) Gyalse Senge Sherab, (5) Pökyapa Senge Rinchen, (6) Chusum Senge Gyalpo, (7) Jamyang Kunga Senge, (8) Jamyang Lodrö Senge, and (9) Tulku Sherab Senge, who were known collectively as the “nine

matchless lions.” They were followed by Yeshe Rinchen, Namkha Palzang; Gyalwang Chöje Kunga Paljor, the rebirth of Tsangpa Gyare; and Ngawang Chögyal.

Then, Jamyang Chökyi Dragpa, the rebirth of Gyalwang Chöje, born into the family of the Jar Tripön,³²³ and his rebirth, [457] the omniscient Pema Karpo, born in Kongpo, who taught and debated fluently on all fields of knowledge, wrote many eloquent compositions, and whose enlightened activity was vast. Then came Pagsam Wangpo, Kagyu Trinle Shingta, Chökyi Nangwa and his successor, whose pure renown as omniscient masters illuminated the world like the sun and spread the activity of the practice lineage to the limits of space.

Furthermore, there were the fifty thousand disciples, such as the upper Drukpa of Gyare’s disciple Götsangpa, numerous as the stars in the sky, and the lower Drukpa of Gyalwa Lo Repa, numerous as the grains of the earth, most of whom attained the rainbow body, and in accord with the prophecy of Vajravārāhī that their teachings would spread to the distance covered by a vulture flying for eighteen days, the lands as far as Oḍḍiyāna and Jalandhara were filled with the lineages of their disciples, so that it was reputed throughout the world that “half of the people are Drukpa, half of the Drukpa are renunciant beggars, and half of the beggars are siddhas.”

Jar Tashi Tongmön was founded after a prophecy from Ḍākinī Sukhasiddhī to Jamyang Chökyi Dragpa, the rebirth of Drukpa Gyalwang Je,³²⁴ and maintained by his successive incarnations.³²⁵ [458]

In particular, during the omniscient Pema Karpo’s time (1527–1592), quite a few monasteries were founded due to his vast activity, and then Je Ngawang Namgyal went to Lho Mön.³²⁶ Gaining dominance over the four Mönpa communities through his samādhi, he established many centers for renunciation and study and a realm of secular and religious authority combined; beholden to none, it was known as Lho Druk.³²⁷ From Ngari³²⁸ down to Kongpo and Kham too, the Drukpa Kagyu spread very widely, with such monasteries as Dechen Chökhör and Dranang Dingpo Che in central Tibet,³²⁹ and the seat of Khamtrul Rinpoche in Kham,³³⁰ and remains so to this day.

Successive Holders of the Kagyu Tradition

Concerning how the noble adepts of the precious Kagyu, source of the ocean of practice traditions in the Land of Snows, kindly benefitted the teachings: generally, the trio of Marpa, Milarepa, and Dagpo Rinpoche; Rechungpa; and the glorious Pagmo Drupa are like the forefathers of the precious Kagyu tradition. In particular, in the Kamsang Kagyu lineage, the founders Je Dusum Khyenpa and Togden Dragpa Senge and their successors, especially the omniscient Rangjung Dorje, Je Chödrak Gyatso, Mikyö Dorje, Zhamarpa Chökyi Dragpa, Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa, and others are famed for their learning and attainment of siddhis. Later, [459] when the tradition had deteriorated with the passage of time, Zhamar Palchen Chökyi Döndrub and the

omniscient Situ Chökyi Jungne, along with their successors, served the tradition with singular kindness.

Similarly, the pure renown of Ngawang Dragpa of Taglung, Rinchen Puntsok and Chökyi Dragpa of Drigung, and Gyalwang Je and Pema Karpo of the Drukpa shone like the sun.

To summarize the essence of the spiritual careers of such supremely noble masters as these: on the foundation of the renunciation of the Śrāvaka, the bodhicitta of the Mahāyana, and the samaya of Secret Mantra, and in addition to striving one-pointedly on the path of the ascertained meaning through the yoga of devotional Mahāmudrā, there was also the completion of all the teachings particular to each tradition, known as the compatible excellences³³¹—namely, the exposition of the tantras in the Marpa and Ngogpa traditions, the spoken instructions and dedication to practice of Milarepa, Gampopa's *Dusting the Essence*,³³² Karmapa's *Prāṇa and Mind as Inseparable*,³³³ Lama Zhang's *Ultimate Sublime Path of Mahāmudrā*,³³⁴ Pagmo Drupa's *Stages of the Mantrayāna*,³³⁵ Barompa's works on the six yogas and the shortcut to liberation,³³⁶ the *Thirty-Nine Liberation Paths* of the Taglungpa,³³⁷ Drigungpa's *Single Vital Point of the Three Vows*,³³⁸ Tsangpa Gyare's teachings on auspicious conjunction and equal taste,³³⁹ and Lo Repa and Götsangpa's teachings on devotion and renunciation. [460] In whichever of these they became adept, practicing it themselves and teaching and guiding their students in it, that became their particular distinction, but all of them together became renowned throughout the triple world as the Kagyu teachings and those who mastered them as the prodigious upholders of the teachings.

The Teachings of the Kagyu Tradition

The instructions passed down by them comprising the explanation of the words, the transmission of the meaning, and the essential experiential practices of sūtra, tantra, and ordinary learning in general were beyond imagining. In particular, it was the teachings peculiar to the precious Kagyu tradition that chiefly flourished, the definitive Mahāmudrā and the profound path of the Six Yogas of Nāropa.

Of these, in the Kamsang Kagyu tradition, there were once vast collections of teachings, such as the Hundred Tantras of the Tsurpu tradition and the Forty-Two Maṇḍalas of Yangpa Chen. But these days it is the essential empowerments for Amitāyus, Akṣobhya, and so on of Kriyā Tantra, the numerous authorizations and subsidiary instructions, the Sarvavid Vairocana of Yoga Tantra, and the empowerments for the Jinasāgara form of Mahākāruṇika, the five-deity Saṃvara, Vajravārāhī, and so on of the Niruttarayoga Tantra, with the transmissions and pith instructions from both the Indian and Tibetan canons, that are taught. [461] There are also the fierce Vajrapāṇi, greater and lesser of Rechungpa's tradition, the Seven Maṇḍalas transmitted by Lama Ngogpa and his descendants— being the teachings on

- (1) Hevajra the father and

- (2) the mother Nairātmyā,
- (3) Vajrapañjara,
- (4) Mahāmāyā,
- (5) the teachings on Catuḥpīṭha the father Yogāmbara and
- (6) the mother Jñāneśvarī, and
- (7) Mañjuśrīguhyaka (Yoga Tantra).

In general teachings, there are the transmission of the *Vajrāvalī* from Śākyaśrī and so on, and that from Paṇḍita Vanaratna and so on, the Hundred Deity Maṇḍalas of Mahāsiddha Mitrayogi, Bari Lotsāwa’s *Hundred* and Abhaya’s *Ocean* sādhana collections, the *Jewel Source*³⁴⁰ and so on, the authorizations for the Ninth Karmapa’s *Garland of Visualization Instructions* for peaceful and wrathful deities, and *Lightning Garland* of protector deities.³⁴¹ In particular, there are the practice instructions for the definitive Mahāmudrā and reading transmissions for a multitude of canonical Indian and Tibetan works on Mahāmudrā, practice instructions for the profound path of the Six Yogas of Nāropa and the six yogas as presented in the Sekharma revelation,³⁴² the exegetical tradition of the *Profound Inner Principles*,³⁴³ the empowerments, transmissions, and pith instructions of the inconceivably great spoken transmission of Zurmang, and the empowerments, transmissions and practice instructions of the profound Demon Severance teachings.

From the teachings transmitted by Jetsun Jonangpa there are the complete Kālacakra empowerments, including the highest empowerments and the vajrācārya’s self-empowerments; the Saṃvara empowerment according to the *Commentary on the Upper Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, the Saṃvara empowerments in Lūipa, Ghaṅṭapāda, and Kṛṣṇacārīn’s traditions; the Sahajasaṃvara self-empowerment; and [462] the empowerments of the complete maṇḍalas of Saṃvara, Hevajra in the Sakya tradition, Mahāmāyā in the Ngok tradition, Catuḥpīṭha, its female deity Jñānaḍākinī, Tārāyoginī, the three Khecarī cycles, the tantric Vajrakīla, Guhyasamāja in the traditions of both Nāgārjuna and Jñānapāda, five-deity Raktayamāri, Kṛṣṇayamāri in Lama Zhang’s tradition, thirteen-deity Bhairava, the Aṣṭavetāla form of Bhairava, the complete maṇḍalas of Yamāntaka, the unsurpassed form of Acala, the Five Tantras of the Shangpa Kagyu tradition, the saṃbhogakāya form of Akṣobhya, and the nine-deity Amitāyus. There are also practice instructions for the Ṣaḍaṅgayoga and the Six Yogas of Niguma and the *Hundred Instructions* of Drölchok,³⁴⁴ the empowerment of the black-cloaked dharmapāla Mahākāla and its authorization, the authorizations for his consort Rangjung Gyalmo Mahākālī, the five-fold ensemble of Mahākāla, Mahākālī and retinue,³⁴⁵ the protectress Tashi Tseringma and others, the empowerment of Caturbhujamahākāla, and so on.

The supplementary literature includes the life stories and spiritual songs of Marpa and Milarepa; the complete works of Dagpo Gampopa and Pagmo Drupa; the *Like a*

Jeweled Ornament commentary on Hevajra of the Ngok tradition;³⁴⁶ the complete works of Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa; the *Profound Inner Principles* and other miscellaneous writings of Karmapa Rangjung Dorje; Karmapa Mikyö Dorje's volume of short meditation instructions; the collected writings of Karmapa Wangchuk Dorje, Zhamar Khachö Wangpo, Zhamar Könchok Yenlak, Situ Chökyi Jungne, and so on; the many writings of Karma Chagme; the *Mountain Retreat Teachings* of Dölpopa;³⁴⁷ the writings of Tāranātha, and many others. [463]

As practices from the Nyingma side were adopted at a later stage, the revelations of the former and latter tertöns,³⁴⁸ Sangye Lingpa, Ratna Lingpa, and Karma Lingpa, and of Jatsön Nyingpo, Dudul Dorje, Namchö Mingyur Dorje, Tagsham Nuden Dorje, Chöje Lingpa, Rölpe Dorje, and especially the *Padma Vajra* practice of the hundred peaceful and wrathful deities, the *Longevity Sādhana of Method and Wisdom Combined*, and *Dorje Drolö* revelations of Yonge Mingyur Dorje are very widely practiced.³⁴⁹

For the Drukpa tradition of the ultimate meaning transmission, the general and subsidiary teachings from the four classes of tantra are mostly the same as above. In particular, the key instruction in the view is Mahāmudrā, the key instruction in meditation is the Six Yogas of Nāropa, the key instruction in conduct is the “equal taste of the elements,” and the key instruction in the result is the seven teachings on auspicious conjunction. The instructions cherished by all are the *Profound Path* guru yoga;³⁵⁰ the authorizations of immediate recourse from the Drukpa tradition; the Five Sādhana Cycles, being the siddhi cycle of Saṃvara, the blessing cycle of Vārāhī, the power cycle of the fierce one, Vajrapāṇi, the Kusāli cycle of Sahajasamvara, and the dharmapāla cycle of the raven-faced Mahākāla (a great variety of empowerments, transmissions, and pith instructions); [464] the four practices of immediate recourse, being the Vajrasattva practice for cleansing transgressions, the Kamkani dhāraṇī for the purification of the lower realms, the Amitāyus practice for immortality (there are many, such as the outer, inner, and secret of Rechungpa's tradition), and the Mahākāruṇika blessing practice (of Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī's tradition); as well as the spoken lineage of Rechungpa, old and new;³⁵¹ Götsangpa's *Eight Major Instructions* of the upper Drukpa lineage;³⁵² Orgyenpa's *Familiarization and Accomplishment in the Three Vajras*;³⁵³ Yang Gönpa's *Three Cycles of Teachings for Retreatants*;³⁵⁴ Lo Repa's *Five Capabilities* from the lower Drukpa lineage,³⁵⁵ the *Daily Practice of Seven Virtues*;³⁵⁶ and the collected writings of Ling Repa and Gya Repa, the “nine matchless lions,” Gyalwang Je Kunga Paljor, and Druk Chen Pema Karpo.

Similarly, the vast literature of the other Kagyu traditions includes, from the Taglung tradition, the *Wish-Fulfilling Jewel: Teachings on the Six Yogas*,³⁵⁷ the collected writings of Taglung Tangpa, earlier and later,³⁵⁸ and the golden volume of teachings on Caturbhujamahākāla, and from the Drigung tradition, the *Single Intention*,³⁵⁹ the *Single Vital Point of the Three Vows*, the Fivefold Mahāmudrā,³⁶⁰ and so on.

The extensive biographies of the precious Kagyu masters can be found in the many volumes of biographies and spiritual songs of each school, in the vast collection of biographies of the Karma Kamtsang practice tradition called the *Moon Crystal Rosary*, composed by the omniscient Situ Tenpe Nyinje and Paṇḍita Tsewang Kunkhyab, [465] and in the chapters devoted to the Kagyupa in the histories of the Dharma composed by the omniscient Gö Lotsāwa Shönu Pal (*The Blue Annals*, one volume), Drukpa Pema Karpo (*The Sun That Makes the White Lotus Blossom*, one volume),³⁶¹ Taglungpa Ngawang Dragpa, and Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa (*Feast for the Learned*, two volumes).

The Meaning of the Names “Kagyu” and “Drukpa”

The term *Kagyu* refers to the teachings of Dagpo Rinpoche, who first received the Kadampa instructions (“Ka”) passed down by Jowo Je Atiśa, and later entered the precious transmission (“gyu”) of Mahāmudrā from Marpa Lotsāwa, and cultivated a union of the two. Thus, the tradition was named after those precepts.

The term *Drukpa* refers to when Tsangpa Gyare reached the place where he would found a monastery, a group of nine dragons, mothers and offspring, that had landed there took off into the sky with three resounding roars, which is said to be why the monastery he founded in the upper Nam valley³⁶² was named Druk.³⁶³ Thus, the tradition was named after that place.

The Gandenpa Tradition

Then came the Riwo Gandenpa school, whose activity was unrivaled in later times.

The monastic seat which is like the root of them all is Ganden Monastery, Drok Riwo Genden Nampar Gyalwe Ling.³⁶⁴ It was founded by Lobzang Dragpa of Tsongkha in the east, [466] in the Earth Ox year (1409)³⁶⁵ when he was fifty-three (the Lhaden Mönlam Chenmo prayer festival was also first started in that year). He was succeeded by Gyaltsab Darma Rinchen, and the successive throne holders. In this monastery are Jangtse College, seat of Gyaltsab Je, with thirteen *khangtsen*, and Shartse College, seat of Khedrub Je, also with thirteen, which make twenty-six.

Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dragpa

As for Jamgön Lobzang Dragpa, both place and person are clearly prophesied in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*:³⁶⁶

After I pass beyond this world
 And my teaching is no more upon this earth,
 You will appear in ordinary human form
 And perform the deeds of a buddha.
 At that time, the great monastery of perfect joy
 Will be there in the Land of Snows.

And:

Beautiful reflection of the buddha's form

Whose first letters are Loden (Matibhadrakīrti).

Just so, the vajra emanation of the primordial wisdom of Mañjuśrī's body, speech, and mind in human form emerged from the lotus of his mother's womb amid wonderful signs on the tenth day of the first lunar month of the female Fire Bird year (February 8, 1357) in the land of Tsongkha in Domé. He was at once declared by Chöje Döndrub Rinchen, one endowed with siddhis, to be an emanation of Śrī Vajrabhairava. [467] At the age of three, he received the complete upāsaka vows from Gyalwang Karmapa Rölpe Dorje, and the ordination name Kunga Nyingpo. At the age of seven, he was ordained as a novice by Chöje Döndrub Rinchen and renowned as Lobzang Dragpa. He also received and reflected upon a vast range of teachings from that master.

At the age of seventeen, he traveled to central Tibet where, at various times, he studied medicine at Tsal Gungtang, studied grammar with Lotsāwa Rinchen Namgyal and Sazang Mati Pañchen, and poetics with Lotsāwa Namkha Zangpo, among the common disciplines. He studied an ocean-like multitude of the piṭakas of Buddhist learning, exemplified by the four classes of tantra, including Madhyamaka, Pramāṇa, and Prajñāpāramitā, and the higher and lower forms of Abhidharma³⁶⁷ with Rendawa, Vinaya at Kyormo Lung Monastery,³⁶⁸ the Graduated Path teachings of the Kadampa tradition from Lhodrak Namkha Gyaltzen, Cakrasaṃvara in Ghaṅṭapāda's tradition from Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen, Kālacakra from Gongsumpa Dechen Chökyi Palwa, Guhyasamāja from Khyungpo Lhepa Zhönu Sönam, and so on.

By carefully examining their meaning with the insight born of reflection, he attained an unimaginable grasp of scripture, but not leaving it at that, at the age of thirty-six, leading his "retinue of eight pure ones," [468] and with prayers to the lama inseparable from Mañjuśrī,³⁶⁹ he engaged one-pointedly in practice in renunciate style based on considered examination of the great treatises, and received the lama's and the deity's grace. In particular, after a vision of the commentator Buddhapālita, through the blessing of Lord Nāgārjuna and his followers, he taught a new way of understanding śūnyatā based on statements such as "I can see no way in which action agent and action do not arise dependently" in Buddhapālita's commentary on the eighth chapter of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*....³⁷⁰

Having thus gained full mastery of scriptural theory and direct insight for himself, to guide others, he based his teaching on the detailed practice of the noble Vinaya. Maintaining absolute non-transgression of the first two precepts of pratimokṣa and bodhisattva vows as the foundation of the Dharma, he gave such teachings as his faultless explanation of the word meaning of each of the fifteen great treatises on consecutive days at Mönkhar Tashi Dong; in debate, when giving his scholastic examinations on the five great treatises³⁷¹ at the monasteries of Sangpu, Sakya, and Tsedong, his renown for invincibility spread widely; and in composition, seemingly

blessed by Jowo Atiśa and his disciples, and the many paṇḍitas and siddhas of India, he produced some eighteen large volumes including such works as the *Graduated Path to Awakening*, greater and lesser,³⁷² and the *Great Treatise on the Stages of the Mantrayāna Path*,³⁷³ [469] as bouquets of fresh lotus flowers to adorn the ears of the intelligent.

At the age of fifty-three, in an Ox year, he established the Great Prayer Festival at Lhasa, rendering service to a saṅgha assembly of ten thousand. In the spring of that year, as foretold by devas and lamas, he founded Genden Nampar Gyalwe Ling Monastery at Drok Riwo, furthering the excellent activity of the three spheres.

As the outcome of such prodigious activity in teaching, debate, and composition, the disciples arisen from the nectar of his speech included: the four lamas from whom he received teachings as Dharma connections; the four who became his disciples early in his career; the retinue of eight pure ones; the three outstanding sons; the four great sons whose activity was vast as space; the ten illuminators of the teachings from Ü-Tsang; the ten bodhisattvas who spontaneously benefitted others; the two preceptors who ornamented the crowns of great rulers; the two nephews with vast learning; the two named Chok, elder and younger, who grasped the ascetic disciplines; the six flagpoles who spread the teachings to the borderlands; and so on.³⁷⁴ In short, virtually all the exponents of the Sakya, Ngok, Kadam, or Mahāmudrā traditions in the Land of Snows at that time attended his lotus feet, or as the omniscient Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pal succinctly put it, [470] “At that time, this great earth was covered by the single white parasol of Jetsun Tsongkhapa.”

His chief disciples were Togden Jampal Gyatso, Gyaltsab Je, Khedrub Je, Jamyang Chöje Tashi Palden, Jamchenpa Śākya Yeshe, Sherab Senge, Gendun Drub, and the two Sherab Zangpos.³⁷⁵

Thus, the entirety of his activity in the aspects of wisdom, love, and power were indistinguishable from that of a perfect buddha. Having served the teachings like a second buddha, on the tenth day of the second half of the tenth month of the Earth Pig year (November 21, 1419), when he was sixty-three, he finally brought his emanational form into repose. In respect of this, the anniversary known as Ganden Ngamchö is still celebrated today, and the virtuous enlightened activity of even this single deed can hardly be conceived.

There are fools who have imputed him to be the incarnation of an impure being and so forth,³⁷⁶ but as is this is indubitably an exercise in bad karma, they should be more careful.

The Successive Ganden Throne Holders

The first holder of the golden throne of Ganden Monastery, the incomparable mountain of virtue, the ocean in which hundreds of thousands of rivers of sūtra and tantra flowing from the mighty snow mountain that is Śākyamuni Buddha are pooled,

the source of explanation, accomplishment, and activity, the three trainings of discipline, concentration, and wisdom, and many of the precious qualities of the two stages, and home of ten million authoritative masters of learning and accomplishment, [471] was the glorious Dharmarāja of the triple world Lobzang Dragpa of Tsongkha in the east, who ascended the throne at the age of fifty-three, and remained for ten years (1409–1419).

He was succeeded by:

- (2) Gyaltsab Darma Rinchen of Rinang in the upper Nyang valley in Tsang at the age of fifty-six, for thirteen years
- (3) Khedrub Je Gelek Palzang of Löpa in the Dok valley of northern Latö (Changra Monastery) at the age of forty-seven, for eight years (these three became known as the trio of the father and his sons)
- (4) Legpa Gyaltzen of Shalu in Tsang at the age of age sixty-four, for twelve years
- (5) Lodrö Chökyong of Yagde in Tsang Rong (of Chölung Tsogpa Monastery) at the age of sixty-two, for thirteen years
- (6) Khedrub Rinpoche’s brother Baso Chökyi Gyaltzen at the age of sixty-two (he was also granted the “miraculous volume”)³⁷⁷
- (7) Je Lodrö Tenpa of Tsang (of Shang Drönkhang and Nenyng Monastery) at the age of seventy-two (he founded Dagpo Dratsang)³⁷⁸
- (8) Je Mönlam Pal Legpe Lodrö of northern Latö for fifteen years (the throne holders from Gyaltsab Je up to him became known as the seven Mañjuśrīs from Tsang)
- (9) Je Rinpoche’s nephew Lumbum Lobzang Nyima (of Gomang College at Drepung Monastery)
- (10) Shartse Yeshe Zangpo of Denma in Kham, from Drepung Losal Ling College, for five years (two years missing between these two)³⁷⁹
- (11) Shartse Lobzang Dragpa of Dar in Tsang at the age of seventy, for eleven years
- (12) Jangtse Jamyang Sherab Legpe Lodrö of É Yul (of Nyimatang Monastery) at the age of sixty-two, for five years
- (13) Shartse Chökyi Shenyen (of Losal Ling College) of Dapa in Tö Ngari at the age of sixty-four, for six years [472]
- (14) Jangtse Rinchen Özer (of the Zhingzang estate of Losal Ling) in lower Tölung at the age of seventy, for seven years
- (15) Shartse Pañchen Sönam Dragpa, the supremely judicious (of Nyimatang Monastery and the Je College of Sera Monastery), son of the Nangpa Ralampa family of Tsetang, at the age of fifty-one, for six years
- (16) Chökyong Gyatso of Gyara Gur in upper Ü (of Dragwar Dratsang) at the age sixty-three, for four years (eighth throne holder of the Lower Tantric college)
- (17) Shartse Dorje Zangpo of Kham Minyak, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, at the age of forty-nine, for seven years
- (18) Jangtse Gyaltzen Zangpo of Tagtse in upper Ü at the age of fifty, for two years

- (19) Shartse Ngawang Chödrak of Ngözhi in lower Tölung at the age of forty-eight, for three years
- (20) Jangtse Chödrak Zangpo of Tagpu in upper Ü, from the Je college of Sera Monastery, at the age of sixty, for six years
- (21) Shartse Gelek Palzang of Gyansar in Ölkha (of Samten Ling Monastery), known as Dewa Chenpa, at the age of fifty-four, for six years
- (22) Jangtse Gendun Tenpa Dargye of Una in Lungshö at the age of seventy-three, for three years
- (23) Shartse Tseten Gyatso of Tsetang for seven years
- (24) Jangtse Jampa Gyatso of Zhok (Drampu) in upper Ü, known as Ngöngawa, at the age of sixty, for seven years
- (25) Shartse Paljor Gyatso of Para in Tölung, from Ratö Monastery, known as Gyalkhang Tsepa, at the age of fifty-seven, for seven years
- (26) Jangtse Damchö Palbar of Né in Tsang at the age of sixty-seven, for seven years
- (27) Shartse Sangye Rinchen of Rinchen Ling in Medro, from Nyagre Khangtsen of Ganden Shartse College, at the age of fifty-seven, for seven years
- (28) Jangtse Gendun Gyaltsen of the Lumpashak house in Lhasa, (from the Je college of Sera Monastery), at the age of seventy-two, for four years
- (29) Shartse Shenyen Dragpa, [473] also known as Sönam Döndrub of Choné in Domé, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, at the age of sixty-two, for eight years
- (30) Jangtse Tri Chen Lodrö Gyatso of Taglung Drak in lower Tölung, from Ratö Monastery, at the age of seventy, for three years (he was reputed as the greatest scholar this side of the Gaṅgā river)
- (31) Shartse Jamyang Damchö Palwa of Jang Zhab in Kham, from the Losal Ling college of Drepung Monastery, at the age of seventy-three, for two years
- (32) Jangtse Tsultrim Chöpel of Drongtse in the upper Nyang valley in Tsang, from the Je college of Sera Monastery, at the age of sixty, for three years
- (33) Shartse Dragpa Gyatso of Geré in upper Ü for one year
- (34) Jangtse Ngawang Chökyi Gyaltsen, the Penylul Sekhang reincarnation, from Ratö Monastery (Dragwar Dratsang), at the age of forty-nine, for one year (he served as tutor to the Fifth Dalai Lama)
- (35) Shartse Jamyang Könchok Chöpel of Dranang, from the Dagpo Dratsang and Ratö monasteries, for seven years
- (36) Jangtse Tenzin Legshe, from the Kongpo Tashi Rabten and Dagpo Dratsang monasteries, for seven years (at that time, because of a dispute between the Jangtse and Shartse colleges, the Depa Tsangpa³⁸⁰ made them take turns to select candidates for fixed terms of seven years each)
- (37) Shartse Gendun Rinchen of Jang Satam, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, for five years
- (38) Jangtse Tenpa Gyaltsen, also called Chögyal Tashi, of Dromda in Dagpo, from Dagpo Dratsang Monastery, for two years

- (39) Shartse Könchok Chözang of Chuzang in Tölung, from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, at the age of fifty-two (the Lharampa degree was first introduced in his time, and he was one of them)
- (40) Jangtse Palden Gyaltzen, also called Ngawang Dorje, of Drangkhar in the Spiti region of Ngari, from Ngari Dratsang Monastery, for seven years [474]
- (41) Shartse Lobzang Gyaltzen of Tsetang, from Ratö Monastery, for seven years
- (42) Jangtse Lobzang Dönyö of Zhok in Penyul in upper Ü, from the Je college of Sera Monastery, for seven years (some call him Tri Namdak Dorje)
- (43) Shartse Jampa Tashi of Gyal in Dagpo, from Dagpo Dratsang Monastery, known as Ling Yagpa
- (44) Jangtse Ngawang Lodrö Gyatso of Kumbum in Amdo, from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery (also known as Tri Chen Gyanagpa)
- (45) Shartse Jamyang Tsultrim Dargye of Zhozang in Amdo Choné, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, at the age of sixty-three, for eighteen years (he served as the tutor of Gyalwa Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso)
- (46) Jangtse Kangyurwa Jinpa Gyatso of Amdo, from the Samlo Khangtsen college in Drepung Gomang, at the age of sixty-four, for two years (also known as Ngawang Palzang)
- (47) Shartse Lobzang Chöpel of Dapa Yangteng in Kham, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, at the age of fifty-seven, for three years
- (48) Jangtse Döndrub Gyatso of Nagtsang in the Tre region of Kham, from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, at the age of sixty, for six years (he too served as the tutor of Gyalwa Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso)
- (49) Shartse Lobzang Dargye of Choné (*Azigtang*) in Amdo, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, at the age of forty-eight, for seven years (he served as the tutor of Gyalwa Kalzang Gyatso)
- (50) Jangtse Jadrulwa Gendun Puntsok of Amdo (*Washul*), from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, for seven years (also known as Tri Gungtangpa)
- (51) Shartse Palden Dragpa of Amdo Tawön (*Hortsang Gönyin*), from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, for seven years (he too served as the tutor of Gyalwa Kalzang Gyatso) [475]
- (52) Jangtse Ngawang Tsepel of Yagzhöl in Tsäri, from Dagpo Dratsang Monastery, at the age of sixty-two, for three years
- (53) Shartse Gyaltzen Senge of Amdo Tawön Chökhör, from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, at the age of fifty-five, for seven years
- (54) Jangtse Ngawang Chogden of Jakhyung in Amdo, from the Je college of Sera Monastery, known as the elucidator of the Yellow Hat teachings, with the imperial title Achitu Nomonkhan,³⁸¹ at the age of sixty-two, for seven years (he too served as the tutor of Gyalwa Kalzang Gyatso)
- (55) Shartse Ngawang Namkha Zangpo, also called Lobzang Palden, of Amdo Zhung (*Mogri Dentang*), from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, at the age of fifty-seven, for four years

- (56) Jangtse Lobzang Drimé of Shogdruk in Kham Pomborgang, from the Losal Ling college of Drepung Monastery, for seven years
- (57) Shartse Samten Puntsok of Loda Pagmo Chöde in upper Ü, from the Losal Ling college of Drepung Monastery, for seven years (he was an incarnation of Je Rinpoche prophesied by Je Rinpoche himself)
- (58) Jangtse Ngawang Chödrak of Amdo Jakhyung, from the Je college of Sera Monastery for seven years (he served as the tutor of Gyalwa Jampal Gyatso)
- (59) Shartse Ngawang Chödrak of Chuzang in Tölung, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery at the age of sixty-one for one year (also known as Tiri Lhatob)
- (60) Jangtse Lobzang Tenpa of (Rablo in) the Tsawa region of Kham, from the Je college of Sera Monastery at the age of forty-eight for six years (he too served as the tutor of Gyalwa Jampal Gyatso)
- (61) Shartse Ngawang Tsultrim of Amdo Choné, from Tsador Khangtsen at the Mé college of Sera Monastery, with the imperial title Nomonkhan (he served as both the regent of Tibet and tutor of Gyalwa Jampal Gyatso) [476]
- (62) Jangtse Lobzang Mönlam of Tronang in Kham Gyalrong, from the Losal Ling college of Drepung Monastery at the age of fifty-seven for eight years
- (63) Shartse Lobzang Khechok of Penyul, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery at the age of fifty-eight (for six months)
- (64) Jangtse Lobzang Tashi from Dargye Monastery in Drango in Kham Trehor, and the Je college of Sera Monastery at the age of fifty-six for seven years
- (65) Shartse Gendun Tsultrim of (Yangtang in) Kham Gyaltang, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery at the age of fifty-eight for six years
- (66) Jangtse Ngawang Nyendrak of Amdo Jakhyung, from the Je college of Sera Monastery at the age of sixty-one for seven years (he served as tutor to both Gyalwa Lungtok Gyatso and Tsultrim Gyatso)
- (67) Shartse Kangyurwa Jamyang Mönlam of Muli in Kham, from the Losal Ling college of Drepung Monastery at the age of sixty-five (for three months)
- (68) Jangtse Lobzang Gelek of Gyal in Penyul, from Tsawa Khangtsen at the Mé college of Sera Monastery for one year
- (69) Shartse Jangchub Chöpel of Chatreng Sampel Ling in Kham, from Nyagre Khangtsen at Ganden Monastery, at the age of sixty, for seven years (he too served as tutor to Gyalwa Lungtok Gyatso)
- (70) Jangtse Ngawang Chöpel, known as Hor Kangyurwa, from the Gomang college of Drepung Monastery, for six years (he too served as tutor to Gyalwa Tsultrim Gyatso)
- (71) Shartse Yeshe Tardö of Drukla in Kongpo, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, at the age of seventy-three
- (72) Jangtse Jampal Tsultrim of Tobgyal in Tsang, from the Je college of Sera Monastery, at the age of sixty-two for eight years

- (73) Shartse Ngawang Jampal Tsultrim Gyatso of Choné in Domé, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery, with the imperial title Nomonkhan (he served as the regent of Tibet and tutor of Gyalwa Tsultrim Gyatso) [477]
- (74) Jangtse Lobzang Lhundrub of Chogtse in the Tsako region of Gyalrong, from the Mé college of Sera Monastery (he served as tutor to the omniscient Gyalwang Khedrub Gyatso)³⁸²
- (75) Shartse Ngawang Lungtok Yönten Gyatso of Ling Tsang
- (76) Jangtse Lobzang Khyenrab Wangchuk of Gyalrong, for seven years
- (77) Shartse Tsultrim Dargye of Pombor Gang, for two years
- (78) Jangtse Jamyang Damchö of Gyalrong, for seven years
- (79) Shartse Lobzang Jinpa of Ganden Pukhang Khangtsen, for two years
- (80) Jangtse Dragpa Döndrub of Drepung Samlo Khangtsen, for seven years
- (81) Shartse Ngawang Norbu of Amdo Zungchu, for five years
- (82) Jangtse Yeshe Chöpel of Dartsedo in Gyalrong, for seven years.³⁸³

The light of their activity in teaching and accomplishment fully illuminated the pitch darkness of the degeneration of the teachings and the minds of beings in the three realms, bringing the lotus of benefit and joy to full blossom.

Gelukpa Monasteries in Central Tibet

DREPUNG MONASTERY

Drepung Monastery was founded by Je Rinpoche's heart disciple Jamyang Chöje Tashi Palden, whose realization in learning and accomplishment was beyond imagining, as shown by his teaching spontaneously on 108 volumes of Sūtrayāna teachings in the Fire Monkey year (1416) when he was thirty-eight. Earlier, there were seven colleges:³⁸⁴ Gomang, Losal Ling, Deyang, Shagkor, Dulwa, [478] and Ngagpa, but later these were combined into four: Gomang (sixteen *khangtsen*), Losal Ling (twenty-six), Deyang, and Ngagpa. The masters who taught extensively and composed textbooks were Gungru Chökyi Jungne³⁸⁵ and Jamyang Zhepa at Gomang; the omniscient Legpa Chöjor, or Jamyang Gawe Lodrö,³⁸⁶ and Pañchen Sönam Dragpa³⁸⁷ at Losal Ling; Dratsang Yönten Gyatso at Deyang; Nartangpa Rabchok at Shagkor;³⁸⁸ and Nyenpo Śākya Gyaltzen at Tösam Ling.

SERA MONASTERY

Sera Tegchen Chöling Monastery was founded by Jamchen Chöje Śākya Yeshe in the Earth Pig year (1419),³⁸⁹ a direct disciple of Je Rinpoche whom he commended as his equal in learning and realization and sent to serve as chaplain to the emperor of China. The five original colleges were later combined into three: the Jepa (twenty-two *khangtsen*), Mepa (fifteen *khangtsen*), and Ngagpa colleges. Je College gradually developed from the teaching of Jamyang Chöje's disciple Mu Sepa Lodrö Rinchen Senge, and Mé College from the teaching of the omniscient Jangchub Bum. Many great masters of exposition

emerged there, such as Gungru Gyaltzen Zangpo, Nyaltön Paljor Lhundrub, Jetsun Chökyi Gyaltzen, and others. [479]

TASHI LHUNPO MONASTERY

Tashi Lhunpo Palgyi Dechen Chogle Nampar Gyalwe Ling Monastery in Tsang,³⁹⁰ was founded by Pañchen Gendun Drub in the Fire Hare year (1447) (twenty-nine years after the foundation of Ganden)³⁹¹ when he was fifty-seven, as had been clearly prophesied in the precious *Book of the Kadampa*:

Singular (*lhunpo*) height of auspicious (*tashi*) endurance
Enriched by seven ruby-like jewels...

And:

Auspicious place beyond compare,
On whose glory one cannot gaze long enough,
May Tashi Lhunpo be victorious!

He established symbols of body, speech, and mind beyond imagining, such as the great statue of Maitreya, lived up to the ideals of the three Kadampa brothers,³⁹² and passed away on the eighth day of the twelfth month of the Wood Horse year (January 23, 1475) when he was eighty-four. His successors on the throne included Pañchen Zangpo Tashi, Pañchen Lungrik Gyatso, Pañchen Yeshe Tsemo, and Gyalwa Gendun Gyatso, and after Pañchen Lhawang Lodrö came Pañchen Lobzang Chökyi Gyaltzen.

This master's predecessors were emanations in the illusory web of the wisdom of Buddha Amitābha such as Ārya Subhūti, who put questions to the Buddha himself, in India, [480] and in the Land of Snows, sublime beings such as the Lotsāwa Gö Khugpa Lhetse and Jamyang Sakya Paṇḍita, after whom came Je Rinpoche's foremost heart disciple Khedrub Gelek Palzang, Chöje Sönam Chogkyi Langpo, and Gyalwa Ensapa Lobzang Döndrub.³⁹³ His reincarnation, this master, was born at Drukgya in the Lhan valley of Tsang Rong and performed wondrous deeds, such as reciting the Sanskrit alphabet immediately after birth. At the age of fourteen, he was ordained by Khedrub Sangye Yeshe and received an ocean-like multitude of vast and profound instructions, such as those renowned as the Spoken Transmission of Ganden or the Ensa Aural Transmission, passed down from Mañjuśrī through Gyalwa Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dragpa, Khedrub Gelek Palzang, Baso Chökyi Gyaltzen, Drubchen Chökyi Dorje,³⁹⁴ who actually achieved the rainbow body, Ensapa Lobzang Döndrub, and Khedrub Sangye Yeshe.

At Tashi Lhunpo he studied the Sūtrayāna teachings and received higher ordination from Pañchen Damchö Yarpel (from whom Gyalwa Sönam Gyatso received higher ordination). [481] At the age of twenty-seven, he became abbot of Gangchen Chöpel Monastery,³⁹⁵ and at thirty, he took the lion throne of Tashi Lhunpo. His activity in the three spheres, such

as serving as tutor to both Gyalwa Yönten Gyatso and Lobzang Gyatso, was as if Je Lama Tsongkhapa himself had returned, so that later members of the Ganden tradition reserved their highest praise for him (five volumes of collected writings). He also served on the throne of the omniscient Butön Rinpoche's Shalu Monastery. On the twelfth day of the third month of the Water Tiger year (April 29, 1662), when he was ninety-three, he departed for the Tuṣita paradise to which followers of the Ganden tradition aspire.

His successor Paṅchen Lobzang Yeshe (born in Tobgyal in Tsang) served as tutor to the Seventh Dalai Lama (four volumes of collected writings). He was the greatest religious and political figure of his time. Paṅchen Palden Yeshe (born in the family of the Tashi Tse governor in Lhabu in the Shang valley as the brother of the ninth Zhamar incarnation) served as tutor to the Eighth Dalai Lama (five volumes of collected writings). He traveled to China at the invitation of the Qianlong emperor, where he passed away. Paṅchen Lobzang Palden Tenpe Nyima (born in Panam in Tsang)³⁹⁶ served as tutor to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Dalai Lamas and is the present incumbent (nine volumes of collected writings). [482]

From the monastery's four colleges, the Shartse, Kyilkhang, Tösam Ling, and Ngagpa, many learned and accomplished masters emerged,³⁹⁷ such as the first abbot of Shartse, Shangtön Drimé,³⁹⁸ and the sixth, Lodrö Gyatso;³⁹⁹ the eighth abbot of Kyilkhang, Lodrö Gyaltzen, and the tenth, Khedrub Tendar; the first abbot of Tösam Ling, the omniscient Chöjor Zangpo, and the fourth, Khyungtruk Jampa Tashi; and the first Ngak Chen of the Tantric college (this title was instituted at the time of Paṅchen Chögyen), Könchok Gyaltzen, whose accomplishments, such as composing textbooks, were vast.

Those with the insight of perfect wisdom have it that in the future, the Paṅchen will become the Raudracakrin dharmarāja of Śambhala, the Dalai Lama will become his general Hanuman, and Changkya Rinpoche his general Rudra, who will defeat the barbarian armies, exhaust all the twelve karmic segments through the maturation and liberation stages of the Resultant Vehicle, and deliver the feast of the perfect age.⁴⁰⁰

OTHER GELUK MONASTERIES IN CENTRAL TIBET

Sera, Drepung, and Ganden, with Tashi Lhunpo, are known as the four great monasteries. Then there is the trio of Ratö, Dagpo Dratsang, and Ngari Dratsang. Tagtsang Ratö in Nyetang was developed by Markham Dragpa Zangpo and others and became a seminal institute for the study of Pramāṇa.⁴⁰¹ [483] Dagpo Dratsang of the south was founded by the seventh throne holder of Ganden, Lodrö Tenpa of Shang. Ngari Dratsang of the south was founded by Gyalwa Gendun Gyatso in his sixty-sixth year (1541). These were the foremost colleges of philosophy.

The Tantric College at Sé and the Lower Tantric college at Lhasa were founded by Je Sherab Senge (Je Rinpoche's disciple).⁴⁰² The Upper Tantric college was founded by Je

Sherab Senge's disciple Gyu Chen Kunga Döndrub.⁴⁰³ These three are the original tantric colleges of the Geluk tradition.

THE POTALA PALACE AND THE DALAI LAMA INCARNATIONS

The great Potala palace of conjoined political and religious authority: at the age of twenty-five, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama was first presented by Gushri Tenzin Chögyal with the thirteen myriarchies of central Tibet,⁴⁰⁴ and this palace was constructed with the meditation cave of the Dharmarāja Songtsen Gampo at its center.

Of the many deliberate incarnations projected by Ārya Padmapāni out of a love, like that of a mother for her only child, for the inhabitants of the Land of Snows, there came Dharmarāja Songtsen Gampo during the earlier diffusion of the teachings, and during the later diffusion, Gyalwa Dromtönpa and others, in an inconceivable array of physical manifestations and attributes, culminating with [484] Pañchen Gendun Drub, among the disciples of Je Rinpoche.

Gendun Drub was born in Gurmo Ruwa in the Sé valley, near Sakya, in the Iron Female Sheep year (1391). He joined the great monastery of Nartang, learned literacy from Gyatön Candradeva, orthography from Khen Śākya Pal, poetics and synonyms from Lotsāwa Saṅghaśrī, and later grammar and metrical composition from Drapa Tugje Pal, and astrology from Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltzen. At that monastery, and at Sangpu and others, he studied the common branches of learning, such as Pramāṇa. He was ordained by Drubpa Sherab, fourteenth abbot of Nartang, from whom he received the precepts of the Kadam tradition. He studied Vinaya at Drosa⁴⁰⁵ in Penyul, Vinaya and Abhidharma with Jamyang Ringyal, and the treatises on Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā and commentaries on tantra with Je Rinpoche and Gyaltzab Je. In short, he studied the entirety of the outer and inner branches of learning with some sixty learned and accomplished masters, and having perfected them, his activity and renown as a mahāpañḍita pervaded the three worlds. He was graced by deities, such as the Cintāmaṇīcakra form of white Tārā, and his compositions, such as his Vinaya commentary and *Great Collection of Discourses on Vinaya*,⁴⁰⁶ amount to some seven volumes.

His rebirth, the Second Gyalwa Rinpoche Gendun Gyatso, [485] was born in the Tanak valley in Tsang as the son of the great mantradhara Kunga Gyaltzen, in the Wood Sheep year of the eighth *rabjung* (1475/1476). At the age of eleven, he was ordained by Pañchen Lungrik Gyatso at Tashi Lhunpo Monastery. At the age of thirteen, he received teachings on sūtra and tantra from Jamyang Gawe Shenyen at Drepung. He also studied with Khedrub Norzang Gyatso and others, and having been graced by Sarasvatī, he could memorize about one hundred śloka in the time it takes to prepare tea, and in such ways his learning was unimaginable. In the Earth Snake year (1509) he founded the monastery of Chökhör Gyal at Metok Tang.⁴⁰⁷ He served as

abbot at Sera, Drepung, Tashi Lhunpo, and other monasteries. His writings, such as his great commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, amount to five volumes.⁴⁰⁸

The third, Sönam Gyatso: as soon as the previous incarnation passed away, he proceeded to the Palace of Lotus Radiance from where, at the Mahācārya Padmasambhava's urging, he returned to blossom as a child with the signs of perfection, born into the Ma lineage at the Tsega Khangsar house in the lower Tölung valley.⁴⁰⁹ He studied at Drepung with Pañchen Sönam Dragpa and others. He traveled to Mongolia, where he was revered by the Dharmarāja Altan Khan and awarded the title "Dalai Lama Vajradhara." He founded many monasteries great and small in that region, [486] before passing away there aged forty-six (1588) (one volume of collected writings).

The fourth, the powerful master Yönten Gyatso, was born into the lineage of Chinggis Khan in Greater Mongolia. He studied with Pañchen Lobzang Chögyen and others. He also performed a lot of wrathful rituals. He passed away prematurely.

The fifth, the Dharmarāja of the triple world, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, was born into the Zahor lineage at Chingwa Tagtse in Yarlung Chongye in the Fire Snake year (1617). There are very clear prophecies by the great Orgyen Padmasambhava in many revealed texts that he would appear as an emanation of the activity of Ngadak Trisong Deutsen. Receiving a longevity empowerment from Jangdak Ngakgi Wangpo in the year of his birth was the auspice determining his predisposition to the Nyingma tradition. He entered the great monastery of Drepung in the Water Dog year (1622) and had his tonsure performed by Pañchen Lobzang Chögyen.

He studied the philosophical teachings with Tri Chen Könchok Chöpel (an emanation of Ngok Lotsāwa), grammar, poetics, metrical composition, and synonyms with Möndro Paṇḍita, father and son,⁴¹⁰ Indian astrology with Dumpopa, Chinese astrology and so on with Zur Chen, and at various times he received an ocean-like multitude of teachings in the Old and New Translation traditions from Pañchen Lobzang Chögyen, Khöntön Paljor Lhundrub of Pabongkha, Zur Chen Chöying Rangdröl (also known as Paljor Trinle Rabgye), [487] Kangyurwa Gönpö Sönam Chogden, Sönam Chogdrub of Shalu (Tsewang Lhundrub Rabten), Menlungpa Lochok Dorje, Dharmarāja Terdak Lingpa, and others, becoming genuinely omniscient, and even his list of teachings received amounts to four volumes. He reserved his highest praises for Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal on the Early Translation side and Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk on the New Translation side.

He was invited by the Emperor Shunzhi, who presented him with the title and seal of "Omniscient Vajradhara, master of the Buddhist faith and lord over the western realm of excellent virtue."⁴¹¹ His activity in teaching, accomplishment, and action pervaded from the north bank of the Gaṅgā river in India to the eastern land of Tongku in China. His written compositions covering the outer fields of biography, general sciences, and philosophy; the inner field of the tantric teachings in general; the secret field of the Early Translation tantras; and the ultra-secret field of visionary

revelations amount to thirty large volumes. He passed away on the twenty-fifth day of the second month of his sixty-sixth year (April 2, 1682). To honor his death,⁴¹² the regent Sangye Gyatso established the Tsogchö Chenmo anniversary celebration in Lhasa [488] and commissioned the golden reliquary known as Single Ornament of the World, and so on, such that his legacy was vast.

The sixth, Lobzang Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso, was born to the descendants of Pema Lingpa in the leafy garden which is the southern land of Mön.⁴¹³ He kept the conduct of a mantrika and passed away at the age of twenty-five on the road to China.

The seventh, Kalzang Gyatso, was born in Litang. He studied with Pañchen Lobzang Yeshe, Tri Chen Ngawang Chogden, and others. His qualities of learning, purity and goodness were beyond compare. He founded the Namgyal Ling monastery at Gartar.⁴¹⁴ His excellent writings and elegant compositions, such as his *Vajrasattva's Speech* exposition of the Guhyasamāja empowerment,⁴¹⁵ amount to seven volumes.

The eighth, Jampal Gyatso, was born in the central land.⁴¹⁶ He studied with Pañchen Palden Yeshe, Yongzin Pañḍita Yeshe Gyaltsen,⁴¹⁷ and others.

The ninth, Ngawang Lungtok Gyatso, was born at Chökhör in Denyul in Kham. The tenth, Tsultrim Gyatso, was born in Litang. The eleventh, Khedrub Gyatso, was born in Gartar, studied with Pañchen Tenpe Nyima, Trichen Lobzang Lhundrub, and others and is at present the crown ornament of the teachings and living beings in the Land of Snows.⁴¹⁸ [489]

Also in Lhasa itself is Tengye Ling Monastery of the Demo Khutuktu, successive incarnations of Gelong Jamkar, a disciple of Gyalwa Tsongkhapa and one of the “retinue of eight pure ones”; the Ü-Tsang Kunde Ling monastery of the precious Tatsak Jedrung, successive incarnations of Je Rinpoche’s disciple and sixth Ganden throne holder Baso Chökyi Gyaltsen; the Tsemön Ling monastery of the sixty-first Ganden throne holder, the Shartse Nomonkhan Ngawang Tsultrim and his successor, incarnations of Lotsāwa Chokro Lu’i Gyaltsen, and so on, each of them maintained by their successive incarnations.⁴¹⁹ Tsechok Samten Ling Monastery in the Drib valley opposite Lhasa was founded by Pañḍita Yeshe Gyaltsen, tutor of the eighth Dalai Lama (eighteen large volumes of collected works) and is the residence of his incarnations.⁴²⁰

OTHER GELUK MONASTERIES

In Tö Ngari, Tagmo Monastery in Mar Yul was founded by Je Sherab Zangpo (a direct disciple of Je Rinpoche), and his nephew Sherab established Tigtse Monastery and others, which flourished greatly.⁴²¹

Riwo Dechen Monastery in Yarlung Chongye was founded by Khedrub Je’s disciple Nyitri Dzinpa Lodrö Palzang, and later flourished greatly.⁴²² [490]

Chökhör Gyal Monastery at Metok Tang, on the border between Ölkha and Dagpo, was founded by Gyalwa Gendun Gyatso.⁴²³

GELUK MONASTERIES IN KHAM

The monastery of Chökhör Jampa Ling at Chamdo in Domé was founded by Jangsem Sherab Zangpo (a direct disciple of Je Rinpoche).⁴²⁴ Later it became the seat of the successive Pagpa Lha incarnations, starting with the son of Je Rinpoche's direct disciple Kuchor Togden,⁴²⁵ and their disciples, the successive Zhiwa Lha and Chagra incarnations.

The monastery of the Drayab Nomonkhans in the Markham Gang range was founded by the Nyagre Kachupa Dragpa Gyatso.⁴²⁶ It is maintained by his successive incarnations, known as Drayab Chetsang, and those of his disciple Sangye Tashi, known as Chungtsang.

The great monastery of Litang came out of the activity of Je Sönam Gyatso.⁴²⁷

Gartar Monastery in the Minyak Rawa Gang range was established in the seven years that the Seventh Dalai Lama Kalzang Gyatso spent there, with the patronage of the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors.

GELUK MONASTERIES IN AMDO

Jakhyung Monastery was founded by Döndrub Rinchen, the teacher of Je Tsongkhapa.

Je Kumbum Jampa Ling was a monastery only in name until, [491] inspired by the command of Gyalwa Sönam Gyatso, colleges for the study of philosophy and the tantras were established there by Chöje Özer Gyatso, and later a medical college.⁴²⁸

Gönlung Jampa Ling Monastery was founded by Gyalse Dönyö Chökyi Gyatso at the behest of Gyalwa Yönten Gyatso.⁴²⁹ Later, the Changkya Vajradhara and the Je Tuken Rinpoche resided there.

Furthermore, Ngawang Lobzang Chöden, an emanation of Jamchen Chöje Śākya Yeshe, was summoned by Emperor Kangxi, who awarded him the title Da Guo Shi, or Great Lama of State, with a gold edict and seal. He established several temples at the Great Palace and a great temple at the lakeside, with a monastic community.⁴³⁰ His rebirth, Changkya Rölpe Dorje (seven volumes of collected writings), was summoned by Emperor Yongzheng and presented with the same title, followed by his incarnation, known as Yeshe Tenpe Gyaltzen. Further, Yongzheng appointed the Bodhisattva Tukenpa Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso as court lama, who was succeeded by his rebirth, the greatly learned and accomplished Lobzang Chökyi Nyima⁴³¹ (seventeen volumes of writings, chiefly liturgy, one volume on the Khecarī cycle, and three volumes on the secret Hayagrīva).

The Serkhok Ganden Damchö Ling monastery [492] was founded by the Gönlung abbot Tsenpo Döndrub Gyatso, and later maintained by the Mindröl Nomonkhan incarnations.⁴³²

Yershong Dratsang Monastery was established by Ngak Rampa Jamyang Lodrö.⁴³³

Tashi Khyil Monastery in southern Amdo was founded by Jamyang Zhepa Ngawang Tsöndru (seven volumes of collected writings), emanation of Je Rinpoche's lama, Umapa Pawo Dorje, and maintained by his rebirth Könchok Jigme Wangpo (five volumes of writings) and so on. Many learned and accomplished masters, such as Jampeyang

Könchok Tenpe Drönme (ten volumes), the rebirth of Tri Gungtangpa, and the Walmang Khenchen Könchok Gyaltzen (six volumes), have continued to appear there up to the present day. There are four colleges, Tösam Ling, Tantric, Kālacakra, and Medical, and it is about the largest monastery in Domé.⁴³⁴

Choné Monastery was founded by Chöje Rinchen Lhunpo of the Choné royal line,⁴³⁵ and later, masters such as Dragpa Shedrub (eleven volumes, including commentaries on many canonical treatises) appeared there.⁴³⁶

The greatest of the monasteries in Mongolia is Riwo Gegye Ling Monastery in the land of Khalkha, founded by Lobzang Tengyen, [493] the rebirth of the Jetsun Dampa Tāranātha, among the reincarnations of Jamyang Chöje Tashi Palden and others. It is the seat of his successive rebirths.⁴³⁷

In China, the great Yongzheng emperor established many temples and monastic communities, such as Ganden Jinchak Ling Monastery at the imperial palace and the many temples and monastic quarters at Jehol.⁴³⁸

In short, as there is nowhere in the vast lands stretching from the borders of the noble land of India to China and Mongolia in the east that is not covered by the holders of the Second Jina Lobzang Dragpa's tradition, its very name cannot be uttered lightly.

Masters of the Ganden Tradition

The most renowned of all the incredible masters of the incomparable Riwo Ganden tradition were the direct disciples of Je Rinpoche mentioned above, Gyalwa Gendun Gyatso, Sönam Gyatso, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, the Seventh Dalai Lama Kalzang Gyatso, the Fourth Pañchen Rinpoche Lobzang Chögyen, the Changkya Vajradharas, Ngak Chen Könchok Gyaltzen, Kyishö Tulku Tenzin Trinle, the Jamyang Zhepa incarnations,⁴³⁹ Purbuchok Jampa Rinpoche, [494] Jamyang Dewe Dorje, Tagpu Rinpoche, Ka Chen Yeshe Gyaltzen, Zhizang Pagpa Gelek Gyaltzen, Tuken Rinpoche, Longdöl Drubchen Ngawang Lobzang, Gungtang Jampeyang, and so on.

In the career followed by these masters, having trained their minds in renunciation and taken the pure vows and samayas to which they were committed as the basis, they eliminated doubts in their study of the scriptures setting forth the great path of the Sūtra and Tantra Vehicles, so that all aspects of the canonical scriptures appeared as practice instructions. Sounding the lion's roar in teaching, debate, and composition, they illuminated the teachings as bright as day. Through practice in meditation, they trained themselves in unfeigned bodhicitta. Through practicing pith instructions on the profound Middle Way, they actualized the correct view. And through the two-stage yoga, with its branches, of profound teachings such as Śrī Guhyasamāja, Cakrasaṃvara, and Vajrabhairava, they ascended to the level of great coemergence up to the

intermediate state after death. In short, as Je Rinpoche's *Excellent Aspiration Fulfilled* says:⁴⁴⁰

In the beginning, pursue vast learning.
In the middle, all the scriptural teachings arise as practice [495] instructions.
In the end, put them into practice day and night,
And dedicate all as causes for the Dharma to expand.

Just so, it is from practice that any noble adept accomplished in learning and siddhis emerges.

The Teachings of the Geluk Tradition

First, of the Kriyā Tantra empowerments:

- the Trisamayavyūha form of Śākyamuni
- the Two Stainless Ones
- seventeen-deity Sitātapatrā (transmission incomplete)
- the thirty-five-deity form, and the authorization for the three excellent Mahākāla brothers
- the Mahākāruṇika Ekādaśamukha empowerment in Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī's tradition (passed down by Gyalse Togme)
- the authorization for the related Five Ḍākinī cycle
- nine-deity Akṣobhya and the thirteen-deity form
- the thirty-seven-deity Bhaiṣajyaguru (very rare)

- The Vairocana Abhisambodhi of Caryā Tantra, the Vajradhātu of Yoga Tantra, Mañjuśrīguhyaka and Sarvavid Vairocana, and the twelve Sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍalas.

From Niruttarayoga Tantra:

- the three traditions of Guhyasamāja
- the three styles of Cakraṣaṃvara Mantroddhāra blessing
- the body maṇḍala according to Ghaṇṭapāda
- the Mantroddhāra
- the donkey-faced form of Cakraṣaṃvara
- thirteen-deity Bhairava
- the Ekavīra form of Bhairava
- the Aṣṭavetāla form
- the authorization for the Mantroddhāra blessing for the Ekavīra form
- authorization for the entirety of forms, including with consort [496]
- authorization for the extensive Mahāmayūrī, subduer of poison
- the red form with bow and arrow drawn

- the forty nine-deity form of Bhairava (Gangkar)⁴⁴¹
- five-deity Raktayamāri
- thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇayamāri
- eighteen-deity Mahācakra form of Vajrapāṇi
- the skull-bearing form of Hevajra
- and the complete body, speech, and mind maṇḍalas of Kālacakra.

There are also the empowerment for Cakrasaṃvara from the spoken lineage of Ngam Dzong,⁴⁴² the Kadampa teachings on the sixteen spheres, the empowerment and transmission of ultra-secret Hayagrīva, the empowerment for the secret Hayagrīva from the Ensa Aural Transmission, many authorizations and ancillary teachings, the general empowerments, the *Vajrāvalī* series (45), the Mitrayogi series (65), the Tārā series (20), the authorizations for the *Hundred* and *Ocean* sādhanā collections and the Hundred Sādhana of Nartang, and the *Rinchen Jungne* sādhanā collection.

Reading transmissions include all the extant transmission currents from the precious Kangyur and Tengyur, more than twenty volumes, the ancient teachings of the Kadampa described earlier, and various spoken instructions as well. Of the New Kadampa teachings:

- the basic writings of Je Rinpoche (19 volumes)
- Gyaltsab Je (3) and
- Khedrub Je (4)
- some of Dulzin Dragpa Gyaltzen's writings (about half a volume)
- Hortön's mind training,⁴⁴³ the collected writings of Chen Nga Lodrö Gyaltzen (1)
- the complete works of both Gyalwa Gendun Drub (5) and Gendun Gyatso
- Gyalwang Sönam Gyatso's *Refined Gold* instructions on the *Graduated Path to Awakening* and his [497] tormā offering rite for Pañjara Mahākāla⁴⁴⁴
- the complete works of the Fifth Dalai Lama (68)
- Tsangyang Gyatso's *Fine as a White Lotus* tea offering
- the complete works of Kalzang Gyatso (7)
- Jampal Gyatso's biography of his tutor⁴⁴⁵ and some of his longevity prayers
- the complete works of Pañchen Chögyen (5), Lobzang Yeshe (4), Palden Yeshe, and Tenpe Nyima
- the *Graduated Path to Awakening* commentaries by Ngak Chen Könchok Gyaltzen⁴⁴⁶ and Dagpo Ngawang Dragpa⁴⁴⁷
- Pañchen Sönam Dragpa and Tangsak Ngödrub Gyatso's writings on the generation and completion stages of Vajrabhairava⁴⁴⁸
- the collected writings of the Kyishö incarnations, earlier and later
- Zhok Dönyö Khedrub (1)
- Jamyang Dewe Dorje
- Purbuchok Ngawang Jampa (3)

- Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chöden (5)
- Changkya Rölpe Dorje (7)
- Yongzin Yeshe Gyaltsen (18)
- the Tagpu incarnations, earlier and later
- Zhizang Gelek Gyaltsen
- Ön Gyalse
- Longdöl Lama (2)
- Reting Tri Chen⁴⁴⁹ (2)
- Ke'utsang Tulku Jamyang Mönlam⁴⁵⁰ (1)
- Amdo Tashi Khyil Jamyang Zhepa Ngawang Tsöndru (1)
- Könchok Jigme Wangpo (6)
- Tri Gungtangpa Könchok Tenpe Drönme (9)
- Walmang Könchok Gyaltsen⁴⁵¹ (6)
- Gönlung Tuken Rinpoche (17) [498]
- the Mongolian Changlung Paṇḍita Dorje Dragpa⁴⁵² (6) and others, as well as the infinite writings of the noble masters in each locality.

Regarding reading transmissions with explanation and practical instructions, from the writings of Je Rinpoche there are:

- the single explanatory transmission for the *Graduated Path to Awakening*
- the explanation of the *Four Combined Annotations*⁴⁵³
- explanatory transmissions for the shorter *Graduated Path to Awakening*
- the *Essence of Eloquence* and *Praise of Dependent Arising*
- transmissions and instructions for the *Summarized Graduated Path to Awakening*
- the *Three Principal Aspects of the Path*
- the *Foundation of Good Qualities*
- the explanatory transmissions of the creation stage of the *Great Treatise on the Stages of Mantra*
- the *Four Combined Commentaries on Guhyasamāja*
- the *Lamp Illuminating the Five Stages* Guhyasamāja commentary
- the *Revealing the Hidden Meaning* commentary on Cakrasaṃvara
- the practical instructions for the *Complete Foundation for the Five-Stage Guhyasamāja*
- explanatory transmissions for the *Threefold Confidence Instructions for the Six Yogas*
- *Opening the Golden Door: Instructions for Consciousness Transference*
- the explanation of the *Ocean of Siddhis* collection of fire offering rites
- the instructions for the *Uttarakuru Longevity Sādhana*
- the explanatory transmission of Gyaltsab Je's *Great Memorandum on Pramāṇa*

- the explanation of Khedrub Je’s great commentary on the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*
- explanatory transmissions of the creation-stage practices of the *Guhyasamāja* and *Bhairava* tantras
- yantra instructions
- instructions for the *Little Book of Mahākāla Rites*⁴⁵⁴ [499]
- instructions for Kṣetrapāla’s De’u Tri⁴⁵⁵ transmission
- instructions for Gyalwa Sönam Gyatso’s *Refined Gold* instruction in *Graduated Path to Awakening*
- practice instructions for the Fifth Dalai Lama’s *Mañjuśrī’s Speech* instruction on the Lamrim, instructions for the *Blazing Light* sādhana for the three bodhisattvas together based on the commentary to the *Unfocused Love* prayer, and practical instructions for inserting dhāraṇī.

From the writings of Paṅchen Chögyen, there are:

- the common and uncommon instructions for the *Blissful Path*⁴⁵⁶
- the *Four Mindfulnesses Instruction on the View* passed down from Sherab Senge
- the six-session meditation practice
- instructions for the generation and completion-stage practices of Cakrasaṃvara in Lūipa’s tradition and for thirteen-deity Bhairava
- instructions for the *Magical Device of the Iron Castle of Blazing Weapons*⁴⁵⁷
- instructions on the sixty root verses of the *Iron Castle*
- the four great instructions on the preliminaries—refuge, Vajrasattva, guru yoga, and maṇḍala
- Mahāmudrā instructions based on the master’s explication of the root verses
- explanatory transmission of Baso’s extensive *Guide to the Madhyamaka View*⁴⁵⁸
- instructions on the condensed version
- instructions on the *Seven-Point Mind Training* from two different traditions
- instructions on Langtangpa’s *Eight Verses on Mind Training*
- Khamlungpa’s *Eight-Session Mind Training*
- the Paṅchen’s general sādhana for the Three Bodhisattvas
- *Hundred Deities of Tuṣita* guru yoga.

Related to those are:

- the *Sealed Instructions on Consciousness-Transference*
- the *Warrior Entering Battle* instructions on consciousness-transference [500]
- the rainbow consciousness-transference practice in the Sera tradition
- the consciousness-transference transmission from the *Bhairavatantra*
- Gendun Gyatso’s instructions for the *Six Yogas of Niguma*
- its sealed instruction on consciousness-transference

- consciousness-transference instructions from the *Entering the Heart* guru yoga of Śaḍbhujamahākāla
- instructions on prāṇa for the perfection stage of supreme accomplishment
- Tāranātha's *Opening the Sky Door* Severance empowerment as a preliminary to the *Single Mat* Severance practice of the Ensa tradition
- instructions on Paṅchen Chögyen's *Guide for Those Seeking Liberation* Severance teaching
- as well as the Severance empowerments passed down by Jamyang Gönpö,⁴⁵⁹ Puṇyaśrī and Gyalwangpa, one volume of transmissions each
- the Severance empowerment of the Mañjuśrimitra of Bepa Dratsang⁴⁶⁰
- instructions for the greater and lesser *Entrance to Tuṣita*⁴⁶¹
- the seven-day Caṇḍālī practice based on the Paṅchen's notes
- and the three-day practice of the same
- Jahavīr's teachings on prāṇa and rasāyana
- Gendun Gyatso's work on extracting the essence of flowers
- the instructions for extracting the essence of water and stones from the Ensa tradition
- Mitrayogi's *Three Essential Points* teaching on Mahākāruṇika based on the notes by Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chöden and others
- the *Direct Instructions of Tsembupa* by Darma Özer
- instructions on Mahākāruṇika based on Changkya Rölpe Dorje's notes
- the yellow Bhairava longevity sādhana
- the chapter of instructions on Khyungpo Naljor's *Speech Blessing*
- the Guhyasamāja White Amitāyus sādhana
- instructions for the generation and completion stages in Ghaṇṭapāda's tradition based on Changkya Rölpe Dorje's notes
- Gendun Gyatso's notes on the generation stage in that tradition [501]
- the explanatory transmission, empowerment, and instructions for the sādhana of the peaceful and wrathful forms of Bhairava combined in two chapters
- instructions for the Ekavīra form of Bhairava
- the four deities of the Kadampa based on notes by Nyugla Paṅchen⁴⁶²
- instructions for the *Sixteen Spheres* based on Yongzin Yeshe Gyaltzen's notes
- White Tārā
- Kurukullā's self-blessing
- Siddharājñī's longevity sādhana
- the eight great instructions on the completion stage of the Gyu Mé tradition
- instructions for the Guhyasamāja Pañcakrama of Nāgārjuna's tradition
- Mañjuvajra's Four Bindu
- Lūipa's Mahāyoga
- Ghaṇṭapāda's Pañcakrama
- the Four Yogas of Bhairava

- the Four Blessings of the completion-stage practice of the Mahācakra form of Vajrapāṇi
- the Kālacakra Śaḍaṅgayoga, and Six Yogas of Nāropa.

Then there are the practical instructions and manuals for quotidian rites such as consecration, the *Hundred Torma Offerings* and so on; explanatory transmissions of authentic provenance for the thirty-four-chapter *Jātakamālā*, *Vinayasūtra*, *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and *Madhyamakāvatāra*; and the explanatory transmission of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, of Jamyang Zhepa's *Great Treatise on Philosophical Tenets*, and countless more.

From the cycle of the Ensa spoken transmission there are Baso Chökyi Gyaltzen's *Guide to the Madhyamaka View*, the extensive and abbreviated versions (2), the complete transmissions of the teachings of Lobzang Döndrub (1) and Sangye Yeshe (1), [502] from the Mañjuśrī cycle, the authorizations for Mañjuśrī (5), Vajrayoginī (1), white Saṃvara and White Tārā, the authorizations, common and uncommon, for Damchen Chögyal, outer, inner and secret, and the transmissions of two different practice manuals.

From the cycle of the teachings of Lhodrak Chagdor Namkha Gyaltzen (spoken transmission), the blessing of absolute bodhicitta, empowerments for nineteen-deity Amitāyus and thirty-five-deity Vajravīdāraṇa, the authorizations for the five forms of Vajrapāṇi, cherished vajra-garland, drop of nectar, fierce blazing, and three wrathful ones combined, one volume of transmissions, and the transmissions of the volume of Bhairava teachings by Ra and the volume by Pal,⁴⁶³ from the dharmapāla cycle, the authorizations for the thirteen commands of Śaḍbhujamahākāla and the one-to-one transmission of the *Entering the Heart* guru yoga (14), one volume of transmissions, the command of Vaiśravaṇa (15), two volumes of transmissions, the authorization for ultra-secret Kālarūpa, the Fierce Black One, a small volume of transmissions, the authorization for Magzorma, a small volume of transmissions, and the authorization and transmission for Begtse.

Also, there are the empowerment for the Avalokiteśvara of the Chamdo Mitra teachings,⁴⁶⁴ the authorizations for the six deities, the six instructions and so on in one volume of transmissions, the *Hundred Instructions* of Kuchor Togden, and the many empowerments and transmissions for Tagpu Lobzang Chökyi Wangchuk's visionary teachings on Mitra, Tārā, and so on.⁴⁶⁵ [503]

Other transmission currents that still flourish include the *Maṇi Kabum*; the life stories and songs of Marpa and Milarepa; the collected writings of Lama Zhang (4); the thirteen golden Dharmas based on Tagpuwa's notes (17);⁴⁶⁶ the practical instructions on Vajrayoginī based on notes by the previous Tagpu incarnation,⁴⁶⁷ Tuken and others; the *Hundred Instructions* of Jonang; the authorization for the *Seventeen Moods of Caturbhujamahākāla* based on Changlung Paṅḍita Dorje Dragpa's notes, and others.

For those who wish to know of the extensive biographical writings of noble adepts of the glorious and incomparable Riwo Ganden tradition, they can be found in the many hagiographies of the outer and inner lives of Je Rinpoche, the *Eighty Verses in Praise of Je Tsongkhapa* and its commentary,⁴⁶⁸ Jampa's commentary to Je Rinpoche's *Excellent Aspiration Fulfilled* autobiography,⁴⁶⁹ the *History of the Ganden School* by Pañchen Sönam Dragpa,⁴⁷⁰ the history of the Ganden school by Kharnak Lotsāwa of Ölkha,⁴⁷¹ the *Yellow Beryl* history of the Ganden school by Desi Sangye Gyatso,⁴⁷² the religious history by Könchok Jigme Wangpo,⁴⁷³ Yongzin Yeshe Gyaltzen's *Jewel Rosary* history of the Lamrim lineage masters, in two large volumes,⁴⁷⁴ Purbuchok Jampa Rinpoche's *White Lotus Garland* history of the four great seats and two tantric colleges,⁴⁷⁵ [504] the Geluk section from the *Crystal Mirror* description of the origins and tenets of all Buddhist schools by Tuken Rinpoche and so on, as well as the many volumes of the extensive biographies of the successive holders of the great incarnation lineages, such as the Dalai and Pañchen Rinpoches, Changkya Rinpoche, Jamyang Zhepa, and so on, the individual biographies of most of the Ganden throne holders, the collected versions, and so forth.

The Meaning of the Name "Geluk"

The name *Ganden* evidently derives from a place name. There are many different explanations of the title *Geluk*, but the learned ones say that *Galuk* is a contraction of the "tradition ("luk") of the Dharma master of Riwo Ganden," which is more easily pronounced "Geluk." It is also known as the New Kadampa tradition, for Je Rinpoche is widely regarded as a rebirth of Śrī Atiśa, and in terms of the practice of the Sūtrayāna teachings, he rekindled the flames of the teachings through the precepts of the graduated path to awakening handed down by Atiśa. It is also prophesied in the *Book of the Kadampa*:

Finally, the embers of the teachings will be rekindled by one named
"Dragpa." [505]

It is also known as the Yellow Hat tradition because after La Chen Gongpa Rabсал presented Lumé Tsultrim Sherab with a yellow hat,⁴⁷⁶ the great vinayadharas of old used to wear yellow hats, and Je Rinpoche wore a yellow hat to symbolize his revival of the Vinaya teachings, and had his followers wear it too.

The Minor Traditions

Then there are the many minor traditions not included in the above, such as the Jonangpa and Shalupa, the Bodongpa and Shangpa, and the Zhije and Chöyul schools.

The Jonang Tradition

Of these, the "hermitage of the victors" at Jonang⁴⁷⁷ was founded by Kunpang Tugje Tsöndru, lord of adepts and disciple of the omniscient Chöku Özer. After that, the

omniscient Dölpopa Sherab Gyaltzen studied an ocean-like multitude of styles of sūtra and tantra teachings with more than thirty masters, Kiyitön Dragma Gyaltzen, and so on, and after his performance on the debate examination circuit in Ü-Tsang, his reputation for omniscience spread wide. He came to Jonang at the age of thirty-one (1322), studied the profound teachings on Vajrayoginī with the learned and noble Yönten Gyatso, and fully accomplished the prāṇāyāma practice.⁴⁷⁸ After that, he came to the throne and constructed the Kumbum Chenmo. Having apprehended the other-emptiness view of Madhyamaka, [506] he composed many works emphasizing it, such as the *Ocean of Definitive Meaning* and the *Fourth Council*. This tradition was maintained by Jonang Chogle Namgyal, Nya Ön Kunga Pal and others.

Later, Jamyang Kunga Drölchok also appeared in this lineage. His rebirth Jetsun Tāranātha received an ocean-like multitude of teachings on sūtra and tantra from many learned and accomplished masters of India and Tibet, and having reflected and meditated on them, he became greatly learned and experienced. He composed a full eighteen volumes of writings, mostly on Secret Mantra. He founded the monastery of Tagten Puntsok Ling,⁴⁷⁹ which flourished greatly. But due to the subsequent transformation,⁴⁸⁰ these days the sacred contents of Jonang are still there, but virtually no one continuing the tradition. Tagten Puntsok Ling was converted to the Geluk school by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama and renamed Ganden Puntsok Ling. Some teaching lineages persisted among the Kagyu and Drukpa and so on, as mentioned earlier, and at the Dzamtang monastery in Kham (here the continuity of Śaḍaṅgayoga practice is undiminished), founded by Drungpa Kazhipa Rinchen Pal,⁴⁸¹ a disciple once removed from the omniscient Jonang Dölpopa.

The Shalu Tradition

The Serkhang Tramo Temple at Shalu⁴⁸² [507] was founded by Chetsun Sherab Jungne, of the same pure family lineage as the great Lotsāwa Ché Khyidruk from the time of Dharmarāja Trisong and many others, and a disciple of Lotön Dorje Wangchuk of Tsang, one of the ten men of Ü-Tsang from the beginning of the later diffusion of the teachings in Tibet. He requested Lama Lotön for a prognosis on where to build a monastery, and the lama fired an arrow loaded with gold. As the tip struck a new shoot (“Shalu”) on the site of the present monastery, it was known as Shalu Serkong (“green shoot loaded with gold”), and after it was painted different colors (“Tramo”), it was called Shalu Serkhang Tramo (“colorful gilt-roofed temple at Shalu”). Chetsun traveled to India and received a new monastic ordination lineage from Abhayākaragupta, which he propagated in Tibet. Śrī Atiśa, crown jewel of the five hundred, cast flowers of consecration and pitched a tent at Ribuk, where an earthen stūpa containing the *sāccha* votive tablets he made can still be seen. After that, Go Yeshe Yungdrung taught Vinaya, and Paṇḍita Trilakṣasthirapāla and the great Ngok Lotsāwa Loden Sherab established a college for the study of Prajñāpāramitā.

Up to the time of the omniscient Butön Rinpoche there were about eleven abbots, teaching mainly the Vinaya of Abhayākaragupta and the Prajñāpāramitā of Ngok's tradition. [508] Later, in the Iron Monkey year (1320), Kuzhang Dragpa Gyaltzen, incarnation of Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa,⁴⁸³ invited Butön Rinpoche of Tropu, omniscient one of the age of strife, to assume the abbacy. From that time, the Vinaya lineage of the Kashmir Mahāpañḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā was taught, and both sūtra and tantra according to Butön's system, which became like an ornament for the ears of the learned in the Land of Snows.

Concerning this omniscient one,⁴⁸⁴ emanation of the future Buddha Pradyota, he was clearly prophesied in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*:

A wise one whose name starts with the letters Ra (Ralung) and Ba (Butön),
Once ordained, shall undoubtedly become
A luminary of the Buddha's teachings

He was born in the Iron Male Tiger⁴⁸⁵ year (1290) as the son of Dragtön Gyaltzen Palzang in Gomne, in the lower Shab valley in Tsang. From a young age, he was graced by Mañjuśrīvajra. He attended on teachers such as Tropu Sempa Chenpo,⁴⁸⁶ his grandfather Tsultrim Zangpo, Khenchen Zangpo Pal Dragpa Zhönu,⁴⁸⁷ Tarpa Lotsāwa Nyima Gyaltzen, and Lama Palden Senge.⁴⁸⁸ His reputation reached the ends of the earth, such that the emperor of China Togön Temur and [509] the Indian Dharmarāja Puṇya Malla sent letters in his praise. He gathered a saṅgha of three thousand eight hundred monks at the main Shalu monastery and some five hundred piṭakadharas in sealed retreat huts at Ribuk Hermitage. His teaching and propagation of the empowerments, transmissions, and guiding instructions of the four classes of tantra was beyond conception. Eventually, at the age of sixty-five, having entrusted the abbacy to his heart disciple Tugse Lotsāwa Rinchen Namgyal, he retired to Ribuk and remained there solely engaged in deep meditation.

In short, considering his impact in each of the three spheres of activity, one would think just one of them a lifetime's work. He translated those sublime Dharma teachings that had not been translated, edited those that had, filled in the gaps, explained them with commentaries, and presented all Dharma teachings, common and uncommon, with unimaginable kindness, like a father passing them on to his only son. His elegant compositions amount to eighteen large volumes on the tantras, and [...] volumes⁴⁸⁹ on the sūtras and ordinary branches of learning. Finally, at the age of seventy-five (1364), he departed for the Dharma sanctuary of Tuṣita.⁴⁹⁰

Lotsāwa Rinchen Namgyal assumed his throne, and his activity was continued by such incredibly learned and accomplished throne holders as the Vajradhara Khyenrab Chöje,⁴⁹¹ [510] Lo Chen Chökyong Zangpo,⁴⁹² and the incomparable Tsarpa Chöje and his disciple.⁴⁹³ Of the master's direct disciples, the learned and accomplished Khyungpo Lhepa and Gongsumpa taught the great Tsongkhapa, Tugse Rinpoche's disciple Tashi

Rinchen taught the Vajradhara Ngor Chen,⁴⁹⁴ and so on, and all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism, Sakya, Geluk, Kagyu, and Drukpa, are thoroughly influenced by his empowerments and guiding instructions for the tantras, which is beyond rational conceptions.

BUTÖN'S CLASSIFICATION OF TANTRA

To briefly account for this system of the ripening and liberation teachings of the four classes of tantra and their ritual *sādhana*s, which survives undiminished even today.

First, Niruttarayoga class is divided into the three categories of method, wisdom, and nondual.

First, in the Nondual Tantras are the complete body, speech, and mind maṇḍalas of Śrī Kālacakra with 634 deities, the maṇḍala emphasizing the mind aspect, and the seventy-two-deity Kālacakra Mahāsaṃvara.

Second, tantras emphasizing the wisdom aspect are presented equally as six: the Heruka, Vairocana, Vajrasūrya, Padmākara, Hayagrīva, and Vajradhara classes. [511]

In the first is the fifty-one-deity maṇḍala of Saṃvara Sarvabuddha Samayoga, the six classes condensed into one.

In the second is the Saṃvara cycle: the sixty-two-deity Cakrasaṃvara in Mahāsiddha Lūipa's tradition, the sixty-two-deity Cakrasaṃvara in Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇacārya's tradition, the outer five-deity Saṃvara maṇḍala in Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṅṭapāda's tradition, with the body maṇḍala, the thirteen-deity maṇḍala of Saṃvara in the twelve-ascetic-disciplines form in Ācārya Kambalapāda's tradition, the twenty-deity Cakrasaṃvara as the Padmajāla form of Avalokiteśvara in Ācārya Padmavajra's tradition, the condensed twelve-deity Saṃvarodaya form of Cakrasaṃvara as taught in Nāgārjuna's tradition, and of Khecarī Vajrayoginī in Mahāsiddha Nārōpa's tradition (this transmission was substituted after the transmission of the Ekajaṭī Mahāsukha empowerment of the Padma class was broken)—as well as the nine-deity Hevajra Upadeśanaya of glorious Virūpa, and the five-deity Mahāmāyā, one of the Seven Maṇḍalas of the Ngok tradition, with Mahāsiddha Kukkuripa's expert commentary.

In the third⁴⁹⁵ is the multi-deity Vajracatuḥpīṭha in Mahāsiddha Āryādeva's tradition.

In the fourth and fifth are the outer maṇḍala of seventeen-deity Tārā in Ācārya Sūryagupta's tradition and the body maṇḍala, making two. [512]

Third, tantras emphasising the method aspect are classed as Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, and Vajradhara, making six.

In the first there are the thirty-two-deity Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya of Ārya Nāgārjuna's tradition, the nineteen-deity Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra of Ācārya Buddhajñānapāda's tradition, the nineteen-deity Guhyasamāja Avalokiteśvara of Jowo Atiśa's tradition, and the eighteen-deity Vajrapāṇi Mahācakra—the wrathful deity of the Akṣobhya class—in Mahāsiddha Śavaripa's tradition.

In the second there are the five-deity Raktayamāri of Mahāsiddha Virūpa's tradition, the twelve-deity Raktayamāri of Mahāsiddha Palzin's tradition, the thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇayamāri of Ra Lotsāwa's tradition, the maṇḍala of Vajrabhairava Ekavīra surrounded by thirty-two attributes, the uncommon thirteen-deity Bhairava, and the twenty-one-deity Yamāntaka Ṣaḍvakra, all of Ra's tradition.

Second, the Yoga Tantra class is divided into those emphasizing method and those emphasizing wisdom.

The first is further divided into five: root, explanatory, supplementary, complementary, and subsidiary tantras. [513]

The first is the *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha Mahātantra*, divided into four parts.

The first part is the Vajradhātu maṇḍalas of the Tathāgata class taught to help those afflicted with desire to tame it, the thirty-deity Vajradhātu maṇḍala in basic style, and the 1037-deity maṇḍala according to the great *Illuminator of Suchness* commentary.⁴⁹⁶

The second part is the Vajra class, taught to help those afflicted with anger to discard it, the 1037-deity Trilokavijayā maṇḍala.

Second is the ten maṇḍalas with 1271 deities condensing the entirety of secret assemblies taught in the explanatory tantra, the *Vajraśekhara*.

The third is the thirty-six core deity maṇḍala of Sarvavid Vairocana as savior of the lower realms in the third part of the root tantra, the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of the nine-crown Śākyasiṃha taught in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, the thirteen-deity maṇḍala of Śrī Vajrapāṇi, destroyer of the lord of death, and the thirteen-deity Vajrakṣobhya maṇḍala of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*.

The fourth [514] is the fourteen maṇḍalas of 339 deities condensing the entirety of classes taught in the *Paramādi*, a tantra emphasizing wisdom or complementary tantra, and the Vajrasattva maṇḍala of the same class.

The fifth is the Yoga Tantra cycle of the *Mañjuśrīmāyājālanāmasaṃgīti*, which are the longer, the 229-deity Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara presented by Ācārya Mañjuśrīkīrti (the greater Ākāśavimala); the medium, the fifteen-deity maṇḍala of Mañjuśrīguhyaka or Mañjuśrīguṇākara presented by Ācārya Lalitavajra; and the shorter, the combined forms of Mañjuśrī (also called the lesser Ākāśavimala. There is no longer a transmission for both the former and latter forms of Mañjuśrī) presented by Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra. There are two styles of the *Vajraśekhara* derived from these, both Zangkar's tradition and two transmissions of the nine-crown Sarvavid, the upper or Jowo Atiśa tradition, and the lower tradition of Lo Chen. Akṣobhya and Vajrapāṇi, destroyer of the lord of death in Jowo's tradition, and the lesser Mañjuśrī Ākāśavimala were transmitted by Kōn Wangchuk Lodrö.⁴⁹⁷ The Mañjuśrīguhyaka form came to the Ngok tradition from Smṛtijñānakīrti; [515] otherwise all were transmitted from Lo Chen Rinchen Zangpo.

Third, the Caryā Tantra class has three divisions, the Tathāgata, Padma, and Vajra.

The first is the 119-deity maṇḍala described in the *Vairocana Abhisambodhi Tantra* transmitted from Vajrāsanapāda to Bari Lotsāwa.⁴⁹⁸

The second is not included here.

The third includes Vajrapāṇi in Jagadbhadra's tradition, white Vajravidāraṇa and so on, when these are considered as Caryā Tantras.

Fourth, the Kriyā Tantra class has six divisions, the Tathāgata, Padma, Vajra, wealth, wealth guardian, and mundane.

The first has eight, the central figure of the Tathāgata class, and so on.

First is the maṇḍala of the central figure, Śākyamuni, surrounded by the Sixteen Arhats, Khenchen Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita's maṇḍala of heaps arranged in offering and prayer to the eight Bhaiṣajyaguru Sugatas, and the seven-deity Śākyamuni maṇḍala described in the *Āryaśmivimala*.

The second is the mother of the Tathāgata class, the maṇḍala of the five-deity protectress transmitted by Vajrāsanapāda to Bari Lotsāwa.

The third is the Uṣṇīṣa of the Tathāgata class, the 51-deity maṇḍala [516] of Uṣṇīṣasitātapatrā transmitted by Vajrāsanapāda to Bari Lotsāwa and the multi-deity maṇḍalas of Ārya Uṣṇīṣavimala and Uṣṇīṣavijayā.

Second, the Padma class has five, the central figure and so on. The maṇḍala of the central figure is the nine-deity Immortal Drumbeat form of Amitāyus transmitted by Vajrāsanapāda to Bari Lotsāwa. The lord of the Padma class is the twenty-five-deity Ārya Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa.

Third, the Vajra class has five, the central figure and so on. The maṇḍalas of the central figure are the twenty-one-deity Vajrapāṇi of Lobpön Drozang Nyingpo's tradition and the fifteen-deity maṇḍala of white Vajravidāraṇa in Mahāsiddha Śavaripa's tradition, with the four gate-holder deities making nineteen.

Fourth, in the wealth class is the torma ritual for Mahādharmapāla Vaiśravaṇa. Thus, there are twenty-eight maṇḍalas of the Niruttarayoga class, thirteen of the Yoga Tantra class, one of the Caryā Tantra class, and twelve of the Kriyāyoga class, making fifty-three (*sic* for fifty-four). The empowerments, authorizations, transmissions, and instructions for these, and their ritual sādhanas, are current. From the four great instruction manuals of the Butönpa tradition (Pañcakrama, Unelaborated, Relaxation, and Ṣaḍanga) there are reading transmissions for the Guhyasamāja Pañcakrama and instructions on the unelaborated form of Red Yamāntaka. From the four lesser ones there are [517] the instructions for Mitrayogi's *Three Essential Points*, the *Direct Instructions of Tsembupa*, as well as Ra's *Spoken Transmission of the Dākinīs* instruction on Vajrabhairava, and so on, the eighteen volumes on Mantrayāna from Butön Rinpoche's collected writings, and the two volumes of Tugse Lotsāwa's collected writings.

In the cycle of Dharma protectors, there are the fifteen commands of Vaiśravaṇa, with two volumes of transmissions, the authorization for the red Daṇḍadhara form of

Mahākāla, the authorizations for the common and uncommon forms of Lhamo Rabtenma, the transmissions of the sādhana cycles, and so on.

For those interested in the details of the abbatial succession at Shalu and so on, these can be found in the biographies of the omniscient Butön Rinpoche, in the one-volume work on the subject by Chogtrul Rinpoche Losal Tenkyong and so on. The origin of the tantra classes can be found in the omniscient Butön's three general explanations of the tantras, the longer, medium, and shorter versions, and in the histories of the *Samvara*, *Gubiyasamāja*, and *Kālacakra* tantras, and the Yoga tantras.

The Bodong Tradition

Bodong É Monastery⁴⁹⁹ was initially founded by Kadampa Geshe Mudra Chenpo in the Earth Ox year (1049). Subsequently, many learned and accomplished masters appeared there, such as Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa, his nephew Lotsāwa Chenpo Jangchub Tsemo, his nephew Lo Chen Dragpa, and others. [518]

In particular, Dragpa's nephew Bodong Chogle Namgyal, or Jigdral Chökyi Gyaltzen, having been granted the grace of Sarasvatī, became a great paṇḍita with unlimited command of all the branches of ordinary learning, who defeated most of the scholars of the Land of Snows in debate. He composed over a hundred volumes of commentary, including the *Great Compendium of Suchness*,⁵⁰⁰ having been granted the secret treasury by Vajrasattva, Vajravārāhī, and other main maṇḍala deities. The disciples succored by his teachings were reputed as the twenty-three recipients of teaching from the manufacturing arts up to the entirety of the Buddhist doctrine, the three from the Khön family line, one great mantradhara, the two learned and accomplished ones, three great lotsāwas and so on, and then a thousand versed in ten scriptures, another thousand versed in four scriptures,⁵⁰¹ over ten thousand students of Prajñāpāramitā and Pramāṇa, and so on.

Later on, his activity was continued at the Pal Chöding monastery.⁵⁰² As their presentation of many doctrinal positions was slightly different from others, it became known as the Bodongpa tradition. These days, the living tradition hardly remains at the main monastery but is still taught by exponents such as the successive Jora Tamche Khyenpa in the Loro valley, incarnations of the master himself,⁵⁰³ [519] and the Dorje Pagmo incarnations of Yamdrok Samding.⁵⁰⁴

The Shangpa Kagyu Tradition

Zhang Zhong Dorje Den Monastery in the Shang valley:⁵⁰⁵ the learned and accomplished Khyungpo Naljor Tsöndru Gön, who abided in the essence of the Five Tantras—body of Guhyasamāja, speech of Mahāmāyā, mind of Hevajra, qualities of Cakrasamvara, and activity of Vajrabhairava—first studied in the Bön tradition. He went on to study Mahāsandhi and Mahāmudrā, and eventually, feeling yet unsatisfied, he traveled to Āryāvarta and took on the precepts of one hundred and fifty paṇḍitas and siddhas, such as the jñānaḍākinī Niguma, Sukhasiddhi, Maitrīpa, and

Vajrāsanapāda.⁵⁰⁶ On his return to the Land of Snows, he took monastic vows from Langtangpa Dorje Senge. This was one of a group of one hundred hermitages he founded in a single year in his later life and is like the birthplace of the Shangpa Kagyu tradition, but these days there is only the precious likeness statue of Khyungpo Naljor, and no successors to the tradition are to be seen.

The teaching lineage: (1) Vajradhara; (2) Niguma; (3) Khyungpo; of his disciples, who were said to reach eighty thousand, the most important was (4) the siddha Mogchokpa Rinchen Tsöndru; then [520] (5) Öntön Kyergangpa Chökyi Senge; (6) the hidden yogi Sangye Nyentön Chökyi Sherab; and (7) the Jagannātha Sangye Tönpa Tsöndru Senge.⁵⁰⁷ These are known as the Seven Jewels of the Shangpa spoken lineage, and up to that time the instructions were mostly transmitted only to a single recipient per generation. They were spread by Sangye Tönpa such that Tsultrim Gönpa of Jagpa in Shang⁵⁰⁸ and Zhönu Drub of Samding in Nyang⁵⁰⁹ attained proficiency and siddhis. There were many who succeeded in the practices of the illusory body and dream control, and these became mixed with the practices of all schools.

The teachings derived from this lineage—the five cycles of Niguma, Sukhasiddhi, Vajrāsanapāda, Maitrīpa, and Rāhula, and some miscellaneous instructions not included in those—are unimaginably great, but practitioners these days, such as the Chöje Mupa⁵¹⁰ and the Kagyu lineages, concentrate on the cycle of Niguma, in which the Six Yogas of Niguma are the root, the Amulet Mahāmudrā is the trunk, the Three Dharmas to integrate on the path are the branches, the red and white ḍākinīs are the flowers, the immortality of body and mind is the fruit, and Jñānanātha Mahākāla is the protector.

Of the ripening empowerments and liberation instructions and background sources for these, for the first, [521] there are three outlines for the ripening stage of the six yogas, six specific precepts, five Mahāmudrā precepts, three Khengarī precepts, five secret precepts, and two Mahākāla precepts.

The first of these is the great illusory body empowerment, gateway to the general outline of the six yogas based on the Five Tantras, that prepares the body for the four five-deity Saṃvara empowerments, and the four deities combined. Second is the individual empowerments of the six yogas, Caṇḍālī, and so on. Third is the empowerments of the (1) Amulet Mahāmudrā, (2) the lama, (3) the deity, (4) the integration of Illusory Body on the path, and (5) immortality of body and mind. Fourth is the empowerments for the (1) white Khengarī, (2) red Khengarī, (3) and Khengarī trio. Fifth is (1) Saṃvara, (2) Avalokiteśvara, (3) Vajrapāṇi, and (4) Hayagrīva. Sixth is the (1) six-armed and (2) the white Mahākāla, with the additional blessing of Sukhasiddhi.

Second, for the guiding instructions of the liberation stage, there are the practice instructions based on manuals by Tangtong Gyalpo (Mupa and so on) and Jonang Tāranātha (the Kagyupa and so on) for the six yogas, Mahāmudrā, the Three Dharmas to

integrate on the path, the red and white Khecarī consciousness-transference, immortal body and mind, and guru and protector inseparable.

Third, of transmissions, there is more than one volume of root texts, the vajra verses, and so on. [522] As mentioned earlier, there is some transmission of the instructions for the six yogas among the Geluk, and in particular the authorization, instructions, and transmissions of the six-armed Mahākāla are widespread.

The Zhije Tradition

Dingri Langkhor in Latö⁵¹¹ is an exceptional place, blessed by Jagannātha Dampa Sangye and his heart disciple, the bodhisattva Kunga, and others. This Mahāsiddha was born in Carasiṃha in the land of Veta in Āryāvarta.⁵¹² Through the instructions of fifty-six siddhas, male and female, he cleared away all misconceptions. He was graced by visions of the twelve tutelary sugatas⁵¹³ and the thirty-six gurus of the wondrous Khecara realm in jñānakāya form. He mastered the eight great common siddhis and actualized the supreme siddhis of the great path of seeing.

Of Dampa's five visits to Tibet, on the third, he taught the *Three Lamp* cycle of the Zhije teachings to the Kashmiri Jñānaguhya, and both taught it to Jetsun Ongpo Lotsāwa, Khache Purang Lo Chung and others, which was the earlier transmission.⁵¹⁴ On the fourth visit, he taught the instructions for Mahāmudrā to Ma Chökyi Sherab, for “seeing naked awareness” to So Chung Gendun Bar, and for “integrating realization on the path” to Kam Yeshe Gyaltzen,⁵¹⁵ such that the [523] Ma, So, and Kam lineages and other lesser lineages (the Dra, Ché, and Jang)⁵¹⁶ were the middle transmission. On the fifth visit, he gave instructions individually to four disciples, Dampa Charchen, Charchung, Vajrakrodha, and Kunga,⁵¹⁷ as well as to adepts as numerous as stars in the sky, such as the twenty-four Majo (female disciples),⁵¹⁸ which was the later transmission.

Dampa Kunga was taken on as a disciple by Dampa in five previous lives and praised by him as “equal to myself in realization.” From him, the hidden treasury of the one-to-one lineage passed to Patsab Gompa,⁵¹⁹ Gyalwa Tené, Rok Sherab Senge and his brother,⁵²⁰ and so on, and became very widespread.

However, these days, apart from the extensive empowerments of the five paths from the later transmission cycle—mental purification on the path of accumulation, asceticism on the path of application, non-conceptual mind on the path of seeing, equal taste of all phenomena on the path of meditation, and self-exaltation on the path of no more learning—the three paths from the middle transmission; the authoritative version and the summary for those of sharp faculties; the Kusāli Yoga empowerment; the blessing transmission of the outer, inner, and secret guru yoga for Dampa called *Self-Investiture Preceding Entry into Dependent Arising*; the empowerments for the twelve tutelary sugatas; the empowerments for thirteen-deity Saṃvara; the outer sādhana of Vajravārāhī in nine-deity form, the inner sādhana of the two-faced form,

secret sādhana of Krodhikālī, and [524] the Amṛtakalaśa empowerment of the Ḍākinī Vajracāṇḍālī; the sealed empowerments for the secret sādhanas of the red and black forms of the dharmapāla, Jñānanātha Aghora (means non-terrific); the common outer sādhana; the authorizations for the field-born ḍākinī Kuṇḍurika and for Aparājita; the reading transmission of the black, white, and colored medical teachings; and other miscellanea,⁵²¹ there are no proponents of the school or successors to the tradition to be seen.

The Chö Tradition

At the cave of Zangri Kharmar in Ngamshö,⁵²² Machik Labkyi Drönma spent long periods of her later life. She benefitted innumerable followers, her son Nyingpo Drubpa took over the Langlung temple in É Chung, and the Chöyul teachings flourished in that area. These days there are no particular inheritors of the teachings at these places themselves, but the instruction transmission has spread to every school. Basically, Dampa taught the male Chö to Mara Serpo of Yarlung and Kyotön Sönam Lama.⁵²³ Machik received it from both Dampa and Kyotön, and her transmission became known as the female Chö.

This jñānaḍākinī, indivisible from the great mother Prajñāpāramitā, was born into the Khe'u Gang family in the village of Tsomer in the Lab valley in É.⁵²⁴ [525] She was ordained by Drapa Ngönshe Wangchuk Bar, and through reading the Prajñāpāramitā aloud, an authentic grasp of śūnyatā was born in her. In congress with the yogi known as Töpa Bhadra of Cherdrong⁵²⁵ she gave birth to five children, boys and girls. Once re-ordained, she worked for the benefit of an inconceivable number and variety of those in need of teaching, up to the age of ninety-five, making the Chöyul school, the profound instructions on Prajñāpāramitā, spread to all parts of the Land of Snows.

From the assembly of her followers emerged the lineage of the son succeeding her son Gyalwa Döndrub and the lineage of the disciples succeeding Khugom Chöseng.⁵²⁶ Later, the omniscient Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, Götruk Repa,⁵²⁷ Gyaltangpa, and others received many transmissions of this path, and even today, all the schools, Sakya, Nyingma, Geluk, and most of all the Kagyu, have all kinds of Chö teachings, such as the empowerment of five-deity Krodhikālī, the blessing of the *Opening the Sky Door* instructions, the seven-day and single-mat practice instructions and so on, and the reading transmissions of the fundamental texts such as Machik's testament, and the many volumes of Chö liturgy proper to each school.

The Meaning of "Zhije" and "Chö"

Regarding the meaning of the term "Pacification of Suffering" ("Dugngal Zhije"): whereas most of the Buddhist practice instructions that came to Tibet place the student in opposition to non-virtue [526] and emphasize the purification of disturbing emotions in the mindstream, this one carries sufferings, such as having an inferior body and being afflicted by disease and demons due to the karma accumulated in previous

lives, on to the path, where they are immediately pacified through perseverance in yoga. It is supposedly named after the reference in the *Prajñāpāramitābr̥daya* to “the mantra that completely pacifies all suffering.”

Chöyul means getting rid of all the disturbing emotions that are the karmic outcome of the four demons to be severed—the substantial, insubstantial, joyful, and confusing—not by applying remedies but by cutting them off directly. Its distinctive approach is the application of mantra and conducive practices to the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings.

The Vinaya Tradition

The Noble Vinaya was first taught in Tibet as the lower Vinaya transmission of the Early Translation teachings. During the reign of Lha Tsenpo Trisong Deutsen, the lamp of the teachings was first lit when the great bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita gave monastic ordination to Ba Ratna Yeshe Wangpo Sung and the seven men on trial.⁵²⁸ When Langdarma extinguished the Dharma, Ba Ratna’s three Vinayadhara disciples, the trio of Mar, Yo, and Tsang, got away to Kham.⁵²⁹ [527] In their presence, La Chen Gongpa Rabsal was ordained and studied the *Vinayaṭīka*. It was from him that Lumé and the ten men of Ü-Tsang requested the same kindness.⁵³⁰ They each went on to establish their own seats, and a profusion of monasteries appeared. The great Kadampa *kalyāṇamitras* also received *bhikṣu* ordination according to the Early Translation transmission.

Meanwhile, Lha Lama Yeshe Ö invited Paṇḍita Dharmapāla from eastern India, and the higher ordinations conducted by his three Pāla disciples⁵³¹ spread in Upper West Tibet, and their transmission became known as the upper Vinaya. Also, although Chetsun Sherab Jungne introduced Abhayākaragupta’s ordination lineage at Shalu, the Early Translation tradition became mixed with the Kashmiri transmission and has remained to the present day (in some Nyingma and Geluk schools), so the latter two did not endure.

Later, after the Kashmiri Paṇḍita Śākyaśrī, who was destined to be the third future Buddha, visited Tibet, a new Vinaya ordination lineage was established. From this proceeded an innumerable multitude of monastic communities, of which the renowned four communities of the Gendungangpa, Chölungpa, Tsamigpa, and Jezingpa were the principal ones.⁵³² [528] Originally, these communities were distinct in terms of both the explanation and practice of the Vinaya, and although these days no particular distinctions from the norm are evident, the Karma Kagyu school follows the tradition of Gendungang, the Druk follow Chölung, the Ngor follow Tsamik, and the Sakya proper promoted many ordination transmissions, so that the Vinaya teachings spread and flourished everywhere.

Conclusion

Thus, considering solely the practice of the teachings of the Sugata in the folds of the snowy ranges, the mere names of some of the most famous establishments of the saṅgha, and their successive lineage holders, source of benefit to living beings, and the manner of their appearance, have been mentioned here. It is said, “as wisdom is supreme, and its foundation is hearing, cherish hearing,” and thus a wide study of the masters and teaching styles of one’s own and other traditions is of great importance. Otherwise, there are those who take pride in mastering just their own tradition, who consider all except the lamas and teachings of their own tradition to be devoid of great learning, attainment, or philosophical prowess, [529] and by so instructing others, they accumulate the unbearable karma of rejecting the Dharma; rather, all traditions should be seen as pure.

Those who would do themselves good can study and excite their faith with the life stories of the merciful guide in the precious sūtras, their summaries, such as the 125 verses (Jampa Chöje Kalzang Gyatso),⁵³³ the thirty-four-chapter *Jātakamālā*, with its supplement (Rangjung Zhab and others)⁵³⁴ and great commentaries (Yeshe Gyaltsen and others);⁵³⁵ the *Avadānakalpalatā*, with its annotations (Panglo, Sotön, and others) and summaries;⁵³⁶ the lives of the Sixteen Arhats (Yeshe Gyaltsen and others);⁵³⁷ the eighty-four mahāsiddhas; and so on.

For general histories of Buddhism, there is the *History of Buddhism in India* by the omniscient Tāranātha⁵³⁸ as well as his *Seven Instruction Lineages*⁵³⁹ and many other authentic Indian tales, Gung Gönpö Kyab’s *History of Buddhism in China*,⁵⁴⁰ Butön’s *History of Buddhism*, the *Red Annals* of the Tsalpa,⁵⁴¹ Gö Lotsāwa’s *Blue Annals*, Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa’s *Feast for the Wise*, Druk Chen Pema Karpo’s *Sun That Opens the Lotus of Dharma*, Tuken’s *Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Views*, the *Mirror Illuminating the Royal Succession*,⁵⁴² the *Feast of the Golden Age*,⁵⁴³ and so on. [530] In particular, there are the biographies and histories mentioned earlier, and read with the eye of intelligence, not neglecting one’s own tradition, and rejecting any prejudiced criticism of others, they open the lotus of faith.

The moon-crystal biographies of the saints,
Which ease the mind’s anguish on hearing
And swell the ocean of benefit and joy,
May they illumine the triple world!

That concludes this list briefly accounting for the lineage holders and so on who appeared in the Land of Snows. Śubham astu sarvajagatām!

NOTES

1. On page 481, it is mentioned that the Seventh Pañchen Tenpe Nyima (paN chen bstan pa'i nyi ma, 1782–1853) was still alive at the time of writing.
2. The So Zur Nub Sum trio is commonly understood to be Nub Chen Sangye Yeshe (gnubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes), his direct disciple So Yeshe Wangchuk (so ye shes dbang phyug), and his indirect disciple Zur Chen Śākya Jungne (zur chen shAkya 'byung gnas, 1002–1062). In Nyingma sources (e.g., Jigme Lingpa, *snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan*, fol. 144; Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 250), Zurzang Sherab Jungne (zur bzang shes rab 'byung gnas) is mentioned only as Zur Chen's father, and Nub La Chen (gnubs bla chen) is not mentioned at all. The wording of this note is taken from the *gdung rabs* section of the Fifth Dalai Lama's biography of Zur Chöying Rangdröl (zur chos dbyings rang grol) (Fifth Dalai Lama, *gsung 'bum*, vol. 9, fol. 9), which specifies that Zur Shejung received teachings directly from Nub Chen (who is said to have lived to the age of 130), and mentions the now little-known Nub La Chen Jangnying (gnubs bla chen byang snying) as another of Nub Chen's disciples, stating that both were significant contemporaries of So Yeshe Wangchuk. As Nub Chen was born in 844 (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 345), the description of Sherab Jungne as Zur Chen's grandfather (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 110) is more plausible.
3. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 522–24.
4. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 519–20.
5. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 447–50.
6. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 477–78.
7. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 450.
8. These lines are taken from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 653: “Lineages such as the Dragna Chöje (brag sna chos rje) of Dragna (brag sna) in É Yul seem to have emerged from the descendants of the youngest son Tsenden Nyime Özer (mtshan ldan nyi ma'i 'od zer) from Tsangne Tramo (gtsang gnas phra mo)...” The same work, 727, adds: “Bechok (sbe cog) and Dragna in É Yul flourished greatly in the time of Garwang Letro Lingpa (gar dbang las 'phro gling pa, 1507–1566) and Dragna Chöje Orgyen Tenzin (brag sna chos rje o rgyan bstan 'dzin), and the Dragna Chöjes even served as lamas to the Pende Legshe Ling college (phan bde legs bshad gling) [the precursor of the elite Namgyal Dratsang (rnam rgyal grwa tshang)]. But these days, although it is still there, there are no signs of great activity.”

9. The exact location is uncertain. Lho Domkhar (lho mdo mkhar) is the main valley to the west of Tsona (mtsho sna), which descends from southern central Tibet into Mönyul (mon yul).
10. See, for example, Jamgön Kongtrul, *zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsduś bkod pa rin chen baidurya'i phreng ba*, 347.
11. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 460–61.
12. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 474–77.
13. Mön here is equivalent to Bhutan.
14. Tenzin Legpa Döndrub (bstan 'dzin legs pa don grub, 1645–1726) was the second incarnation at Gangteng Monastery (sgang steng) in Bumtang (bum thang), the seat of Pema Lingpa's (pad+ma gling pa) tradition in Bhutan, established by his predecessor Gyalse Pema Trinle (rgyal sras pad+ma 'phrin las, 1564–1642), the son of Pema Lingpa's son Tugse Dawa Gyaltzen (thugs sras zla ba rgyal mtshan). His successive incarnations inherited the title Peling Gyalse (pad gling rgyal sras).
15. Dremo Shong ('bras mo gshong) is the Tibetan name for Sikkim.
16. The actual spelling is Yonglek (yong legs), a local place-name, and Jigme Kundröl ('jigs med kun grol) was known as Yonglek Khenchen (yong legs mkhan chen). Dungsam (gdung bsam) is in the Pema Gatsal (pad+ma dga' tshal) district of south-east Bhutan, an area known in India as Dewangiri, in the hills overlooking the plains of lower Assam. The location of the monastery is said to have been prophesied by Rigdzin Jigme Lingpa (rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pa, 1730–1798), who identified the place with Vajrakīlaya, at a time of growing border tensions between Bhutan and British colonial forces in Assam. On Jigme Lingpa's involvement in the Anglo-Bhutanese diplomacy of the period, see Aris, *Jigme Lingpa's "Discourse on India" of 1789*, 2–11. Bhutan was forced to cede Dewangiri to the British after defeat in the 1864–1865 Duar war. It was returned by independent India in 1951.
17. Do Ngak Jungne (mdo sngags 'byung gnas) of Yönpö Do (yon po do) was the second reincarnation of Tertön Chogden Gönpö (gter ston mchog ldan mgon po, d. 1531) (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 425). The monastery is situated on a small island in the middle of Yamdrok Lake (yar 'brog).
18. A reference to Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal (byang bdag bkra shis stobs rgyal, 1547–1602).
19. The incarnations of Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso (mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho, 1523–1594) belonged to the Sakya monastery of Jagö Shong (bya rgod gshong) in Bodong (bo dong), but inherited his affiliation with Latö Jang (la stod byang). Sisum Monastery (srid gsum) went into decline after the fall of the Jang (byang) kingdom at the turn of the seventeenth century. See Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 663–4.
20. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 653–56.
21. The lake is commonly known as Kyem Tso (skyem mtsho). Kyawo Khadang (skya bo kha gdangs) is the archaic name of a temple on the north-east shore where Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo (sa chen kun dga' snying po) passed away in 1158. See Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 658–69.
22. Metön Namkha Gyaltzen (mes ston nam mkha' rgyal mtshan), a key figure in the transmission of the Northern Treasures (*byang gter*) teachings, was active in the late fifteenth century. See Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 659–60.
23. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 664–5.
24. These are the *gshin rje tsho bdag lcags 'dra* teachings derived from a revelation of Tertön Gya Zhangtrom (gter ston rgya zhang khrom). On Riwo Trazang (ri bo bkra bzang) see Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 660–62.

25. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 556.
26. This passage is taken from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 665. Elsewhere, Takgang Khewang (*Guru Tashi*, 557) identifies Nyame Jampa Chökyi Gyaltzen (mnyam med byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan) as a teacher of Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal, and thus active in the later sixteenth century. Khamlungpa Rigdzin Wangyal (kham lung pa rig 'dzin dbang rgyal) was a chief disciple of the Fifth Dorje Drak Rigdzin Kalzang Pema Wangchuk (rdo rje brag rig 'dzin bskal bzang pad+ma dbang phyug, 1720–1771).
27. These are the revealed teachings of Tertön Zhigpo Lingpa (gter ston zhiq po gling pa, 1524–1583).
28. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 530–32; Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 667.
29. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 524–25; Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 667.
30. Unidentified.
31. Dre Gönsar (bres dgon gzar) was in Tsang Rong (gtsang rong), just north of the famous Dreyul Kyetsal Monastery ('bras yul skyed tshal). It did not survive into modern times. It was associated with the Dzogchen master Jamyang Chögyal Dorje ('jam dbyangs chos rgyal rdo rje), a Nyingma guru of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 834, 838), but it is not known whether he was the founder.
32. Bönpo Lung (bon po lung) is a minor tributary of the Tsangpo just west of the Nyemo (snye mo) valley, and Pema Chöling (pad+ma chos gling) was the main Nyingma monastery in that area, which was traditionally known as Dre (bres). It was apparently founded by Jamyang Rinchen ('jam dbyangs rin chen), who belonged to Pema Lingpa's tradition, in the later sixteenth century, according to the rare and brief information in Chabpel Tseten Puntsok and Madrong Mingyur Dorje, *bod dang bar khams rgya sog bcas kyi bla sprul rnams kyi skye phreng deb gzhung*, which lists five subsequent incarnations up to the time of writing (1814). However, the monastery was converted to the Northern Treasure tradition, presumably during the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign. See Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 528–31.
33. Presumably this means the Chuzang (chu bzang) incarnations of Dorje Drak (rdo rje brag). This lineage originated with Rigdzin Pema Trinle's (rig 'dzin pad+ma 'phrin las) disciple Kunzang Gyatso (kun bzang rgya mtsho).
34. This hermitage, near the confluence of the Nyero (nye ro) and upper Nyang rivers, and the Northern Treasure lineage masters who lived there, are known only from this passage and from a description in Katok Situ Chökyi Gyatso, *gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do*, 384–85. For more detail, see Akester, *Life of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo*, 285–86n192.
35. This monastery, originally named Gyalje Tsal (rgyal byed tshal)—the Tibetan rendering of Jetavana—was in a small tributary behind the Drongtse Dzong ('brong rtse rdzong) monastery in the Nyang valley. It was founded in 1566, immediately following Zhing Shagpa's (zhing shag pa) defeat of Rinpung (rin spungs) and establishment of the new Tsangpa kingdom. See Pema Karpo, *sems dpa' chen po pad+ma dkar po'i nam thar thugs rje chen po'i zlos gar*, 473–474.
36. See Jigme Lingpa, *gtsang ru lag rgyal byed tshal lam gsang sngags theg mchog gling gi gtam*, 375–84, which specifies that the monastery was reestablished by the Great Fifth's regent, Desi Sangye Gyatso (sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705)—this was after the former's death in 1682. It was then destroyed by the Dzungar Mongols in 1717–1718 and rebuilt by Miwang Polha Ne's (mi dbang pho lha nas, 1689–1747) government. Subsequently, Jigme Lingpa was appointed to oversee the teaching program.
37. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 438–39.
38. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 437–38.

39. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 245–46.
40. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 353–57.
41. He lived from 1810 to 1844. The eighth incarnation was Kalzang Pema Wangyal (bskal bzang pad+ma dbang rgyal, 1848–1880).
42. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 288–94.
43. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 285.
44. Here Khyentse Wangpo writes “gter chen chos kyi rgyal po.”
45. A reference to the Dzungar invasion of 1717–1718, in which Lo Chen Dharmaśrī and others lost their lives.
46. Yizhin Wangyal (yid bzhin dbang rgyal, dates unknown) was to be the last Tri Chen (*kbri chen*) in the family lineage, having produced no heir. See Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 289.
47. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 177–82.
48. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 721–25.
49. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 726: “Shazugpa Ngawang Tashi Namgyal (sha gzugs pa ngag dbang bkra shis rnam rgyal) was a direct disciple of Rigdzin Ngakgi Wangpo (rig ’dzin ngag gi dbang po, 1580–1639) of Dorje Drak. So great was his learning that he was known as the Third Longchenpa (klong chen pa gsum pa). He even composed a history of the hundred tertöns. His successive incarnations have continued the Early Translation teachings in general, and the Dorje Drak tradition in particular, undiminished up to the present at Orgyen Ling (o rgyan gling) in Nyal (gnyal).” Orgyen Ling was a hermitage above Drawor (bra ’or)—later known as Dedruk Labrang (sde drug bla brang)—the main monastery in the Nyal valley.
50. Druknyön Kunga Legpa (’brug smyon kun dga’ legs pa, 1455–1529), the famous mad saint of Bhutan, is associated with Dre’u Lhe (dre’u lhas), a Drukpa Kagyu monastery close to the old Lhuntsé Dzong (lhun rtse rdzong) in the Nyal valley, and the Drubwang (grub dbang) incarnations there were said to be his reincarnations. From the Second Drubwang Yungön Dorje’s (grub dbang 02 g.yung mgon rdo rje, 1721–1769) time, this lineage practiced exclusively Nyingma teachings, according to Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 726.
51. Jora Monastery (sbyor ra) is in the upper valley of Loro Karpo Chu (lo ro dkar po chu), between Nyal and Tsona. It was apparently founded by Jamyang Tenzin Dragpa (’jam dbyangs bstan ’dzin grags pa), the first of seven prophesied incarnations of Bodong Pañchen Chogle Namgyal (bo dong paN chen phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1375–1450), a.k.a. Chökyi Gyaltzen (chos kyi rgyal mtshan), who was born in the area in the mid-sixteenth century (see Chappel Tseten Puntsok and Madrong Mingyur Dorje, *bod dang bar khams rgya sog bcas kyi bla sprul rnam sbyor ra che tshang* lineage, popularly known as “the omniscient ones of Jora,” became the heads of the Bodongpa school thereafter. The Fifth Jora Chetsang, Rigdzin Trinle Lhundrub (rig ’dzin ’phrin las lhun grub, 1770–1815), was the guru of one of the young Khyentse Wangpo’s main teachers, the Ninth Samding Dorje Pagmo (bsam sdings rdo rje phag mo 09, d. 1854). According to Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 726: “These incarnations, despite being the heads of the Bodongpa school, were mostly practitioners of the Secret Mantra Nyingma teachings exclusively, and in particular the present incarnation is a fully fledged Nyingmapa, recognized as the custodian of the revealed teachings of the omniscient Khyentse Jigme Lingpa, Ter Chen Kunzang Özer (gter chen kun bzang ’od zer, b. 1763), Gamtrul Rinpoche (sgam sprul rin po che, b. 1757) and others....”

52. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 727: “Dzogchenpa Namkha Drukdra Zangpo (rdzogs chen pa nam mkha’ ’brug sgra bzang po) was an emanation of Dampa Sangye as foretold in a revealed prophecy. He mastered the great omniscient Longchenpa’s (klong chen pa, 1308–1364) *Chogchu Munsel* (*phyogs bcu mun sel*) commentary on the *Gubhyagarbhatantra* and engaged in many teachings, principally of the Northern Treasure tradition. He was especially realized in the Unimpeded Realization (*dgongs pa zang thal*) Dzogchen teachings, and as he mainly taught Dzogchen, he became known as Rongpa Dzogchenpa (rong pa rdzogs chen pa). As he founded the Tsa Drubde (rtsa sgrub sde) hermitage in É Rong (e rong) and resided there, he was equally known as the Tsa Dzogchenpa (rtsa rdzogs chen pa). He exchanged teachings with Rigdzin Chökyi Dragpa (rig ’dzin chos kyi grags pa, 1595–1659), Lhatsun Kunzang Namgyal (lha btsun kun bzang rnam rgyal, 1597–1650), Gongra Lo Chen (gong ra lo chen, 1594–1654), and Natsok Rangdröl (sna tshogs rang grol, 1605–1677). He fulfilled his practice at hermitages such as Gongla Jeu (gong la bye’u) and was a great siddha. Tsa Drubde is still there today [early nineteenth century] and continues in the care of his successive incarnations.”
53. According to the brief biography in Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 464, his family descendants remained the custodians of the Gongpo Pelchok (gong po spel lcog) hermitage in É Yul (e yul) up to the time of writing in the early nineteenth century. The exact location is now obscure.
54. On the Dragna Chöje (brag sna chos rje) lineage, see above note on the descendants of Guru Chöwang (gu ru chos dbang, 1212–1270). Orgyen Tenzin (o rgyan bstan ’dzin) was active in the mid-seventeenth century, for he is mentioned as an official of the new Ganden Podrang (dga’ ldan pho brang) government. See Desi Sangye Gyatso, *dga’ ldan chos ’byung baiDUr+ya ser po*, 399, 437.
55. Jangkhar Yushulpa Chöku Özer the omniscient (byang mkhar g.yu shul pa kun mkhyen chos sku ’od zer) is fourth in the lineage of Dagtön Wangchuk Dorje’s (dwags ston dbang phyug rdo rje) disciples in Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 727. As Dagtön (dwags ston) was a disciple of Menlungpa Säkyä Ö (sman lung pa shAkya ’od) (Gö Lotsäwa, *Blue Annals*, 155), the foundation of Tsele dates approximately to the early fourteenth century.
56. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 728.
57. “Chogtrul Zurpa” (mchog sprul zur pa) indicates that Garwang Gyatso (gar dbang rgya mtsho) was replaced as the tenth Zhamarpa after the recognition of a rival candidate, Mipham Chödrub Gyatso (mi pham chos grub rgya mtsho). He then became the first in a secondary lineage known as the Zhamarpas of Namseling (rnam sras gling)—the name of his family estate. See, for example, Finnegan, *Karmapa*, 116.
58. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 729–42.
59. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 742–44.
60. Usually known as Götsangpa Natsok Rangdröl Pema Legdrub (rgod tshang pa sna tshogs rang grol pad+ma legs grub, 1605–1677), to avoid confusion with the first Tsele Natsok Rangdrol (rtse le sna tshogs rang grol, 1494–1570). On Kongpo Tangdrok Monastery (kong po thang ’brog), the “new Tsele,” see Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 745–46.
61. The exact location of Tsanang Sang Ngak Gatsal (rtsa nang gsang sngags dga’ tshal) is uncertain. In later times, Tertön Drimé Lhunpo’s (gter ston dri med lhun po) gilt reliquary was to be seen there (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 471). The Bangri Jogpo hermitage (bang ri ’jog po), seat of the incarnations of Rigdzin Jatsön Nyingpo (rig ’dzin ’ja’ tshon snying po, 1585–1656), is in the lower Zhokha (zho kha) valley, just above its confluence with the Nyang River (nyang chu).

62. Gawa Lung (dga' ba lung), a southern tributary of the main Parlung Chu (phar lung chu) valley, was “opened” by the great treasure revealer Tagsham Nuden Dorje (stag sham nus ldan rdo rje, b. 1655), who founded a temple there. The six subsequent incarnations who maintained his tradition are listed in Orgyen, *spo bo'i lo rgyus*, 111–12. There have apparently been several monasteries of this tradition in Gawa Lung since his time, including the seat of Chöje Lingpa's (chos rje gling pa) reincarnations (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 575).
63. According to the summary of the lineage by the present Tenth Bakha Pema Tenzin (rba kha 10 pad+ma bstan 'dzin), the monastery was founded by the first incarnation, Rigdzin Yangdak Gyatso (rba kha 01 rig 'dzin yang dag rgya mtsho), with the patronage of the Kanam Depa (ka gnam sde pa), Powo's ruling family (Orgyen, *spo bo'i lo rgyus*, 103–6). Rigdzin Chökyi Gyatso (rba kha 02 rig 'dzin chos kyi rgya mtsho), the famous second incarnation, was renowned for saving the monastery from destruction by the Dzungar Mongols in 1717–1718. The sixth incarnation Kunzang Rigdzin Dorje (rba kha 06 kun bzang rig 'dzin rdo rje) was the son of the Seventh Peling Sungtrul Kunzang Tenpe Gyaltzen (kun bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1763–1818), and relations with Lhalung Monastery (lha lung dgon) remained close since that time. This entry was not updated to include the great Eighth Bakha Khamsum Yongdröl (rba kha 08 khams gsum yongs grol), who was active during Khyentse Wangpo's later life. Bakha Sang Ngak Chöling Monastery is on the south bank of Parlung Chu, opposite the erstwhile capital at Kanam and entrance of the Powo Tö (spo bo stod) valley.
64. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 750. Drubpa Gön (grub pa dgon) was a large monastery above the village of Yari Gang (yar ri sgang) in southern Ba Yul ('ba' yul). It was founded, possibly in the twelfth century, by the “Indian Mahāsiddha” Ratri Tashi Chökyi Wangchuk (ra khrid bkra shis chos kyi dbang phyug), whose successive incarnations were known as Lama Gyagar (bla ma rgya gar) and belonged to the Karma Kagyu school. It was enlarged and converted to the Northern Treasure school during the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign by Lharampa Tenpa Rabgye (lha ram pa bstan pa rab rgyas), a lama of the Latö Jang aristocracy, whose successive incarnations were known as Lama Gyanak (bla ma rgya nag). See Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 2, 392–96.
65. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 750. Namkö Monastery (*gnam bskos*, “appointed by heaven”), just north of the town of Batang ('ba' thang), also has a long yet little-known history. According to Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 2, 398–99, it was so named after three of the thirteen great Gya Lama (rgya bla ma) lineage holders were invited to teach the emperor of China. It belonged to the Northern Treasure tradition, but later the Mindröling tradition was also taught there.
66. *Pö Chenpo* (bod chen po) is a term often used by Khyentse to refer to eastern Tibet, as opposed to “Pö” (Tibet proper), which meant either Ü-Tsang, or the territory of the Lhasa government (which included western Kham), according to context.
67. The abbatial succession (*gdan rabs*) at Katok is summarized from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 751–59.
68. According to a prophecy revealed by Tertön Drugu Yangwang (gter ston gru gu yang dbang), he was an emanation of a buddha named Nuden Dorje (nus ldan rdo rje) (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 566).
69. Chökyi Lodrö (chos kyi blo gros), the Second Katok Situ (kaH thog si tu 02) incarnation, was born in 1820. According to Khenchen Jamyang Gyaltzen (*rgyal ba kaH thog gi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, 115), Chökyi Lodrö visited Khyentse Wangpo shortly before his death to discuss details of his reincarnation. The Third Katok Situ Orgyen Chökyi Gyatso (kaH thog si tu 03 chos kyi rgya mtsho) was born into the Delgo Tsang (del mgo tshang) house as Khyentse Wangpo's nephew in 1880.

70. The abbatial succession at Palyul Monastery is summarized from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 759–64.
71. Dragmar Wangchen Ling (brag dmar dbang chen gling), a branch of Katok, is near Samar Dzong (sa dmar rdzong), in the next tributary of the Drichu ('bri chu) south of Palyul. It was established on the site of an earlier hermitage by Kunzang Khyabdal Lhundrub (kun bzang khyab brdal lhun grub) in the late seventeenth century and maintained by his successive incarnations and the parallel incarnations of his nephew Kunzang Namgyal (Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 3, 194–202).
72. Apparently, a reference to the Jomogo (jo mo mgo) and Ritra Nenang (ri bkra gnas nang) hermitages of Tagla Pema Norbu (stag bla pad+ma nor bu) in Rekhe (re khe) (Khenpo Sönam Tenpel, *mdo khams re kbe'i lo rgyus spyi yi khog 'bubs nor bu'i do shal*). On Katok Rigdzin (kaH thog rig 'dzin), see Rigdzin Chökyi Wangchuk, *ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*.
73. “Garje Chökyong Gyatso’s (sgar rje chos skyong rgya mtsho) nephew lineage consists of the successive vajradharas at Khamgong Monastery, whose line has continued to the present day” (i.e., the early nineteenth century) (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 765). The seat of this master and his successive incarnations was the historic Kham Ü Monastery (khams dbus) in Rekhe (Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 3, 204–13), of which Khamgong was perhaps a branch.
74. Tsangshi (gtsang gshis) in upper Markham (smar khams) is considered part of Rekhe (or Sa Ngen). Godrak is unidentified.
75. Rekhe is the region spanning the narrow valleys along both banks of the Drichu, from Katok Monastery to upper Ba Yul on the east bank, and from Gonjo to upper Markham on the west. It is also known as Sa Ngen (sa ngan, “the badlands”).
76. Doser Nyisum (rdo gser snyi gsum) in Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 753, is more correct. These are three parallel valleys Nyikhok, Serkhok, and Dokhok (snyi khog, gser khog, and rdo khog) in the Serta (gser thal) region of southern Golok (mgo log, mgu log), where several branch monasteries of Katok and Palyul were established.
77. The abbatial succession at Dzogchen Monastery is summarized from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 766–817.
78. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 401.
79. Guru/Gyalwa Yeshe Rabjam (gu ru/rgyal ba ye shes rab 'byams), also known as Shugsebpa (shug gseb pa), was one of Longchenpa’s main disciples and his first successor in the Heart-Essence of the Ḍākinī or Khandro Nyingtik (*mkha' 'gro snying thig*) transmission (Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 240).
80. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 787: “He was born (in 1699) into the tribe of the lord of the white tent by the banks of the northern Da River (zla chu, i.e., the upper Yalong), ruled by the descendants of Sogpo Gyalpo Kunga Daiching (sog po rgyal po kun dga' dA'i chings), Nomchi Taiji, and others, which split away from the forty Oirat tribes, and is locally known as Darkhan Uluk (*dar khan u lug* = Mongolian “Ulus,” “community”).” Perhaps “forty tribes” refers to the Khoshot division of the Oirat then occupying the greater Kokonor region, but the names of these rulers are obscure. Rudam Yangkhyil (ru dam g.yang 'khyil) is a pastoral area downriver from Dzogchen Monastery.
81. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 819–20. Migyur Namkha Dorje (mi 'gyur nam mkha' rdo rje, 1793–1870) was one of Khyentse Wangpo’s teachers (Akester, *Life of Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo*, 98–99n193). There is a short biography in Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, *gangs can gyi yul du byon pa'i lo paN rnam kyī mtshan tho*, 303–26.

82. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 817. The foundation year was Water Dog, 1742. Tagten Namgyal Ling (rtag brtan rnam rgyal gling) was initially a hermitage (*sgrub sde*), but by the time Takgang Khewang's work was written seventy years later, it had grown into a monastic community of 200. Gyarong (rgyal/rgya rong) is a locality in the upper Yilhung (yid lhung) valley, not far to the south-east of Dzogchen Monastery, and should not be confused with the region of that name in Amdo.
83. The Tagmo Gang abbatial succession is summarized from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 861–913.
84. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 820–60 is a detailed and authoritative biography of Tertön Nyima Dragpa (gter ston nyi ma grags pa, 1647–1710). Tagmo Gang Monastery (stag mo sgang), seat of Nyima Dragpa and his successive incarnations, is in Dzinkhok ('dzin khog) in eastern Derge. Ösal Drubde ('od gsal sgrub sde) hermitage is the second seat of the lineage at Sinmo Dzong (srin mo rdzong), a sacred mountain in the Chagru (chags ru) area of Nagshö (nags shod), the upper Gyalmo Ngulchu (rgyal mo dngul chu; Salween) valley in western-most Kham.
85. This is Tagmo Gang Khewang Ngawang Lodrö (stag mo sgang mkhas dbang ngag dbang blo gros), the author of *Guru Tashi*, which he completed in 1825. Since his time, vajrācāryas of the Guru Tsang (gu ru tshang) house, to which he belonged, have served as custodians of the monastery in the absence of its incarnate lamas (Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *kham sphyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 3, 229).
86. The Shechen abbatial succession is summarized from Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 913–22.
87. The New Translations are said to have begun with Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti, who was active in Tibet through the mid-eleventh century (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 104), as well as with Lo Chen Rinchen Zangpo (lo chen rin chen bzang po, 958–1055). See, for example, Tuken Chökyi Nyima, *grub mtha' shel dkar me long*, 55.
88. Longchenpa, *dpal rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i grol byed lam gyi snying po'i don kbrid*, 95–104.
89. On the transmission of the collected tantras of the Nyingma tradition, see Jigme Lingpa, *thob yig nyi zla'i rna cha*, 865–76. For an English translation, see Sam van Schaik, *Sun and Moon Earrings*, 3–32.
90. On Kalden Jipa (skal ldan byis pa), the “fortunate child” who stopped an epidemic, see Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 505.
91. This means the Eight Heruka (*bka' brgyad*), the Sūtra That Gathers All Intentions (*dgongs 'dus*), and Kilaya (*phur pa*).
92. This means the trio of guru yoga (*bla grub*), Atiyoga (*rdzogs chen*) and Mahākāruṅika (*thugs rje chen po*).
93. A cycle of Hayagrīva practice. According to Jamgön Kongtrul this cycle was revealed by a group of three different people: Gyangpo Dragpa Wangchuk (rgyang po grags pa dbang phyug), Sumpa Jangchub Tsultrim (sum pa byang chub tshul khirms), and Drom Sherab Bar ('brom shes rab 'bar), although its intended recipient was said to be Darcharwa Rinchen Zangpo ('dar 'phyar ba rin chen bzang po), who sought out the lineage of the initial revelation after a visionary encounter in which he was granted its empowerment.
94. “Diri” (sdi ri) is an alternative name; he is otherwise known as Dorbum Chödrak (rdor 'bum chos grags).
95. Apparently, this is a reference to Tenyi Lingpa Pema Tsewang Gyalpo (bstan gnyis gling pa pad+ma tshe dbang rgyal po, 1480–1537). See Akester, *Life of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo*, 269n56.

96. This refers to the *Sūtra That Gathers All Intentions* (*mdo dgongs pa 'dus pa*), the *Māyājāla Tantra* (*sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*), and the *Eighteen Mothers and Children of the Mind Section* (*sems mdo ma bu bco brgyad*).
97. The following titles are taken from the list of sources on the Kama (*bka' ma*) tradition cited in the colophon to Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 1047.
98. No extant copy of this mid-fourteenth century work has yet been identified, and its existence appears to be known only from this reference (Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 127).
99. Rigdzin Pema Trinle, *bka' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, 1972. The work by Lo Chen Dharmasrī cited as a source in Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 1047: “*mdo dbang bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam bshad dang mkhan brgyud kyi yi ge*,” appears to have been lost.
100. This seems to be a reference to the *rdzogs pa chen po snying thig gi lo rgyus chen mo* (*rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, vol. 45, 503–657). Authorship of this work is generally attributed to Zhangtön Tashi Dorje (zhang ston bkra shis rdo rje, 1097–1167), a disciple of Che Gom Nagpo (lce sgom nag po) in the Vima Nyingtik (*bi ma snying thig*) lineage (Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, 209–11; Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 55–56), but the lack of attribution here may be a sign that Khyentse considered it to be the work of more than one author.
101. Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 45, identifies this with the religious history (*chos 'byung*) composed by Rongzom Paṇḍita.
102. The *bi ma la'i man ngag snying thig ma bu'i lo rgyus kha skong nges shes 'dren byed*, by Terdak Lingpa Gyurme Dorje, composed in 1709, apparently supplements the *rdzogs pa chen po snying thig gi lo rgyus chen mo* mentioned above. See Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 305.
103. The *Black Hundred-Thousand-Word Commentary on Kīla* is said to have been codified by Guru Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Śīlamañju at Yangleshö in Nepal and transmitted by Guru Padmasambhava to Khandro Yeshe Tsogyal (ye shes mtsho rgyal) in Tibet, where it was put into writing. It contains historical material, such as the biographies of the founders and lineage holders.
104. The title is *gsang sngags snga 'gyur bka' gter dang bcas pa'i chos 'byung bden tshig rdo rje'i glu dbyangs*, by Khenchen Orgyen Tenzin Dorje (mkhan chen o rgyan bstan 'dzin rdo rje), the Third Mindröling Tri Chen (smin grol gling khri chen).
105. Jigme Lingpa, *snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs brjod 'dzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan*.
106. Getse Tulku Gyurme Tsewang Chogdrub, *snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa lha'i mnga bo che lta bu'i gtam*.
107. Takgang Khewang's *bstan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*, known as Guru Tashi's History (*gu bkra'i chos 'byung*) for short, was compiled between 1807 and 1825 according to the colophon on page 1055. Dzin Tagmo Gang ('dzin stag mo sgang, see note above) was close to Khyentse's birthplace in eastern Derge.
108. An early and notorious attack on the Nyingma teachings is a text of the “refutation of perverse tantric teachings” (*sngags log sun 'byin*) genre attributed to the eleventh-century Gö Lotsāwa (*sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor*, 1979). It alleges that the Nyingma tantras, such as the *Guhyaḡarbhā*, were concocted by the Tibetan translators of the imperial period (Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 152–54).

109. According to Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 231, citing Terdak Lingpa's authority, Drigung Palzin was the lama of local monasteries in the Drok (grog) valley in Kyishö (skyyid shod)—an area then under Drigung's control—who was motivated by jealousy to write a denunciation of the Dzogchen teachings. After his return from exile in the late 1350s, the great Longchenpa was received by the Drigung Gompa Śākya Zangpo, and offered the Orgyen monastery in Drok, which he left in the care of one of his disciples. This lama's success in spreading Longchenpa's teachings and attracting disciples aroused the displeasure of Palzin, an otherwise unknown figure.
110. Karmapa Mikyö Dorje, *gsang sngags snga 'gyur las 'phros pa'i brgal lan rtsod pa med pa'i ston pa dang bstan pa'i byung ba brjod pa drang po'i sa bon*.
111. Apparently, a reference to the *gsang sngags rnying ma ba'i ring lugs pa rnams la rtsod pa'i lan legs par bshad pa dri med gang ga'i chu rgyun* of Shazugpa Tashi Namgyal, a response to Palkhang Lotsāwa (dpal khang lo tsA ba), a disciple of Karmapa Mikyö Dorje (kar ma pa mi bskyod rdo rje, 1507–1554), by Shazugpa Tashi Namgyal (sha gzugs pa bkra shis rnam rgyal) of Nyal, who was popularly known as the Third Longchenpa. Longchenpa himself does not appear to have authored a specific defense of the Nyingma tradition, although Jigme Lingpa later authored one (see note below) in his name.
112. Presumably a reference to Ngari Pañchen Pema Wangyal's famous *sdom gsum rnam nges* work on the three vows. See Ngari Pañchen, *Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three Vows*.
113. The second Pawo (dpa' bo) incarnation (1504–1566) was a disciple of Mikyö Dorje. His biography of the master (Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa, *chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 1297) claims that he refuted the anti-Nyingma polemic that had been falsely attributed to him.
114. Sogdogpa Lodrö Gyaltzen was the author of the *Dragon's Roar of the Definitive Meaning* (Sogdogpa Lodrö Gyaltzen, *dam pa'i chos gsang sngags snga 'gyur la rtsod pa spong ba legs bshad nges pa don kyi 'brug sgra*), perhaps the best-known and most comprehensive polemical defense of the Nyingma tradition. This work is divided into a general refutation of criticisms written in verse, and a series of refutations of specific authors written in prose. His first composition (1576), the *Dragon's Roar of Scriptural Authority and Reasoning* (Sogdogpa, *dri lan lung rig 'brug sgra*), was written in response to the criticisms leveled by the highly influential Karmapa Mikyö Dorje. See Gentry, *Substance and Sense*.
115. Rabjampa Orgyan Chödrak (rab 'byams pa o rgyan chos grags, b. 1676) was a monk-scholar and disciple of the founders of Mindröling. He is the author of the *chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* history of Buddhism in Tibet written in 1731. The *lung rig rdo rje'i gad rgyangs* polemic cited here seems not to be among his surviving works.
116. The *snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs brjod 'dzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan* cited above corresponds the best among Jigme Lingpa's writings to a *chos 'byung*, but the intended passage cannot be located there. The sixty-third chapter of his *Various Discourses* (*gtam tshogs*) entitled *Discourses of Weariness with Inappropriate Refutations* (*gnas min brgal brtag la skyo ba'i gtam*) is a short verse composition satirizing those keen to dispute their fellow Buddhists, without mentioning any dispute in particular (Jigme Lingpa, *gtsang ru lag rgyal byed tshal lam gsang sngags theg mchog gling gi gtam*, 597–99). However, there is a substantial defense of the Nyingma tradition against its historic critics in Jigme Lingpa, *snga 'gyur rnying ma la rgol ngan log rtog bzlog pa'i bstan bcos*, 730–825. This title bears the qualification “*kun mkhyen ngag gi dbang pos mdzad pa,*” implying that it was inspired by Longchenpa.
117. Katok Pañdita Gyurme Tsewang Chogdrub ('gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub, 1761–1829) composed a defense of the Nyingma tradition focused on the interpretation of Sakya Pañdita's comments in his *Differentiation of the Three Vows* (Getse Tulku Gyurme Tsewang Chogdrub, *sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos chen pos snga 'gyur phyogs la rtsod pa spong ba 'dus ma byas kyi gan mdzod*, 109–88). See Makidono, “An Entrance to the Practice Lineage as Exemplified in Kaḥ thog Dge rtse Mahāpañdita's Commentary on Sakya Pañdita's *Sdom gsum rab dbye*.”

118. Tuken Lobzang Chökyi Nyima's (thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1737–1802) most famous work, the *grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel dkar me long*, includes a validation of the Nyingma tradition (see Tuken Lobzang Chökyi Nyima, *grub mtha' shel dkar me long*, 73–7, translated into English by Geshe Lhundrup Sopa in *The Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems*). A lesser-known work entitled *gsung rab nmam dag chu'i dri ma gsal byed nor bu ke ta ka'i tshig don la dogs spyod snyan sgron du gsol ba nor bu ke ta ka'i byi dor*, a direct refutation of his own teacher Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Paljor's (sum pa mkhan po ye shes dpal 'byor, 1704–1788) 1782 critique of the authenticity of the Nyingma and Bön scriptures, has been presented by Matthew Kapstein "The Purificatory Gem and Its Cleansing," 121–37. See also Ringu Tulku, *The Ri-me Philosophy of Jamgön Kongtrul the Great*, 251–55.
119. This quote from the *Testament of Mañjuśrī* (*'jam dpal zhal lung*) of Buddhaśrījñānapāda was produced by Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pal to demonstrate the Indian origin of the term *Dzogchen* (Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, 141). On Dzogchen as "the perfection stage of the perfection stage," see Dalton, "Enacting Perfection," chap. 4.
120. The beginning of Tenpa Chidar (*bstan pa phyi dar*), the later diffusion of the Buddhist teachings in Tibet, is typically associated with the activity of the great lotsāwa of the post-imperial Guge kingdom, Rinchen Zangpo (rin chen bzang po, 958–1055) (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 68). The date of the revival of Buddhism in central Tibet is estimated as 978, according to Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 60–62. Note that the early historians discussed there dated the end of the earlier diffusion to 901, one *rabjung* too late. The great translators mentioned in this passage were younger contemporaries of Atiśa.
121. Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (982–1054), the great Bengali paṇḍita and luminary of Vikramaśīla came to Tibet in 1042 following a prophecy that he would spread Buddhādharma in the Land of Snows and passed away there twelve years later. He is typically credited with reestablishing buddhist monasticism after a period of decline following the collapse of the Pugyal (spu rgyal) empire in the mid-ninth century.
122. Fire Sheep year (1007) must refer to Dromtön's birth year, and the usually cited foundation year is Fire Bird (1057), or Fire Monkey (1056) according to Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 263, which has his birth year as Wood Snake (1005).
123. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 27–34.
124. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 226–29.
125. Lumé Tsultrim Sherab's (klu mes tshul khriṃs shes rab) dates are not recorded, but he was active in the period 975–1025. He passed away at Tangboche (thang bo che), and his embalmed body was preserved in a great stūpa there.
126. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 431–32.
127. 1153 is the Water Bird year of the third *rabjung* (1147–1206).
128. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 566–69.
129. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 405–408.
130. A reference to the *zhus lan nor bu'i phreng ba lha chos bdun ldan gyi bla ma brgyud pa rnams kyi rnam thar ngo mtsbar rmad du byung ba'i dpal 'byor* by Dromtön Zhönu Lodrö ('brom ston gzhon nu blo gros, b. 1271), a compilation of biographies included in the first volume (*pha chos*) of the *Book of the Kadampa*. For an English translation, see Thupten Jinpa, *The Book of Kadampa*.
131. Lé Chen Kunga Gyaltzen, *bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*.

132. This appears to be an error: Amé Zhab’s principal history of the Kadam school is entitled *Ocean of Wonders* (*ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*). The phrase *chos kun gsal ba’i nyin byed* rather occurs in the titles of his histories of the *Gubyasamājantra*, *Cakrasamvaratantra*, *Bhairavatantra*, etc.
133. The *Ornament of the Mahāyāna Sūtras* (*theg pa chen po’i mdo sde’i rgyan*) is one of the Five Treatises of Maitreya composed by Ācārya Asaṅga (Ācārya Asaṅga, *A Feast of the Nectar of the Supreme Vehicle*). The *Stages of the Bodhisattva Path* (*byang chub sems dpa’i sa*), part of Asaṅga’s monumental *Yogācārabhūmi*, was considered in Tibet as a fundamental treatise in its own right. See Ācārya Asaṅga, *The Bodhisattva Path to Unsurpassed Enlightenment*.
134. A reference to the *Book of the Kadampa* which has two parts, the biography of Atiśa (*pha chos*, “teachings of the father”) and the previous lives of Dromtönpa (*bu chos*, “teachings of the son”). The instructions on the *thig le bcu drug* are in the *nyams len snying gi thig le’i gsal byed zung ’jug nyi zla’i thig le* section of the *pha chos*.
135. The *Lamp for the Path to Awakening* (*byang chub lam sgron*) is said to have been composed at the request of Atiśa’s host in Guge, the ruler Jangchub Ö (Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.brang according to mNga’ris rGyal.rabs*, 118, 298).
136. *bka’ gdams thor bu* in the text. The *bka’ gdams kyi skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi gsung bgros thor bu* is a collection of sayings of the Kadam masters by Che Gom Sherab Dorje (Chegom Sherab Dorje, *bka’ gdams kyi skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi gsung bgros thor bu ba rnams*).
137. *bde bar gshes pa’i bstan pa rin po che la ’jug pa’i lam gyi rim pa rnam par bshad pa* by Drolungpa Lodrö Jungne (gro lung pa blo gros ’byung gnas), a disciple of Ngok Loden Sherab, an early example of the Lamrim (*lam rim*) genre.
138. These are Śākyamuni, Acala, Avalokiteśvara, and Tārā.
139. The three principal Tibetan disciples of Atiśa were Khutön Tsöndru Yungdrung (khu ston brtson ’grus g.yung drung, 1011–1075), Ngogtön Legpe Sherab (rngog ston legs pa’i shes rab, 1018–1115?), and Dromtön Gyalwe Jungne (’brom ston rgyal ba’i ’byung gnas, 1005/07–1064).
140. The “three brothers,” or principal disciples of Dromtönpa, were Potowa Rinchen Sal (po to ba rin chen gsal, 1027/31–1105), Chen Ngawa Tsultrim Bar (spyang snga ba tshul khriṃs ’bar, 1038–1103), and Puchungwa Zhönu Gyaltzen (phu chung ba gzhon nu rgyal mtshan, 1031–1106/09).
141. Langri Tangpa Dorje Senge (glang ri thang pa rdo rje seng ge, 1054–1123) and Sharawa Yönten Drak (sha ra ba yon tan drags, 1070–1141) were the principal disciples of Potowa.
142. These “four greatneses of the graduated path” are mentioned in Khyentse Wangpo’s song in praise of the Kadampa tradition, <https://www.khyentsevision.org/reading-room/kabum/a-chung/B1533/>.
143. The “lha chos bdun ldan” (*saptadevadharma*) of the Kadam tradition are the four deities and the three sections of the Tripitaka. The three trainings are ethical discipline (*tsbul kbrims kyi bslab pa, śīlaśikṣā*), meditative concentration (*ting nge ’dzin gyi bslab pa, samādhīśikṣā*), and wisdom (*shes rab kyi bslab pa, prajñāśikṣā*).
144. The Drompa (grom pa) area, on the east bank of the Tsangpo river, was considered part of Rulak (gtsang ru lag), rather than Latö (gtsang la stod), which starts from the west bank. The spelling “gram pa” of the text is one of several misspellings induced by the pronunciation of “-a” as “-o” in Kham dialects.
145. The Lhasa Dzongpa (lha sa rdzong pa) were local governors who assumed authority in the area during the fifteenth century following the defeat of Sakya by the Pagmo Drupa. They were driven out, and the Sakya principality reestablished, under the leadership of Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen (sngags ’chang kun dga’ rin chen 1517–1584) in the 1550s (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 580).

146. On the location of Sheltsa Gyalmo (shel tsha rgyal mo) in the Shentsa (shan rtsa) region of western Jangtang, see Bellezza, “The Liturgies and Oracular Utterances of the Spirit-Mediums of Upper Tibet,” 14.
147. “sryn po khrag mig ma” is usually called “skya reng khrag med.” On this figure, see Ramble, “Fearless Dawn, Bloodless Demon.”
148. The name “Khön Bar Kye” (’khon bar skyes) means “born amid conflict.”
149. “mtshan mchog gsum ldan” is a common eulogy for the Sakya family lineage. The three titles are “lha rigs,” the divine ancestors, “’khon gdung,” the bone lineage, and “sa skya pa,” the religious lineage. See for instance Tubten Yarpel, *chos ’byung dri lan brgya pa legs bshad snying bsdu*, vol. 3, 250.
150. The “Pāramitāmārga,” i.e., the Mahāyana system of Five Paths and Ten Grounds.
151. Godan Khan (1206–1251?), grandson of Genghis Khan, had charge of the Mongol empire’s territories in China and had launched an invasion of Tibet in 1240. The “Trulpa Dé temple (sprul pa sde’i lha khang) of the north” refers to the Baita Si, or “White Stūpa Temple” at Godan’s capital, Liangzhou (modern Wuwei) in western Gansu, formerly part of the Tangut empire. Sapaṅ passed away there in 1251.
152. Chögyal Pagpa was considered the immediate reincarnation of a master known only as Setön Ripa (se ston ri pa). According to Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk’s history of the Lamdre lineage: “Phakpa’s father Sangtsa Sönam Gyaltzen had focused his practice on the deity Gaṇapati, who knew that the master Setön Ripa of Langri Tang in Ngari had the ability to take control of the threefold universe. When Gaṇapati supplicated him, Setön Ripa purposely took rebirth as Phakpa Rinpoché...” (Stearns, *Taking the Result as Path*, 239).
153. I.e., Kublai Khan, known to Tibetans as Sechen Gyalpo (se chen rgyal po, r. 1260–1294)—although this incident supposedly occurred at the time of Pagpa’s appointment in 1253, before Kublai seized the throne of the eastern Mongol empire. A story is told that Kublai expressed disappointment with the young lama after hearing of the miracles performed by Karma Pakshi (kar+ma pak+shi, 1204–1283). After this was conveyed to Pagpa by Queen Chabi, Pagpa agreed to please his royal sponsor even though performing miracles for worldly effect was a contravention of Vajrayana conduct (Amé Zhab, *sa skya’i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 158–59).
154. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (’phags pa ’jam dpal gyi rtsa ba’i rgyud). Toh. 543.
155. It is said that Chomden Rigpe Raldri (lcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri, 1228–1305) was initially sceptical of Pagpa’s claims to greatness, but when Pagpa gave public teachings nearby (at Chumik in 1277), he went there incognito and was amazed and humbled by the signs of his attainment (Amé Zhab, *sa skya’i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 217–18).
156. Amé Zhab, *sa skya’i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 247–47.
157. Jamgön Amé Zhab composed a long biography of Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen (*srid pa gsum gyi bla ma dpal sa skya pa chen po sngags ’chang ngag gi dbang po kun dga’ rin chen gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*).
158. Amé Zhab, *sa skya’i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 470–535.
159. The protectors Karmo Nyinda (dkar mo nyi zla) and Dugyal Pawo (bdud rgyal dpa’ bo thod phreng can) are associated with the Khön Vajrakīlaya transmission (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 577).
160. This refers to calculation methods used in the Pugpa system of astrology (*phug lugs*).

161. Kunga Rinchen (kun dga' rin chen, 1794–1856) was the founder, in 1823, of the Puntsok Podrang (phun tshogs pho brang) branch of the family line, which divided in this period. The rival Drölma Podrang (sgrol ma pho brang) was founded by his nephew Tashi Rinchen (bkra shis rin chen, 1824–1865) in 1849. Khyentse Wangpo visited Sakya in 1850 and was familiar with these events but refrains from mentioning them here.
162. The biographies of Jamgön Kunga Lodrö ('jam mgon kun dga' blo gros) and his successors are in Dragshul Trinle Rinchen's (drag shul 'phrin las rin chen) *sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar rin chen kun 'phel*, a supplement to Amé Zhabs's *sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*. See also Stearns, *Taking the Result as the Path*, 274–84.
163. Tsedong Chöde Sisum Namgyal (rtse gdong chos sde srid gsum rnam rgyal) is in a minor valley on the north bank of the Tsangpo, a little way east of the mouth of the Shang (shangs) valley. It became known as “gdan sa 'og ma,” the “lower seat” of the Sakya order during the fifteenth century, after the decline of the main monastery.
164. *Āryakuśalamūlasamparigrahanāmamahāyānasūtra*.
165. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkanāmamahāyānasūtra*.
166. This is a common image in Tibetanized Kāvya composition, and thus not necessarily a direct quotation. For a survey of the literature, see Heimbels, “Biographical Sources for Researching the life of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po.”
167. Mu Chen's biographies [see the *Rosary of Wonders* by Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen (bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan) in *gsung ngag lam 'bras slob bshad chen mo*, vols. 2, 4 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983)] state that he belonged to the Zhang family, “maternal relatives (*sku zhang*) of the Tibetan kings,” as did the earlier Lamdre lineage holders Zhangtön Chöbar (zhang ston chos 'bar) and Zhang Könchok Pal (zhang ston dkon mchog dpal). They were considered to be descendants of the imperial minister Zhang Lhazang Lupal (zhang lha bzang klu dpal) of the Tsepong (tshes spong) clan. Tamo Lingka (rta/stag mo gling skya/kha) is in the upper Mu (mus) valley in western Tsang, where he later founded a monastery (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 646–48).
168. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 647.
169. On the nephew lineage, see Heimbels, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 75–81.
170. This prophecy is attributed to “Kunga Wangchuk (kun dga' dbang phyug) and others” (Mupo, *lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, 82). Könchok Pel (dkon mchog 'phel, 1445–1514) was the grandson of Ngor Chen's stepbrother Pön Ne Sönam Pal (dpon ne bsod nams dpal). Heimbels, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 79.
171. Ngor Chen Könchok Lhundrub's mother was the niece of Yongzin Könchok Pel (yongs 'dzin dkon mchog 'phel).
172. Namkha Palzang (nam mkha' dpal bzang, 1532–1602) founded the Tartse Labrang (thar rtse bla brang), the first of Ngor's four great labrangs. The abbatial succession was held by members of the Drangti (brang ti) family.
173. “sku zhang” was a title qualifying families intermarried with the Khön, primarily the four labrang of Sakya's early period (nub, shar, gung, and khang gsar). The Labrang Shar founded by Sapa's disciple Sherab Jungne (shes rab 'byung gnas, 1198–1261) gave its name to his august family, whose origins go back to the foundation of Sakya and which produced numerous masters of the tradition, such as Ngor Chen's teacher Shar Chen Yeshe Gyaltzen (shar chen ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1359–1406).
174. “dpon chen” was the office of governor, instituted in the 1260s, when Sakya assumed power over central Tibet under Mongol authority. Özer Senge ('od zer seng ge), who came from the ruling family (*lho bdag*) of Latö Lho, held office 1309–1316 and again 1325–1328 (Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, chap. 4).

175. The title “rgyal rtse ba byang pa” signifies that the father of Ngawang Sönam Gyaltzen (ngag dbang bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 1598–1674) came from the Gyantse nobility, and his mother came from the Latö Jang nobility.
176. Khangsar Khenchen Ngawang Lodrö Tenzin (khang gsar mkhan chen ngag dbang blo gros bstan ’dzin) served in office 1843–1848. See Heimbel, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, Appendix One, for an alternate and more authoritative enumeration of the throne holders of Ngor Monastery. Heimbel (513n1) notes that Khyentse Wangpo omitted from his list Khedrub Palden Dorje (mkhas grub dpal ldan rdo rje, 1411–1482), whom Heimbel counts as the fifth throne holder. It is possible, given the variations between the editions of this text, that the numbers were added by editors and not Khyentse Wangpo himself.
177. Rongtön Sherab Gyaltzen (rong ston shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1367–1449); Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 56–61.
178. Zimkhang Wokma (gzim khang ’og ma) in Tibetan, thus his successive incarnations were known as Zimwok Tulku (gzim ’og sprul sku).
179. On these events, see Jackson, *The Early Abbots of ’Phan po Na-lendra*.
180. Commonly known as Gongkar Chöde (gong dkar chos sde), it was founded in 1464 (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 255–60).
181. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 656–58.
182. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 526–27.
183. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 519–20.
184. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 557–59.
185. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 634–36.
186. Gyaltsa Palkhor Chöde (rgyal rtse dpal ’khor chos sde) was founded in 1418 (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 491–95).
187. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 602–603.
188. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 421–22.
189. A reference to Lama Dampa’s disciple Yarlungpa Senge Gyaltzen (yar lung pa seng ge rgyal mtshan, 1332–1400) and his nephew Khenchen Sönam Gyalchok (mkhan chen bsod nams rgyal mchog, 1360–1433), holders of the Yarlung Lupa (yar lung klu pa) lineage, who had maintained teacher-student relations with the Sakya throne holders for generations. Amé Zhab records: “In Sa Chen’s time there was Yargom Sewo (yar sgom bse’o). In Jetsun Dragpa’s (rje btsun grags pa) time there was Gyaltza Lungmangpo (rgyal tsha lung mang po). In Chöje Sapan’s time there was Dopa Töntsul (do pa ston tshul), then Khepa Gyaltza Yönten Tri (mkhas pa rgyal tsha yon tan khri). In Chöje Lama Dampa’s time there was Yarlungpa Senge Gyaltzen, and in Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen’s time there was Khenchen Sönam Gyalchok ...” (Amé Zhab, *dpal rdo rje nag po chen po*, 73). The lineage was named after the Lu’i Gönpa Shugra Dechen (klu’i dgon pa shug ra bde chen) hermitage founded by Gyaltza Lungmang (Gyagarwa Sherab Gyaltzen, *gur gyi chos skor*, f. 183r).
190. The Tsema Zhi (*tshad ma bzhi*) or four authentications in the Lamdre (*lam ’bras*) tradition are by the scriptures, by the commentaries, by practical experience, and by the guru (Sobisch, “Tibetan Interpretations of Authenticity,” 461–87).
191. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 592–94.
192. The three seats are the aggregates (*phung po*) and elements (*khams*) as the seat of the buddhas, the sense-bases (*skye mched*) as the seat of the bodhisattvas, and actions (*las*) and faculties (*dbang po*) as the seat of the dharmapālas (Dungkar Lobzang Trinle, *dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1115).

193. Tsar Chen's feat of directly binding Yamarāja and retinue to oath at Shalu (zhwa lu) is described in the biography by the Fifth Dalai Lama (*gsung 'bum*, vol. 9, fol. 101v).
194. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 596–99.
195. The text mistakenly has Nyenyö (*mnyan yod*). Khenchen Zhönu Lodrö was regarded as the reincarnation of the thirteenth-century Shangpa Kagyu master Sangye Nyentön Chökyl Sherab (sangs rgyas gnyan ston chos kyi shes rab), who was known as Bepe Naljor (sbas pa'i rnal 'byor, "hidden yogi").
196. The Fourth Nesar Chogtrul Jampa Ngödrub Tenpe Gyaltzen (gnas gsar mchog sprul byams pa dngos grub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) was a slightly younger contemporary of Khyentse Wangpo.
197. "Bod 'brug pa" is incorrect. Losal Puntsok (blo gsal phun tshogs) was known as Bongdruk Chöje (bong drug chos rje) after the hermitage of that name on the Jomo Kharak (jo mo kha rag) mountain (see, for example, Jamgön Kunga Lodrö, *ngo mtshar rab 'byams*). The title Dzongshar (rdzong shar) here is unknown and possibly mistaken.
198. His successor was the Fourth Zimwok incarnation Jampa Ngawang Tenzin Nyendrak (byams pa ngag dbang bstan 'dzin snyan grags, 1799–1884), a teacher of Khyentse Wangpo.
199. That is, the main Sakya Göncen monastery.
200. This monastery near Gongkar Dzong (gong dkar rdzong) in Lhokha (lho kha) became associated with Mor Chen (rmor chen kun dga' lhun grub) (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 268–69).
201. Tartse Namkha Chimé (thar rtse nam mkha' 'chi med, 1765–1820), the forty-third throne holder of Ngor. Khyentse Wangpo was recognized as his immediate reincarnation, and Namkha Chimé's two nephews—the forty-sixth throne holder Jampa Kunga Tenzin (byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin, 1776–1862) and fiftieth throne holder Jampa Naljor Jampal Zangpo (byams pa rnal 'byor 'jam dpal bzang po, 1789–1864)—were his principal tutors at Ngor. Their biographies are summarized below. See also their collective biography: Gatön Ngawang, *ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'kbri shing byin rlabs 'dod rgu'i 'byung gnas*.
202. Lhundrub Teng (lhun grub steng) is the monastery attached to the palace of the Derge kings at Ngunda (rngu mda'), generally known as Derge Göncen (sde dge dgon chen). It was originally founded by Tangtong Gyalpo (thang stong rgyal po, d. 1485) in 1446, with the patronage of King Botar Tashi Senge (bo thar bkra shis seng ge), on the site of a small lake inhabited by a nāga spirit, which he miraculously dried up (Jamgön Kongtrul, *dpnyid kyi dbyangs snyan*, 331; Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 510–11). The first temple on the shady side of the gully (*srib dgon*) was joined by a second, on the sunny side (*nyin dgon*), built by Botar's son Palden Senge (dpal ldan seng ge).
203. Jampa Kunga Tashi (byams pa kun dga' bkra shis, 1558–1615) of the Sharpa family taught in Kham for several years before returning to Ngor to become the fourteenth throne holder in 1595.
204. Drubkhang Palchok Gyaltzen (sgrub khang dpal mchog rgyal mtshan, 1599–1673) of Ngor spent years in Derge at Jampa Puntsok's (byams pa phun tshogs) invitation, with whom he collaborated on developing the new Samdrub Tongdröl Chenmo temple hall (bsam 'grub mthong grol chen mo gtsug lag khang) at Lhundrub Teng. He returned to become the twenty-second abbot of Ngor in 1667.
205. Jamyang Sönam Wangchuk ('jam dbyangs bsod nams dbang phyug, 1638–1685) was the son of Jamgön Amé Zhab Ngawang Kunga Sönam ('jam mgon a mes zhabs ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, 1597–1659) and the twenty-ninth Sakya Tri Chen (sa skya khri chen). His son Ngagchang Kunga Tashi (sngags 'chang kun dga' bkra shis, 1656–1711) was the thirtieth Tri Chen (Dag Chen Kunga Lodrö, *gdung rabs rin chen 'dzad med srid zhi'i dpal 'byor lhun grub*, 411–567).

206. The *rdo rje phur pa sgrub mchod* was held annually, during the second half of the first lunar month, supervised by ritual officiants known as the Sakya Lama (*sa skya bla ma*) and Purpa Lama (*phur pa bla ma*), culminating in a performance of ritual dance (Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 1, 441).
207. La Chen Jampa Kunga Sangye Tenpe Gyaltzen (*bla chen byams pa kun dga' sangs rgyas bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 1786–1842) invited only the Third Nesar Chogtrul of Yarlung Tashi Chöde, Namkha Legdrub (*nam mkha' legs grub*, 1761–1820), according to Khyentse Wangpo, *dam pa'i chos ky'i byung ba brjod pa las gso bor brtsams pa'i gtam skal bzang rna ba'i bcud len*, 562).
208. This is an understated reference to the Derge Parkhang (*sde dge par khang*), the printing house established next to the monastery and palace in 1729 by King Tenpa Tsering (*bstan pa tshe ring*, 1678–1738). Ngor Khenchen Tashi Lhundrub (*ngor mkhan chen bkra shis lhun grub*, 1672–1739), who served as the thirty-first abbot of Ngor, was invited to Derge by this ruler in 1725 and spent his last years there. He was succeeded in 1740 by Khenchen Palden Chökyong (*mkhan chen dpal ldan chos skyong*, 1702–1760), and both were celebrated in Derge for their prodigious contribution to religious life, and especially the development of the printing house into an institution of national significance.
209. Shechen Drungyik Tenzin Gyaltzen (*zhe chen drung yig bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan*) is mentioned in Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, *gangs can gyi yul du byon pa'i lo paN rnam ky'i mtshan tho*, 488, as a disciple of Zhu Chen Tsultrim Rinchen and Jamgön Kunga Lodrö. “He is best known for his Sanskrit lexicon, the *Prajñā*” (Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 90). His *mdo smad nor ldan gyi dkyil 'khor la dbang bsgyur ba'i sa dbang sde dge'i gdung rabs las 'bel ba'i gtam bshad ngo mtshar mig gi gter mdzod* has recently been reproduced in Rabten Gelek Puntsok, *sde dge'i rgyal rabs*.
210. The biographies of Palchok Gyaltzen (*dpal mchog rgyal mtshan*, 1599–1673) the twenty-second throne holder, and his two successors, were composed by Khenchen Sangye Puntsok (*mkhan chen sangs rgyas phun tshogs*, 1649–1705), the twenty-fifth throne holder, who also composed the first history of the abbatial succession (Khenchen Sangye Puntsok, *gdan rabs nor bu'i phreng ba*). A supplement was composed by the thirty-fourth throne holder Palden Chökyong (Palden Chökyong, *gdan rabs rin chen phreng mdzes ky'i kha skong*, 495–593), whose compendious autobiography covers his many activities in Derge (Zhu Chen Tsultrim Rinchen, *sna tshogs ljon pa stug po'i 'khr'i shing*). The biographies of subsequent throne holders, including the Fortieth Chökyong Zangpo (*chos skyong bzang po*, b. 1723), are in vol. 25 of the Lamdre Tsogshe (*lam 'bras tshogs bshad*) collection (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1985).
211. Khenchen Rinchen Chogdrub (*mkhan chen rin chen mchog grub*, 1723–1779) was the nephew of the great Khenchen Palden Chökyong. Since he served as abbot of Mu Lelung (*mus gle lung*), then a dependency of Ngor, his biography appears in Chönyi Yeshe, *gnyags ston pa'i gdung rabs gdan rabs*, 464–78.
212. Mangtö Jampa Kunga Sönam (*mang thos/mkhas grub byams pa kun dga' bsod nams*, d. 1787?) was his predecessor on the Ngor throne. The information that he was from Kyomda (*skyo mda'*), near Chamdo (*chab mdo*), is at variance with the standard biography (see, for example, Mupo, *lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, 187–8), which states that he was born near Drago (*brag mgo*), in the Trehor (*tre hor*) region of Kham.

213. Namkha Chimé held the throne of Ngor from 1789 to 1793. According to his biography, in 1790, when the Tsang region was filled with Gorkha soldiers, and the nearby monastery of Tashi Lhunpo sacked, “...no harm whatsoever came to this Evam Chödra (e wam chos grwa). Once when a group of forty Gorkha soldiers came, they all saw the monastery enveloped in a mass of flames. When they reached the stūpas at the entrance, three wild sheep suddenly emerged from the Pawo Ri (dpa’ bo ri) hill in front of the monastery and charged through their midst. They shot at them but could not hit them....Greatly perturbed, they dared not go further and withdrew to the Sinya (srin ya) spur at Dzong Lugri (rdzong lug ri), the entrance to the Ngor valley, where they ran into Commander Polha and his men, who killed some and captured others, so that the activity of the dharmapālas was directly accomplished...” (Gatön Ngawang, *ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba’i ’kbrī shing byin rlabs ’dod rgu’i ’byung gnas*, 83).
214. Kunga Jampal Dragpa (kun dga’ ’jam dpal grags pa) may be another name for the Khenchen’s well-known nephew and biographer, Jampa Kunga Tenpe Gyaltzen (byams pa kun dga’ bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan, 1829–1870), who became the fifty-fourth throne holder. Zhabdrung Chung Rinpoche (zhabs drung gcung rin po che) presumably refers to the Khenchen’s younger brother, Je Jampal Zangpo (rje ’jam dpal bzang po).
215. Nyepa sum (*mnyes pa gsum*)—pleasing the guru with material things, with actions of body and speech, and with accomplishment in the practice.
216. This seems to be the four steps with which a spiritual teacher attracts disciples (*bsdu ba rnam bzhi*): giving, attractive speech, consistent conduct, inspiring others to follow (Dungkar Lobzang Trinle, *dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1192).
217. As at Dzongsar Monastery in Derge, Chögyal Pagpa is said to have established a Sakya temple on the site of an earlier Bönpo monastery on the hill overlooking Kyegu Do (skye dgu mdo, locally pronounced Jyekundo) in the 1260s. The monastery of Döndrub Ling (don grub gling) was established there by the Sakya Dag Chen Gyagar Sherab Gyaltzen in 1462 according to Amé Zhab, *sa skya’i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 300. The first Ngorpa monastery in Kham, Tarlam (thar lam), had also been founded in Gatö (sga stod) by Ga Rabjampa Kunga Yeshe (sga rab ’byams pa kun dga’ ye shes), a disciple of Ngor Chen, in 1436. Döndrub Ling was converted to the Ngor tradition by Khenchen Palden Chökyong in the 1740s (*yul shul rdzong gi dgon sde’i lo rgyus mdor bsdu*, 92–94).
218. Ali/Dhipu Chöje Monastery (a li/d+hi phu chos rje) is not in the Ngawa (rnga ba) valley, but in the Chöje Shogka (chos rje shog ka), one of the twelve Shogka of Dzorge (mdzod dge), south of the Tewo (the bo) valley. It was founded by the First Ali Chöje (a li chos rje), Chödrak Zangpo (chos grags bzang po), in 1499 (Hortsang Jigme, *mdo smad lo rgyus chen mo*, 731–32) and maintained by successive incarnations.
219. This is not mentioned in the available biographies of Jayulpa Zhönu Ö (bya yul pa gzhon nu ’od, 1075–1138), an older contemporary of Sa Chen who long pre-dated Sapaṅ.
220. Dokongpa (do kong ba) is an unknown name, possibly a scribal error.
221. Kadampa Namkha Bum (bka’ gdams pa nam mkha’ ’bum) is known only to Sakyapa sources for his interactions with Sakya Paṇḍita in 1244 (see, for example, Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo, *bka’ gdams pa nam mkha’ ’bum gyi zhu lan*, 483–7), and with Pagpa Lodrö Gyaltzen (’phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1235–1280) in 1267 (Amé Zhab, *sa skya’i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 175–211). Amé Zhab states elsewhere (*bka’ gdams chos byung*, 337) that he was a disciple of Zhang Önjowa (zhang ’od ’jo ba, d. 1150) of Reting (rwa sgren), although the long excerpt from Namkha Bum’s (nam mkha’ ’bum) biography of Pagpa cited above makes clear that he was born in 1207.

222. Aseng Dorje Tenpa (a seng rdo rje brtan pa) was the nephew of one of Sa Chen's teachers, Kyura Achab (skyr/skyu ra a skyabs) from Kham, and is supposed to have been the first to receive the Lamdre teachings from Sa Chen after the expiry of the eighteen-year secrecy period imposed by his teacher Zhangtön Chöbar. Sa Chen first wrote down in 1141 the condensed *Vajra Lines* (*rdo rje tshig rkang*) and composed the first of several commentaries (*a seng ma*) for his benefit. The great Pagmo Drupa was another of his students (see Stearns, *Luminous Lives*, 18–19).
223. Pal Ga Lotsāwa Zhönu Pal (dpal rgwa lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal) is best known as a disciple of Tsami Lotsāwa Sangye Dragpa (rtsa mi lo tsA ba sangs rgyas grags pa) and for his teachings on Śaṅgāyoga and Mahākāla, but his association with Aseng is mentioned in the sources, and Stearns (*Luminous Lives*, 251) notes one mention of his meeting Sa Chen and receiving teachings. His dates are uncertain: he lived to the age of eighty-nine (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 796), and pre-deceased his disciple and biographer Lama Zhang (bla ma zhang, d. 1193). The later Ga Lotsāwa, Rongpa Namgyal Dorje (rong pa rnam rgyal rdo rje), his supposed reincarnation, was born in 1204.
224. Shen Dorje Senge is mentioned with Pagmo Drupa (phag mo gru pa rdo rje rgyal po, 1110–1170) as a fellow disciple of Sa Chen (Pema Karpo, *chos 'byung bstan pa'i pad+ma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*, 415).
225. See Amé Zhab, *dpal rdo rje nag po chen po*, 285 and Stearns, *The Buddha from Dolpo*, 184.
226. That is, Tsongkhapa and Gyaltsab Je.
227. Tsokgom Rinchen Pal (tshogs sgom rin chen dpal, 1210–1307) was a chief disciple of Sapaṅ, Nyenchen Sönam Tenpa (nyan chen bsod nams brtan pa, 1222–1317) was his disciple, and Zhang Könchok Palwa (zhang dkon mchog dpal ba, 1240–1307), was a chief disciple of Pagpa. Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk's ('jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug) history (Stearns, *Taking the Result as the Path*, 242n343) lists a trio of Sapaṅ's disciples: Tsokgom, Drubtob Yönten Pal (grub thob yon tan dpal), and Pagpa, and a trio of Pagpa's disciples: Laruwa Sönam Senge (la ru ba bsod nams seng ge), Nyenchen Sönam Tenpa (gnyan chen bsod nams brtan pa), and Zhang Könchok Pal (zhang dkon mchog dpal).
228. The second Kunga is sometimes identified as Tutsun/Dorje Denpa Kunga Namgyal (thu btsun/rdo rje gdan pa kun dga' rnam rgyal, 1432–1496).
229. Khenchen Tsöndru Pal (mkhan chen brtson 'grus dpal, dates unknown), was a disciple of Butön Rinchen Drub (bu ston rin chen grub, 1290–1364).
230. Markham Dragpa Zangpo (smar khams grags pa bzang po, dates unknown) was a disciple of Ngor Chen Kunga Zangpo (ngor chen kun dga' bzang po, 1382–1456) and Gyaltsab Je (rgyal tshab rje).
231. Kunkhyen Namkha Sönam (kun mkhyen nam mkha' bsod nams, dates unknown) was a scholastic author active in the first half of the fifteenth century.
232. Ngaripa Lhawang Lodrö (mnga' ris pa lha dbang blo gros) was a disciple of Jamyang Kunga Chözang ('jam dbyangs kun dga' chos bzang).
233. Tagtruk Kunga Paljor, disciple of Gorampa, was the fourth abbot of Tubten Rawamé Monastery (thub bstan rwa ba smad) in Lhokha.
234. Paṅchen Lodrö Chökyi Gyalpo (paN chen blo gros chos kyi rgyal po) of Sheldrong (shel grong) in Kyime was a disciple of Rongtön Sherab Gyaltzen (rong ston shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1367–1449).
235. Ngawang Tenpe Dorje (ngag dbang bstan pa'i rdo rje, dates unknown) was a seventeenth-century scholastic author. His numerous writings are summarized in Khenpo Appey, *dkar chag mthong bas yid 'phrog chos mdzod bye ba'i lde mig*, 113.

236. Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen (sngags 'chang kun dga' rin chen, 1517–1584); his son Ngagchang Dragpa Lodrö Gyaltzen (sngags 'chang grags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1563–1618); his son Jamgön Amé Zhab Ngawang Kunga Sönam; his son Jamyang Sönam Wangchuk ('jam dbyangs bsod nams dbang phyug, 1638–1685); his son Ngawang Kunga Tashi (ngag dbang kun dga' bkra shis, 1656–1711); his son Ngawang Sönam Rinchen (ngag dbang bsod nams rin chen, 1705–1741); his son Ngawang Kunga Lodrö (ngag dbang kun dga' blo gros, 1729–1783).
237. The Fifth Tagpupa Chökyi Wangchuk (stag phu pa chos kyi dbang phyug, 1765–1792).
238. *dam pa'i chos kyi byung tshul bstan pa'i rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* by Ngor Chen Könchok Lhundrub (ngor chen dkon mchog lhun grub, 1497–1557), and the *legs bshad nor bu'i bang mdzod* supplement by Jamgön Sangye Puntsok ('jam mgon sangs rgyas phun tshogs).
239. Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso, *bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed lbag bsam rab dkar*.
240. Sakya Yongzin Ngawang Chödrak, *bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi dag gi grub mtha'i shan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'bel ba'i gtam skyes dpyod ldan mkhas pa lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra tshom bkod pa*.
241. *chos byung 'bel gtam nyung ngu me tog sar pa'i do shal* was reproduced in *sngon gyi gtam me tog gi phreng ba* (Dharamshala: T. D. Densapa, 1985).
242. *sa skya'i gdung rabs ya rabs kha rgyan* is no longer available.
243. Amé Zhab's *sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod* and its supplement *gdung rabs rin chen 'dzad med srid zhi'i dpal 'byor lhun grub* by Dag Chen Kunga Lodrö
244. The biographies of Sakya Lotsāwa, Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen (sngags 'chang kun dga' rin chen), Jamyang Sönam Wangpo ('jam dbyangs bsod nams dbang po) and Dragpa Lodrö (grags pa blo gros) are found in the Collected Works of Jamgön Amé Zhab (see above). The biographies of the subsequent throne holders are in the supplements by Kunga Lodrö (kun dga' blo gros) and Dragshul Trinle Rinchen (drag shul 'phrin las rin chen) (see above).
245. These three volumes are listed under the title *lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, in Dompowa Tubten Gyaltzen, *pho brang po tA la'i sa skya'i gsung rabs dkar chag*, 129–37.
246. In the *Lamdre Tsogshe* collection—see note above.
247. Khenchen Sangye Puntsok, *gdan rabs nor bu'i phreng ba*, 1–52.
248. These five volumes are listed under the title *lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, in Dompowa Tubten Gyaltzen, *pho brang po tA la'i sa skya'i gsung rabs dkar chag*, 173–82, with two subsequent volumes that conclude with the biography of Khyentse's contemporary Jamyang Loter Wangpo ('jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po, 1847–1914), who included many of these titles in his *Lamdre Lobshe (lam 'bras slob bshad)* collection.
249. *gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khog phub kyi rnam bshad* (e.g., Amé Zhab, *lam 'bras khog phub*), and its supplement by Jampa Tenzin Trinle (byams pa bstan 'dzin 'phrin las) of Nālandra, in his Collected Works, 397–442).
250. Amé Zhab, *bshad 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, 333–694. The histories of Guhyasamāja and Yamāntaka are in vol. 13, Cakrasaṃvara in vol. 16, and Mahākāla in vol. 25. Amé Zhab is not known to have composed a history of the Kīlaya tradition (although there are several texts related to its ritual practices in the Sakya tradition in volume 9), and in any case it could not have pre-dated the well-known history by Sogdogpa Lodrö Gyaltzen, *rdo rje phur pa'i chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs* composed in 1609, perhaps another copy error.
251. The *mgon po'i chos 'byung* by Tsar Chen and/or his successors is not extant (Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 208).

252. Apart from his short explanatory work on the origin of the Tsogshe/Lobshe distinction, *gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i lo rgyus dang dmigs pa'i zab gnad cung zad bshad pa'i yi ge*, published in *sa skya'i lam 'bras* (Kathmandu: sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2008, vol. 20, 623–31), none of these historical works by Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak (mkhan chen ngag dbang chos grags) can be located.
253. There is no separate work on history in volume 8 of the 2000 zhol par khang gsar pa edition of Tuken's Collected Works, which is devoted to his writings on Nāro Khachö (*na ro mkha' spyod*) and Dorje Naljorma (*rdo rje rnal 'byor ma*).
254. A colloquial expression conveying the authenticity of the transmission lineage.
255. Śākyaśrībhadrā, the Mahāpaṇḍita of Kashmir (1127–1225), conferred the higher vows on Sapaṇ at Gyengong (rgyan gong) in 1208.
256. Tsangpa Khenchen Dorje Pal (gtsang pa mkhan chen rdo rje dpal, dates unknown) received the rigorous Denchigpa (*stan gcig pa*, “single mat”) vows from Śākyaśrī, which reached Ngor Chen through the Tsamik Tsogpa (*tsha mig tsbogs pa*) lineage of his disciples. Heimbel, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 104–6.
257. These are often listed more extensively as the Eighteen Renowned Scriptures (*grags can bco brgyad*), including the *Pratimokṣasūtra*, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dignāga, the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* of Dharmakīrti, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva, the *Catuhśataka* of Āryadeva, the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* of Nāgārjuna, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of Asaṅga, and the other four treatises of Maitreya/Asaṅga.
258. The *Treasury of Valid Cognition* (*tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*) of Sakya Paṇḍita.
259. Sakya Paṇḍita's *sdom gsum rab dbye* treatise on distinguishing the three vows.
260. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 263–64.
261. The *rdo rje 'phreng ba* of Abhayākaragupta.
262. The *sgrub thabs brya rtsa* compendium of Bari Lotsāwa Rinchen Drak (ba ri lo tsA ba rin chen brag, 1040–1111).
263. The *Ocean of Sādhana* (*sgrub thabs rgya mtsho*) of Abhayākaragupta.
264. I.e., Sazang Mati Paṅchen Lodrö Gyaltzen (sa bzang ma ti paN chen blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1294–1376).
265. I.e., the maṇḍalas of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*.
266. The Kashmiri Ācārya Sūrya/Ravigupta is presumed to have lived in the eleventh century. This cycle was introduced to Tibet by Paṅchen Śākyaśrī.
267. The *brda don kun gsal* of Sakya Paṇḍita, published in Sakya Lam 'Bras Literature Series, vol. 13. (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983). English translation by Gyurme Dorje in *Jonang: The One Hundred and Eight Teaching Manuals*, 366–67.
268. The *Lamkor Gye* (*lam skor brgyad*) is a series of teachings by Indian masters passed down by Drogmi Lotsāwa ('brog mi lo tsA ba shAkya ye shes, 993–1077?) and appended to the “yellow volume” (*pod ser*). It is published in Sakya Lam 'Bras Literature Series, vol. 13 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983), and Stearns, *Hermit of Go Cliffs*, 210–11).
269. The *lam 'bras gzhung bshad sras don ma* of Sa Chen, published in Sakya Lam 'Bras Literature Series, vol. 12 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983).
270. *Sunbeams* (*nyi ma'i 'od zer*) is Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso's definitive commentary on the generation stage of the Hevajra practice. Published in Sakya Lam 'Bras Literature Series vol. 10 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983).
271. The five practice manuals by Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk are in Sakya Lam 'Bras Literature Series vol. 14 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983); there is a complete English translation in Stearns, *Taking the Result as the Path*, 285–537.

272. Nyen Lotsāwa Darma Drak (gnyan lo tsA ba dar ma grags), an influential figure in Sakya's foundation period, was active in the second half of the eleventh century (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 592).
273. Pañchen Gayadhara, who died in 1103 according to the *Tentsi* (*bstan rtsis*) of Mangtö Ludrub Gyatso, is famed in the tradition as the Indian master who taught the Lamdre to Drogmi Lotsāwa (in 1041), although his identity and lifespan are rather unclear (see Stearns, *Luminous Lives*, 47–55).
274. The *glegs bam me 'bar ma* collection is said to have been the work of Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen (bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan) (Gatön Ngawang, *ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'kbrī shing byin rlabs 'dod rgu'i 'byung gnas*, 401).
275. The *dpal mgon gdong bzhi pa'i chos skor gyi dkar chag zab don nor bu'i do shal* by Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso.
276. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 394–401.
277. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 371–77.
278. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 177–82.
279. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 37–44. Riwoche (ri bo che), known as the lower seat (*stag lung ma thang*), was founded in 1276 in the Dzilung ('*dzi lung*) valley, northwest of Chamdo.
280. Nothing more is known of Zara Gön (za ra dgon), but “Drarab” (*grwa rabs*) indicates that it was located in the Dranang or Drachi valleys (grwa phyi nang). On Yabzang Chöde (g.ya' bzang chos sde) in upper Yarlung, see Gyalbo and Sørensen, *Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po*, and Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 420.
281. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 235–37.
282. Marpa Sherab Yeshe (smar pa shes rab ye shes, 1135–1203) founded Shogön (sho/shog dgon) in 1167 (see his biography in Chökyi Yeshe, *smar pa bka' brgyud kyī rnam thar phyogs sgrig*, 1–52. The spelling *shwa* is not attested). It was located near what is now Jamdun (byams mdun) in Dragyab (brag g.yab), and the community is said to have fled to Palyul by the time the great Geluk monasteries of Dragyab were founded in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.
283. Yelpa Yeshe Tsek (yel pa ye shes brtsegs, 1134–1194) founded Yelpuk (yel phug) in Sa Ngen (sa ngen) on his return from central Tibet in 1171, and later Tana Monastery (rta rna) monastery in southwestern Nangchen (nang chen), and Do Dzong in what is now Gonjo (go 'jo) (see his biography in Tatsak Tsewang Gyal, *lho rong chos 'byung*, 824–31). Tana was later absorbed by the Karma Kagyu school, and Do Dzong by the Drukpa, so “the monastery” may refer to Yelpuk.
284. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 637–39.
285. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 357–58.
286. Barompa Darma Wangchuk ('ba' rom pa dar ma dbang phyug, 1127–1203) established his seat in the highlands north of the Damzhung Chogtse La ('dam gzhung lcog tse la) pass during the last quarter of the twelfth century. His disciple Tishrī Repa Sherab Senge (ti shri ras pa shes rab seng+ge, 1164–1236) spread his teachings in eastern Tibet and as far as the Tangut kingdom.
287. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 142–46.
288. I.e., Je Tsongkhapa.
289. Lower Tre (tre smad) is downriver from middle Tre (tre shod), where Dusum Khyenpa was born, near the town of Kandze (dkar mdzes), in the region later known as Trehor (tre hor).

290. Karmapa Tegchok Dorje (karma pa theg mchog rdo rje) passed away in 1868 aged seventy-one.
291. Jang Yangpa Chen Monastery (byang yangs pa can) was founded by the Fourth Zhamar, Chödrak Yeshe (zhwa dmar chos grags ye shes) in 1503, when he was fifty-one. It is in the grasslands at the source of the Tölung (stod lung) river, not far northwest of Tsurpu Monastery (mtshur phu).
292. The ninth Zhamar incarnation was Könchok Gewe Jungne (dkon mchog dge ba'i 'byung gnas, 1733–1740) from Bhutan, who passed away as a child before his recognition was formalized—hence the confused wording of this passage. His successor Chödrub Gyatso (chos grub rgya mtsho, 1742–1792) was born into the family of the governor of Tashi Tse, as the younger half-brother of the sixth Pañchen incarnation and generally recognized, somewhat controversially, as the Tenth Zhamar (Coura, *The Life and Works of the Thirteenth Karma-pa bDud-'dul-rdo-rje*, 18).
293. The Tenth Zhamarpa Mipham Chödrub Gyatso is thought to have intervened in the negotiations that followed the Gorkha invasion of 1788 to claim a share of the wealth left by his half-brother, the Sixth Pañchen Palden Yeshe (paN chen 06 dpal ldan ye shes, 1738–1780). Do Ring Tenzin Paljor's *dga' bzhi ba'i mi rabs kyi byung ba brjod pa zol med gtam gyi rol mo* (esp., 668–739) is the main source on these events. He was punished by the Tatsak regent Tenpe Gonpo (rta tshag bstan pa'i mgon po, 1760–1810), despite a lack of actual evidence, his monastery was confiscated, and recognition of his reincarnations banned—a proposition that Khyentse ridicules here.
294. This prophecy is attributed to Tertön Mingyur Dorje (gter ston mi 'gyur rdo rje, 1645–1667) in the biography by Bé Lo Tsewang Kunkhyab ('be lo tshe dbang kun khyab) in Situ Pañchen and Zurmang Tsewang Kunkhyab, *zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 2, 449).
295. Drogön Sangye Rechen Sönam Dragpa ('gro mgon sangs rgyas ras chen bsod nams grags pa, 1148–1218) was considered the main inheritor of the Karmapa's teaching lineage (biography in Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa, *chos 'byung mkbas pa'i dga' ston*, vol. 2, 873–77). He and the following three figures are not formally included in the lineage, and the dates given for them in the Palpung tradition (e.g., Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 96) do not seem reliable.
296. Usually known as Naljor Yeshe Wangchuk (rnal 'byor ye shes dbang phyug, 1220–1281).
297. Rigowa Rinchen Jungne (ri mgo ba rin chen 'byung gnas, 1281–1343). According to Situ Pañchen and Zurmang Tsewang Kunkhyab, (*zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 1, 481), he was named after a hermitage he founded at Rigo Monastery (ri mgo) in the Dza (rdza, upper Yalong) valley, and after the Nago (nags mgo) hermitage near Karma Göñ (whereas “Rigowa” and “Nagowa” appear as different persons in some lists of Rangjung Dorje's disciples).
298. According to Situ Pañchen and Zurmang Tsewang Kunkhyab (*zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 1, 481), Situ Chökyi Gyaltzen (si tu chos kyi rgyal mtshan, b. 1377) was regarded as the reincarnation of a Chinese minister (“Ta'i-zhing Chenpo,” *ta'i zhing chen po*) because “he considered himself to have the same mind-stream as ‘the great minister’ of the Great Ming, whom the emperor sent as an emissary to Mahāsiddha Virūpa, and who had sailed around the world three times visiting holy places such as Poṭala and making offerings on the emperor's behalf in fulfillment of his wishes.” The identity of this figure is unclear, as are the dates (1345–1376) attributed to him, although he is depicted in a series of portraits of the Situ lineage (see Himalayan Art Resources, item no. 32688). The minister is associated here with Karmapa Rölpe Dorje's visit to the court of Togön Temur, which would qualify him as a predecessor of Chökyi Gyaltzen, while in Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa, *chos 'byung mkbas pa'i dga' ston*, 1009, he is described as a minister of the Taizu, or the first Ming emperor (r. 1368–1398). China's era of global maritime exploration began at that time; Chökyi Gyaltzen's 1407 visit to the Ming court may have coincided with the departure of the second of the Yongle emperor's “treasure voyages.” See Dreyer, *Zheng He*.

299. The middle seat (*gdan sa bar ma*, “Densa Barma”) refers to the Karma Gön monastery in the Dza valley between Nangchen and Chamdo, founded by the first Karmapa in 1185. The lower seat (*gdan sa ’og ma*, “Densa Ogma”) is Kampo Nenang (kam po gnas nang) in Litang, which he founded in 1164, and the upper seat (*gdan sa gong ma*, “Densa Gongma”) is Tsurpu in central Tibet, founded in 1189.
300. The first Situ incarnation of Karma Gön (karma dgon), Chökyi Gyaltsen (chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1377–1448), was granted the “Situ” title in 1407, and the more senior title of “Guoshi” in 1413 (Sperling, “Si-tu Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan and the Ming Court”).
301. Katok Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu (kaH thog rig ’dzin tshe dbang nor bu, 1698–1755).
302. De’umar Geshe Tenzin Puntsok (de’u dmar dge bshes bstan ’dzin phun tshogs, b. 1672).
303. Unidentified.
304. Pöntsang Yeshe (dpon tshang ye shes) of Drigung was the disciple of Kōnchok Dropen Wangpo (dkon mchog ’gro phan dbang po), personal name Tsewang Tenpa (tshe dbang brtan pa), a disciple of Rigdzin Chökyi Dragpa (rig ’dzin chos kyi grags pa, 1595–1659), and is said to have taught Situ Pañchen the Zurkhar (*zur mkhar*) medical tradition.
305. Shong Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa (shong lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa, later thirteenth century), the younger brother of Shongtön Dorje Gyaltsen (shong ston rdo rje rgyal mtshan) and Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa (dpang lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa, 1276–1342) are not usually described as father and son. In his *History of the Sanskrit Commentaries*, Khyentse Wangpo places Shong Lotsāwa’s disciple Chogden Legpe Lodrö (mchog ldan legs pa’i blo gros), between them in the transmission lineage (as in Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 345, 785), and there is no sign in the sources of their having met.
306. Three of the last grandmasters of eastern India’s Buddhist universities, who lived through the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
307. The *legs par sbyar ba’i sgra’i bstan bcos tsan+dra pa’i rnam bshad brda sprod gzhung lugs rgya mtshor ’jug cing legs bshad rin chen ’dren pa’i gru gzings* commentary is in the first volume of Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungne’s (si tu paN chen chos kyi ’byung gnas, 1700–1774) *Collected Works*, 325–753.
308. Gyalwang Dudul Dorje (rgyal dbang bdud ’dul rdo rje, 1733–1797).
309. The Seventh Pawo, Tsuglak Gawe Wangpo (dpa’ bo gtsug lag dga’ ba’i dbang po, 1719–1781).
310. The Fourth Drukpa Yongzin Jampal Pawo (’brug pa yongs ’dzin 04 ’jam dpal dpa’ bo, 1720–1780).
311. Karma Ngelek Tenzin (karma nges legs bstan ’dzin, b. 1700) was one of his uncle’s main disciples in medicine and astrology and became a noted medical scholar. (*gcung po* is used to mean nephew in this passage.) Situ Pañchen recognized him as the rebirth of the lama of Satsa Monastery (sa ts+tsaha/tsha tsha), a Karmapa monastery in the Achuk (a phyug) valley in northern Derge, founded by Togden Dragpa Gyaltsen (rtogs ldan grags pa rgyal mtshan, b. 1526). See See Rebkong Jigme Samdrub, *kham phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so’i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba’i me long*, vol. 1, 605–10).
312. According to Karma Gyaltsen, *kam tshang yab sras kyi rnam thar*, 228, a prophecy in Ter Chen Sangye Lingpa’s (gter chen sangs rgyas gling pa, 1340–1396) *Guru’s Essential Intent* of “six incarnations with the eye of Dharma, six with lotus tongues” was taken to refer to the incarnations of Situ Pañchen and his nephews at the newly founded Palpung. Apparently, it was the seventh Pawo Rinpoche (dpa’ bo rin po che) Tsuglak Gawa (gtsug lag dga’ ba, 1718–1781) who recognized the ninth Situ incarnation, Pema Nyinje Wangpo (pad+ma nyin byed dbang po, 1774–1853) as the first of six (Karma Gyaltsen, *kam tshang yab sras kyi rnam thar*, 88)

313. Önrul Wangi Dorje (dbon sprul dbang gi rdo rje), of the Lijiang royal family, was recognized as Karma Sampel's reincarnation by Situ Pañchen and brought to Palpung in 1768. He founded the lower hermitage, Samten Chöling (*bsam gtan chos gling*), at Palpung and traveled widely in central Tibet (Karma Gyaltzen, *kam tshang yab sras kyi rnam thar*, 230–31).
314. Önrul Karma Drubgyu Tenzin Trinle (dbon sprul karma sgrub brgyud bstan 'dzin 'phrin las) was born into a noble family in Lhasa and recognized and enthroned at Palpung as Önrul Wangi Dorje's reincarnation by the Ninth Situ. He is said to have studied with Khyentse Wangpo and Jamgön Kongtrul (Karma Gyaltzen, *kam tshang yab sras kyi rnam thar*, 231–32).
315. See Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 205.
316. Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tasbi*, 963–4. Pawo Chöwang Lhundrub (dpa' bo chos dbang lhun grub, 1455–1503) was thus the third incarnation of the fourteenth-century tertön and Dzogchen master Rinchen Lingpa (rin chen gling pa). Loro (lo ro) is the valley of the upper Subansiri, south of Nyal and bordering Lo Yul (klo yul), i.e., the Miri Hills, in what is now Arunachal Pradesh.
317. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 464–71.
318. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 350.
319. Masé Togden Lodrö Rinchen (rma se rtogs ldan blo gros rin chen, b. 1386) belonged to one of the royal houses of Kham Minyak and followed the Nyingma teachings before meeting the Fifth Karmapa and becoming his heart disciple. He founded Zurmang Monastery (zur mang) in 1423 in the Tsichu valley north of Karma Gö. "Zurmang Nyengyu" (*zur mang snyan brgyud*) refers to his secret transmission of the Fifth Karmapa's teachings. The title Drungpa (*drung pa*), which means "attendant" and was inherited by his reincarnations, was apparently conferred in recognition of Masé Togden's close relationship with his guru. Chögyam Trungpa was the eleventh incarnation of this line.
320. Karma Chagme (karma chags med, 1613–1678) often signed his name in Sanskrit as Rāga Asya. Nedo Gö (gnas mdo dgon) is in the Ngom valley in southwest Nangchen.
321. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 487–90.
322. Ralung soon surpassed Druk Gö ('brug dgon), the lower seat, on the west bank of the lower Kyichu (skyid chu) valley, as the main seat of the Drukpa Kagyu.
323. Jar (byar) includes the two main trans-Himalayan affluents of the Subansiri (the Jar and Loro valleys), lying between the districts of Nyal (gnyal) and Dagpo (dwags po). See Huber, "A Tibetan map of lHo-kha in the south-eastern Himalayan borderlands of Tibet."
324. Gyalwang Je (rgyal dbang rje) is the title of the Second Druk Chen Kunga Paljor ('brug chen kun dga' dpal 'byor, 1428–1476).
325. Tashi Tongmön Monastery (bkra shis mthong smon) was in the upper Loro valley, on the north bank of the confluence of its two branches. It was built by the Jar ruler as an alternative seat for the Third Druk Chen, since as an incarnation from outside the Gya (rgya) family lineage of Ralung, he was given no authority there. The statement that "it was maintained by his successive incarnations" is curious: the Fourth Druk Chen Pema Karpo did not reside there, but established his own monastery, Sang Ngak Chöling, in the Jarne (byar smad) valley in 1571, which became the main seat of subsequent Druk Chens of the northern branch of the school. Tashi Tongmön remained in the hands of the Jar family, and it was there that the Fifth Druk Chen Pagsam Wangpo (dpag bsam dbang po, 1593–1641) was enthroned in 1597, in defiance of the Ralung candidate, Ngawang Namgyal of the Gya family.

326. Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal actually fled Ralung in 1616 for the southern land then known as Lho Mön (lho mon), or Lho Khazhi (lho kha bzhi), after the challenge to his recognition as Fifth Druk Chen was upheld by the Tsangpa Desi (gtsang pa sde srid), the then-ruler of Tibet, and military action threatened. This sealed the division of the Drukpa into northern and southern branches, which Khyentse Wangpo refrains from mentioning.
327. This refers to the formation of Bhutan, the Drukpa state, during the years 1625–1650 under Ngawang Namgyal’s leadership. The identity of the four Mönpa communities (*mon pa tsho bzhi*) he subdued is not apparent: could it mean the Bumtang Dezhi (*bum thang sde bzhi*), a traditional division of the Bumtang valley, which was incorporated into the Drukpa state by force of arms during the 1640s? (Aris, *dpal ’brug par lung lha’i gdung brgyud kyis bstan pa’i ring lugs/lho mon kha bzhi las nyi ma shar phyogs su byung zhing rgyas pa’i lo rgyus gsal ba’i me long*).
328. Ngari is Upper West Tibet, where the Drukpa had a historic presence at Mount Kailash (*kailāsa, gangs ti se*). Ladakh (la dwags), the school’s main stronghold in the west, had recently been annexed by the Dogra rulers of Kashmir at the time Khyentse Wangpo was writing.
329. Dechen Chökhör (bde chen chos ’khor) in the Gongkar valley (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 260–62) and Dingpo Che in the Dranang (grwa nang) valley (Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 281–83) in Lhokha were both founded by disciples of Druk Chen Pema Karpo (pad+ma dkar po, 1527–1592).
330. That is Khampa Gar Monastery, Pal Puntsok Chökhör (khams pa sgar dpal phun tshogs chos ’khor) at Repo (re pho), in the former kingdom of Lhatok (lha thog), northeast of Chamdo. It was founded by the Third Khamtrul Kunga Tenzin (khams sprul kun dga’ bstan ’dzin, 168–1728) in 1716 and expanded by the Fourth Khamtrul Tenzin Chökyi Nyima (bstan ’dzin chos kyi nyi ma, 1730–1779). Three disciples of the First Khamtrul Ngawang Tenpel (khams sprul ngag dbang bstan ’phel, 1569–1627), Dzigar Sönam Gyatso (rdzi sgar bsod nams rgya mtsho), Ade’u Trulzhik Trinle Gyatso (a de’u ’khrul zhig ’phrin las rgya mtsho) and Drugu Chögyal Gyatso (gru gu chos rgyal rgya mtsho), founded their own monasteries and incarnation lineages in the region. See Khenpo Nyima Tashi, *mdo khams lha thog rgyal rabs*.
331. The term “compatible excellences” comes from a short work by Gampopa, *mdo sngags kyis sgrub mtha’ cha mtshun khyad ’phags*, explaining the compatibility and superiority of the Vajrayāna in relation to the foundational teachings of the śrāvaka and bodhisattva paths. The following list seems to be taken from Taglungpa Ngawang Namgyal, *stag lung chos ’byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*, 690.
332. The *ngo bo’i ga dar zhus pa* replies to questions on Mahāmudrā, by Gampopa Sönam Rinchen (sgam po pa bsod nams rin chen, 1079–1153).
333. Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, *rlung sems dbyer med*.
334. Lama Zhang Tsöndru Drak, *skye med zhang rin po ches mdzad pa’i phyag rgya chen po’i lam mchog mthar thug*. English translation in Martin, “A Twelfth-century Tibetan Classic of Mahāmudrā.”
335. Pagmo Drupa Dorje Gyalpo, *gsang sngags lam rim rin po che’i them skas*.
336. The phrase *sepo seblam* (*bsre ’pho gseb lam*) here refers to two distinct works by Barompa (’ba’ rom pa, b. 1127): the teachings on *Sepo* (*bsre ’pho*) (“Blending and Transference,” or the Six Yogas of Nārōpa), corresponding with the Mahāmudrā of bliss and emptiness; and the *gseb lam rig pa rkyang ’ded* (“The Short Path of the Sole Pursuit of Awareness”), corresponding with the Mahāmudrā of the true nature (Taglungpa Ngawang Namgyal, *stag lung chos ’byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*, 680).

337. The *rnam thar so dgu* is not included in the collection of Mahāmudrā instructions compiled by Khyentse Wangpo’s teacher Matrul Tenpe Nyima (stag lung ma sprul bstan pa’i nyi ma). See Taglung Matrul Ngawang Tenpe Nyima, *phyag chen dang nA ro chos drug gi kbrid skor stag lung lugs*.
338. The *sdom gsum gnad gcig* is Kyobpa Rinchen Pal’s (skyob pa rin chen dpal) work on the Trisamvara system (see, for example, Kyobpa Jigten Sumgön, *rgyal ba ’bri gung pa’i lugs kyi sdom gsum gnad gcig*).
339. The *ro snyoms skor drug*, supposedly concealed by Rechungpa and revealed by Tsangpa Gyare at Lhodrak Kharchu (lho brag mkhar chu), is included in Jamgön Kongtrul’s *gdams ngag mdzod* (vol. 10). On the *rten ’brel rab bdun* instruction on interdependent origination, see Chögön Rinpoche, *rten ’brel rab bdun ma’i zhal gdams phyogs bsgrigs*.
340. The *yi dam rgya mtsho’i sgrub thabs rin chen ’byung gnas* collection of sādhanas, compiled by Jetsun Tāranātha (vol. 15 of the Collected Works).
341. The *yi dam zhi ba’i mngon rtogs sgrub thabs sgom bzlas rin po che’i phreng ba dgos ’dod kun stsol* and *yi dam drag po’i mngon rtogs sgrub thabs sgom bzlas rdo rje’i phreng ba bar chad kun sel don gnyis lhun grub* are in volume 6 of Wangchuk Dorje’s (dbang phyug rdo rje) Collected Works, which are published in volume 87 of *karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi sung ’bum phyogs bsgrigs*.
342. The *rje btsun mar pa lo tsa’i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma’i skor*, revealed by Guru Chöwang from Milarepa’s tower in Lhodrak (lho brag), is included in the Anuyoga section of the Jamgön Kongtrul’s Rinchen Terdzö (*rin chen gter mdzod*), vol. 55.
343. The *zab mo nang don* of Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorje (karma pa 03 rang byung rdo rje, 1284–1339). See Callahan, *The Profound Inner Principles*, for an English translation.
344. The *zab kbrid brgya dang brgyad* of Jetsun Kunga Drölchok (rje btsun kun dga’ grol mchog, 1507–1566), Tāranātha’s predecessor, makes up the eighteenth and final volume of Jamgön Kongtrul’s *gdams ngag mdzod*. For an English translation see Gyurme Dorje, *Jonang*.
345. The Magön Khor Nga (*ma mgon ’khor lnga*) group of protectors of the Karma Kagyu tradition—Mahākāla and Mahākālī, Damchen Garwa Nagpo (dam can mgar ba nag po), etc.
346. The *brtag pa gnyis pa’i ’grel pa rin chen rgyan ’dra* by Ngok Dodé (rngog mdo sde), son of Marpa’s disciple Chöku Dorje (chos sku rdo rje), written under the penname Zhedang Dorje (zhe sdang rdo rje).
347. The *ri chos nges don rgya mtsho* treatise on buddha nature and the Zhentong view by Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen (dol po pa shes rab rgyal tshan, 1292–1361). See Hopkins, *Mountain Doctrine* for an English translation.
348. A reference to Nyangral Nyime Özer (nyang ral nyi ma’i ’od zer, 1136–1204) and his successor Guru Chöwang.
349. Yonge Mingyur Dorje (yongs dge mi ’gyur rdo rje, 1628/41–1708) was close to the Karma tradition, and his Dorje Drolö (*rdo rje gro lod*) revelation of the wrathful Guru coincided with the mid-seventeenth-century persecution of the school and is said to have been practiced by the fugitive Karmapa Chöying Dorje to subdue enemies (Yonge Tertön Mingyur Dorje, *rdo rje gro lod rtsa gsum sgrub thabs skor*). The *tshe sgrub thabs shes kha sbyor* is in the Amitāyus series of the Padma Sādhana (of the *bka’ brgyad* section) in Jamgön Kongtrul’s *rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 20, and the *zhi kbro pad+ma badz+ra* is in the Mahāyoga section of the same collection, vol. 3.
350. Drigung Rigdzin Chökyi Dragpa, *lam zab bla ma sgrub pa’i chos skor*.

351. This is a reference to Rechung Dorje Dragpa, *ras chung snyan brgyud skor* and Third Druk Chen Jamyang Chökyi Dragpa, *ras chung snyan brgyud gсар ma*. The new spoken lineage teachings were added by the Third Druk Chen Jamyang Chökyi Dragpa ('brug chen 'jam dbyangs chos kyi grags pa) following his visionary encounters with Rechungpa.
352. The root text of the *kbrid chen brgyad* is in the Collected Works of Götsangpa (rgod tshang pa). See, for example, Götsangpa Gönpo Dorje, *kbrid chen brgyad kyi rtsa ba rgod tshang pas mdzad pa (thi)*.
353. The *rdo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub* teachings of Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal (o rgyan pa rin chen dpal, 1230–1309), related to the Śaḍaṅgayoga practices of the *Kālacakratantra*, were considered one of the eight great practice lineages (*shing rta chen po brgyad*) in the Rimé (*ris med*) tradition. They are included in Jamgön Kongtrul's *gdams ngag mdzod* (vol. 15).
354. The *ri chos skor gsum* of Yang Gönpa Gyaltzen Pal (yang dgon pa rgyal mtshan dpal, 1213–1258) became core teachings of the Bara ('ba' ra) Kagyu tradition. They are in the Collected Works (e.g., Thimphu: Kunsang Topgey, 1976, vols. 1–2).
355. Since the text was hard to find, Jamgön Kongtrul included a reworked version, the *thub pa lnga'i gdams kbrid chos sku rang shar*, based on Kunga Drölchok's writings, in Jamgön Kongtrul's *gdams ngag mdzod* (vol. 10). The root text and teaching cycle of the *thub pa lnga* can now be found in the second volume of Lo Repa's (lo ras pa, 1187–1250) Collected Works (Kathmandu: Ven. Khenpo Shedup Tenzin and Lama Thinlay Namgyal, 2002).
356. The *thugs dam dge sbyor bdun pa* instruction of Tsangpa Gyare (Tsangpa Gyare, 'gro ba'i mgon po chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras ye sbes rdo rje mchog gi gsung 'bum rin po che, 275–78.)
357. The *dpal nA ro pa'i chos drug gi kbrid yig yid bzbin nor bu*, the teachings received from Pagmo Drupa by Taglung Tangpa Tashi Pal (stag lung thang pa bkra shis dpal, 1142–1210), are in Matrul Tenpe Nyima's *phyag chen* collection, 271–313.
358. I.e., Taglung Tangpa and Ngawang Namgyal (ngag dbang rnam rgyal, 1571–1626).
359. The vajra statements of Drigung Kyobpa Rinchen Pal ('bri gung skyob pa rin chen dpal, 1143–1217) compiled by Drigung Lingpa Sherab Jungne ('bri gung gling pa shes rab 'byung gnas) as the *dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i yig cha* (e.g., Thimphu: Kunsang Topgey, 1976).
360. The *phyag chen lnga ldan gsal byed nor bu'i phreng ba* of Chöje Kunga Rinchen (chos rje kun dga' rin chen, 1475–1527) became the standard presentation of the founder's fivefold Mahāmudrā teachings (see *The Garland of Mahāmudra Practices* by Khenchen Konchog Gyaltzen for an English translation), supplemented by the *rdo rje 'chang d+harma kirti'i zhal lung* of Rigdzin Chödrak (rig 'dzin chos grags). See Drigung Rigdzin Chodrak, *Instructions on the Phyag chen lnga ldan and Nā ro chos drug Precepts of the 'Bri gung Kagyupa Tradition*, 17–163).
361. Fourth Druk Chen Pema Karpo, *chos 'byung bstan pa'i pad+ma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*.
362. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 238.
363. *Druk* means “dragon.”
364. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 148–53.
365. The text mistakenly has Water Ox.
366. 105a–351a.
367. The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* is considered higher than the *Abhidharmakośa* in Mahāyāna tradition.
368. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 193–95.

369. Apparently, a reference to Lama Umapa Tsöndru Senge (dbu ma pa brtson 'grus seng ge). See Gyalwang Chöje Lobzang Trinle Namgyal, *'jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar thub bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan gcig*, 180–89).
370. Je Tsongkhapa is said to have defined his distinctive Prāsaṅgika view of śūnyatā inspired by Buddhapaḷita's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* during the famous retreat in Ölkha ('ol kha) circa 1398, when the master appeared to him in a dream and touched the book (his *dbu ma rtsa ba'i 'grel pa*) to his head in blessing.
371. The Zhungchen Kapö Nga (*gzhung chen bka' pod lnga*) are the classic treatises of Abhidharma (*Abhidharmakośa*), Madhyamaka (*Madhyamakāvātāra*), Prajñāpāramitā (*Abhisamayālaṅkāra*), Pramāṇa (*Pramāṇavārttika*), and Vinaya (*Vinayasūtra*).
372. The *skyes bu gsum gyi nyams su blang ba'i rim par thams cad tshang bar ston pa'i byang chub lam gyi rim pa* (*Jangchub Lamrim Chenmo*) and its condensed version the *byang chub lam gyi rim pa* (*Lamrim Chungwa*). See, for example, The Collected Works of rJe Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa. (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1977, vols. 13–14). For translations see *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* by the Lamrim Chenmo Translation Committee (Boston: Snow Lion 2014).
373. The *rgyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba* (*Ngakrim Chenmo*) is in The Collected Works of rJe Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa, vol. 3.
374. On this list and its variants, see Darhan Khentrul Lobzang Trinle Namgyal, *khyab bdag rje btsun bla ma dam pa thub dbang rdo rje 'chang dang ngo bo dbyer ma mchis pa 'jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa thub bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan gcig ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba*, 600–27.
375. Jangsem Sherab Zangpo (byang sems shes rab bzang po, dates unknown) of Tö (stod, western Tibet), the founder of monasteries in Ladakh; and Jangsem Sherab Zangpo (byang sems shes rab bzang po, 1395–1457) of Mé (smad, eastern Tibet), the founder of Chamdo Monastery in Kham.
376. This refers to rumors that Je Tsongkhapa was the reincarnation of Sunakṣatra, known in Tibetan as “Gelong Legpe Karma” (dge slong legs pa'i skar ma)—an attendant and possibly a relative of the Buddha who later turned against his teacher—and that his offering a crown to the Jowo Rinpoche statue in Lhasa during the inauguration of the Mönlam Chenmo was a bad omen. Such allegations were current in some Nyingma circles and claimed as prophecies from the *Pema Katang* (*pad+ma bka' thang*), but their interpretation is not attributed to a particular author. The discussion in Darhan Khentrul Lobzang Trinle Namgyal's *'jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar thub bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan gcig*, 351–68, is based on an earlier biography, the *ngo mtshar lung bstan gyi rol mo* by Drago Rabjampa Puntsok Gyatso (brag sgo rab 'byams pa phun tshogs rgya mtsho), presently unavailable, which includes a refutation of these claims. Dragowa, a contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama, is also the author of *pad+ma bka' thang la 'gal 'du rags pa'i ngo sprod dang blo dman gyi dogs slong*, a polemic disputing the authenticity of the *bka' thang*.
377. The *sprul pa'i glegs bam chen mo* text of the secret Geluk Mahāmudrā transmission given by Je Tsongkhapa to Togden Jampal Gyatso (rtogs ldan 'jam dpal rgya mtsho, 1356–1428), who was Baso Chökyi Gyaltsen's (ba so chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1402–1473) guru.
378. Shedrub Ling Monastery (bshad sgrub gling) at the Drumpa (bhrum pa) estate in Dagpo is said to have been founded after Tsongkhapa himself presented Lodrö Tenpa (blo gros brtan pa, 1402–1478) with a copy of his recently completed *Lamrim Chenmo* and asked him to establish a community devoted to its study.
379. Yeshe Zangpo's (ye shes bzang po) six-year tenure began in 1492, and Lobzang Dragpa's in 1500.

380. This apparently took place in 1638, when the last Tsangpa Depa Karma Tenkyong (gtsang pa sde pa karma bstan skyong, 1606–1642) ruled central Tibet.
381. Ngawang Chogden (ngag dbang mchog ldan, 1677–1751), first of the Reting incarnation lineage, was granted the title “Merciful Dharmarāja” (Mongolian: Achitu Nomonkhan; Tibetan: *a chi thu no min ban*) by Emperor Yongzheng in 1734 as tutor to the Seventh Dalai Lama. He served as the fifty-fourth Ganden throne holder from 1739 to 1746.
382. The seventy-fourth Tri Chen Lobzang Lhundrub (khri chen blo bzang lhun grub) left office in 1850. The subsequent entries, which are numbered, appear to have been added later.
383. Tri Chen Yeshe Chöpel (khri chen ye shes chos ’phel) is variously estimated to have taken office between 1880 and 1884.
384. Tösam Ling (thos bsam gling) is missing from this list.
385. Gungru Chökyi Jungne (gung ru chos kyi ’byung gnas) was appointed Gomang abbot by the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso (tA la’i bla ma 04 yon tan rgya mtsho, 1589–1617) and is remembered for performing wrathful rituals against the Tsangpa (gtsang pa) following the 1618 Drepung Linglok. See Tenpa Tenzin, *chos sde chen po dpal ldan ’bras spungs bkra shis sgo mang grwa tshang gi chos ’byung chos dung g.yas su ’khyil ba’i sgra dbyangs*, 33–39.
386. Jamyang Gawe Lodrö’s (’jam dbyangs dga’ ba’i blo gros, 1429–1503) Collected Works have been republished (Lhasa: ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying ’tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 2009).
387. Pañchen Sönam Dragpa’s (paN chen bsod nams grags pa, 1478–1554) textbooks, which remain in use at Losal Ling, are in his Collected Works (Mundgod: ’bras spungs blo gsal gling dpe mdzod khang, 2015, vol. 11).
388. Rabchok of Nartang (snar thang rab mchog) was the first abbot of the Shagkor Dratsang (Desi Sangye Gyatso, *dga’ ldan chos ’byung bai DUr+ya ser po*, 135).
389. The text mistakenly has female Earth Ox year.
390. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 510–15.
391. Presumably this means twenty-nine years after the death of Je Tsongkhapa in 1419.
392. I.e., Potowa Rinchen Sal, Chen Ngawa Tsultrim Bar, and Puchungwa Zhönu Gyaltzen.
393. Khedrub Je Gelek Palzang (mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal bzang, 1385–1438), eminent disciple of Je Tsongkhapa, Chöje Sönam Choglang (chos rje bsod nams phyogs glang, 1439–1504), founder of the Ensa Kagyu (dben sa bka’ brgyud) lineage, and Ensapa Lobzang Döndrub (dben sa pa blo bzang don grub, 1505–1565), founder of Ensa Monastery, are usually counted as the pre-incarnations of Lobzang Chökyi Gyaltzen (blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570–1662), who was thus the Fourth Pañchen Lama.
394. Drubchen Chökyi Dorje (grub chen chos kyi rdo rje, b. 1457), one of three disciples of Baso Chökyi Gyaltzen in the esoteric lineage, dissolved his body into light on the Jomo Lhari (jo mo lha ri) mountain in Nyangtö (Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, *gangs can gyi yul du byon pa’i lo paN rnam kyī mtshan tho*, 36).
395. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 640.
396. The note in the text “born in Shang Tobgyal (shangs thob rgyal)” is a copy error. As Pañchen Tenpe Nyima (paN chen bstan pa’i nyi ma) passed away in 1853, the statement that he is presently in office is the earliest *terminus ante quem* for dating the present work.
397. The following list is taken from Tuken Chökyi Nyima, *grub mtha’ shel dkar me long*, 328.
398. Shangtön Drimé Shenyen (shangs ston dri med bshes gnyen) was a disciple of the First Dalai Lama, Gendun Drub (tA la’i bla ma 01 dge ’dun grub, 1391–1474).

399. Shartse Lodrö Gyatso (shar rtse blo gros rgya mtsho) was a contemporary of Je Gendun Gyatso (rje dge 'dun rgya mtsho, 1476–1542).
400. This prophecy is associated with the *sham b+ba la'i smon lam* of the Sixth Pañchen Lobzang Palden Yeshe (paN chen 06 blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, 1738–1780).
401. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 223.
402. Je Sherab Senge (rje shes rab seng ge, 1383–1445), foremost disciple of Je Tsongkhapa in the tantric teachings, founded the Sé Gyu Dratsang (srad rgyud grwa tshang) at Lhunpo Tse (lhun po rtse) in the Sé valley in Tsang in 1432, and the Gyume Dratsang (rgyud smad grwa tshang) in Lhasa in 1433.
403. Gyu Chen Kunga Döndrub (rgyud chen kun dga' don grub, 1419–1486), disciple of Sherab Senge, established the Gyutö Dratsang (rgyud stod grwa tshang) in Lhasa in 1475.
404. The term *Trikor Chusum* (*kbri skor bcu gsum*), referring to the administrative divisions of the Mongol Yuan era, meant the central provinces of Ü and Tsang. See Fifth Dalai Lama, *rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*, 190–95.
405. Drongpa (grong pa) is a copy error for Drosa (gro sa). This was an important center of the Medul (*smad 'dul*) tradition and seat of the Martön (*dmar ston*) hereditary lineage, just west of Langtang in central Penyul (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 79; Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa, *chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 485). On Gendun Drub's studies there, see the *ngo mtshar rmad byung nor bu'i 'phreng ba* biography, 228.
406. The *'dul ba'i gleng 'bum chen mo* or discourse on the origins of the Vinaya makes up the first two volumes of his Collected Works, and the *Precious Garland* commentary fills the next two.
407. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 387–93.
408. The *rdo rje rnal 'byor gyi de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa'i nyi ma* extended commentary is in the second volume of the Collected Works.
409. His family house is called Tsekha Khangsar Gong (rtse kha khang gsar gong) in the *dnagos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta* biography by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Tsekha (the *rtse dga'* of the text is presumably incorrect) was perhaps the name of the family estate. These days it is known simply as Khangsar Marpo (khang gsar dmar po).
410. Möndro Pañdita Tsewang Döndrub (smon 'gro paN+Di ta tshe dbang don grub), the great scholar from Dok Zhung (mdog gzhung) in Tsang Latö (gtsang la stod), is said to have sent his son Jamyang Wangyal Dorje ('jam dbyangs dbang rgyal rdo rje) to tutor the young Dalai Lama. See Karmay, *A Most Pleasing Symphony Lama*, 130.
411. This is the Tibetan version of events. See Zhagabpa Wangchuk Deden, *bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, vol. 1, 438–39, which famously differs from official Qing records (e.g., *Daqing Shizu Zhang Huangdi Shilu* [Veritable Records of the Emperor Zhang, Shizu, of the Great Qing] fascicles 73–74).
412. In fact, Desi Sangye Gyatso concealed the death of his master for twelve years (see Desi Sangye Gyatso, *dga' ldan chos 'byung baiDUR+ya ser po*, chap. 30), sparking fatal tensions between the Ganden Podrang state and its Mongol patrons.
413. His father, Rigdzin Tashi Tenzin (rig 'dzin bkra shis bstan 'dzin), was a fourth-generation descendant of Orgyen Zangpo (o rgyan bzang po), brother of Ter Chen Pema Lingpa (gter chen pad+ma gling pa, 1458–1520) and founder of the Orgyen Ling temple in Mön Tawang (mon rta wang). On the family background, see Lobsang Tenpa, *An Early History of the Mon Region and its relationship with Tibet and Bhutan*, 180–87.
414. Kalzang Gyatso (skal bzang rgya mtsho, 1708–1757) came to Gartar (mgar thar) in Kham Minyak (khams mi nyag) under the protection of the Qing court during his exile from Lhasa, 1729–1734, where a monastery was built to accommodate him, as mentioned below. See Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, 173).

415. The *gsang 'dus mi skyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i nram par bshad pa dbang don de nyid yang gsal snang ba rdo rje sems dpa'i zbal lung* is in the seventh volume of the Collected Works.
416. At Lhari Gang (lha ri sgang) in the Tobgyal (thob rgyal) valley in Tsang.
417. Paṇḍita Yeshe Gyaltzen (ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1713–1793) earned the title Yongzin (*yongs 'dzin*) for serving as his tutor, as well as the monastery of Tsechok Ling (tshe chog gling) near Lhasa (see below).
418. Gyalwa Khedrub Gyatso (rgyal ba mkhas grub rgya mtsho, b. 1838), to whom Khyentse paid respects during his visits to Lhasa, passed away in 1855 at the age of seventeen.
419. These three monasteries were established by reigning regents of the Ganden Podrang government as their Lhasa residences (see Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 92–94, 105).
420. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 106–7.
421. Jangsem Sherab Zangpo of Tö (the west) returned, with his heart disciple and nephew Palden Sherab (dpal ldan shes rab), from studying with Je Rinpoche at Ganden to his native Mar Yul (Ladakh). With the patronage of King Dragpa Bumde (grags pa 'bum lde), he founded the Lhakhang Serpo at Tagmo (stag mo) in central Ladakh in 1427, regarded as the source of the Geluk tradition in Tö Ngari. The foundation of Tigtse Monastery (khri rtse, khrig rtse, khrigs se) just below Tagmo in 1430 is attributed to Palden Sherab, and it is said that as he was the son of a royal minister, the monastery prospered. Jangsem Sherzang founded several other Geluk monasteries in Ladakh, Nubra, and Zangskar. See Jamyang Gyaltzen, *la dwags gi dgon rabs kun gsal nyi snang*, 191–92.
422. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 433–35.
423. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 387–93.
424. Jangsem Sherab Zangpo of Mé (the east) (1395–1457) founded the Jampa Ling (byams pa gling) monastery at Chamdo in 1437. See Lobzang Sherab, *chab mdo'i yig tshang rin chen spungs pa*, vol. 2).
425. Kuchor Togden Sangye Pal (ku cor rtogs ldan sangs rgyas dpal, 1386–1445).
426. Ngupe Dragpa Gyatso (rngu spe grags pa rgya mtsho, 1572–1638), the first Chetsang, founded Tashi Chözung (bkra shis chos rdzong) in the Nyagre valley in 1621, which became the capital of the new Drayab (brag g.yab) polity established by Sangye Tashi (sangs rgyas bkra shis, 1588–1651), the first Chungtsang (chung tshang), with the support of Gushri Khan. The Second Chetsang Ngawang Sönam Lhundrub (ngag dbang bsod nam lhun grub, 1647–1682) established a second monastery at Jamdun, which became known as Bu Monastery (bu dgon), meaning “the Son Monastery.” The successive Chetsang (or brag g.yab skyabs mgon) and Chungtsang incarnations were regarded as emanations of Ngok Lotsāwa Legpe Sherab and his nephew Loden Sherab. See Schwieger and Dagyab Loden Sherab, *Die ersten dGe-lugs-pa Hierarchen von Brag g.yab (1572-1692)*. “Chetsang” or “senior” (che tshang), and “Chungtsang” or “junior” (chung tshang) are titles for the holders of twinned incarnation lineages.
427. Gyalwa Sönam Gyatso founded the great Tubchen Chökhör Ling (thub chen chos 'khor gling) monastery at Litang in 1580, on his return to Tibet from the court of Altan Khan. See Desi Sangye Gyatso, *dga'ldan chos 'byung baiDUr+ya ser po*, 296.

428. This entry could be based on the sketchy account of the monastery's foundation in Desi Sangye Gyatso's *dga' ldan chos 'byung baiDUr+ya ser po*, 337. According to other sources (Sertok Lobzang Tsultrim Gyatso, *sku 'bum byams pa gling gi gdan rabs don ldan tshangs pa'i dbyangs snyan*, 43–52; Nordrang Orgyen, *chos rnam kun btus*, vol. 1, 965), Gyalwang Sönam Gyatso called for construction of a monastic institute on the site of the existing temple at Je Rinpoche's birthplace in 1583, on his second journey to Mongolia, and for a Mönlam Chenmo prayer festival to be held there annually. Dulwa Chöje Özer Gyatso ('dul ba chos rje 'od zer rgya mtsho, 1557–1623) was appointed as the first abbot of this monastery by Gyalwa Yönten Gyatso in 1603. He established the Palden Shedrub Ling (dpal ldan shes sgrub gling) philosophy college there and inaugurated the Mönlam Chenmo in 1612. The tantric college was founded later, in 1649, and the medical college in 1711.
429. “rgyal ba'i sras po mgon po rgya mtsho” of the text is a copy error. The second Gyalse (rgyal sras) incarnation Dönyö Chökyi Gyatso (don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho, ca. 1575–1637) was deputed by the young Fourth Dalai Lama to found Gönlung Monastery (dgon lung) in 1604 (Desi Sangye Gyatso, *dga' ldan chos 'byung baiDUr+ya ser po*, 340). It was the first institute of philosophical studies in the Geluk tradition to be established in Domé, in the ethnically Monguor region to the north of Ziling. It grew in size and importance over the following century but was destroyed in the suppression of the 1723 revolt against Manchu rule. Although rebuilt, it never recovered, but these events led to the promotion of its lamas, the Changkya (lcang skya) incarnations in particular, to positions of great importance in Qing-Tibet relations. See Sullivan, “The Mother of all Monasteries.”
430. The Second Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chöden (lcang skya 02 ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, 1642–1714) is associated with the foundation of the Songzhu monastery in Beijing. The lakeside Yonghe Monastery (dga' ldan byin chags gling), the site of a former imperial residence, was founded by the Third Changkya Rölpe Dorje (lcang skya 03 rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717–1786) in 1744 (Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 138).
431. The Second Tuken Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso (ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, 1680–1736) of Gönlung served the imperial court during the final years of the Kangxi emperor's reign (1719–1722), and throughout Yongzheng's reign (1722–1735), and was tutor to Changkya Rölpe Dorje. The Third Tuken Lobzang Chökyi Nyima (blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1737–1802) was patronized by the Qianlong emperor. As noted, he authored hundreds of learned works, including the *Crystal Mirror* exposition of the tenets of various schools of Buddhism, one of Khyentse's sources for the present work, and the history of Gönlung. See Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, chap. 12.
432. Tsenpo Döndrub Gyatso (btsan po don grub rgya mtsho, 1613–1665) founded Serkhok Ganden Damchö Ling (gser khog dga' ldan dam chos gling) in 1649 as a branch of Gönlung. Also known as Tsenpo Gön (btsan po dgon), it is in the Serkok (gser khog) valley northwest of Ziling (Xining). The Tsenpo/Mindröl Nomonkhan (btsan po/smin grol no min han) incarnation lineage originated with Ngawang Trinle Lhundrub (ngag dbang 'phrin las lhun grub, 1622–1699), who is credited with developing the monastery into a major rival of Gönlung (Desi Sagye Gyatso, *dga' ldan chos 'byung baiDUr+ya ser po*, 342), although it too was razed to the ground in the course of the 1723 rebellion.
433. Ngak Rampa Jamyang Lodrö (sngags rams pa 'jam dbyangs blo gros, 1651–1733) founded the Yershong Samten Chöpel Ling (g.yer gshong bsam gtan chos 'phel gling) monastery in the Trika (khri ka) region, south of the Machu (rma chu), in 1696.
434. See Nietupski, *Labrang Monastery*.
435. Choné Öngyu (co ne dbon brgyud) refers to sons of the royal line who took religious office. Rinchen Lhunpo converted the originally Sakya monastery to the Geluk school in 1459.
436. Dragpa Shedrub (grags pa bshad sgrub, 1675–1748) of Choné returned from prodigious studies in the monasteries of central Tibet to establish the philosophy college at Choné Gönchen (co ne dgon chen) in 1714. After the Tantric college was established in 1729, he served as the first abbot.

437. The First Khalkha Jetsun Dampa Lobzang Tenpe Gyaltzen (khal kha rje btsun dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1635–1723), also known as Zanabazar Yeshe Dorje (ye shes rdo rje), son of the Khalkha Mongol ruler (the Tushiyetu Khan Gönpo Dorje), was declared an emanation of Mañjuśrī and rebirth of Jetsun Tāranātha by the Fifth Dalai Lama and his supporters following the 1642 defeat of the Tsang kingdom. He founded the Riwo Gegey Ganden Shedrub Ling (ri bo dge rgyas dga' ldan bshad sgrub gling) monastery in central Mongolia, which was destroyed soon after by his Dzungar rival Galdan Boshogtu in 1689 (see Bareja-Starzynska, *The Tibetan Biography of the First Jetsundampa Zanabazar by the Khalkha Zaya Pandita*, 148). The tented monastic community led by his successive incarnations was based at Urga, where the Ikh Khuree (*da khu re dgon*) was gradually established.
438. Jehol (Chengde) was the Qing summer capital, a complex of palaces and gardens some 125 miles north-east of Beijing, in the hills of what is now Hebei Province. Of the eight outer temples surrounding the complex, three were modeled on Tibetan monuments, though these were commissioned not by the Yongzheng emperor, but by his successor Qianlong: Puningsi, built in 1755 to celebrate the impending defeat of the Dzungar, was modeled on Samye; the Putuo Zongchen Miao, commissioned in 1771 to celebrate the birthdays of the emperor and his mother, was modeled on the Potala palace in Lhasa; and the Xumifushou, was modeled on Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, built for Qianlong's reception of the Sixth Pañchen Lama in 1780.
439. The second, Könchok Jigme Wangpo (dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728–1791) and the third, Tubten Jigme Gyatso (thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtsho, 1792–1855).
440. The *rtogs brjod mdun legs ma* autobiographical verses by Je Tsonghkapa.
441. The intention of this note is unclear: possibly it is meant to read “Gongkar,” for the forty-nine-deity Jigje was among the transmitted teachings of Gongkar Dorje Denpa (gong dkar rdo rje gdan pa).
442. Ngam/Ngen Dzung Repa/Tönpa Jangchub Gyalpo (ngam/ngan rdzong ras pa /ston pa byang chub rgyal po), heart disciple of Jetsun Milarepa (rje btsun mi la ras pa, 1040–1123) and holder of his Cakrasaṃvara teachings.
443. *Sun's Radiance Mind Training (blo sbyong nyi ma'i 'od zer)*. Hortön Namkha Pal (hor ston nam mkha' dpal, 1373–1447) was a direct disciple of Je Rinpoche. See Nam-Kha Pel, *Mind Training like the Rays of the Sun*, for an English translation.
444. The *lam rim gser gyi yang zhun* (see Third Dalai Lama, *Selected Works of Dalai Lama III*, for an English translation) and the Third Dalai Lama's *gur gyi mgon po'i gtor 'bul bsdus pa*.
445. *yongs 'dzin ye shes rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar thub bstan pad+mo rgyas pa'i nyin byed* by Gyalwa Jampal Gyatso (rgyal ba 'jam dpal rgya mtsho).
446. Ngak Chen Könchok Gyaltzen's verse summary is known as the *lam rim tshigs bcad ma*.
447. Dagpo Ngawang Dragpa (dwags po ngag dbang grags pa) succeeded Lodrö Tenpa (d. 1478) as the second abbot of Dagpo Dratsang (dwags po grwa tshang). His *lam rim legs gsung nying khu* and *byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dka' gnad ngag 'don du dril ba* are in the first volume of his Collected Works.
448. The *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rim pa dang po'i lam la 'kbrid tshul yongs 'dzin bla ma'i gsung bzhin zin bris su bkod pa* by Tangsak Ngödrub Gyatso (thang sag dngos grub rgya mtsho), a disciple of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the founder of the Ganden Chökhör (dga' ldan chos 'khor) monastery in Penyul.
449. Tri Chen Ngawang Chogden (khri chen ngag dbang mchog ldan) was the first Reting Rinpoche. He served as the Fifty-Fourth Ganden Tripa.
450. The Second Ke'utsang Tulku Jamyang Mönlam (ke'u tshang sprul sku 'jam dbyangs smon lam, b. 1792).

451. The second Walmang (dbal mang) incarnation Paṇḍita Könchok Gyaltzen (dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1764–1853), throne holder of Labrang Tashi Khyil and teacher of Khyentse Wangpo’s teacher Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rabgye (brag dgon dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas). His collected writings amount to eleven volumes (see for example the 1974 New Delhi edition by Gyalten Gelek Namgyal).
452. Changlung Paṇḍita is not otherwise known by the name Dorje Dragpa (rdo rje grags pa).
453. The *byang chub lam rim chen mo’i dka’ ba’i gnad rnams mchan bu bzhi’i sgo nas legs par bshad pa theg chen lam gyi gsal sgron* by Je Tsongkhapa.
454. The *mgon po’i be’u bum snying thig bka’ rgya ma* by Khedrub Je.
455. *rde’u ’kbrid*, unidentified.
456. The *byang chub lam gyi kbrid yig thams cad mkhyen par bgrod pa’i bde lam* of Paṇchen Lobzang Chökyi Gyaltzen. For an English translation see Thupten Jinpa, *Stages of the Path and the Oral Transmission*, 155–206.
457. A Vajrabhairava ritual. See Cuevas, “Sorcerer of the Iron Castle,” 13.
458. The *dbu ma’i lta kbrid chen mo* of Baso Chökyi Gyaltzen (ba so chos kyi rgyal mtshan).
459. The Lower Drukpa (smad ’brug) master Jamyang Gönpö (’jam dbyangs mgon po, thirteenth century) is recorded as a holder of several Severance (*gcod*) lineages, although this is not mentioned in his biographies (e.g., Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 676–79).
460. Unidentified.
461. Unidentified.
462. Nyugla Paṇchen Ngawang Dragpa (smyug la paN chen ngag dbang grags pa, 1458–1515).
463. The Ra volume (*rwa pod*) of Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drak (rwa lo tsA ba rdo rje grags, b. 1016) and the Pal volume (*dpal pod*) of Drigung Palzin Nyima Özer (’bri gung dpal ’dzin nyi ma ’od zer), a disciple of Zhangtön Sönam Dragpa (zhang ston bsod nams grags pa, 1292–1370). See Cuevas, “Four Syllables for Slaying and Repelling.”
464. The Mitra Chödruk (*mi tra chos drug*) or six doctrines of Mitrayogi was a lineal transmission of the Pagpa Lha (’phags pa lha) incarnations of Chamdo.
465. The *gsang chos rgya can bcu gsum* of the Fifth Tagpu Garwang Lobzang Chökyi Wangchuk (stag phu gar dbang blo bzang chos kyi dbang phyug, 1765–1792).
466. The *dpal ldan sa skya pa’i gser chos bcu gsum gyi byin rlabs dang rjes gnang gi rim pa’i chog bsgrigs bklag chog tu bkod pa rgyud ldan drang srong bla ma’i zhal chab ’kbrul pa’i rnyog pa bral ba’i gang+gA’i chu rgyun* is volume 7 of the Collected Works of the Fifth Tagpu Chökyi Wangchuk (stag phu 05 chos kyi dbang phyug).
467. The *rje btsun rdo rje rnal ’byor ma nA ro mkha’ spyod kyi rim gnyis zab mo’i nyams len baiDUr+ya shun ma’i them skas* by the Fourth Tagpu Lobzang Tenpe Gyaltzen (stag phu 04 blo bzang bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan).
468. The *rje btsun tsong kha pa chen po’i rnam thar bstod pa tsong kha brgyad bcu ma* verse hagiography by a contemporary master of the poetic arts, Paṇḍita Pūṇyaśrī of Kashmir, also known as Jamyang Khache (’jam dbyangs kha che).
469. The author’s full name is missing: the reference is likely to the *rtogs brjod rin po che ’dun legs ma’i ’grel pa mkhas pa’i gzhung lam* commentary by Purbuchok Ngawang Jampa (phur bu ldog ngag dbang byams pa), who is mentioned immediately below.
470. The *bka’ gdams gsar rnying gi chos ’byung yid kyi mdzes rgyan* is in the Collected Works of Paṇchen Sönam Dragpa.
471. Kharnak Lotsāwa Paljor Gyatso’s (mkhar nag dpal ’byor rgya mtsho) *dga’ ldan chos ’byung* is entitled *dpag bsam sdong po mkhas pa dgyes byed* (“Wishing Tree That Delights the Wise”), composed in 1630.

472. Desi Sangye Gyatso, *dga' ldan chos 'byung baiDUr+ya ser po*.
473. The historical works of the second Jamyang Zhepa incarnation, Könchok Jigme Wangpo (dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po) include his *co ne bstan 'gyur dkar chag* and *Pearl Rosary* account of the history of the abbatial succession (*gdan rabs*) at Kumbum Jampa Ling (sku 'bum byams pa gling).
474. The *byang chub kyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa rgyal bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog phul byung nor bu'i phreng ba*, recently published, for example, in 1990 in Lhasa by the Tibet Peoples Publishing House.
475. The *grwa sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul pad dkar 'phreng ba*, composed in 1744 and recently published, for example, in 1989 in Lhasa by the Tibet Peoples Publishing House.
476. This story is folklore. Lumé and the men of Ü-Tsang traveled to the northeast in the late tenth century, decades after Gongpa Rabsal's death. See Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 86–105.
477. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 615–22.
478. Prāṇāyāma (*srog rtsol*) here refers to one of the six yogas of the Kālacakra system.
479. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 623–28.
480. This refers to the defeat of the Tsang kingdom in 1642 and appropriation of the monastery by the new Lhasa government in 1650. See Stearns, *The Buddha from Dolpo*, 70–74.
481. Drungpa Kazhipa Rinchen Pal (drung pa dka' bzhi pa rin chen dpal, 1350–1435) of Gyalrong (rgyal rong) studied with Dölpopa's disciples in central Tibet and supposedly fulfilled a prophecy of the master by returning to his native region to establish the Dzamtang ('dzam thang) monastery in 1425. It was maintained by his successive incarnations (Ngawang Lodrö Dragpa, *jo nang chos 'byung rgyal ba'i chos tshul gsal byed zla ba'i sgron me*, 104–12).
482. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 500–507.
483. Kuzhang Dragpa Gyaltzen (sku zhang grags pa rgyal mtshan), who ruled (1306–33?) at the height of Shalu's fortunes as a beneficiary of Sakya rule, commissioned a splendid expansion of the Serkhang (gser khang), having been granted title and largesse by the Yuan court.
484. The following is based on the short biography in Shalu Losal Tenkyong's (zhwa lu blo gsal bstan skyong, b. 1804) *dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnam kyi rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtsbar dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*, 12–39. Shalu Losal Tenkyong was one of Khyentse's main teachers.
485. The text mistakenly has *rta lo* for *stag lo*.
486. Tropu Sempa Chenpo Sönam Senge (khro phu sems dpa' chen po bsod nams seng ge) is said to have been born in the year of his father Tropu Lotsāwa Jampa Pal's death in 1236 (Tatsak Tsewang Gyal, *lho rong chos 'byung*, 321), but the recently available *mnyam med sems dpa' chen po khro phu ba'i rnam thar yon tan phreng ba* biography gives the dates 1229–1298. See van der Kuijp, "The Lives of Bu ston Rin chen grub and the Date and Sources of His *chos 'byung*," 206–11.
487. Name unidentified, possible copy error.
488. Text has Palden Dzin. From this point, text from the Gangtok edition has been omitted.
489. "[...]" here indicates that a number was intended in the text but was not given.

490. The longer version of this passage in the Gangtok edition reads: “From teachers such as Tropu Sempa Chenpo, his grandfather Tsultrim Zangpo (tshul khrim bzang po), Khenchen Zangpo Pal Dragpa Zhönu (mkhan chen bzang po dpal grags pa gzhon nu), Tarpa Lotsāwa Nyima Gyaltzen, Lama Palden Senge, Lama Dorje Gyaltzen, and Pagwö Yönten Gyatso, he learned the manufacturing arts, medicine, grammar and logic, and in Buddhist doctrine the piṭakas and the tantras as well, along with the five minor branches of ordinary learning. In short, after completing extensive learning of the entirety of sciences that there were in the Land of Snows, he ascended to the company of Ācārya Vasubandhu. Having thought through the meaning of all these teachings and developed a thorough analytical grasp, he attained the poise of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. In particular, with an ocean-like immensity of teaching and writing on the Prajñāpāramitā section, he emerged as a successor to the Great Chariots: Nāgārjuna and Aśaṅga, Āryādeva and so on. Once he unlocked the secrets of the four classes of tantra, he became sure-footed in the dance of the saffron-clad vajradhara. Through the Śrī Guhyasamāja, Kālacakra, and so on, he actualized the supreme siddhis. He created symbols of buddha body, speech, and mind beyond imagining. While assembling the Kangyur and Tengyur collections he did an incomparable job of editing, adding what was missing and removing what was extra, and so on, accomplishing the activity of the sugatas, the bodhisattvas, and their disciples all at once. The great, excellent lamas of Sakya and others took him as their tutor. His reputation reached the ends of the earth, such that the emperor of China Togön Temur and the Indian King Punya Malla wrote letters in his praise. He gathered a saṅgha of three thousand eight hundred monks at the main Shalu monastery and some five hundred piṭakadhara in sealed retreat huts at Ribuk (ri sbug) Hermitage,” etc.
491. Khyenrab Chöje Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrub (mkhyen rab chos rje rin chen mkhyen rab mchog grub, 1436–1497) of the Ché family lineage.
492. Shalu Lotsāwa Rinchen Chökyong Zangpo (rin chen chos skyong bzang po, 1441–1528).
493. Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso was invited to take the Shalu throne in 1555 and appointed his disciple Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk of Nesar as successor shortly before his death in 1566.
494. See Heimbel, *Vajradhara in Human Form*, 205–206.
495. The text mistakenly has, “In the second....”
496. The *de bzhi gsbegs pa thams cad kyi de kho na nyid bsdus pa theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa zhes bya ba’i rgyud kyi bshad pa de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa* by Ānandagarbha, translated by Balpo Tugje Chenpo (bal po thugs rje chen po) and Zangkar Lotsāwa Pagpa Sherab.
497. “Kön” Wangchuk Lodrö (dkon dbang phyug blo gros) is unknown. A “Kang” (rkang) Wangchuk Lodrö appears in one such transmission lineage in Pagpa Lodrö Gyaltzen’s *lung dang brgyud pa sna tshogs thob pa’i gsan yig* list of teachings received. This has been published in *sa skya bka’ bum dpe bsdur ma*. Kathmandu 2007, vol. 22, 519–61.
498. The Dorje Denpa (rdo rje gdan pa) who taught Bari Lotsāwa is said to have been Amoghavajra the elder (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 1020). See the account of their meeting in Khyentse Wangpo’s *zab gsang seng gdong snyan brgyud kyi lo rgyus sgrub thabs las tshogs dang bcas pa’i man ngag gi yi ge gces btus rin chen bum bzang/ grub chen sangs rgyas mgon po nas brgyud pa’i bo dong lugs*, 151–64.
499. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 631–33.
500. The *dpal de kho na nyid ’dus chen* by Bodong Pañchen Chogle Namgyal is an encyclopedic presentation of the branches of worldly and religious knowledge comprising 110 volumes.
501. On the titles *kachupa* (*bka’ bcu pa*), literally “scholar versed in ten scriptures,” and *kazhipa* (*bka’ bzhi pa*), “scholar versed in four scriptures,” see Jackson, “Rong ston bKa’ bcu pa” 346–47.

502. Palmo/Pema Chöding Monastery (dpal mo/pad+ma chos sdings) in Porong (spo rong), in the Latö Lho (la stod lho) region of southwest Tibet, was founded by Bodong Chogle Namgyal in 1410. See Porong Dawa, “New Discoveries in Early Tibetan Printing History,” 196.
503. Jamyang Tenzin Dragpa, the first of seven prophesied incarnations of Bodong Chogle Namgyal, was born in Loro, in the mid-sixteenth century (see above). The master is said to have foretold a reincarnation who would “light the lamp of the teachings in the forsaken lands of the south,” meaning Lo Yul (klo yul). See Takgang Khewang, *Guru Tashi*, 726.
504. Samding Monastery (bsam sdings) on the western shore of the Yamdrok lake near Nakartse (sna dkar rtse) began as the hermitage of the second Dorje Pagmo incarnation Kunga Zangmo (kun dga’ bzang mo, 1459–1502) and was developed by her successive incarnations as the seat of the lineage.
505. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 549–50.
506. See Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 729–31, which identifies this Vajrāsanapāda, or Dorje Denpa (rdo rje gdan pa), as Amoghavajra.
507. For the biographies of the Seven Jewels, see Namkha Samdrub Gyaltzen et al., *shangs pa bka’ bgyud bla rabs kyī rnam thar*.
508. Tsultrim Gön (khyung po tshul khrims mgon) was the disciple of Khedrub Jagchungwa Tsangma Shangtön (mkhas grub ’jag chung ba gtsang ma shangs ston, 1234–1309), one of two main students of Sangye Tönpa (1208–1278), the first lineage holder to teach more than one disciple. Shangtön was the founder of the Jak Gön (’jag dgon) monastery near Zhangzhong, while Tsultrim Gön seems to have been regarded as an outstanding master (see Jamgön Kongtrul, *gdams ngag mdzod*, vol. 18, 414). (The text here mistakes Sangye Tönpa for Sangye Nyentön.)
509. Zhönu Drub (gzhon nu grub, d. 1319), the other main student of Sangye Tönpa, founded the Samding hermitage on a mountain overlooking the mouth of the Nyang valley, where his teaching lineage continued (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 747–50).
510. This refers to the lineage begun by Mu Chen Gyaltzen Palzang (mus chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang, 1286–1346), a disciple of Tsangma Shangtön, which later came to be known as the Tang tradition, named for Tangtong Gyelpo (Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 53–57). Khyentse Wangpo received the transmission from his teacher Shalu Losal Tenkyong.
511. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 668–71.
512. The land of Veta (bai ta’i yul) was in south India but its identity remains uncertain. The description in Dharma Senge’s (d+hurma seng ge) biography of Padampa, *grub pa’i dbang phyug chen po rje btsun dam pa sangs rgyas kyī rnam thar dngos grub ’od stong ’bar ba’i nyi ma*, mentions proximity to Śrī Parvata (in present-day Telangana), but also to a forest retreat (*drang srong a rya’i nags tshal*), which could be Śabarimala in Kerala (see the discussion in <https://www.wayofbodhi.org/paramabuddha-padampa-sangye-ayyappan/>).
513. In Gö Lotsāwa’s biography of Padampa, the twelve tutelary deities are named as Mañjuṣa, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Tārā Khasarpaṇa, Yamāntaka, Rangjung Gyalmo (rang byung rgyal mo) Ekajaṭī, Sarvaṇīvaraṇiṣkambhin, Marīcī, Samantabhadra, Vārāhi, and Acala (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 870).
514. Taken from Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 871–72.
515. The text has “Kam Tsultrim Gyaltzen” (kam tshul khrims rgyal mtshan).
516. The teaching lineages of Drapa Ngönshe Wangchuk Bar (grwa pa mngon shes dbang phyug ’bar, 1012–1082) (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 905–6), of Ché Dawa Dragpa (lce zla ba grags pa, b. 1046) (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 906–10), and of Jang Kadampa (ljang bka’ gdams pa) (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 910).

517. The Four Yogin Doorkeepers (*sgo pa'i rnal 'byor bzhi*) group of disciples attended on Padampa during his final years in Tibet, at Dingri (1097–1117). Charchen is described (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 913) as the ordained son of King Tsede of Guge, who ruled in the 1070s and '80s. Jangsem/Tugse Kunga (thugs sras kun dga', 1062–1124) attended on Padampa for eighteen of his twenty-one years in Dingri (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 920–23) and recorded most of his surviving teachings. See Tugse Kunga, *zhi byed sn̄ga bar phyi gsum gyi skor*.
518. Tugse Kunga's list of brief biographies of the twenty-four Majo, or female disciples of Padampa who attained realization, is reproduced in Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 915–20.
519. Patsab Gumpa (pa tshab sgom pa, 1077–1158) of Penyul. See Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 923–29.
520. Rok Sherab Ö (rog shes rab 'od, 1166–1244) of Nyemdo (snye mdo) was the elder brother of Rok Sherab Senge (rog shes rab seng ge, 1186–1247). See Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 955–58.
521. See Harding, *Zhije: the Pacification of Suffering*, ch. 7 onwards; Gentry, *Power Objects*, 251n228.
522. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 377–78.
523. According to the biographies (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 871, 996–97), Mara Serpo (sma ra ser po) of Yarlung and Kyotön Śākya Yeshe (skyo ston shAkya ye shes) received Dampa's teachings on his third visit to Tibet. Kyotön Sönām Lama (skyo ston bsod nams bla ma), Machik's teacher, was the latter's nephew.
524. Corrupted wording here restored with reference to biographies by Gö Lotsāwa (*The Blue Annals*, 983) and Dharma Senge (*grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po rje btsun dam pa sangs rgyas kyi rnam thar dngos grub 'od stong 'bar ba'i nyi ma*, 250). The text has "Yé (dbye/gye)," which is an archaic spelling for É (e), the valley to the east of Yarlung, historically ruled by the Lhagyari family.
525. The spelling 'bab re is used here for Bhadra. Cherdrong (cer grong), the name of his birthplace (Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 983) is hard to identify: in Dharma Senge's biography of Machik (*das gsum rgyal ba kun gyi yum gcig 'phags ma lab kyi sgron ma'i rnam thar phung po gzan bsgyur gyi rnam par bshad pa mkha' 'gro bye ba'i gsang lam*, 280) he is described as "an Indian paṇḍita from the land of Kosa (Kosala?), son of the Śākya lord Ratnasiddhi."
526. On Machik's disciple Khugom Chökyi Senge (khu sgom chos kyi seng ge) of Nyemo, see Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 988–89.
527. Götruk Repa Dragpa Jungne (rgod phrug ras pa grags pa 'byung gnas, 1363–1447). See Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 704.
528. On the seven men on trial (*sad mi bdun*), the first seven Tibetans to receive monastic ordination, see Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa, *chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 360–62.
529. Mar Śākyamuni of Tölung (stod lung), Yo Gejung (g.yo dge 'byung) of Bodong, and Tsang Rabsal (gtsang rab gsal) of Je, known as the Three Wise Men of Tibet ("Böki Khepa Mi Sum," *bod kyi mkhas pa mi gsum*), are said to have traveled through Turkestan before reaching Domé and the Tsongkha region, where they settled and met their first disciple Gongpa Rabsal, who would perpetuate the monastic ordination lineage (Butön Rinchen Drub, *bde bar gsbegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, 193–94; Gö Lotsāwa, *The Blue Annals*, 63–64).
530. As noted above, Lumé and company traveled to the east well after Gongpa Rabsal's time.

531. The three disciples (*mkhan bu*) are named in the sources as Sādhupāla, Guṇapāla, and Prajñāpāla (Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.brang According to mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, 232). Dharmapāla is associated with Kashmir, and his Vinaya transmission is referred to as “Khache Luk” (*kba che lugs*) in the next sentence, but Gö Lotsāwa, (*The Blue Annals*, 1062), on which the author seems to rely here, states that he came from eastern India.
532. Akester, *Guide to Central Tibet*, 286, 410, 497.
533. Unidentified.
534. Karmapa Rangjung Dorje’s supplement to the *Jātakamālā* is entitled *ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa’i skyes rabs phreng bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa’ bo’i ste phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa’i drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. See Kapstein, “The *Jātakamālā* of Āryasūra with the Supplement of the Third Rgyal dbang Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje.”
535. Yongzin Yeshe Gyaltzen’s (yongs ’dzin ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1713–1793) *skyes rabs so bzhi pa’i don rnam par bshad pa theg chen gsal ba’i sgron me* takes up the first three volumes of his Collected Works.
536. The note reads “spang los ston sogs,” which is a copy error. Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa’s (dpang lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa, 1276–1342) commentary on the *byang chub sems dpa’i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi ’khri shing* by Kṣemendra was known as “the black annotations” (*nag mchan*), and a later commentary by Sotön Jigme Dragpa (so ston ’jigs med grags pa, fourteenth century?) was known as “the red annotations” (*dmar mchan*). See Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga’-bsod-nams*, 219).
537. The *thub pa’i dbang po ’phags pa gnas brtan bcu drug dang bcas pa’i rtogs pa brjod pa rgyal bstan rin po che’i mdzes rgyan phul byung gser gyi phreng ba* of Yongzin Yeshe Gyaltzen is in volume eleven of his Collected Works.
538. Tāranātha, *dam pa’i chos rin po che ’phags pa’i yul du ji ltar dar ba’i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos ’dod kun ’byung*. For an English translation, see Chattopadhyaya, *Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India*.
539. Tāranātha, *bka’ bab bdun ldan gyi brgyud pa’i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba rin po che’i khungs lta bu’i gtam*. For an English translation, see Templeman, *The Seven Instruction Lineages*.
540. Gung Gönpo Kyab (gung mgon po skyabs), *rgya nag gi yul du dam pa’i chos dar tshul gtso bor bshad pa blo gsal kun tu dga’ ba’i rna rgyan*. The Derge edition was prepared by Khyentse Wangpo. <https://treasuryoflives.org/zh/biographies/view/mgon-po-skyabs/7473>
541. Tsalpa Kunga Dorje (tshal pa kun dga’ rdo rje), *deb ther dmar po*.
542. The classic Tibetan chronicle *rgyal rabs gsal ba’i me long* has been attributed to Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen, although there is little evidence for this, and the Fifth Dalai Lama attributed it to Könyer Pön Legpe Sherab (dkon gnyer dpon legs pa’i shes rab) in his *lha ldan gtug lag khang gi dkar chag shel dkar me long* (13). For an English translation, see Sørensen, *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*.
543. Fifth Dalai Lama, *rdzogs ldan gzhon nu’i dga’ ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo’i glu dbyangs*.

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GLOSSARY

abbot

མཁན་པོ། • *mkhan po*

Khenpo. Abbot of a monastery; preceptor; scholar.

ābhāsvaradeva

འོད་གསལ་ལ་ལྷ། • *'od gsal lha* • ābhāsvaradeva

The celestial beings considered the progenitors of the Khön clan.

Accomplishing the Life Force of the Vidyādhara

རིག་འཛིན་སྲོག་སྐྱབ། • *rig 'dzin srog sgrub*

A cycle of teachings revealed by Lhatsun Namkha Jigme (lha btsun nam mkha' 'jigs med, 1597–1653) from a pure vision while meditating in the Cave of the Heart of the Deity to the north of Drakar Tashiding in Sikkim. The cycle includes the famous practice of *Riwo Sangchö*.

Arapacana

ཨ་ར་པ་ཅ་ན་རྗེ། • *a ra pa tsa na d+bIH*

An abbreviation that serves as the name of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's mantra, OM A RA PA CA NA DHĪḤ.

Āryāvarta

འཕགས་ཡུལ། • *'phags yul* • āryāvarta

“The noble land,” a customary praise for India.

Assembly of All the Sugatas

བདེ་གཤེགས་ཀུན་འདུས། • *bde gshegs kun 'dus*

A terma revealed by Terdak Lingpa (gter bdag gling pa 'gyur med rdo rje, 1646–1714).

Assembly of Sugatas

བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་བདེ་གཤེགས་འདུས་པ། • *bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*

A treasure revelation of Nyangral Nyima Özer (nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192).

Atiśa

ཨ་ཏི་ཤ། • *a ti sha* • atīśa

Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (982–1054), revered monk scholar at Vikramaśīla, spent the last nine years of his life in Tibet, where he led a revival of Buddhist monasticism.

Black Hundred-Thousand-Word Commentary on Kīla

ཕུར་འགྲེལ་འབྲུམ་ནག། • *phur 'grel 'bum nag*

The seminal commentary on Vajrakīlaya written by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Śīlamañju.

Bodhicaryāvatāra

བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སློབ་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པ། • *byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa* •

bodhicaryāvatāra

Śāntideva's *Entering the Way of the Bodhisattva*.

bodhicittopāda

བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པ། • *byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa* • bodhicittopāda

The rite for generating bodhicitta. In Tibet there were considered to be two distinct traditions, corresponding with Yogācāra and Madhyamaka.

Bodhipathapradīpa

བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་སྒྲོན། • *byang chub lam sgron* • *bodhipathapradīpa*

Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Awakening*, which laid the foundation for the Stages of the Path (*lam rim*) tradition.

Bodhisattvabhūmi

བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མཉམ་པ། • *byang chub sems dpa'i sa* • *bodhisattvabhūmi*

Stages of the Bodhisattva Path is a treatise on the training of the bodhisattva attributed to Asaṅga. It is included as a chapter within the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*.

Bökhawra Maitri Döndrub Gyaltzen

བོད་མཁར་བ་མི་ཏི་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *bod mkhar ba mai tri don grub rgyal mtshan*

Bökhawra Maitri Döndrub Gyaltzen (1527–1587), a chief disciple of Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso.

Book of the Kadampa

བཀའ་གདམས་སྒྲིགས་བམ། • *bka'gdams glegs bam*

The *Book of the Kadampa* is the collection of oral transmissions of Atiśa (“the father”) and his main disciple, Dromtön Gyalwe Jungne (“the son”) (’brom ston rgyal ba’i ’byung gnas, 1004–1064).

Bum Rabjampa Jampa Chökyi Döndrub

འབྲུམ་རབ་འབྲུམ་པ་བྱམས་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དོན་གྲུབ། • *'bum rab 'byams pa byams pa chos kyi don grub*

Bum Rabjampa (1433–1504), also known as Pañchen Bumdrak Sumpa (paN chen 'bum phrag gsum pa), was a disciple of Jamchen Rabjampa and founder of Nyenyö Jagöshong Monastery (mnyan yod bya rgod gshongs)

Chushul

ཅུ་ཤུལ། • *chu shul*

A district southwest of Lhasa.

Collected Nyingma Tantras

ཆིང་མ་རྒྱུད་འབུམ། • *rnying ma rgyud 'bum*

The Hundred Thousand Tantras of the Old School. A collection of the Nyingma Mahā, Anu, and Atiyoga tantras gathered by Ratna Lingpa (rat+na gling pa, 1403–1479) and edited by Jigme Lingpa ('jigs med gling pa, 1729–1798).

Collected Quintessence

ཡང་སྟིང་འདུས་པ། • *yang snying 'dus pa*

A terma revealed by Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212–1270).

Collected Sayings of the Kadampa Masters

བཀའ་གདམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་སུ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གསུང་བཤོས་ཐོར་བ། • *bka' gdams kyi skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi gsung bgras thor bu*

A collection of sayings of masters from the Kadam tradition, edited by the eleventh-century teachers Chegom Sherab Dorje (lce sgom shes rab rdo rje) and Kharak Gomchung Wangchuk Lodrö (kha rag sgom chung dbang phyug blo gros).

Commentary on the Upper Cakrasaṃvara Tantra

བདེ་མཚོག་སྟོང་འབྲེལ། • *bde mchog stod 'grel*

The *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*. Traditionally, the extant version of the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra* is regarded as the “follow-up tantra” to a much larger original text.

Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen

བདག་ཚེན་ལྷོ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan*

Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen (bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1444–1495) was the Twenty-First Sakya Trizin, from 1472 to 1495 and a key figure in the Lamdre transmission.

Damchen Chögyal

དམ་ཅན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ། • *dam can chos rgyal*

Damchen Chögyal, also known as Kālarūpa, is the main protector of the Geluk tradition.

Damchen Garwa Nagpo

དམ་ཅན་མགར་བ་ནག་པོ། • *dam can mgar ba nag po*

The red “oath-bound blacksmith/goat rider,” a form of Dorje Legpa/ Vajrasādhu, a protector of the Dzogchen teachings.

Dampa Deshek

དམ་པ་བདེ་གཤེགས་ཤེས་རབ་སེང་གེ། • *dam pa bde gshegs shes rab seng ge*

Dampa Deshek Sherab Senge (dam pa bde gshegs shes rab seng ge, 1122–1192) was a master of the transmitted teachings (bka' ma) of the Nyingma tradition and founder of Katok Monastery (kaH thog dgon).

Daṇḍadevī sisters

ལྷ་མོ་དབྱུ་གུ་སྤུན་གསུམ། • *lha mo dbyu gu spun gsum*

A group of wealth deities.

Dawa Gyaltsen

ལྷོ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *zla ba rgyal mtshan*

Jangsem Dawa Gyaltsen (byang sems zla ba rgyal mtshan) was active in the early twelfth century, a master of the practice of Avalokiteśvara influential in Sakya's early history.

denrab

གདན་རབས། • *gdan rabs*

A history of monastic succession.

Direct Instruction Series

མན་ངག་སྒྲེ། • *man ngag sde* • upadeśavarga

One of the three categories into which Mañjuśrīmitra divided the Dzogchen teachings he received from Garab Dorje.

Divine Drumbeat

བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སློང་པོ་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་སྡེ་སྡོད་རྫོང་ཐེག་པ་སྲ་འགྱུར་རྒྱུད་འབྲམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་ལྟའི་རྩ་བོ་ཆེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གཏམ། • *bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa thams cad kyi snying po rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod rdo rje theg pa snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa lba'i rnga bo che lta bu'i gtam*

A detailed history of the Nyingma tantras in two volumes by Gyurme Tsewang Chogdrub ('gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub, 1761–1829). The work includes a catalog of the Collected Nyingma Tantras (Nyingma Gyubum).

Dorje Drak Pema Trinle

རྫོང་བྲག་པདྨ་འཕྲིན་ལས། • *rdo rje brag pad+ma 'phrin las*

Rigdzin Pema Trinle (rig 'dzin pad+ma 'phrin las, 1641–1717) was the fourth and most celebrated Rigdzin (rdo rje brag rig 'dzin) of the Northern Treasure (byang gter) tradition.

Dratsang Yönten Gyatso

གྲལ་ཚང་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། • *grwa tshang yon tan rgya mtsho*

Yönten Gyatso was the third successor of Chogpa Jangchub Palden (lcog pa byang chub dpal ldan, 1404–1464)—the founder of Deyang College—and the first of the Dratsang (grwa tshang) incarnation lineage.

Drigung Rinchen Puntsok

འབྲི་གུང་རིན་ཆེན་ཕུན་ཚོགས། • *'bri gung rin chen phun tshogs*

Chögyal Rinchen Puntsok (chos rgyal rin chen phun tshogs, 1509–1557) was the seventeenth throne holder of Drigung Monastery ('bri gung dgon) and leading exponent of the Nyingma tradition.

Drukpa Ngawang Namgyal

འབྲུག་པ་ལྷན་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། • *'brug pa ngag dbang rnam rgyal*

Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal (zhabs drung ngag dbang rnam rgyal, 1594–1651), founder of the Southern Drukpa school and the state of Bhutan.

drungpa

བླུང་པ། • *drung pa*

An official title at Katok Monastery, meaning “institutional head.”

Dumpopa

ལུམ་པོ་པ། • *ldum po pa*

Dumbu Döndrub Wangyal (ldum bu don grub dbang rgyal) of Dranang (grwa nang), master of the Pugpa school of astrology (phug lugs), teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Durjayacandra

མི་ཐུབ་ཟླ་བ། • *mi thub zla ba* • durjayacandra

Indian tantric commentator, late tenth century, disciple of Ḍombi Heruka, associated with Vikramaśīla.

Dzongpa Kunga Gyaltzen

རྫོང་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *rdzong pa kun dga' rgyal mtshan*

Dzongpa Kunga Gyaltzen (1382–1436) was a Sakya lama, disciple of Tegchen Chöje (the chen chos rje kun dga' bkra shis 1349-1425), and founder of the Dzongluk tradition (sa skya rdzong lugs).

Eight Heruka Sādhanas

སྐུབ་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད། • *sgrub pa bka' brgyad*

The eight chief yidam deities of Mahāyoga and their corresponding tantras and sādhanas, which were entrusted to Padmasambhava and to the eight vidyādhara of India.

Eight Sessions

ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བློ་སྦྱོང་གླུ་བརྒྱུད་མ། • *theg pa chen po'i blo sbyong thun brgyad ma*

The Eight Session Mind Training by the Kadampa master Khamlungpa (dge bshes kham lung pa shAkya yon tan 1025–1115).

Eight Verses

བློ་སྦྱོང་ཚིག་བརྒྱུད་མ། • *blo sbyong tshig brgyad ma*

The Eight Verses on Mind Training by the Kadampa master Langri Tangpa (glang ri thang pa rdo rje seng ge, 1054–1123).

expulsion rite

གཏོར་ཚྭ། • *gtor zlog*

Ritual exorcism using a tormā.

Fierce Black Lady

ཁྲོས་མ་ནག་མོ། • *kbros ma nag mo* • Krodhakālī, Krodhikālī

The Fierce Black Lady (*Trōma Nagmo*) represents the feminine embodiment of wisdom and is the most profound aspect of the ḍākinī practice in multiple traditions.

Fifth Dalai Lama

ཏཱ་ལའི་བླ་མ་འཕྲ། • *tA la'i bla ma 05*

The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682), became head of the national Ganden Podrang government established with Mongol backing in 1642, and one of Tibet's most influential scholar-statesmen.

Four-Part Heart-Essence

མྱིང་བྲིག་ཡ་བཞི། • *snying thig ya bzhi*

The famous collection of Dzogchen scriptures compiled by Longchenpa to condense the two primary lineages of Dzogchen practice in Tibet, those of Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra.

Further Repulsion

ཡང་ལློག། • *yang zlog*

A repelling or exorcism rite of Yamāntaka that was revealed by Gya Zhangtrom (gter ston rgya zhang khrom) and is popular in the Drigung tradition.

Gampopa Sönam Rinchen

སྐམ་པོ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན། • *sgam po pa bsod nams rin chen*

Gampopa (1070–1153) was one of the main disciples of Milarepa (mi la ras pa, 1040–1123), the founder of Daglha Gampo Monastery (dwags lha sgam po), and guru of the founders of the first Kagyu orders. He is referred to as Dagpo Lharje (dwags po lha rje) because he was a doctor before entering the religious life.

Ganden Monastery

དགའ་ལྷན། • *dga'ldan*

Ganden Monastery, or Genden Nampar Gyalwe Ling (ri bo dge ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i gling), was founded by Tsongkhapa in 1409 on a hilltop named Drok Riwo ('brog ri bo). It is one of the three main Geluk monasteries near Lhasa known as the “three seats.”

Ganden Ngamchö

དགའ་ལྷན་ལྷ་ས་ཚོད། • *dga'ldan lnga mchod*

The offerings on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth lunar month to commemorate Tsongkhapa's passing.

Gartar

མི་ཉག་མགར་ཐར། • *mi nyag mgar thar*

Gartar, a strategically positioned town in the Minyak region of eastern Kham was chosen by the Qing court in 1729 as the site for a monastery to accommodate the Seventh Dalai Lama, who had been exiled from Lhasa, but still enjoyed the emperor's patronage. The monastery came to be seen as a stronghold of Qing-Geluk influence in the region.

Getse Troshul Pöntsang

དགེ་རྩེ་ཁོ་ཤུལ་དཔོན་ཚང། • *dge rtse khro shul dpon tshang*

The family or household of the chief of the Troshul pastoral community in the Getse region of Dzachukha (rdza chu kha).

Gongra Lo Chen Zhenpen Dorje

གོང་ར་ལོ་ཆེན་གཙན་ཕན་རྡོ་རྗེ། • *gong ra lo chen gzhan phan rdo rje*

Lo Chen Zhenpen Dorje (1594–1654) of the Gongra hermitage in Tsang Rong was Sogdogpa's disciple, and became one of the great Nyingma scholars of his day.

Gongsumpa Dechen Chökyi Palwa

གོང་གསུམ་པ་བདེ་ཆེན་ཚེས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་བ། • *gong gsum pa bde chen chos kyi dpal ba*

Gongsum Dechenpa (gong gsum bde chen pa) is said to have excelled Butön (bu ston, 1290–1364), his contemporary and teacher, in the study of the *Kālacakratantra*. He founded the Gongsum monastery at Norbu Khyungtse (nor bu khyung rtse) in the Nyang valley in Tsang in the mid-fourteenth century.

Gönsarpa Sönam Chöpel

དགོན་གསར་པ་བསོད་ནམས་ཚེས་འཕེལ། • *dgon gsar pa bsod nams chos 'phel*

Trolungpa/Tarawa/Gönsarpa/Ngagchang Sönam Chöpel (spro lung pa/rta ra ba/dgon gsar pa/sngags 'chang bsod nams chos 'phel, 1527–1603), disciple of Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk, Lamdre master and teacher.

Göntang Bumpa

དགོན་ཐང་འབུམ་པ། • *dgon thang 'bum pa*

One of three famous stūpas in the Yarlung valley in Central Tibet.

Gorampa Sönam Senge

གོ་རམས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་སེང་གེ • *go rams pa bsod nams seng ge*

Gorampa Sönam Senge (go bo rab 'byams pa bsod nams seng ge 1429–1489), grandmaster of philosophical studies in the Sakya tradition, prolific teacher and author. Founded Tubten Namgyal Monastery in the Tanak valley in Tsang.

Götsangpa

རྫོང་ཚང་པ། • *rgod tshang pa*

Götsangpa Gönpö Dorje (rgod tshang pa mgon po rdo rje, 1189–1258) was disciple of Tsangpa Gyare and founder of the Upper Drukpa Kagyu tradition.

Great History of the Kadampa Tradition

བཀའ་གདམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་བཀའ་གདམས་ཚེས་འབྱུང་གསལ་བའི་སྐོན་མེ། • *bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*

Lé Chen Kunga Gyaltsen's (las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1432–1506) authoritative history of the Kadampa tradition.

Gungru Gyaltsen Zangpo

གུང་རུ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོ། • *gung ru rgyal mtshan bzang po*

Tsungme Chöje Gyaltsen Zangpo (mtshungs med chos rje rgyal mtshan bzang po, 1383–1450) of Gungru (gung ru) in Kham, the third abbot of Sera Monastery.

Gungtang Jampeyang Tri Gungtangpa

གུང་ཐང་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱེར་སའི་གུང་ཐང་པ། • *gung thang 'jam dpal dbyangskhri gung thang pa*

The Third Gungtang Könchok Tenpe Drönme (gung thang 03 dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, 1762–1823) was one of the most influential lamas of his time, as throne holder of Labrang monastery and author of a variety of scholarly and popular works.

Guru's Essential Intent

བླ་མ་དགོངས་འདུས། • *bla ma dgongs 'dus*

A cycle of practices revealed as a terma by Sangye Lingpa (sangsyé gling pa, 1340–1396).

Guru's Inner Essence

ལྷ་མ་ཡང་ཏིག། • *bla ma yang tig*

Longchenpa's commentary on the Heart-Essence of Vimalamitra (*Vima Nyingtik*), included in his Four-Part Heart-Essence (*Nyingtik Yabzhi*) collection of Dzogchen scriptures.

Gyagar Sherab Gyaltzen

རྒྱ་གར་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *rgya gar shes rab rgyal mtshan*

Gyagar Sherab Gyaltzen (1436–1494) was the twentieth Sakya throne holder, and elder brother of Dag Chen Lodrö Gyaltzen. He was known as a Mahākāla master, and for his travels in eastern Tibet, where he founded Döndrub Ling Monastery in Kham Jyekundo.

Gyalpo Kabum

རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་འབུམ། • *rgyal po'i bka' 'bum*

The Collected Works of the King, more commonly known as the *Mañi Kabum*. A collection of teachings and practices focused on Avalokiteśvara, attributed to King Songtsen Gampo (srong btsan sgam po, ca. 605–650) and said to have been revealed as a treasure teaching by three different masters: Drubtob Ngödrub (grub thob dngos grub, mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century), Nyangral Nyima Özer (nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192), and Śākya Zangpo (gter ston shAkya bzang po, late-twelfth to early-thirteenth century).

Gyalse Togme

རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཐོགས་མེད། • *rgyal sras thogs med*

Gyalse Togme Zangpo (rgyal sras thogs med bzang po, 1295–1369) was a learned monk and master of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* famous for his renunciation. He was the author of the famous *Thirty-Seven Practices of the Bodhisattva*.

Gyaltangpa

རྒྱལ་ཐང་པ། • *rgyal thang pa*

Gyaltangpa Samten Özer (rgyal thang pa bsam gtan 'od zer), originator of a revelatory lineage (*nye brgyud*) of the Chö teachings, lived in the fifteenth century.

Gyaltsab Je Darma Rinchen

རྒྱལ་ཚབ་རྗེ་དར་མ་རིན་ཆེན། • *rgyal tshab rje dar ma rin chen*

Darma Rinchen (1364–1432), commonly referred to as Gyaltsab Je, was one of Tsongkhapa's main disciples.

Gyalwa Lo Repa

རྒྱལ་བ་ལོ་རས་པ། • *rgyal ba lo ras pa*

Gyalwa Lo Repa Wangchuk Tsöndru (rgyal ba lo ras pa dbang phyug brtson 'grus, 1187–1250) was a disciple of Tsangpa Gyare and founder of the Lower Drukpa Kagyu tradition.

Gyalwa Tené

རྒྱལ་བ་ཏེན་ནེ། • *rgyal ba ten ne*

Gyalwa Tené (1127–1217) of Yarlung was a great Zhije (zhi byed) master and lineage holder, disciple of Patsab Gompa (pa tshab sgom pa) and teacher of Rok Sherab Ö (rog shes rab 'od).

Gyijang Lotsāwa

གྱི་ལྷ་འོ་ལྷ་བ། • *gyi ljang lo tsA ba*

Gyijang Lotsāwa, known as U Karwa (dbu dkar ba, “the white-headed”), was one of five disciples of Drogmi Lotsāwa who received all his teachings on the tantras. The Mahākāla teachings he received from Lalitavajra in India were among those transmitted by Mal Lotsāwa to Sa Chen.

Gyu Mé

རྒྱུད་སྐད་གྲུ་ཚང་། • *rgyud smad grwa tshang*

The Lower Tantric college of the Geluk tradition in Lhasa

Gyurme Tutob Namgyal

འགྲུར་མེད་མཐུ་སྐྱེད་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། • *'gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal*

Shechen Öntrul Gyurme Tutob Namgyal (zhe chen dbon sprul 'gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal, 1787–1855), disciple of Getse Paṇḍita ('gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub), he too earned the title “mahāpaṇḍita” for his learning in the five sciences (rig gnas lnga), and was a mentor of both Khyentse Wangpo and Jamgön Kongtrul in their youth.

Heart-Essence of the Ḍākinī

མཁའ་འགྲོ་སྦྱིང་བེག། • *mkha' 'gro snying thig*

Padmasambhava entrusted the Heart-Essence of the Ḍākinī (Khandro Nyingtik) to Princess Pema Sal, daughter of King Trisong Deutsen. The teachings were later revealed as a treasure by Pema Ledrel Tsal (pad ma las 'brel rtsal, 1291–1315). They form one section of the Four-Part Heart-Essence (Nyingtik Yabzhi) collection of Dzogchen scriptures.

Heart-Essence of the Great Perfection

རྫོགས་ཆེན་སྦྱིང་བེག། • *rdzogs chen snying thig*

A reference to the Four-Part Heart-Essence (Nyingtik Yabzhi) collection of Dzogchen scriptures compiled by Longchenpa.

Heart-Essence of the Vast Expanse

ཀློང་ཆེན་སྦྱིང་བེག། • *klong chen snying thig*

The Longchen Nyingtik, a Nyingma cycle of teachings and practices revealed by Jigme Lingpa ('jigs med gling pa, 1729–1798) as a mind treasure.

Heart-Essence of Vimalamitra

བི་མ་སྦྱིང་བེག། • *bi ma snying thig*

The Heart-Essence of Vimalamitra, or Vima Nyingtik teachings, brought to Tibet by Vimalamitra, form one section of the Four-Part Heart-Essence (Nyingtik Yabzhi) collection of Dzogchen scriptures.

Heart-Essence of Yutok Yönten Gönpo

གཡུ་ཐོག་སྦྱིང་བེག། • *g.yu thog snying thig*

The main tantric practice cycle associated with Tibetan medicine, transmitted by Yutok Yonten Gönpo (g.yu thog gsar ma yon tan mgon po, 1126–1202).

Heartdrop of the Vidyādhara

རིག་འཛིན་གླགས་ཐིག ་ *rig 'dzin thugs thig*

A treasure revealed by Terdak Lingpa (gter bdag gling pa, 1646–1714) when he was eighteen years old.

Hundred Minor Teachings

ཚོས་ཚུང་བརྒྱ་ཙ། ་ *chos chung brgya rtsa*

The Hundred Minor Teachings collection attributed to Atiśa makes up the final section of the Tengyur (bstan 'gyur) in many editions.

Hundred Sādhanas of Nartang

སྣར་ཐང་བརྒྱ་ཙ། ་ *snar thang brgya rtsa*

The Hundred Sādhanas of Nartang is a collection of the empowerments and sādhanas transmitted by Atiśa in Tibet, thought to be compiled by the monastery's sixth throne holder, Chim Namkha Drak (mchims nam mkha' grags, 1210–1285).

Inner Essence of the Dākinī

མཎའ་འགྲོ་ཡང་ཏིག ་ *mkha' 'gro yang tig*

Longchenpa's commentary on the Heart-Essence of the Dākinī (Khandro Nyingtik), included in his Four-Part Heart-Essence (Nyingtik Yabzhi) collection of Dzogchen scriptures.

Instructions on the Essence of the Liberating Path

ལམ་གྱི་སྣོད་པོའི་དོན་ཁྲིད། ་ *lam gyi snying po'i don kbrid*

Longchenpa's explanation of the *Māyājāla* Tantra

Iron-Maned Black Hayagrīva

རྟ་མགྲིན་ནག་པོ་ལྷགས་རལ་ཅན། ་ *rta mgrin nag po lcags ral can*

A revelation of Nyangral Nyima Özer (nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192).

Jamchen Rabjampa Sangye Pel

བྱམས་ཆེན་རབ་འབྱམས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་འཕེལ། ་ *byams chen rab 'byams pa sangs rgyas 'phel*

Jamchen Rabjampa Sangye Pel (1411–1485), a disciple of Rongtönpa, founded Dreyul Kyitsal, an important Sakyapa monastery during the Rinjung era.

Jampa Bum

བྱམས་པ་འབྲམ། ་ *byams pa 'bum*

Jampa Bum (1179–1252) was the second throne holder of Katok Monastery (kaH thog dgon).

Jamyang Chökyi Dragpa

འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ། ་ *'jam dbyangs chos kyi grags pa*

Jamyang Chökyi Dragpa (1478–1523), the third Druk Chen ('brug chen) incarnation, was the son of Nangso Tashi Dargye (nang so bkra shis dar rgyas), ruler of the Jar principality (byar khri skor), and patron of the Kagyupa.

Jamyang Dewe Dorje

འཇམ་དབྱངས་བདེ་བའི་རྫོན། • *'jam dbyangs bde ba'i rdo rje*

Jamyang Dewe Dorje (1682–1741) was a tantric master and author in both Geluk and Sakya traditions.

Jamyang Kunga Chözang

འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཀུན་དགའ་ཚེས་བཟང། • *'jam dbyangs kun dga' chos bzang*

Jamyang Kunga Chözang (1433–1503) was a student of Jamchen Rabjampa and Gorampa.

Jamyang Kunga Drölchok

འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཀུན་དགའ་གྲོལ་མཚོག། • *'jam dbyangs kun dga' grol mchog*

Jonang Jetsun Kunga Drölchok (jo nang rje btsun kun dga' grol mchog, 1507–1566) of Mustang was a non-sectarian master of the Ngorpa, Shangpa, and Jonang traditions. Founded the Chölung Jangtse hermitage monastery near Jonang.

Jamyang Zhepa Ngawang Tsöndru

འཇམ་དབྱངས་བཞད་པ། • *'jam dbyangs bzhad pa*

Ngawang Tsöndru ('jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje ngag dbang brtson 'grus, 1648–1722), first of the Jamyang Zhepa ('jam dbyangs bzhad pa) incarnations and founder of Labrang Tashi Khyil Monastery (bla brang bkra shis 'khyil) in Amdo.

Jang Yul

འཇང་ས་ཐམ། • *'jang sa tham*

Modern day Lijiang, capital of the erstwhile Naaxi kingdom, now in Yunnan Province, China.

Jangchub Bum

བྱང་ཚུབ་འབུམ། • *byang chub 'bum*

Kunkhyen Jangchub Bumpa (kun mkhyen byang chub 'bum pa) of Markham (smar khams), a disciple of Tsongkhapa and Gungru Gyaltzen Zangpo, founded the Mé Dratsang (smad grwa tshang) at Sera Monastery in 1421.

Jangdak Ngakgi Wangpo

བྱང་བདག་རག་གི་དབང་པོ། • *byang bdag ngag gi dbang po*

Rigdzin Ngakgi Wangpo (1580–1693), the founder of Dorje Drak Monastery (rdo rje brag). He was the son and successor of Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal (byang bdag bkra shis stobs rgyal, (1547–1602) who re-established the Northern Treasure tradition in Ü after the fall of the Latö Jang kingdom.

Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal

བྱང་བདག་བཀ་ཤིས་སྟོབས་རྒྱལ། • *byang bdag bkra shis stobs rgyal*

Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal Wangpo Dé (byang bdag bkra shis stobs rgyal dbang po'i sde, 1547–1602), the deposed heir to the Latö Jang kingdom was a Northern Treasure master recognized by Rigdzin Legden Dorje (rig 'dzin legs ldan rdo rje, 1452–1564) as the reincarnation of his brother Ngari Pañchen Pema Wangyal (mnga' ris paN chen pad+ma dbang rgyal, 1487–1542).

Jātakamālā

སྐྱེས་པའི་རབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད། • *skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* • *jātakamālā*

Garland of Birth-Stories. Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, which dates to around the second century CE, presents thirty-four stories of the Buddha's past lives.

Jetāri

རྗོ་རྩི། • *dze tA ri* • jetāri

Mahāsiddha of late Pala Bengal, teacher of Atiśa. His title means “the conqueror.”

Jetsun Chökyi Gyaltsen

རྗེ་བཙུན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan*

Jetsun Chökyi Gyaltsen (1469–1544) of Nyangtö (nyang stod) in Tsang, the twelfth abbot of Sera, and author of philosophy textbooks that are still taught there.

Jetsun Tāranātha Kunga Nyingpo

རྗེ་བཙུན་ཏཱ་ར་རྒྱ་མ་གུན་དགའ་སྦྱིང་པོ། • *rje btsun tA ra nA tha kun dga' snying po*

Tāranātha (1575–1634) was the rebirth of Kunga Drölchok, prolific scholar and author, noted Indophile, and founder of Tagten Puntsok Ling Monastery at Jonang.

Jewel Ocean

སླ་མ་ནོར་བུ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། • *bla ma nor bu rgya mtsho*

A guru yoga revelation of Pema Lingpa (pad+ma gling pa, 1450–1521).

Jigme Lingpa

རིག་འཛིན་འཇིགས་མེད་གླིང་པ། • *rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pa*

Jigme Lingpa (1730–1798) was a grandmaster of the later Nyingma tradition, emanation of Longchenpa and revealer of the Longchen Nyingtik.

Jonang Chogle Namgyal

རྗོ་ནང་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། • *jo nang phyogs las rnam rgyal*

Jonang Chogle Namgyal (1306–1386), from Tö Ngari (stod mnga' ris), was Dölpopa's disciple and successor.

kalyāṇamitra

དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན། • *dge ba'i bshes gnyen* • kalyāṇamitra

“Virtuous friend,” or spiritual teacher.

Kam Yeshe Gyaltsen

སྐམ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *skam ye shes rgyal mtshan*

Kam Yeshe Gyaltsen was a disciple of Drapa Ngönshe and Padampa Sangye and originator of one of the three “middle transmissions” of the Zhije teachings.

Kama

རྗོང་མ་བཀའ་མ། • *rnying ma bka' ma*

The “transmitted” teachings of the Nyingma tradition (as opposed to the “revealed” teachings, *gter ma*), passed down from Nubchen Sangye Yeshe and his disciples.

Kangyurwa Gönpö Sönam Chogden

བཀའ་འགྱུར་བ་མགོན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་ལྷན། • *bka' 'gyur ba mgon po bsod nams mchog ldan*

Kangyurwa Gönpö Sönam Chogden (1603–1659) was the reincarnation of Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso and a teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Karma Ngedön Tenpel

དབོན་ཀླན་ཀམ་རིས་དོན་བསྟན་འཕེལ། • *dbon rgan karma nges don bstan 'phel*

Öngen Tulku Karma Ngedön Tegchok Tenpel (dbon rgan sprul sku karma nges don theg mchog bstan 'phel, d. 1842), reincarnation of Situ Pañchen's nephew Karma Samten, was the young Jamgön Kongtrul's mentor at Palpung.

Karma Rinchen

ཀམ་རིན་ཚེན། • *karma rin chen*

Karma Rinchen, a.k.a. Ngedön Tenzin Trinle (nges don bstan 'dzin 'phrin las, b. 1770), was recognized as the rebirth of Situ Pañchen's nephew Karma Ngelek Tenzin (karma nges legs bstan 'dzin) and throne holder of Satsa Monastery. He was a medical scholar and author of the *Necklace of Immortal Jewels* ('*chi med nor phreng*) compendium.

Karma Sampel

ཀམ་བསམ་འཕེལ། • *karma bsam 'phel*

Karma Sampel was Situ Pañchen's nephew and was regarded as the rebirth of the Katok throne holder Longsal Nyingpo (klong gsal snying po, d. 1692). He died at the age of twenty-two.

Khamtrul Chökyi Nyima

ཁམས་སྤུལ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ། • *khams sprul chos kyi nyi ma*

The Fourth Khamtrul, Tenzin Chökyi Nyima (khams sprul 04 bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma, 1730–1779), heart disciple of Situ Panchen, known for his commentary on the *Kāvyaḍarśa*.

khangtsen

ཁང་ཚན། • *khang tshan*

Residential divisions within a monastery, often with regional affiliations.

Khedrub Tendar

མཁའ་གྲུབ་བསྟན་དར། • *mkhas grub bstan dar*

Khedrub Tenpa Darzang (mkhas grub bstan pa dar bzang) was Shantipa Lodrö Gyaltzen's disciple and the founder, in 1541, of Ngari Dratsang (mnga' ris grwa tshang).

Khenchen Labsum Gyaltzen

མཁན་ཚེན་བསྐབ་གཤམ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *mkhan chen bslab gsum rgyal mtshan*

Khenchen Labsum Gyaltzen (1526–1577) was a chief disciple of Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso, associated with Dingma Monastery (sdings ma dgon) in Tsang Uyuk.

Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak

མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་ཚེས་གྲགས། • *mkhan chen ngag dbang chos grags*

Khenchen Ngawang Chödrak (1572–1641) was a prominent scholar and master of the Lamdre Lobshe lineage, and a teacher of Jamgön Amé Zhab. He was granted the Samdrub Monastery (bsam ’grub dgon) in Mangkhar by his patrons, the lords of Dar.

Khöntön Paljor Lhundrub of Pabongkha

འཕོན་རྫོན་དཔལ་འབྱེར་ལྷན་གྲུབ། • *’khon ston dpal ’byor lhun grub*

Khöntön Paljor Lhundrub (1561–1637) of the Khön family was a lineage holder in both the Nyingma and Geluk traditions, as well as a student of Jonang and Kagyu masters. He was the fifteenth abbot of Sera Jé (se ra byes) and a long-time resident of the nearby Pabongkha Hermitage (pha bong kha).

Khotan

ལི་ཡུལ། • *li yul*

A kingdom in the southwestern Tarim basin and an important center of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the first millennium, C.E. Now in Xinjiang Province, China.

Khyabdak Nesarpa

ལྷབ་བདག་གནས་གསར་པ། • *khyab bdag gnas gsar pa*

Nesar Ngawang Kunga Legpe Jungne (gnas gsar ngag dbang kun dga’ legs pa’i ’byung gnas, 1704–1760) was the reincarnation of Kangyurwa, Tsarpa lineage holder and teacher of Sakya Dag Chen Kunga Lodrö.

Khyentse Wangchuk

མཁྱེན་བརྗེ་འི་དབང་ཕྱུག། • *mkhyen brtse’i dbang phyug*

Nesar Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk (gnas gsar ’jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang phyug, 1524–1568) was a chief disciple of Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso, key figure in the Lamdre transmission, and fourteenth abbot of Shalu Monastery.

Khyungpo Lhepa Zhönu Sönam

ལྷུང་པོ་ལྷམ་པ་གཞོན་རྒྱ་བསོད་ནམས། • *khyung po lhas pa gzhon nu bsod nams*

Khyungpo Lhepa Zhönu Sönam was Butön’s (bu ston, 1290–1364) foremost student in the *Gubyasamājantra*.

Khyungtruk Jampa Tashi

ལྷུང་ཕྱུག་བྱམས་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས། • *khyung phrug byams pa bkra shis*

Khyungtruk Jampa Tashi of Tanak Khyungpo Tsé (rta nag khyung po rtse) was the fourth abbot of Tösam Ling. He was a disciple of Sera Jetsun Chökyi Gyaltsen (se ra rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1469–1544) and is known for his textbooks on Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā.

Kongpo

ཀོང་པོ། • *kong po*

A region in southeastern Tibet bordering the eastern Himalaya.

Kyergangpa

ལྷོ་སྐང་པ། • *skyer sgang pa*

Öntön Kyergangpa Chökyi Senge (dbon ston skyer sgang pa chos kyi seng ge, 1154–1217) was Mogchokpa's successor in the Shangpa Kagyu lineage, and author of a popular Avalokiteśvara practice.

Kyishö Tulku Tenzin Trinle

སྐྱིད་ཤོད་སྤུལ་སྐྱེ་བ་སྤྲན་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལམ། • *skyid shod sprul sku bstan 'dzin'phrin las*

The Second Kyishö Tulku Dewa Chöje Ngawang Tenzin Trinle (skyid shod sprul sku sde ba chos rje ngag dbang bstan 'dzin'phrin las, 1639–1682).

Kyo

སྐྱོ། • *skyo*

Kyotön Önjung (skyo ston 'od 'byung, 1126?–1200?)

Lama Zhang

བླ་མ་ཙང་། • *bla ma zhang*

Lama Zhang Tsöndru Dragpa (bla ma zhang brtson 'grus grags pa) was the founder of Tsal Gungtang Monastery (tshal gung thang) and of the Tsalpa Kagyu tradition.

Lhodrak Chagdor Namkha Gyaltzen

ལྷོ་བྲག་ཕྱལ་རྩོད་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *lho brag phyag rdor nam mkha' rgyal mtshan*

Drubchen Namkha Gyaltzen (grub chen nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, 1326–1401), also known as Lhodrak Chagdor (lho brag phyag rdor), belonged to the Shubu (shud bu) family lineage of Kadampa masters from the Benpa (ban pa) valley in eastern Lhodrak.

Little Blue Book

བེ་ལུ་བུམ་སྒྲོན་པོ། • *be'u bum sngon po*

A collection of Potowa's teachings on the graduated path to awakening, composed by his disciple Geshe Dölpa Sherab Gyatso (dge bshes dol pa shes rab rgya mtsho)

Lobshe

སྒྲོབ་བཤད། • *slob bshad*

The esoteric presentation of the Lamdre teachings known as the “Exposition for Disciples.”

Lodrö Gyaltzen

སྒོ་གྲོམ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *blo gros rgyal mtshan*

Shantipa Lodrö Gyaltzen (shan+ti pa blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1487–1567) of Gugé (gu ge) was the seventh throne holder of Tashi Lhunpo Monastery (bkra shis lhun po).

Longdöl

ལྷོང་རྡོ། • *klong rdol*

A hermitage in Nyetang, near Lhasa.

Longdöl Drubchen Ngawang Lobzang

ལྷོང་རྡོལ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་དག་དབང་སྒོ་བཟང་། • *klong rdol grub chen ngag dbang blo bzang*

The great meditator of Longdöl Hermitage (klong rdol), Ngawang Lobzang (ngag dbang blo bzang, 1719–1794).

Menlungpa Lochok Dorje

སྐྱེན་ལུང་པ་ལྷོ་མཚོ་གའོ་རྗེ། • *smān lung pa blo mchog rdo rje*

Menlungpa Lochok Dorje (1595–1671), a disciple of Gongga Lo Chen Zhenpen Dorje, became a Nyingma guru of the Fifth Dalai Lama. He founded the Rilungpu (ri klung sbug) hermitage in Tsang Rong.

mental revelation

དགོངས་གཏོང། • *dgongs gter*

Mind treasure.

method

ཐབས། • *thabs* • upāya

The method aspect of the path, or upāya, often translated as “skillful means”

Mind Series

སེམས་སྒྲི། • *sems sde* • cittavarga

One of the three categories into which Mañjuśrīmitra divided the Dzogchen teachings he received from Garab Dorje.

Minling Ter Chen

སྐྱེན་གླིང་གཏོང་ཚེན། • *smīn glīng gter chen*

Terdak Lingpa Gyurme Dorje (gter bdag glīng pa 'gyur med rdo rje, 1646–1714) was an outstanding treasure revealer and master of the Southern Treasure school. He founded Mindröling Monastery (smin grol glīng dgon) with the Fifth Dalai Lama's patronage.

Mitra

མི་ཏྲ། • *mi tra* • mitra

Mitrayogi, also known as Jaganmitrānanda, was an Indian master associated with the practice of Avalokiteśvara. He visited Tibet in the early twelfth century.

Mor Chen

མོར་ཚེན་ཀུན་ལྷུན་གྲུབ། • *rmor chen kun dga' lhun grub*

Mor Chen Kunga Lhundrub (1654–1726) of Lumpa was a reincarnation of Yöl Khenchen and a key figure in the Lamdre Lobshe transmission, disciple of Khyenrab Jampa and teacher of Nesar Kunga Legpe Jungne.

Mu Rabjampa Jampa Tugje Palzang

མུས་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་བྲམས་པ་སྤུག་རྗེ་དཔལ་བཟང་། • *mus rab 'byams pa byams pa thugs rje dpal bzang*

Mu Rabjampa Jampa Tugje Palzang was a disciple of Gorampa. He founded the Tubten Yangpa Chen Monastery (thub bstan yangs pa can) monastery in Je ('jad) in 1490.

Mu Sepa Jampa Dorje Gyaltzen

མུས་སྤེད་པ་བྲམས་པ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *mus srad pa byams pa rdo rje rgyal mtshan*

Mu Sepa Jampa Dorje Gyaltzen (1424–1498) of the Nyingmapa Mu Sé family lineage was a scholastic master and prolific author in the Sakya tradition, said to have upheld both the Ngorpa and Dzongpa branches.

Mu Sepa Lodrö Rinchen Senge

མུས་སྲད་པ་བློ་གྲོས་རིན་ཆེན་སེང་གེ • *mus srad pa blo gros rin chen seng ge*

Kunkhyen Lodrö Rinchen Senge (kun mkhyen blo gros rin chen seng ge, b. 1387) of Mu Sé (mus srad), the family lineage of Drubtob Darchar (grub thob 'dar 'phyar) in western Tsang, became a disciple of Jamyang Chöje, and founded the Jépa (byes pa grwa tshang) college at Sera Monastery.

Nāgarakṣa

རྣལ་རྒྱལ། • *nA ga rak+sha* • *nāgarakṣa*

A text from the Hayagrīva cycle by treasure revealer and Dzogchen master Rinchen Lingpa (rin chen gling pa, 1295–1375).

Nālandra Monastery

རྣལ་ལེན་ངྷ། • *nA len dra*

The major Sakya monastery in the Penyul valley founded by Rongtön Śākya Gyaltzen in 1436. It is named after the great Indian Buddhist monastery Nālandā.

Namrab

རྣམ་རབ། • *rnam rab*

An abbreviation of “Namgyal Rabten,” the name of a valley in Lhokha, east of Gongkar Dzong.

Ngak Chen Könchok Gyaltzen

སྔགས་ཆེན་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *sngags chen dkon mchog rgyal mtshan*

The first “Ngak Chen” or abbot of Tashi Lhunpo’s Tantric College, Dorzin Könchok Gyaltzen (rdor 'dzin dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1612–1682).

Ngari Pañchen

མངའ་རིས་པཎ་ཆེན། • *mnga' ris paN chen*

Ngari Pañchen Pema Wangyal (mnga' ris paN chen pad+ma dbang rgyal, 1487–1542) was the younger brother of rigdzin Legden Je and the foremost Nyingmapa scholar of his day, best known for his composition *Ascertaining the Three Vows*.

Ngor Chen Dorje Chang Kunga Zangpo

ངོར་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ་འཆང་གུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ། • *ngor chen rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po*

Ngor Chen Kunga Zangpo (ngor chen kun dga' bzang po, 1382–1456) was a grandmaster of tantric scholarship, the founder of the Ngor branch of the Sakya school.

Niruttarayoga

རྣལ་འབྱོར་བློ་ན་མེད་པའི་རྒྱུད། • *rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud* • niruttarayoga

Unsurpassed Union. Also known as Highest Yoga Tantra, formerly back translated as *Anuttarayoga Tantra*, the most advanced class of tantra according to the Sarma traditions.

Northern Treasure

བྱང་གཏེར། • *byang gter*

A Nyingmapa school based based on the revelations of Rigdzin Gödem (rig 'dzin rgod ldem, 1337–1408).

Nya Ön Kunga Pal

ཉ་དོན་ཀུན་དགའ་དཔལ། • *nya dbon kun dga' dpal*

Nya Ön Kunga Pal (1285–1379) was a disciple of Dölpopa (dol po pa, 1292–1361). He founded Tsechen Chöde (brtse chen chos sde) near Gyantse, with the patronage of the ruling family, in 1366.

Nyaltön Paljor Lhundrub

གཉལ་སྟོན་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ལྷུན་གྲུབ། • *gnyal ston dpal 'byor lhun grub*

Paljor Lhundrub (1427–1514) of Nyal was a leading disciple of Mu Sepa Lodrö Rinchen Senge and succeeded him as abbot of Je College.

Nyenpo Śākya Gyaltzen

ཉན་པོ་ཤུག་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *nyan po shAkya rgyal mtshan*

Śākya Gyaltzen of Nyenpo Gön (nyan po dgon) in Penyul ('phan yul) was a disciple of Jamyang Chöje ('jam dbyangs chos rje, 1379–1449). He was the second abbot of Tösam Ling (thos bsam gling).

Nyetang

སྟེ་ཐང་། • *snye thang*

A village southwest of Lhasa where Jowo Atisa spent his last years.

Ocean of Marvelous Tales

སྔ་འགྲུར་རྗེ་མ་བཀའ་གཏེར་དག་སྣང་གདན་རབས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ཆེན་མོ་འཚོར་གཏུམ་གྱི་འལ་མཚོ།

• *snga 'gyur rnying ma bka' gter dag snang gdan rabs sogs kyi chos 'byung chen mo ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*

An important history of the Nyingma tradition by Takgang Khechok Ngawang Lodrö (stag sgang mkhas mchog ngag dbang blo gros), known in short as Guru Tashi (gu ru bkra shis)

Ön Gyalse

འོན་རྒྱལ་སྲས། • *'on rgyal sras*

The Fourth Ön Gyalse Jigme Yeshe Dragpa ('on rgyal sras' jigs med ye shes grags pa, 1696–1750), who served as regent during the Seventh Dalai Lama's exile in 1727–1734.

Padmasambhava

པདྨ་འབྲུང་གནས། • *pad+ma 'byung gnas* • padmasambhava

Padmasambhava was an Indian master who Tibetans credit with bringing the Dzogchen teachings to Tibet. He is known by many epithets, such as the Lake-Born Ācārya (slob dpon mtsho skyes zhabs), Orgyen Chenpo (o rgyan chen po) and others.

Pagpa

འཕགས་པ། • *'phags pa* • ārya

Sublime, noble.

Pende Kunkhyab Ling Labrang

ཕན་བདེ་ཀུན་ལྷོ་སྒྲིང་སྒྲ་བྲང་། • *phan bde kun khyab gling bla brang*

A labrang at Lhundrub Teng Monastery in Derge.

Perfection of Secrets

བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གསལ་བ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས། • *bka' brgyad gsang ba yongs rdzogs*

A revelation of Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212–1270).

Pile of Jewels

དཔེ་ཚོས་རིན་ཆེན་སྤུངས་པ། • *dpe chos rin chen spungs pa*

The *Pile of Jewels* is a collection of teachings by Geshe Potowa (dge bshes po to ba, 1031–1106) on Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* through everyday examples, compiled by his disciple Geshe Dragkarwa (dge bshes brag dkar ba). The commentary on this work, *Pile of Jewels: A Collection of Pith Instructions* (*man ngag rin chen spungs pa*) is by the twelfth-century author Che Gom Sherab Dorje (lce sgom shes rab rdo rje).

pith instructions

མན་ངག། • *man ngag*

Direct or oral instructions given for one's practice, often condensing a subject into its key points; this word also refers to the instructions one receives from a spiritual master, and through which one comes to understand the meaning of esoteric texts.

Pombor Gang

སློ་འབོར་སྐང། • *spo 'bor sgang*

One of the six ranges of Kham, the massif between the Dri Chu ('bri chu) and Nyag Chu (nyag chu) rivers.

primordial citadel

གདོད་མའི་རྒྱལ་ས། • *gdod ma'i rgyal sa*

A metaphor for enlightenment.

Puṇya Malla

ཕུ་རྒྱ་མུ་ལ། • *pu N+ya mA la* • puṇya malla

Punya Malla, a ruler of the Khaśa kingdom in what is now northwestern Nepal, is thought to have reigned in the 1330s.

Puṇyaśrī

ཕུ་རྒྱ་ལྷོ། • *pu N+ya shrI* • puṇyaśrī

Nyemdo Tamche Khyenpa Sönam Pal (snye mdo thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams dpal, 1216–1277), the son of Rok Sherab Ö and reincarnation of Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo, famed for extraordinary learning in both Nyingma and Sarma teachings.

Purbuchok Jampa Rinpoche

ཕུར་བུ་ལྷོག་བྱམས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། • *phur bu lcog byams pa rin po che*

Purbuchok Ngawang Jampa (phur bu lcog ngag dbang byams pa, 1682–1762), was a disciple of Drubkhang Gelek Gyatso (sgrub khang dge legs rgya mtsho), a lama of Miwang Polha Ne, and the originator of the Purbuchok incarnation line.

Ra Lotsāwa

རཱ་ལོ་ལྷོ་བ། • *rwa lo tsA ba*

Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drak (rwa lo tsA ba rdo rje grags) of Nyanang (gnya' nang) was an eleventh-century master of Vajrabhairava.

rabjampa

རབ་འབྲམས་པ། • *rab 'byams pa*

“Vastly learned”—an honorific title.

rabjung

རབ་བྱུང་། • *rab byung*

The Tibetan sixty-year calendar cycle that combines twelve animals with five elements.

Ralung Monastery

ར་ལུང་དགོན། • *ra lung dgon*

The main seat of the Drukpa Kagyu lineage before its schism, in the upper Nyang valley in Tsang.

Razor Kīlaya

ཕུར་པ་སྤྱི་གྲི། • *phur pa spu gri*

Guru Chökyi Wangchuk’s (chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212–1270) Razor cycle of Vajrakīlaya.

Rendawa Zhönu Lodrö

རེད་མདའ་བ་གཞོན་རྒྱ་སློབ་གྲོས། • *red mda’ ba gzhon nu blo gros*

Rendawa Zhönu Lodrö (red mda’ ba gzhon nu blo gros, 1348–1412) was a Sakya teacher credited with promoting Madhyamaka studies in Tibet.

Rigdzin Legden Dorje

རིག་འཛིན་ལེགས་ལྷན་རྡོ་རྗེ། • *rig ’dzin legs ldan rdo rje*

Rigdzin Legden Dorje (1488–1569), the younger brother of Ngari Pañchen Pema Wangyal, was regarded as the reincarnation of Rigdzin Gödem Chen (rig ’dzin rgod ldem can). He was the guru of Jangdak Tashi Tobgyal.

Rigdzin Trinle Lhundrub

རིག་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལས་ལྷན་གྲུབ། • *rig ’dzin ’phrin las lhun grub*

Rigdzin Trinle Lhundrub (rig ’dzin ’phrin las lhun grub, 1611–1662) was the father of Terdak Lingpa Gyurme Dorje (gter bdag gling pa ’gyur med rdo rje, 1646–1714) and Lo Chen Dharmaśrī (lo chen d+harma shrI, 1654–1717).

Rinchen Mingyur Gyaltsen

ཤར་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་མི་འགྱུར་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *shar chen rin chen mi ’gyur rgyal mtshan*

Sharchen Rinchen Mingyur Gyaltsen (shar chen rin chen mi ’gyur rgyal mtshan, b. 1717) was the thirty-seventh throne holder of Ngor Monastery who later spent long periods in Derge by royal invitation.

Rongtön Dönyö Pal

རོང་སྟོན་དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ། ཤངས་སྟོན་དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ། • *rong ston don yod dpal, shangs ston don yod dpal*

Rongtön Dönyö Pal (1398–1484), also known as Shangtön Dönyö Pal (shangs ston don yod dpal), was the guru of Śākya Chogden and a late exponent of the Sangpu tradition (gsang phu).

Rongtön Sheja Kunrik

རོང་སྟོན་ཤེས་བྱ་ཀུན་རིག། • *rong ston shes bya kun rig*

Rongtön Sheja Kunrik Śākya Gyaltzen (rong ston shes bya kun rig shAkya rgyal mtshan, 1367–1449) of Gyalrong was a grandmaster of the Sakya philosophical tradition and teacher of Shakya Chogden, Gorampa, and Jamchen Rabjampa, among many others. He founded Penpo Nalendra in 1436.

Rongzom Paṇḍita

རོང་ཟོམ་པཎྌི་ཏཱ། • *rong zom paN+Di ta*

Rongzom Paṇḍita Chökyi Zangpo (rong zom paN+Di ta chos kyi bzang po) of Tsang Rong flourished in the second half of the eleventh century. His translation and commentarial work bridged the earlier and later diffusions and was of great importance to the formation of the Nyingma tradition.

Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo

ས་སྐུ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཀུན་དགའ་སྡིང་པོ། • *sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po*

Sa Chen Kunga Nyingpo (1092–1158) was the principal founder of the Sakya tradition.

Sa Lo Kunga Sönam

ས་ལོ་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས། • *sa lo kun dga' bsod nams*

Sakya Lotsāwa Kunga Sönam (sa skya lo tsA ba kun dga' bsod nams, 1485–1533) of Tsedong was the Twenty-Second Sakya Trizin and mentor of Ngagchang Kunga Rinchen.

Sakya Monastery

ས་སྐུ་དགོན་ཆེན། • *sa skya dgon chen*

Sakya Monastery in the Drompa region of western Tsang is the seat of the Sakya school.

Samantabhadra's Essential Intent

ཀུན་བཟང་དགོངས་འདུས། • *kun bzang dgongs 'dus*

A treasure revelation of Pema Lingpa (pad+ma gling pa, 1450–1521).

Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra

སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་མཉམ་པར་སྦྱོར་བའི་རྒྱུད། • *sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba'i rgyud* • *sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*

The *Union with all the Buddhas*. Categorized as one of the eighteen tantras of Mahāyoga within the Nyingma tradition.

Scaled Visions

གསང་བ་སྤྱོད་ཅན། • *gsang ba rgya can*

The *Bearing the Seal of Secrecy* visionary teachings of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682).

Secret Assembly

སྤྱོད་ཅན་གསང་འདུས། • *bla ma gsang 'dus*

Lama Sangdu, a treasure revelation of Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212–1270).

Secret Heart-Essence of the Three Roots

རྩ་གསུམ་གསང་བ་སྣོད་བྲིན། • *rtsa gsum gsang ba snying thig*

A treasure revelation of Ter Chen Nyima Dragpa Tsal (gter chen nyi ma grags pa rtsal, 1647–1710).

Sekhar Gutok

སྲས་མཁར་དགའ་བོ། • *sras mkhar dgu thog*

The nine-story tower that Milarepa is said to have built at Drowo Lung, the residence of Marpa Lotsawa in western Lhodrak, was developed into a monastery in the period of Karma Kagyu dominance (16th c.)

Serdok Chen

གསེར་མདོག་ཅན། • *gser mdog can*

The monastery and seat of Pañchen Śākya Chogden, east of Shigatse.

Serdok Pañchen Śākya Chogden

གསེར་མདོག་ཅན་གྲུག་མཚོག་ལྷན། • *gser mdog can shAkya mchog ldan*

Pañchen Śākya Chogden (paN chen shAkya mchog ldan, 1428–1507) was the protégé of Shangtön Dönyö Pal and a disciple of Rongtönpa, who became a grandmaster of the Sakya philosophical tradition. The breadth and originality of his thinking drew controversy and led to his writings being banned.

seven divine teachings

ལྷ་ཚོས་བདུན་ལྷན། • *lha chos bdun ldan*

The seven divine teachings of the Kadam tradition are the four deities (Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, Acala, and Tārā) and the three sections of the Tripiṭaka.

Seven Points

སྣོ་སྣོད་དོན་བདུན་མ། • *blo sbyong don bdun ma*

The *Seven Points of Mind Training* by Chekhawa Yeshe Dorje (1101-1175).

Seven Treasuries

མཚོད་བདུན། • *mdzod bdun*

A collection of seven works of Longchenpa (klong chen pa, 1308–1364).

Sherab Özer

ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ཟེར། • *shes rab 'od zer*

Trengpo Tertön Sherab Özer ('phreng po gter ston shes rab 'od zer, 1518–1584), was educated in the Sakya and Geluk traditions, but became a close disciple of Drigung Rinchen Puntsok, assisting him in his treasure revelations. He became one of the great teachers of his day, developing a nonsectarian outlook that was admired by Khyentse and Kongtrul. He founded the Palri Monastery in Chonggye in the 1570s.

Siddharājñī

སྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ། • *grub pa'i rgyal mo* • siddharājñī

Ekamātra Siddharājñī (ma gcig grub pa'i rgyal mo), “Queen of Siddhas,” is known to Tibetan tradition as one of Rechungpa’s (ras chung pa, 1085–1161) teachers in India, from

whom he received instruction on Amitāyus. Khyentse Wangpo describes her as an emanation of Mandārāvā.

Sikṣāsamuccaya

བསྐྱབ་པ་ཀླན་ལས་བཏུས་པ། • *bslab pa kun las btus pa* • *sikṣāsamuccaya*

Compendium of Instructions by Śāntideva, one of his two compositions on the bodhisattva path.

Sky Teachings

གནམ་ཚོས། • *gnam chos*

The Sky Teachings, or Namchö (*gnam chos*) is a revelation of Tertön Mingyur Dorje (gter ston mi 'gyur rdo rje, 1645–1667).

So Chung Gendun Bar

སོ་ཚུང་དགེ་འདུན་འབར། • *so chung dge 'dun 'bar*

So Gendun Bar (1062–1128) was a disciple of Padampa Sangye and founder of one of the three “middle transmissions” of the Zhije teachings.

Sogdogpa Lodrö Gyaltzen

སོག་བཟོག་པ་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *sog bzlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan*

Sogdogpa Lodrö Gyaltzen (1552–1624) was a Nyingma master and disciple of Zhigpo Lingpa (snang rtse gter ston zhig po gling pa, 1524–83), a great physician, and author. At a time of political turmoil in central Tibet, he acquired his title by performing rituals to “turn back the Mongols.” He is also known for his polemical defenses of the Nyingma tradition against its detractors.

Sönam Chogdrub

བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་གུབ། • *bsod nams mchog grub*

Rinchen Sönam Chogdrub (rin chen bsod nams mchog grub, 1602–1681) was the twenty-seventh abbot of Shalu, and was also known by his personal name Tsewang Lhundrub Rabten (tshe dbang lhun grub rab brtan).

Space Series

ཁྲོང་སྡེ། • *klong sde* • abhyantaravarga

One of the three categories into which Mañjuśrīmitra divided the Dzogchen teachings he received from Garab Dorje.

Sungtrul Tsultrim Dorje

གསུང་སྤྱུལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རོ་རྗེ། • *gsung sprul tshul khrims rdo rje*

The Third Peling Sungtrul Tsultrim Dorje (pad gling gsung sprul 03 tshul khrims rdo rje, 1598–1669), the most distinguished of the speech incarnations of Pema Lingpa, studied with the great masters of his time, such as Gongra Lo Chen (1594–1654) and Drigung Chökyi Dragpa (1595–1659), and had an active teaching career between southern Tibet and Mön during the formation of the state of Bhutan, a conflict in which he acted as a mediator.

sūnyatā

སྟོང་པ་རྟིད། • *stong pa nyid* • sūnyatā

Emptiness. The lack of inherent existence of self and phenomena.

Sūryagupta

ཉི་མ་སྐུ་པ། • *nyi ma sbas pa* • sūryagupta

The Kashmiri Ācārya Sūrya/Ravigupta is presumed to have lived in the eleventh century. His cycle of teachings was introduced to Tibet by Pañchen Śākyasrī.

Sūtra That Gathers All Intentions

འདུས་པ་མདོ། མདོ་དགོངས་པ་འདུས་པ། • *'dus pa mdo, mdo dgongs pa 'dus pa* •

Samājasarvavidyāsūtra

The principal text of the Anuyoga tradition.

Sūtrāṅkāra

ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་མདོ་སྒྲིལ་རྒྱན། • *theg pa chen po'i mdo sde'i rgyan* • sūtrāṅkāra

Ornament of the Mahāyāna Sūtras, one of the central texts of the Yogācāra school of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Tagmo Gang

སྟག་མོ་སྐང། • *stag mo sgang*

Tagmo Gang in Dzinkhok ('dzin khog), eastern Derge, is the main seat of Tertön Nyima Dragpa (gter ston nyi ma grags pa rtsal, 1647–1710) and his successive incarnations.

Tagpupa Lobzang Tengyen

སྟག་ཕུ་པ་བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *stag phu pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*

The Fourth Tagpupa Lobzang Tenpe Gyaltzen (1714–1762).

Tai Situ

ཏའི་སི་ཏུ། • *ta'i si tu*

A Chinese imperial title that means “great preceptor.”

Tanak

རྟ་ནག། • *rta nag*

A valley in the Yeru region of Tsang; location of the Tubten Namgyal (thub bstan nam rgyal) monastery.

Tashi Lhunpo

བླ་ཤེས་ལྷན་པོ། • *bkra shis lhun po*

The seat of the Pañchen lineage at Shigatse in Tsang; one of the four great monasteries of the Geluk tradition in central Tibet.

Tawu

རྟ་ལུ། • *rta'u*

A district in the Trehor region of Kham

Tegchen Chöje Kunga Tashi

ཐེག་ཆེན་ཚོས་རྗེ་ཀུན་དགའ་བླ་ཤེས། • *theg chen chos rje kun dga' bkra shis*

Tegchen Chöje Kunga Tashi (1349–1425) was a heart disciple of Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen (bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 1312–1375) and succeeded him as Sakya throneholder.

Three Bodhisattva Protectors

རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ། • *rigs gsum mgon po*
Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi.

three spheres

འཁོར་ལོ་གསུམ། • *'khor lo gsum*
Study, meditation, and Dharma activity.

three trainings

བསྐྱབ་པ་གསུམ། • *bslab pa gsum*
The three trainings are ethical discipline (*sīlāsikṣā*), meditative concentration (*samādhisikṣā*), and wisdom (*prajñāsikṣā*).

Togön Temur

ཐོགོན་ཐེ་མུར། • *tho gon the mur*
Togön Temur (r. 1333–1368) was the last ruler of the Mongol Yuan dynasty.

Tongku

ཏོང་ཀུ། • *tong ku*
The term *Tongku* was used by Tibetan authors to refer to China. Initially spelled *stong khun* and more commonly spelled *tong kun*, it appears to have been derived, in the tenth century, from the Chinese *dong jing* (东京), or “Eastern Capital,” meaning the city of Kaifeng.

Tongrawa

སྟོང་ར་བ། • *stong ra ba*
Tongra Khenchen Kunga Legdrub (stong ra mkhan chen kun dga' legs grub) of Yamdrok, author of the “blue volume” (*pod sngon*), was a disciple of Rongtön Śākya Gyaltzen (rong ston shAkya rgyal mtshan, 1367–1439).

treasure revealer

གཏེར་སྟོན། • *gter ston*
Tertön. A revealer of hidden treasures, or terma (*gter ma*). A major treasure revealer, or ter chen (*gter chen*), is a tertön who has revealed treasures related to each of the trio of the Guru, Great Perfection, and the Great Compassionate One.

Tri Chen Könchok Chöpel

འཇི་ཚེན་དཀོན་མཚོག་ཚེས་འཕེལ། • *khri chen dkon mchog chos 'phel*
Lingme Zhabdrung Könchok Chöpel (gling smad zhabs drung dkon mchog chos 'phel, 1573–1646), the thirty-fifth Ganden throne holder, whom Khyentse Wangpo identifies as an incarnation of Ngok Lotsāwa.

Tri Gungtangpa

འཇི་གུང་ཐང་པ། • *khri gung thang pa*
Tri Chen Gendun Puntsok (khri chen dge 'dun phun tshogs, d. 1724) of Tsal Gungtang near Lhasa, a disciple of Jamyang Zhepa, of whom Tenpe Drönme (bstan pa'i sgron me, 1762–1823) was the second successive incarnation.

triple vow

སྣོམ་གསུམ། • *sdom gsum* • *trisaṃvara*

The three vows in tantric Buddhism representing the three Buddhist vehicles of Sūtrayāna, Bodhisattvayāna, and Mantrayāna.

Tsangpa Gyare Yeshe Dorje

གཙུང་པ་རྒྱ་རས་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྡོ་རྗེ། • *gtsang pa rgya ras ye shes rdo rje*

Tsangpa Gyare Yeshe Dorje (1161–1211) was the founder of the Drukpa Kagyu tradition.

Tsangtön Dorje Gyaltsen

གཙུང་སྟོན་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *gtsang ston rdo rje rgyal mtshan*

Tsangtön Dorje Gyaltsen (1137–1227) was the first throne holder of Katok Monastery (kaH thog dgon).

Tsarpa Chöje

ཚར་པ་ཚོས་རྗེ། • *tshar pa chos rje*

Tsar Chen Losal Gyatso (tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho, 1502–1566) was the thirteenth abbot of Shalu Monastery and the founder of the Tsarpa branch of the Sakya tradition.

Tsedong Tri Chen Ngawang Kunga Sönam Lhundrub

ཚེ་གཤོང་འཇི་ཚེན་དག་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ། • *rtse gdong kbri chen ngag dbang kung dga' bsod nams lhun grub*

Tsedong Tri Chen Ngawang Kunga Sönam Lhundrub (1571–1642) was the fifteenth throne holder of Ngor Monastery.

Tsembupa

ཚེས་བུ་པ་དར་མ་འོད་ཟེར། • *tshem bu pa dar ma 'od zer*

Tsembupa Darma Özer (tshem bu pa dar ma 'od zer) initiated a tradition of Avalokiteśvara practice.

Tsogshe

ཚོགས་བཤད། • *tsbogs bshad*

The exoteric presentation of the Lamdre teachings known as the Exposition for the Assembly.

Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dragpa

ཚོང་ཁ་པ་སྟོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ། • *tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa*

Je Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) was the founder of the Geluk school, and one of Tibet's greatest saints.

Tsuglak Chögyal

གཙུག་ལག་ཚོས་རྒྱལ། • *gtsug lag chos rgyal*

The Eighth Pawo, Tsuglak Chökyi Gyalpo (gtsug lag chos kyi rgyal po, b. 1782), was the younger brother of the Ninth Situ.

Tugse Lotsāwa Rinchen Namgyal

ཐུགས་སྲས་ལོ་ལྷ་བ་རིན་ཚེན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། • *thugs sras lo tsA ba rin chen rnam rgyal*

Tugse Lotsāwa, also known as Dratsepa Rinchen Namgyal (sgra tshad pa rin chen rnam rgyal, 1318–1388), was Butön's (bu ston, 1290–1364) closest disciple.

Tuken Rinpoche

ཐུ་བཀའ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། • *thu'u bkwan rin po che*

The Third Tuken, Lobzang Chökyi Nyima (thu'u bkwan 03 blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1737–1802), was a Geluk lama of Monguor ethnicity, a preceptor to Emperor Qianlong and a student of the Second Jamyang Zhepa.

Two Stainless Ones

དྲི་མེད་རྣམ་གཉིས། • *dri med nam gnyis*

The two deities Vimalaraśmi and Vimaloṣṇīṣa.

two types of officiants

མཚོད་གནས་ལྗེ་གཉིས་པོ། • *mchod gnas sde gnyis po*

Monks and mantrikas.

Ü

དབུས། • *dbus*

One of the two central provinces of Tibet, mainly comprising the Kyichu river valley and its tributaries.

Udānavarga

ཆེད་དུ་བརྗོད་པའི་ཚོམས། • *ched du brjod pa'i tshoms* • *udānavarga*

Collected Sayings. An early collection of the Buddha's aphorisms.

Unfocused Love

དམིགས་བརྗེ་མ། • *dmigs brtse ma*

The *Unfocused Love (Migtsema)* prayer to Tsongkhapa.

Unimpeded Realization

དགོངས་པ་བྱང་ཐལ། • *dgongs pa zang thal*

The highest Dzogchen teachings of the Northern Treasures tradition, revealed by Rigdzin Gödem (rig 'dzin rgod ldem, 1337–1408).

Unsurpassed Ultrasecret Kīlaya

ཕུར་བ་ཡང་གསང་བླ་མེད། • *phur ba yang gsang bla med*

A revelation of Ratna Lingpa (gter chen rat+na gling pa, 1403–1479).

Upper West Tibet

སྟོད་མངའ་རིས། • *stod mnga' ris*

Tö Ngari is the region of Tibet bordering the western Himalaya, comprising Purang, Gugé, and Rutok.

Vajra Bridge

རྫོང་བཟའ་པ། • *rdo rje zam pa*

Teachings from the Dzogchen Space Series.

Vajra Essence of the Luminous Expanse

ཀློང་གསལ་རྫོང་སྟོང་པོ། • *klong gsal rdo rje snying po*

A treasure revealed by Rigdzin Longsal Nyingpo (klong gsal snying po, d. 1692).

Various Discourses

གངས་ཚོགས། གངས་གྱི་ཚོགས་ཐེག་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། • *gtam tsbogs, gtam gyi tsbogs theg pa'i rgya mtsbo*

A collection of the miscellaneous writings of Jigme Lingpa ('jigs med gling pa, 1729–1798).

World-Encompassing Ornament

འཛམ་གླིང་ཐ་གུ་ལྷན་པའི་རྒྱན། • *'dzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan*

A history of the Collected Nyingma Tantras by Jigme Lingpa ('jigs med gling pa, 1729–1798).

Wrathful Self-Arisen

བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་དྲག་པོ་རང་བྱུང་རང་ཤར། • *bka' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*

A treasure text in four volumes by Rigdzin Gödem (rig 'dzin rgod ldem, 1337–1408).

Yagtruk Sangye Pal

གཡག་ཕུག་སངས་རྒྱལ་དཔལ། • *g.yag phrug sangs rgyas dpal*

Yagtruk Sangye Pal (1350–1414) was a master of the philosophical teachings of the Sakya tradition, associated with Sangpu Monastery.

Yungtön Dorje Pal

གཡུང་སྟོན་རྟོ་རྗེ་དཔལ། • *g.yung ston rdo rje dpal*

Yungtön Dorje Pal (1284–1365) of Tsang Rong was a disciple of the Third Karmapa and a teacher to the Fourth. He is considered by the Geluk tradition to be a preincarnation of the Pañchen Lamas.

Zangkar Lotsawa

ཟངས་དཀར་ལོ་རྒྱལ། • *zangs dkar lo tsA ba*

Zangkar Lotsāwa Pagpa Sherab ('phags pa shes rab, late eleventh–early twelfth century) is known for his translations of Yoga Tantra.

Zhamar Dragpa Senge

ལྷ་དམར་གྲགས་པ་སངས་ཤེ། • *zhwa dmar grags pa seng ge*

The First Zhamarpa, Togden Dragpa Senge (zhwa dmar pa rtogs ldan grags pa seng ge, 1283–1349) founded Nenang (gnas nang) in 1333.

Zhigatse

གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེ། • *gzhis ka rtse*

A town in eastern Tsang established as the capital of Tibet by the ruling family in the sixteenth century.

Zhiwa Lha Pagpa Gelek Gyaltzen

ཞི་བ་ལྷ་འཕགས་པ་དགེ་ལེགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། • *zhi ba lha 'phags pa dge legs rgyal mtsban*

The Fourth Zhiwa Lha, Pagpa Gelek Gyaltzen (1720–1799) was the twenty-seventh abbot of Chamdo Jampa Ling (chab mdo byams pa gling).

Zhok Dönyö Khedrub

ཞོགས་དོན་ཡོད་མཁས་གུབ། • *zhogs don yod mkhas grub*

Je Dönyö Khedrub (rje don yod mkhas grub, 1671–1737) of Zhok (zhogs).

