A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF 'GRO-MGON
CHOS-RGYAL 'PHAGS-PA

—TASHI DENSAPA

A. 'Gra-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, a Sa-skya-pa bla-ma of the thirteenth century, is not an unfamiliar figure in the history and religion of Tibet. His name appears in almost every historical text, as well as religious works, and it is verbalized daily in the chanting of thousands of Sa-skya-pa monks for he is among the lama teachers of the Sa-skya-pa sect. Just as all Tibetan sects trace their origin to an Indian lineage, Virupa is the Pandita from whom the Sa-skya-pa received the teachings of the Lam-bras (Path and Fruit). The lineage of Lam-bras teachers from the Buddha, through the Indian guru, down to 'Phags-pa is as follows:

Rdo-rje-chang (Vajradhara)
Bdag-med-ma
Virupa
Nag-po-pa
Da-ma-rigpa
'Brog-mi Sa-skya ye-sules
Se-mkhar cho-ba kun-rig
Zhang-dgon-pa Ba-chos-bar
Bia-ma Sa-skya-pa chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po
Surn-dpon Bsdod-nams rtsi-mo
Rje-brtan Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan
Chos-rje Sa-skya Pandita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan
'Gros-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan.

In addition, 'Phags-pa was a descendant of the 'Khor family who maintain that they are descended from the Gods of Light¹: the Three Heavenly Brothers (bla-mched-grang). The name 'Khor a said to have originated at a time when the gods were at war with the demons. G.ya-spang-skyes, one of the descendants of G.yu-rings, son of a god, killed the demon Skya-rings khrag-med and took his wife. The son born from their union was named 'Khor-bar-skyes" ("Born during the struggle"). Hence, the family lineage became known as 'Khor.

Historically, tradition traces the 'Khor line back to 'Khor Dpal-po-che, one of the ministers of the eighth century king, Khri-srong lde-brtses. The 'Khor lineage can be traced down to Lkon-mehog rgyal-po, who built a monastery at the place called Sa-skya, from which the sect later derived its name. His son Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po is credited with reforming his father's Rayaing-ma teachings and establishing the organized Sa-skya-pa sect. Sa-chen's son was Dpal-chen 'od-po who had two sons: one was the Great Sa-skya Panjita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan; the other Zangs-thsa bsdod-nams rgyal-mtshan.

Zangs-thsa's son, Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, at the age of ten, accompanied

An English translation of the Rnam-thar with critical notes by the author is under publication. Author's Introduction to the English translation is published here in the form of an article.

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Sa-skya Pandita to the court of the Mongol Khan and there won favor and earned the name of ‘Phags-pa’ (‘Noble One’).

SAKYA—MONGOLS

Like Alexander the Great, the Great Mongol chief, Genghis Khan threatened the doorsteps of all his neighbors. Tibet learned of his presence, but was spared raids at first owing to her formidable natural barriers. In the time of Godan, the Mongols first entered Tibet proper (1259), plundering Rwa-sgreng and Rgyal Lha-khang, and leaving the Tibetans in great shock, now well aware of their danger.

It was in the midst of this turmoil that Sa-skya Pandita was invited to the camp of Godan, Khan of the Kokonor region, at the suggestion of two of his generals. There is no evidence as to the nature of this invitation nor to the way in which it was accepted; however most Tibetan scholars hold the view that Sa-skya Pandita willingly accepted the invitation in the hope that his visit would bear fruit both in political and religious affairs.

On the occasion of this visit, Sakya Pandita took with him his two nephews, Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan and Phyang-na-rdo-je, aged ten and sixteen respectively. According to Professor Tucci, however, the two nephews may have been taken as hostages to the Mongol camp as much as two years before the actual meeting between Godan and Sa-skya Pandita. On the other hand, some Tibetan scholars believe that Sa-skya Pandita was already on his way to China, pausing frequently on the journey to deliver sermons and initiations in various places, and he therefore sent his young nephews on ahead of him. The reason for their accompanying him in the first place seems to be that the boys had lost their parents and Sa-skya Pandita had assumed their guardianship.

The nephew ‘Phags-pa in winning the favor of Godon Khan, proved to be a great asset to his uncle. And when Sa-skya Pandita passed away in 1251 at the age of seventy, he handed his spiritual authority on to ‘Phags-pa. When Godan died, ‘Phags-pa won the favor of the young prince, Kublai. When Kublai became Khan, ‘Phags-pa received the title of Imperial Preceptor (Ts-hih), along with the temporal and spiritual authority over Tibet as the Khan’s present for Buddhist initiations given him by ‘Phags-pa. ‘Phags-pa remained in China for 15 years, and when he returned to Sa-skya in 1265 he was received warmly and with great honor. The affairs of Tibet were conducted by a Chief Administrator (Dpon-chen) at Sa-skya, appointed by ‘Phags-pa and approved by the Khan.

Two years later (1267), the Khan sent representatives requesting the return of ‘Phags-pa to the Mongolian imperial court. At this time, following the pattern of Mongol administration, thirteen officials were appointed to govern Tibet.

In 1268, at the request of the Khan, ‘Phags-pa created a square-style script which could be used for all the languages of the Mongols’ vast empire; and though short-lived as a functional system, the writing is still known today as ‘Phags-pa Script.

‘Phags-pa left China for the last time in 1274, making a gradual journey to Tibet where he arrived at Sakya in 1276. He passed away in 1280 at the
Two accounts relate that he was not a natural death, but that he had been poisoned by his personal servant (Gsol-dpon). The servant, intrigues against the Dpon-chen had written to the Khan in 'Phags-pa's name, charging the Dpon-chen with treason. The Khan sent an army to remedy the situation, at which the intrigue is reputed to have poisoned 'Phags-pa and then committed suicide. The Mongols, thinking 'Phags-pa had been murdered by the Dpon-chen, executed him. But it is said that the Dpon-chen pleaded his innocence and loyalty, and that as proof of his innocence his blood would be white at his execution. And so it was! The Khan, hearing the full report, is said to have had his own commanders executed for not making a full and proper inquiry.

There are two known biographies of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa in Sa-skya sources. The first, a fairly detailed biography, is found in the Sa-skya-pa's chos kyi snying-po Br-ri-pu's stong-sag lam-bras rin-po-che'i. The first seven volumes of this seventeen-volume work contains rnam-thar of the lineages of Sa-skya from the beginning to the present, and Volume Kha (known as Lam 'bras blo-ma byrgyu-pa' rnam-thar) has the 'Phags-pa biography composed by Sher-chen Ye-sher Rgyal-mdud. The second rnam-thar is found in the Sa-skya gsum-rab chos-pa rin-chen hung-miud composed by Jam-mgon A-myes chabs Kun-dga Bood-nam.<sup>8</sup> There are a few other brief biographies in works like the Lam-bras blo-ma byrgyu-pa's steu smang-ba by Bla-ma chen-pa Bood-nam rgyal-mtshan. These however are all by Sa-skya lamas and somewhat colored by the viewpoint of that order.

The 'Khoj lineage of which 'Phags-pa comes can be found in several Tibetan chronicles apart from those already mentioned, most of them composed by a Sa-skya-pa lamas. It is interesting to note here the partiality of the writers, not so much in their explicit statements as in the space, and stress given to 'Phags-pa's achievements. The closer the writer's ties in friendly relations with Sa-skya, the more space and stress placed on 'Phags-pa. Some Dge-lugs-pa authors (e.g., the Fifth Dalai Lama), give 'Phags-pa rather extensive treatment in their chronicles. Lasa-pa mchod-pa Ye-shes-pid-pa, 'byas gives a certain amount of information on 'Phags-pa in his Djug-gsum lhong bzang Blo-brang Tsho-'phel gives fifteen pages of details of 'Phags-pa's life in the Nor gyi chos-byung.

On the other hand most of the Bka'-rgyud-pa authors have all but ignored the Patron-Priest relationship ('ton-mchog) between the Mongol khan and the Sa-skya-pa: e.g., Dpas-bo gsum-rgag phreng-ba'i Chos-byung mkhas-pa's dpar-mtan (1545-1563). Volume Kha, devotes only twelve lines to 'Phags-pa and his allowing freedom to the different sects in Tibet when he might have influenced the Khan to interdict all but the teachings of the Sa-skya-pa as Tibet's state religion.

The Chos-byung of Padma Dkar-po has only a few lines on 'Phags-pa, with brief mention of the three gifts presented to him when he conferred initiation on the Mongol Khan.

Tsho-pa Kun-dga 'rdo-rje in his Deden has only three lines about 'Phags-pa.
The only Reyning-ma-pa zhon-kyung (religious-history) available is that of 8dul-joms-urls-sku jigs-bral Ye-shes rdo-rje, which records exclusively the events and holy men of the Reyning-ma-pa sect, gives the briefest mention of Phags-pa and his relationship with the Mongols. According to sdev-gzhung sprul-sku, Kun-dga' brang, there is nothing relevant to the history of the Khon and Phags-pa in the various other Reyning-ma-pa religious histories which he had seen in Tibet.

Professor G. Tucci elaborates at some length in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls on the Tibet-Mongol relationship during the time of Phags-pa.

Tupon Shakabpa, in his Tibet A Political History, has a quite comprehensive study of Phags-pa, using as his sources the Gdung-rab chen-po and the Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicle.

To the best of the present writer's knowledge, the rnam-thar translated in this article is the only biography of Phags-pa composed by a person not of the Sas-pa sect. Most of the material used in it seems to have been derived mainly from the Sas-pa's gdung-rab chen-po, as well as from the Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicle. The Gdung-rab chen-po devotes some forty-three folios to a question-and-answer discussion in the Dharma between Phags-pa and 8k'i-gsum-pa dge-bshes Nam-nyi(?)-bum; however Dkon-mchog jigs-med dbang-po, by omitting this discussion, has presented the essential and important events of Phags-pa's life in a precise yet comprehensive manner.


The original syllograph was composed and printed at Ibtu-shis'kyiil (A'mdo), and consists of 120 folios and a title page. Naxang Golek Densso has made photocopies of the original and published them in a book under the title of The Collected Works of Dkon-mchog Jigs-med-dbang-po, Volume II. (Gadan Sung-rab Mi-rnyan Gyumtshel Series, Volume 22. New Delhi, 1971). The biography (rnam-thar) of Cho-rgyal Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan is contained in a series of abridged biographies of the predecessors of Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (1717-1786) in the Leang-skya incarnation lineage.

The author, the second Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa Dkon-mchog Jigs-med dbang-po, made a condensed book of all the available biographies of the lives of the Leang-skya incarnation at the request of Em-mchi Cho-rgyal Blo-bzang Rnam-rgyal. The book is divided into fourteen chapters of biographies:

1—Dgra-bkom-pa Tsun-da
2—Slob-dpon Skab-yas-byed-gnyen (Tskyamitra)
3—Gren-dbyon Darpa Awa
g2—Lchas Ka-ba Dpal-brugs
5—Tsha-rje Sgro-phags-pa (1074-1134)
6—Grub-dbang Shis-ri-pa
7—Glang-si-dbang-pa Rdo-rje-seng (1054-1123)
8—Cho-rgyal Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280)
9—Bl-a-ma Dam-pa Blo-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375)
10—Byams-chen cho-rje Shab-gyag-ye-drub (1754-1435)

8
11—Sera Rje-brtan Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1469-1546)
12—Kho-n-ston Dpal-byor lhun-grub (1561-1637)
13—Chos dpal Grags-pa 'od-zer
14—Loangs-skyabs Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang Cho-'dan (1642-1714)

This biography along with the others in the collection is considered to be among the finest in its genre for Tibetan style. The author, Dkon-mchog Jigs-med-dbang-po, is well known for his literary ability, and the very fact that he was requested to compose the ram-thar of Pan-chen Rin-po-che, from among thousands of very learned lamas and dge-bshes of Ser-'bras-Dga'-sum attests to his being considered one of the outstanding Dga'-ldan-pa68 lamas of his time.

The author of this abridged ram-thar is held in the highest esteem by all learned Tibetan scholars as one of the finest writers in Tibetan literature. According to Sde-dgung sprul-skra Kse-dga' Bla-brang, the importance of this author is attested by being the chief source of information for most scholars of Ser-'bras-Dga'-sum in their own compositions. Thus it is only fitting to glance briefly at the life of the well-respected saint, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med-dbang-po.

He was born to Ngag-dbang ram-rgyal at a small place in Lang-jan district of Jshe-khang, the present Jang-jeen hoiem of Ching-lai province. He was born in the Earth-Monkey year (1728) amidst very auspicious signs. When he was only a few weeks old, he clapped his hands and made other gestures of the religious debate. His parents fearing that he was possessed of evil spirits, consulted many saintly lamas and asked their opinion. They were told that he was an incarnation of a high lama. When the child learned to speak, he recounted his past lives very vividly. His mother and his uncle had vision in which they were told that he was the incarnation of 'Jam-dbyangs Rba-gd-pa of Bla-brang Sgra-shis-Khyi. When he was six years old he received his first monastic ordination.

When news of this child was circulated, a delegation from Sgra-shis-khyi came to interview him, taking the belongings of the previous incarnation. The boy passed all the tests, even recognising the treasures of the previous lama. However, due to internal disagreements within the bla-brang (estate), the boy was not enthroned as abbot until the age of sixteen. The final decision was made only after consulting a number of oracles, including the State Oracle (Gnas-chung chos-skong).

Having been formally recognised, he then began his spiritual training and studies. He was a very diligent and serious student, and one of his foremost teachers. Dge-bshes Ngag-dbang Brtan-Szin69, remarked that if a person wanted a son, he should want someone like this. At the age of 22, he received the final monastic ordination (dge-slang) from Loangs-skyabs Rol-pa (rdo-rje). At the age of 25 (in 1752), having completed his training in the five sciences69, he went to Lhasa on pilgrimage. There he was fortunate in being received by the 7th Dalsai Lama Bakal-brang Rgya-mtshan69 and the 3rd Pan-chen Dpas-dandan Ye-shes69 who had come to Lhasa from Sgra-shis-lhun-po69 to receive initiations from the Dalai Lama. Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med Dbang-po was privileged to receive the same teachings and initiations along

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with the Pan-chen Lama. He made great offerings and presents to all the monasteries, and remained in Lhasa until he was 32 years old (1739). While in Central Tibet, he entered Sgo-mang college (gra-thang) of 3rai-spungs monastery and received instruction from Mikhlan-chen Sanga-rje Rdo-rje. He completed his Dge-bshes degree at Nu-tog.

When he returned to Amdo, he made great improvements at Bka-bris shis 'khyils, setting up new regulation and establishing new institutions and buildings. The relationship between the people of the district and the monastery was excellent. He gave many teachings and explanations of the Dharma to hundreds of monks at his bla-brang.

Then he visited Mongolia and China, his main purpose being a pilgrimage to the Five-Peaks Mountain (ri-bo-ri-se-ling). The site of Er-li-mi-nom-byan (fu-fa Ch'an-shih Hu-t'ao-k'u-ta) was conferred on him by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor.

When the Pan-chen Lama was on his way to China, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med dbang-po was of great service to him, especially for vaccinating him and his entire company against smallpox. And at Zi-lung Sku-bum, he arranged a banquet for the Grand Lama which included five hundred courses of delicacies—a display which seems to have been reported to the Emperor of China.

Among more than the thirty great masters from whom he received teaching and initiations, to mention a few were:
- the Seventh Dalai Lama Bskal-brang 'Bro-mthos;
- Pan-chen Drul-bdan Ye-shes;
- Lha-sngon-rgya rol-pa'i rdo-rje;
- Su-skya 'btag-chen Kun-dga' blo-gros;
- Dkon-mchog Byams-pa rin-poche;
- Kong-drol bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-braang.

With such vast learning, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med also attracted many students, some of whom became great scholars in Tibet:
- Sa-skya Khri-sbom 'Jam-mgon dbang-skor snying-po.
- Kong-edol rin-poche.
- Gang-thang 'Jam-pa'i dbyangs.
- Dkon-mchog 'bran-pa'i sgron-me.
- Thutu mkhan-po.
- Khri-nam-brang-mchog.
- A-skya yongs-dzin; and others.

After completing many labors for the benefit of the Dharma, and composing eleven great works, he passed away at the age of sixty.

NOTES

1. Light, Tibetan: 'Od-gsal (kt. abhāśvara)

2. The Three Heavenly Brothers were: (i) Spyi-rings, (ii) Gyu-rings, and (iii) Gyu-se. The 'Khon claim their descent from Gyu-rings. Cf. Reyas ban yig thang, (ff. 18a and 18b); Gelung (ff. 36-37).
3. 'Khon dpal-po-che is the earliest mentioned ancestor family and this is the earliest that the 'Khon name appears in Tibetan historical documents. Cf. Rgyu 'byed 'jug chang (f. 136b—136d), B.A., p. 615.

4. Sa-skya Pngdita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan henceforth will be known as Sa-skya Pngdita, Chos-rje Png-chen, or Sa-pa.

5. The Mongol Khan referred to here is Go dan. He was Khan, at that time, of the Kokonor region. Cf. Tucci (T.P.S.) p. 9.

6. This information is given by Professor Tucci in (T.P.S.) p. 9.

7. The two sources which relate the unnatural death of Chos-Rgyal 'Phags-pa are:
   (i) Bod-kyi deb-bes dang gyi rgyal mo'i glo-thang, also known as Bod-kyi deb-bes dang-lodng gzhon nu'i dgra-ston, by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-gnas rgya-mtha', p. 150, Varanasi (1967).
   (ii) Rgyal-rabs 'phral-pa'i lde-mig, also known as the Deb-bes dmars-po'i deb-gsar-ma, by Bod-nams grags-pa, p. 13.

8. This book is also known as Gnyen-seng rin-po-che lam-bras kyi chos-khor khang-po. This 17 volume work was collected and edited by Jam-dbyangs blo-gter dbang-po, the abbot of Ngor E-wang chos-idam. The first volume contains biographies (dmar-thur) of the various lam-bras lineage Lamás. The 10 remaining volumes contain teachings, initiations, rituals, sadhanas and instructions.

9. Sher-chen ye-shes rgyal-mtshan belonged to the family known as Shas-pa, of which the three unbroken lineage is the present Khu-udung family, whose eldest son inherited the seat of the abbot of Ngor, (DTKN); (SWG).

10. 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhab Kun-dga' bo-dnams rgyal-mtshan was a 'Khon and a Sa-skya Khi-chen. He was a monk, but had to give up his vows to his brothers passed away without any sons to continue the family name. See Glossary.

11. The first seven volumes of the Lam-bras (see note 9). Bla-ma dam-pa Bod-nams rgyal-mtshan is also a 'Khon and Sa-skya Khi-chen. See Glossary.

12. See translation note 7, section (1).


17. 'Tshul-kpa Kun-dga’ rdo-rje mdzad pa’i lha-lam dbi-sber or Deb-sber dmar-po.


19. See translation note 152.

20. ’Ia’i lcags-sgra Rdo-pa’i rdo-rje; allen Ye-shes bstan-pa’i sgron-mtse, (1717-1786). He had tremendous influence in Mongolia, where he revised the Bstan-yin (translated from Tibetan into Mongolian in 1749). He was very learned and his literary activity is unparalleled. See Biography of Lcangs sgra Rdo-pa’i rdo-rje by Thub-chen Blo-bshang chos-khyi-nyis (1737-1802).


22. See ’Bras-Dga’-sun is the abbreviation for the three largest Dge-lugs-pa monasteries in Tibet. They are all situated in the Lhasa region. Prior to the communist Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950, the monastic population was estimated as follows : Ser, Sera, 5500 monks.


24. Blo-brang Bkra-sgrigs-khyil: this monastery was founded in A.D. 1708 by Kun-mkhyen Lam-dbyangs bshad-pa Rdo-rje dbang-po brtan- ’grus. For full accounts of this monastery, the iconography, and his history, see Rock, pp. 29-47. See also TPS, p. 260.

25. The State Oracle (Gnas-chung Cho-skyong) is the tutelary deity of the Dge-lugs-pa sect, and is specifically associated with ’Bras-sgrigs monasteries. The deity Rgyal-po Po-dkar, speaks through this oracle. Mediums are selected through (1) heredity, or (2) the spirit of the deity sometimes enter into a person and thus the person automatically becomes the medium. All such mediums are given good positions and held in high respect. The Gnas-chung medium holds the highest place because of the official rank of being the State Oracle and plays an important part in the recognition of the Dalai Lama, and in any other state affairs the final decision is always made with his consultation.


28. See translation note 155.

29. The Seventh Dalai Lama, Jetsar-brang rgya-mtsho (108-1757) was born at Li-thang in Kham, in the seventh month of the Earth-Mouse
year (1708). Lhasa-bzang Khan on hearing of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama sent a delegate to investigate; however, the boy was concealed and the parents were advised to take him to a safe place in the Koko-nor region, where certain Mongol tribes offered him recognition and protection. The Manchus seeing an opportunity to extend their influence in Tibet, offered recognition and the boy was taken to Shu-bum monastery in 1716 for education.

Then came the clash between the two Mongol tribes: Tsha-daghan abbot-scholars, Deungar Mongols and the Qoslot-Mongols of Lha-bzang Khan in Tibet.

The Dzungars wanted to bring the Seventh Dalai Lama to Lhasa but he was under Manchu protection. When the Kang-hsi Emperor heard of his recognition, he sent official confirmation with a seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1720.

On the ninth month of the Iron-Mouse year, he was brought to Lhasa and enthroned in the Potala. Then in the second month of the Iron-Sheep year (1723), the Seventh Dalai Lama assumed full spiritual and temporal powers over Tibet. For details see 'Dad-pa' snye-ma (A biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama) by Lhasa-skya Roi-pa's rdos-rje. (Also see, Shabalpa, p. 135-156).

30. The third Panchen Lama Dpal-lidan Ye-shten (1737-1789). Following the death of the Second Panchen Lama Blo-bzang yeshes dpal-bzang-po in 1737, at the age of seventy-four, a reincarnation was found a year later at Bka-bris-monastery in Shangri. The boy was formally recognized by the Seventh Dalai Lama and named Dpal-lidan Ye-shten.

At the invitation of the Manchu Emperor, the Panchen Lama, with permission of the Dalai Lama, proceeded to China by the way of Mongolia in 1779, for the interest of Buddhist religion, in spite of the smallpox epidemic in China. He was warmly received at Peking by the Ch'ing-lung Emperor in 1780. They proceeded to Peking where the Panchen Lama was accorded a grandiose welcome. During his stay in China at the Yellow Palace (Huang Si), he skillfully influenced the Manchu court and reduced the amount of Manchu interference in Tibet. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete his diplomatic and spiritual mission. He contracted smallpox and died in Peking in November of 1780. His remains were returned to Bka-bris-lhung-po and preserved in a museum there.

31. Bka-bris-lhung-po is the large monastery of the Panchen Lama near Shigatse. It was built in 1447 by Dge-dun-grub-pa, a disciple of Trong-kha-pa. He is posthumously known as the First Dalai Lama, because that title was not originated until 1578. For detail on the monastery and its founder see Bell, p. 101-108; Tucci (1978) p. 30, and B.A., p. 339.


ABBREVIATIONS

5A G. N. Roerich, Blo Annuai of gZon-nsa-dpal.
Das  S. Ch. Das *A Tibetan-English Dictionary.*

DTKN  Personal communication: Sde-gzhung sprul-sku Kung da-ba-brang.

LPL  Personal communication: Blo-bzang Phun-tson Lha-lung pa.

Rd & Sn  Richardson and Snellgrove. *A Cultural History of Tibet.*

Shakabpa  W. D. Shakabpa, Tibet, *A Political History.*

Skt  Sanskrit

Swg  Personal communication: Zur-khang ts-dbang-che mo Dbang-chen-dge-legs.

TPS  G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls.*


Wylie  T. Y. Wylie, “The Geography of Tibet” according to the ‘Dzameling-rgyas-brhad.”