

Recounting the Fifth Dalai Lama's Rebirth Lineage

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Faced with something immensely large or unknown, of which we still do not know enough or of which we shall never know, the author proposes a list as a specimen, example, or indication, leaving the reader to imagine the rest.

—Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*²

Incarnation lineages naming the past lives of eminent lamas have circulated since the twelfth century, that is, roughly around the same time that the practice of identifying reincarnating Tibetan lamas, or tulkus (*sprul sku*), began.³ From the twelfth through eighteenth centuries it appears that incarnation or rebirth lineages (*sku phreng*, *'khrungs rabs*, etc.) of eminent lamas rarely exceeded twenty members as presented in such sources as their auto/biographies, supplication prayers, and portraits; Dölpopa Sherab Gyeltsen (Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1292–1361), one such exception, had thirty-two. Among other eminent lamas who traced their previous lives to the distant Indic past, the lineages of Nyangrel Nyima Özer (Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192) had up

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² Eco 2009, 49.

³ In addition to early Bka' gdams pa examples noted by Leonard van der Kuijp, José Cabezón has found anecdotes of Bka' brgyud and Zhi byed identifications from roughly the same period, reportedly from the first half of the twelfth century. Cabezón has further traced the earliest datable incarnation lineage yet found to an autobiographical work of the Bka' brgyud master Nyag se Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1141–1201). van der Kuijp 2005, 28–29; Cabezón 2017, 4–6, 14–16.

to seventeen; those of Pañchen Lobzang Pelden Yeshé (Pañ chen Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, 1738–1780), up to twenty including his emanational source Amitābha; that of the Zhamar (Zhwa dmar) tulku lineage, ten as recorded in the fifteenth-century *Blue Annals*, adding up to sixteen by the end of the eighteenth century.⁴ By comparison the fully elaborated rebirth lineage of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682) identified seventy-eight members near the end of his lifetime (Appendix A, middle and right columns). What could explain such an extraordinarily abundant lineage? And, as Umberto Eco encourages us to ask, what does it invite us to imagine?

In this article I argue that lengthy rebirth lineages of the Fifth Dalai Lama articulated and promoted two complementary projects of the Ganden Podrang (Dga' ldan pho brang) court. One was an aesthetic associated with the phrase *sizhi püntsok* (*srid zhi'i phun tshogs*), which may be translated as “existence and peace replete” or “all the marvels of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.” This aesthetic of abundance embraced and celebrated material wealth, variety, numerousness, and a vision of inclusiveness as the ethos of the court. It also supported a second project: a fresh paradigm of kingly rule and legitimacy based on embodied qualities expressed through the Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage. While they strove to refashion religio-political discourses and practices in the seventeenth century and beyond, these projects had their limits amidst bitter sectarian and regional conflicts. Nevertheless, the legacy of the Great Fifth's rebirth lineages extended well beyond his court, impacting the subsequent formation of Gelukpa incarnation lineages across Asia.

I begin by analyzing two large lineages, a lineage of fifty-eight members painted in the Red Palace of the Potala as well as a lineage of seventy-eight members produced through a supplication prayer, thangka paintings (*thang ka*), and biographical writing. Completed near the end of the Fifth Dalai Lama's life, these were preceded by several earlier, shorter rebirth lineages. I sort out and compare these various versions in order to uncover the process of expanding his rebirth lineage and the implications for Tibetan kingship that they entailed. Next, I explore how the multisensory environments of rebirth lineage productions—poetry, painting, and recitation—cultivated a paradigm of Buddhist kingship through the aesthetics of abundance and the dynamics of prayer. Finally, I consider the impact of the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineages and circle back to the questions of listmaking and numerality.

⁴ Hirshberg 2016, 55–84; Cabezón 2017, 16; 'Gos Lo tsā ba 1979 (1949), 520–32, 540–45, 546–552.

The court of the “Great Fifth”—as Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso widely became known—is credited not only with unifying Tibet politically, but with making a lasting impact on major aspects of Tibetan religious and cultural traditions. Their grand achievements include the architecture and art of the Potala Palace along with substantial expansion of the Jokhang Temple complex in Lhasa; the institution of major annual festivals, especially focused on Lunar New Year; and the compilation and dissemination of systematic writings in the recognized “fields of learning” (*rig gnas*, Skt. *vidyāsthāna*): Buddhist doctrine, ritual, and history, as well as other fields such as poetics, medicine, and astrology. The literary and artistic production of the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineages must thus be understood as one particular area among an array of culture-making projects.⁵ Although it is well beyond the scope of this essay to analyze the full range of the Ganden Podrang's activities, in future publications I intend to address further aspects of cultural production by the Fifth Dalai's court.

1. Wondrous Plenitude

“Existence and Peace Replete” (*srid zhi'i phun tshogs*) is the resplendent name that was bestowed on the main assembly hall of the Red Palace in the Potala, which was completed in 1694 and also called the western grand hall (*tshoms chen nub*) to distinguish it from the eastern grand hall (*tshoms chen shar*) of the White Palace completed in 1648.⁶ Anyone who has entered this space is immediately struck by its imposing scale and majestic grandeur. With eight tall pillars and thirty-six shorter pillars, it has an estimated area of 370 square meters, and a height exceeding six meters (Fig. 1).⁷

⁵ For an excellent overview of the Fifth Dalai Lama and previous scholarship on his history and cultural achievements, see Schaeffer 2005, especially 280n1.

⁶ Some recent publications also refer to the eastern grand hall in the White Palace by the name *srid zhi'i phun tshogs*, but it is unclear to me when or how this latter usage began to circulate. Materials attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama that I have read simply refer to it as the “grand hall” (*tshoms chen*), the “grand hall of Potala Palace,” (*pho brang po ta la'i tshoms chen*), or some variant thereof. In Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's supplement to the Fifth's autobiography, we find multiple references to the Red Palace's grand hall with this particular name, e.g. “the new grand hall Existence and Peace Replete” (*tshoms chen gsar pa srid zhi'i phun tshogs*). In any case, I would concur that many visual elements I associate with the aesthetic of *srid zhi'i phun tshogs* are also found in the White Palace's grand hall, albeit in earlier stylistic forms. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 6, 135b3=270.3.

⁷ Phun tshogs tshe brtan 2000, 263. For additional images of this hall see Jiang Huaiying 1996, vol. 2, Pls. 146–165; Phun tshogs tshe brtan 2000, 84–102.

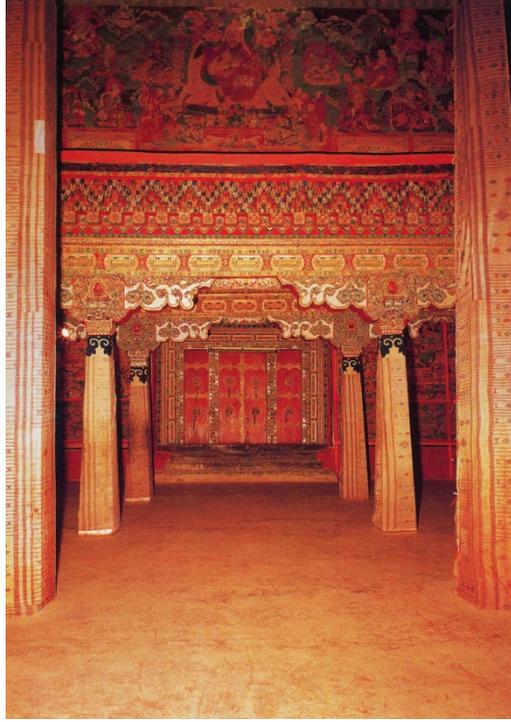


Fig. 1. “Existence and Peace Replete” grand hall, Red Palace, Potala, Lhasa, completed 1694.
(After Phuntsok Namgyal 2002, 124. By permission of Homa & Sekey Books, www.homabooks.com)

The wall painting program features Dalai Lama rebirth lineage portraits and narrative scenes from the Great Fifth’s life. While the paintings have undergone restoration—as have the paintings in the Eastern Great Hall—elements of the original design may still be discerned in consultation with textual sources.

On the ground level are portraits of principal lineage figures (Fig. 2) accompanied by smaller figures and narrative scenes of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s life, which also serve as visual transitions between the iconic figures (Figs. 1, 3). It begins on the north side of the west wall with the buddha Ödzé Yeshétok (‘Od mdzad ye shes tog, Skt. *Prabhākarajñānaketu), in whose presence the bodhisattva Chenrezik (Spyan ras gzigs, Skt. Avalokiteśvara) is said to have generated the aspiration for supreme awakening 991 eons (*skal pa*, Skt. *kalpa*) ago.⁸ According to the catalog of the Great Fifth’s funerary *stūpa* and other contents of the Red Palace by Desi Sanggyé Gyatso (Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705), the remaining procession of figures as the viewer circumambulates clockwise around the hall are the

⁸ Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 4, 14a2=31.2.

buddha Öpakmé (Skt. Amitābha) followed by Chenrezik on the north wall; the Tibetan imperial kings Songtsen Gampo and Trisong Detsen (Fig. 2), along with the Indic king Könchok Bang (Dkon mchog 'bangs) on the east wall; the Indic prince Depa Tenpa (Dad pa brtan pa) and the Nyingma (Rnying ma) treasure revealer Nyangrel Nyima Özer on the south wall; and the First Dalai Lama Gendün Drub (Dge 'dun grub) on the west wall.⁹ Apart from the two buddhas who are biographically linked with Chenrezik, the remaining figures are all members of the Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage, that is, his emanational source (Chenrezik) and preincarnations. The lineage portraits are larger than life, with seated figures at a height of 1.5 meters and the



Fig. 2. Emperor Trisong Detsen, from a series of Fifth Dalai Lama rebirth lineage wall paintings. "Existence and Peace Replete" grand hall, Red Palace, Potala, Lhasa, 1690–1694. (After Henss 2014, vol. 1, fig. 161. Photo 1981 by permission of author.)

⁹ As most of the assembly hall was not accessible for study at the time research was conducted, I was able to make only limited observations at considerable distance from the wall paintings. The description in Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's catalog of the Fifth Dalai Lama's funerary *stūpa* is partly reproduced in Phun tshogs tshe brtan's book on Potala murals, and generally agrees with a modern Tibetan-language guide to the Potala; it differs somewhat from Samten Karmay's description of the principal figures based on observations made in 1995. The iconic portrait of Dad pa brtan pa appears to have been replaced by one of 'Brom ston. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Sole Ornament*, vol. 1, 285a3–285b5=579.3–580.5; Phun tshogs tshe brtan 2000, 263–271; Karmay 2005, vol. 2, 109–118; Ljongs rig dngos do dam u yon lhan khang 2007 (1987), 54–55.

standing Chenrezik at a height of two meters.¹⁰ The Desi's catalog continues by listing fifty-seven members of the Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage painted on the walls above the balustrade (*seng g.yab*), beginning with the Fifth Dalai Lama (Fig. 1).¹¹ Except for Chenrezik, all of the Dalai Lama rebirth lineage members portrayed on the main walls reappear as portrait subjects on the walls above the balustrade, as documented in the left column of Appendix A. This brings the total number of Dalai Lama rebirth lineage members portrayed in the grand hall to fifty-eight.



Fig. 3. The Fifth Dalai Lama meets the Shunzhi emperor. Detail of wall paintings.
 "Existence and Peace Replete" grand hall, Red Palace, Potala, Lhasa, 1690–1694.

(After Phuntsok Namgyal 2002, 125. By permission of Homa & Sekey Books, www.homabooks.com)

¹⁰ Measurements are provided for all current lineage portraits except that of the First Dalai Lama. Jiang Huaiying et al. 1996, vol. 2, 536–37.

¹¹ Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Sole Ornament*, vol. 1, 285b5–286b4=580.5–582.4.

If the titular phrase “existence and peace replete” signified the wondrous plenitude of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, then the Red Palace’s grand hall simulated that glorious reality in three-dimensional space, and asserted that the Dalai Lama’s rebirth lineage was integral to its expression. From all sides and from above, the viewer’s gaze was returned by enlightened beings in their buddha and bodhisattva forms, powerful kings and noble princes, venerated and charismatic scholars and adepts. The New Menri (*sman ris gsar pa*) style pioneered by Tsangpa Chöying Gyatso (Gtsang pa Chos dbyings rgya mtsho) was well suited to depicting the array of cosmic and worldly beings in myriad settings, with its vivid use of color, lively postures and facial expressions, dynamically flowing robes, and finely detailed ornamentation (Figs. 2, 3).¹² The aesthetic of extravagant adornment extended to—and was intensified by—other surfaces and objects such as the carved and brightly painted pillar brackets, frames, and balustrade; richly brocaded hangings; the draped and cushioned high throne; and other furnishings that were in use by the Ganden Podrang court (Fig. 1). Populated by the Ganden Podrang court and its visitors, resounding with ritual instruments and human voices, the multisensory effect would have been complete. We might echo a line from the Fifth Dalai Lama’s Sukhāvati prayer that asks, after describing its array of wonders, “Is everything in existence and peace replete heaped in a mass in this place?”¹³

Amidst this overwhelming environment several themes emerge in the key of abundance. First, material wealth is celebrated through the radical ornateness of the grand hall itself, where hardly a surface is left unembellished from its finely carved and painted architectural details to the gold-embroidered brocades. It is further mirrored in the wall paintings, with their unabashed depiction of the riches of cosmic buddhas and bodhisattvas along with that of earthly kings through details such as the layering of intricately patterned robes and the jewelled garlands and pendants bedecking the palaces of Amitābha, eleven-headed Chenrezik, and the Shunzhi emperor alike (Figs. 2, 3). Prosperity, the space suggests, is not to be abandoned along with *samsāra* but enjoyed and shared even by those who have reached the summit of spiritual practice. Second, the aesthetic of “existence and peace replete” entails salutary and delightful variety, expressed

¹² Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Fine Silken Dress*, 286. The 1648 wall paintings in the White Palace’s grand hall—executed under the chief artistry of Gtsang pa Chos dbyings rgya mtsho—exhibit greater dynamism, whimsy, and subtlety than their 1694 Red Palace counterparts. Nevertheless, the Red Palace wall paintings retain basic elements of the New Sman ris style.

¹³ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1991–95, *Collected Works*, vol. 16, 192a1=389.1.

through the different bodies inhabited by Chenrezik through time and space as the Dalai Lama lineage, the alternating of built and natural environments (Figs. 2, 3), along with the diverse appearances and activities of all sorts of beings in worlds both earthly and celestial. Third, the quality of sheer numerousness is striking: buildings and landscapes teem with people, the sheer number of scenes defy mental grasp, while the fifty-eight portraits of Dalai Lama lineage figures—six of them repeated—permeate one's awareness from every angle.¹⁴ It was not expected that any viewer could identify and name all fifty-eight iterations, or even that she could see all of them clearly. Rather, what mattered was the recognition that these portraits were all precious bodies of Chenrezik *qua* Dalai Lamas, and that there were so very many of them, more than most people could name or imagine.¹⁵

A lineage of fifty-eight figures might seem like plenty to accomplish the Ganden Podrang court's vision of abundance, filling as enormous a space as the Red Palace's grand hall. More than a decade earlier, however, an even larger lineage had already been conceived and executed in poetic prayer and in painting. *Yangchen's Lute* (Dbyangs can rgyud mang ma), a lengthy supplication prayer to the Dalai Lama lineage, is preserved in the Fifth Dalai Lama's extensive catalog of "support" objects instantiating liberated body, speech, and mind (*sku gsung thugs rten*).¹⁶ According to the colophon, it was composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama and scribed by Targyépa Lobzang Wangpo (Mthar rgyas pa Blo bzang dbang po). Although the text itself lacks a title in the catalog, Desi Sanggyé Gyatso's biographical supplement to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography and diaries, *Fine Silken Dress* (Du kū la'i gos bzang), briefly mentions an extensive supplication prayer to the Dalai Lama lineage, titled *Yangchen's Lute* and composed by the Great Fifth himself.¹⁷ "Yangchen's lute" are the opening words of the text in question, in honor of the goddess of music, poetry, and learning, also known by her Sanskrit name Sarasvatī. The main text is composed entirely in verse. After the Fifth Dalai Lama, who is treated as the first lineage member, each member of the rebirth lineage is marked in the text

¹⁴ Phun tshogs tshe brtan assesses the number of wall painting sections at a total of 2,251. Phun tshogs tshe brtan 2000, 263.

¹⁵ My analysis about recognizing the group as a whole rather than each and every single individual is inspired by the argument Rob Linrothe has made about the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*—another large group—painted on the colossal Mañjuśrī's *dhotī* in the Alchi Sumtsek. However, the emphasis on numerousness is my own. Linrothe 2001.

¹⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 99b–107b=200–216.

¹⁷ Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 4, 136b2=278.2.

with a numerical annotation (Appendix A, middle column). Each figure is supplicated with a single stanza except for the Great Fifth and Chenrezik, who are each praised and supplicated with multiple stanzas. Including the versified conclusion there are a total of ninety-six stanzas; together with the prose colophon and embedded notes, the text runs a length of eight and a half folios with six lines per side.

Yangchen's Lute was produced in coordination with a set of sixty-five thangka scroll paintings illustrating the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage, called *Array of Avadānas* (Rtogs brjod kyi zhing bkod). The thangkas were sponsored by Desi Sanggyé Gyatso. Work on this large-scale visual production, which began in the Iron-Monkey year of 1680, was completed the following year. The text of *Yangchen's Lute* was likely completed shortly before or in concert with the painting work; the colophon states that it was recited while seed syllables were being written on the backs of the paintings as part of the consecration ritual.¹⁸

Although the thangkas themselves are not known to be extant, a number of details are known, including the identity of the head painter, Gönpö Tsering from Mentang (Sman thang nas Mgon po tshe ring)—that is, as a painter of the New Menri style.¹⁹ The Desi describes in sumptuous detail the materials he sponsored for making these lineage thangkas in full color, including “cotton cloth as thin as an eggshell” as the support for the painted area; approximately an ounce of “cold gold” (*grang gser*), along with colors “in abundance” such as azurite, malachite, orpiment, and indigo pigments; green “old *khati* (*kha thi*)” silk brocade for the fabric border (*gong gsham*)—ranked first among textiles in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, likely in part for its antique status;²⁰ red and yellow *khati* for the narrow borders (*'ja'*) framing the painting; embroidered Chinese *dingpön* (*ding phon*) satin for the brocade patch (*mthongs 'jug*) on the central thangka in the set; “Mongolian satin” with phoenix and dragon figures on a red background of dragons and clouds for the brocade patches on the remaining thangkas; and not one but two layers of dust covers (*zhal khebs*) made of two different kinds of silk.²¹ All told, the Desi reports, the value of the materials for the sixty-five thangkas was 464.625 *sang* (*srang*) of silver (approaching ten pounds

¹⁸ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 107b1=216.1.

¹⁹ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 107b2=216.2.

²⁰ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 3, 241.

²¹ For identifying Tibetan textile terms, I have relied on Joachim Karsten's unpublished work on the subject. Karsten n.d.

in weight); the expenses for labor and offerings associated with its production totaled 854.665 *sang* of silver (nearly eighteen pounds).²²

While the Desi does not comment on the composition of the painted designs, we may infer from comparable productions that most scrolls would have consisted of central figures accompanied by smaller figures, sites, and/or narrative scenes associated with them. According to the colophon of *Yangchen's Lute*, two scribes wrote inscriptions on the *thangkas* for each of the central figures, presumably the verse supplications themselves.²³ The earliest extant *thangkas* depicting the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage likely date to the late seventeenth century; this set originally consisted of nineteen *thangkas*, but only seven are extant and are divided among various collections.²⁴ A later lineage *thangka* design that may have been based on, or borrowed elements from, *Array of Avadānas* was made for the Seventh Dalai Lama in thirteen block-prints at the Narthang Monastery Printing House. A complete set of painted copies in the gold *thangka* style (*gser thang*) is held in the collection of Tibet House New Delhi.²⁵ In this design the Seventh Dalai Lama serves as the central figure of the set, while other lineage members are depicted in three-quarter profile facing the center.

Returning to our *thangka* set in question, *Array of Avadānas*, given its name it may have included more detailed narrative scenes as observable in numerous *avadāna* *thangka* designs.²⁶ With seventy-eight lineage members appearing on sixty-five *thangkas*, some *thangkas* would have featured more than one lineage figure. By way of comparison, another later set of seven Dalai Lama lineage *thangkas*—ending with the Ninth Dalai Lama—groups together up to four lineage members in a single composition.²⁷ Apart from the central *thangka* where the Fifth Dalai Lama's portrait is dominant, the compositional strategy of each of the remaining *thangkas* is relatively decentralized; moreover, the lineage members are not

²² Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 4, 201a1–201b3=407.1–408.3.

²³ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 107b3–107b4=216.3–216.4.

²⁴ Henss 2005, 264. For example, an image of 'Brom ston from this set may be viewed as HAR item no. 85968 at: <http://www.himalayanart.org/items/85968> (last accessed January 20, 2017).

²⁵ Images of the complete Tibet House New Delhi set may be viewed at: <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=686> (last accessed December 30, 2016).

²⁶ For studies of *avadāna* *thangka* paintings see Lin 2011.

²⁷ For a detailed analysis of this set see Sørensen 2005b, 242–57. Images of the complete set may also be viewed as HAR items no. 65850–65856 at: <http://www.himalayanart.org/pages/dalaiset7/index.html> (last accessed January 20, 2017).

grouped in strict chronological order. When mounted for display, the sixty-five *thangkas* of *Array of Avadānas* must have made for an impressive sight; to fit them consecutively in a single space would have required a grand assembly hall such as those of the White or Red Palaces of the Potala, or the main assembly hall of Drepung Monastery. We may conclude that the *thangkas* would have shared the aesthetic values of wealth, variety, and numerousness found in the Red Palace's grand hall, as well as the New Menri style of the wall paintings.

2. Expanding the Rebirth Lineage

It is uncertain how widely the supplication prayer *Yangchen's Lute* was known and recited, or with what frequency and duration the *Array of Avadānas* was displayed. Nevertheless, the extensive lineage developed through these productions was more widely circulated through the Desi's biographical supplement to *Fine Silken Dress*, where all seventy-eight members of the lineage appear in his prose account (Appendix A, right column). There they are not numbered and do not always appear in the same sequence as in *Yangchen's Lute*. Moreover, while the lives of most are narrated through plots ranging from a few lines to several pages each, some—particularly the lesser-known kings of the imperial period—are merely mentioned by name.²⁸

The relationship between lineage members in *Yangchen's Lute* and corresponding narratives in the Desi's supplement to *Fine Silken Dress* can be illustrated with the following example from *Yangchen's Lute*, numbered fifth in the lineage:

Born the son of Legkyé, *paṇḍita* in the ocean of Vedas,
 He saw that *saṃsāric* existence was like a pit of fire,
 vowed pure conduct before Lodrö Jikmé, and
 took up the path of liberation: supplications to Selwa!²⁹

The stanza offers certain details about the protagonist Selwa (Gsal ba), such as his father's name (Legs skyes) and brahmanical status

²⁸ This has led to different enumerations of the Fifth Dalai Lama's lineage in the Desi's biographical supplement, with Ahmad listing fifty-nine in his table of contents and Ishihama listing sixty-seven (in all cases I have included the Fifth Dalai Lama as part of the count). Sørensen also provides alternate lists of the Fifth Dalai Lama's lineage. Ahmad 1999, vii–x; Ishihama 1992, 238–41; Ishihama 2015, 182–87; Sørensen 2005a, 58; Sørensen 2005b, 247–48.

²⁹ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 101a3–101a4=203.3–203.4.

along with the bare bones of a plot, but is too attenuated to convey much information on its own. It does not, for example, communicate that Selwa lived in the city of Kapilavastu, or that he went to a lake full of geese there and was told by them to seek out the brahmin monk Lodrö Jikmé (Blo gros 'jigs med), or how, after ordaining as a monk with him, Selwa practiced diligently for fifty-five years. It does assume a learned, courtly audience familiar with Indic references and with a classical poetic style dependent on metaphor, simile, and other recognized figures of speech. In these respects it resembles condensed poetic accounts of the buddha Śākyamuni's lives that were also produced by the Fifth Dalai Lama's court to accompany large-scale painting sets.³⁰

The plot details are provided in the fourth volume of the Desi's supplement to *Fine Silken Dress*, which was completed after *Yangchen's Lute*. In this regard, the section of the Desi's supplement treating previous lives of the Fifth Dalai Lama may be regarded as an explanatory commentary to the condensed verses of *Yangchen's Lute*. While the sources for these narratives predate both texts—a point I will return to below—*Yangchen's Lute* may in fact serve as the textual authority that preceded and determined the lineage of the Fifth Dalai Lama's incarnations that appears in *Fine Silken Dress*. This would be consistent with Vostrikov's observation that lineage supplication prayers ('*khrungs rabs gsol 'debs*) are the genre through which incarnation lineages are compiled, and thus "serve as official acts specifying the previous incarnations of a person."³¹ Given the ritual use of supplication prayer in liturgical recitation, one may surmise how this genre would be considered authoritative. While differing biographical accounts could vary in their mentions and omissions of previous lives, a supplication prayer adopted for liturgical use would be repeated, memorized, and internalized. Through this process, it would become the standard with which its performer would compare other sources.

The Ganden Podrang's vision of "existence and peace replete"—accomplished through the Fifth Dalai Lama's extraordinarily large rebirth lineage productions—was elaborated late in his court's reign; he was already ill in 1680 when work on *Array of Avadānas* began, and passed away long before Desi Sanggyé Gyatso completed construction of the Red Palace and the writing of his biographical supplement. Before the activities of the Desi, the Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage was much shorter. The 1494 biography of Gendün Drub—posthumously recognized as the First Dalai Lama—by Pañchen

³⁰ Lin 2011, 37–50.

³¹ Vostrikov 1936, 97.

Yeshé Tsemo (Paṅ chen Ye shes rtse mo, b. 1433) mentioned only four lineage members: his emanational source Chenrezik, Songtsen Gampo, Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné ('Brom ston Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas)—chief disciple of Atiśa and founding figure of the Kadampa (Bka' gdams pa) tradition—and Gendün Drub himself. How the lineage expanded to such massive numbers in the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime, thus lending itself to the aesthetics of abundance explored above, is investigated in the remainder of this section. As I will suggest, it also supplied elements for a fresh paradigm of kingship as understood through embodied lives.

As is well known, multiple lineage supplication prayers for the same tulku could be composed, and these could also vary in the number of lineage members invoked. Such was the case for the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Desi classifies *Yangchen's Lute* as the large or secret version of the lineage, but also mentions two other rebirth lineage supplication prayers attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama: a short or outer version called "Lobzang the Victor" and a middle-length or inner version called "Compassion for the World." These short and middle-length versions are said to name only sixteen members of the rebirth lineage.³² These two lineage lists may have been very similar to, if not the same as, the list in another prominent text in the Fifth Dalai Lama's collected works, thirteen folios in length and briefly titled *Clear Mirror* (Gsal ba'i me long).³³

Clear Mirror was written to accompany a set of thangkas of the Great Fifth's rebirth lineage, called *Rebirth Lineage Array* ('Khrungs rabs kyi zhing bkod). It contains a list of sixteen lineage members plus the Fifth Dalai Lama himself as the seventeenth; while they are not numbered, individual members are marked by annotations embedded in the text. Comparison with rebirth lineage members mentioned in the Great Fifth's 1646 biography of the Third Dalai Lama indicates that most of the list in *Clear Mirror* had already been established by that date (Table 1). As Ishihama has noted, paintings of the Dalai Lama rebirth lineage were also appearing in prominent places within the first decade of the Ganden Podrang government, from 1642 to 1651.³⁴ While the colophon to *Clear Mirror* does not provide a date, it states that the text was composed by the Fifth Dalai

³² *Blo bzang rgyal ba ma* and 'Gro la rjes rtse ma. I have not located works with these titles in the Fifth Dalai Lama's collected works. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography and diaries, late in 1665 he gave oral transmission for *Blo bzang rgyal ba ma*. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, Vol. 4, 136b1–136b2=278.1–278.2; Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 2, 12.

³³ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Clear Mirror*, 1a–13a=577–601.

³⁴ Ishihama 1993, 48–49.

Biography of First Dalai Lama, 1494	Biography of Third Dalai Lama, 1646 ^a	<i>Clear Mirror</i> , 1649?
		[DL5] Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso
Chenrezik	Chenrezik	Chenrezik
		Jikten Wangchuk
		Könchok Bang
	Nyatri Tsenpo	
	Lha Totori Nyanshal	
Songtsen Gampo	Songtsen Gampo	Songtsen Gampo
	Trisong Detsen	Trisong Detsen
		Tri Relpachen
Dromtön	Dromtön	Dromtön
	Khaché Gönpa	Khaché Gönpawa
	Sachen Künga Nyingpo	Sachen Künga Nyingpo
	Zhang Drowé Gönpo	Zhang Drowé Gönpo
	Ngadak Nyang Nyima Özer	Ngadak Nyang
	Lhajé Gewabum	Lhajé Gewabum
[DL1] Gendün Drub		[DL1] Gendün Drub
		[DL2] Gendün Gyatso
		[DL3] Sönam Gyatso
		[DL4] Dechen Chögyal

Table 1. Expansion of the Dalai Lama Rebirth Lineage, 1494–1649?
(for Wylie transliteration see Appendix A)

Lama at the request of “Püsang, the temple caretaker and madman.”³⁶ I tentatively propose a date of 1649 based on a similar reference to rebirth lineage thangkas that were made at the request of “Püsang the madman” in the corresponding year in the Fifth Dalai Lama’s autobiography.³⁷

³⁵ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Chariot for an Ocean of Feats*, 2b6–4a3=34.6–37.3.

³⁶ *spus srang pa dkon gnyer smyon pas bskul ba’i ngor/_za hor gyi ban dhes pho brang chen po po ta lar sbyar ba’i yi ge pa ni ngag dbang dge legs so//*. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Clear Mirror*, 13a6=601.6. On the usage of “madman” and related terms for Buddhist masters, see Larsson 2012, 6–22.

³⁷ *spus srang smyon pas bskul nas ’khrungs rabs bris thang bri ba’i zhing bkod*. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 1, 301. A previous attempt by Lange to date this text to 1673–1676, while much later in his lifetime, would still place it before the completion of both *Yangchen’s Lute* and the Desi’s supplement to *Du kü la’i gos bzang*. While I am not fully clear on Lange’s argument, it seems that she is comparing *Clear Mirror* with a text dated to 1673 that similarly uses the epithet *Za hor gyi ban dhe* and the Potala as the named location, and further that she is citing another text scribed by Dpal grong sngags rams pa Ngag dbang dge legs dated to 1676. However, as early as 1644 colophons scribed by Ngag dbang

Comparing the earlier list of seventeen in *Clear Mirror* with the list of seventy-eight in *Yangchen's Lute* (Table 2), it is clear that most of the expansion was effected by adding preincarnations from the Indic world (lineage nos. 3–36) and from Tibetan imperial succession (lineage nos. 37–48, 50–58). Addressing each member of the lineage is well beyond the scope of this article; in the remainder of this section I limit myself to a few remarks on the source of the Indic preincarnations, and how they contributed to the Dalai Lama lineage. The colophon to *Yangchen's Lute* states that its stories are from the *Book of Kadam* (Bka' gdams glegs bam), supplemented by various other sources. The *Book of Kadam* was compiled in 1302 as a collection of religious instructions, dialogues, stories, rituals, and prophecies attributed to the Indian master Atiśa and his chief disciple, the Tibetan layman Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné. It became a foundational text for the Gelukpa, and as mentioned earlier, Dromtön had already been identified as a previous birth of the Dalai Lamas by the end of the fifteenth century.³⁸

<i>Clear Mirror</i>	<i>Yangchen's Lute</i>	Sources and/or identifications
[1.] Fifth Dalai Lama	[1.] Fifth Dalai Lama	
[2.] Chenrezik	2. Chenrezik	
[3.] Jikten Wangchuk	3. Jikten Wangchuk	<i>Mañi Kabum</i> : preincarnation of Songtsen Gampo
	4. *Nangwa	"Teachings for Ngok," <i>Book of Kadam</i>
	5. Selwa	
	6. Chakmé	
	7. Küntuga	
	8. Lhakyé	
[4.] Könchok Bang	9. Könchok Bang	
	10. Depa Tenpa	
	11. *Pelzang	
	12. Depa Rابتu Tenpa	13. Rebirth in China; sole rebirth outside Indic world in "Teachings for Ngok"
	13. Lodrö Pel	
	14-25. Gadzin, up through Gendün Pel	"Teachings for Khu," <i>Book of Kadam</i> , all located in the Indic world
	26-36. Rāja to Kyabjin	

dge legs used the epithet *Za hor gyi bande*, and references to *pho brang chen po po ta la* were appearing in the Fifth Dalai Lama's collected works by 1649. I am grateful to Nicole Willock for her assistance with translating the German; all errors remain my own. Lange 1969, 212–14; cf. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, 1a6=7.6; Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Collected Works*, vol. 22, 86a–87a=359–61.

³⁸ For English-language studies and partial translations, see Ehrhard 2002, Miller 2004, Jinpa 2008.

	37-48. Nyatri Tsenpo to Dertrin Tsen	Tibetan imperial lineage
	49. Midak Tsuklakdzin	King of Zahor in Padmasambhava's time
	50-53. Sajö Drapung Tsen to Namri Songtsen	Tibetan imperial lineage
[5.] Songtsen Gampo	54. Songtsen Gampo	
	55. Düsong Marjé	
	56. Tridé Tsukten	
[6.] Trisong Detsen	57. Trisong Detsen	
[7.] Tri Relpachen	58. Ngadak Tri Rel	
	59. Chögyel Gewapel	
[9.] Khaché Gönpawa	60. Khedrub Gönpa	Kashmiri Buddhist master
[8.] Dromtön Gyalwa	61. Dromtön Jé	Chief disciple of Atíśa
[10.] Sachen Künga Nyingpo	62. Künga Nyingpo	Sakya founding figure
[11.] Zhang Drowé Gönpa	63. Yudrak Drowé Gönpa	Lama Zhang, founder of Tselpa Kagyü
	64. Ya Zangpa	Yazang Kagyü master (1169-1233)
[12.] Ngadak Nyang	65. [Nyangrel] Nyima Özer	Nyingma treasure revealer
	66. Guru Chöwang	Nyingma treasure revealer
	67. Sumtön Yeshé Zung	Teacher transmitting medical tantras (<i>rgyud bzhi</i>) (12th c.)
	68. Pakchen Chökyi Gyelpo	Nephew of Sakya Paṇḍita, named spiritual leader of Tibet by Khubilai Khan
[13.] Lhajé Gewabum	69. Gewabum	Restored dikes of Lhasa to prevent flooding
	70. Padmavajra	Nepalese <i>paṇḍita</i>
[14.] [DL1] Gendün Drub	71. [DL1] Gendün Drub	Considered one of Tsongkhapa's seven principal disciples
	72. Lodrö Gyeltsen Pel	Reincarnation of Sachen Künga Nyingpo (no. 62)
	73. Khyenrab Chökyi Jé	Sakya lama, Zhalu tradition
[15.] [DL2] Gendün Gyatso	74. [DL2] Gendün Gyatso	Served as abbot of Tashilhünpo, Drepung, and Sera
	75. Terchen Pema Wang	Nyingma treasure revealer Ngari Pañchen
	76. Chögyel Wangpödé	Predicted reincarnation of Trisong Detsen (no. 57)
[16.] [DL3] Sönam Gyatso	77. [DL3] Sönam Gyatso	Full title including "Dalai Lama" given by Altan Khan, Tümed Mongol
[17.] [DL4] Dechen Chögyal	78. [DL4] Yönten Gyatso	Altan Khan's great-grandson born in Mongolia

Table 2. Expansion and Textual Sources of Yangchen's Lute (for Wylie transliteration see Appendix A)

The *Book of Kadam* is indeed the main source for lineage reconstruction in the section of *Yangchen's Lute* dealing with previous existences from the Indic world, which draws from the latter part of the *Book of Kadam*, known as the "Son Teachings" (*Bu chos*). The "Son Teachings" are further divided into teachings for the two disciples of Dromtön: Ngok Legpé Sherab (Rngog Legs pa'i shes rab) and Khutön Tsöndrū Yungdrung (Khu ston Brtson 'grus g.yung drung). The sections are simply referred to as "Teachings for Ngok" (*Rngog chos*) and "Teachings for Khu" (*Khu chos*). The "Teachings for Ngok" contain a sequence of twenty chapters in which Atiśa recounts previous lives of Dromtön at Ngok's request, styled after the *jātaka* and *avadāna* genres.³⁹ These twenty lives are replicated in sequence in *Yangchen's Lute*, as lineage numbers four through ten and twelve through twenty-five. The two additional lineage members can be accounted for as plots of earlier lives embedded within chapters of "Teachings for Ngok." In the chapter on Selwa (lineage no. 5) the protagonist relates a prediction from a previous life as Nangwa (Nang ba, lineage no. 4): he is hanging around the town gate when Siddhārtha Gautama happens to pass by. Prince Siddhārtha tells him not to stand there idly and waste this human life. He further predicts that Nangwa will be reborn as a brahman youth named Selwa who will act wisely in accordance with karma, undertake meditative practices, and work for the welfare of sentient beings.⁴⁰

Similarly, in the *Book of Kadam* chapter on Depa Rabtu Tenpa (Dad pa rab tu brtan pa, lineage no. 12), an embedded tale of one of his previous existences as the king Pelzang (Dpal bzang, lineage no. 11) is narrated, this time in verse. Pelzang had two ministers: Pel (Dpal), Minister of the Exterior, and Peldrub (Dpal grub), Minister of the Interior. Being childless, the king and queen treated the ministers like sons and bestowed political authority upon them. Pel was jealous of Peldrub's inside position that made him privy to confidential information (*snying gtam*), and plotted to usurp power. Sensing that all was not well, the king made offerings to the Three Jewels, constantly keeping wholesome thoughts in mind. Before long, the jealous minister Pel died. The king gave much wealth to Peldrub and passed away soon after. The story concludes:

³⁹ I have not found sources among canonical *jātaka* and *avadāna* literature, nor from *sūtra* literature, from which the names or plots are copied. Nevertheless, perhaps it should not be surprising if the compilers of the *Book of Kadam*—or the oral sources that preceded them—were sufficiently familiar with the conventions of the *jātaka* and *avadāna* genres to deliver narratives in their style.

⁴⁰ Jo bo rje dpal ldan A ti sha, *Kadam Son Teachings*, 4–5.

Peldrub assumed royal duties,
 Venerated the Three Jewels for the king's sake,
 Was loving to his subjects, protected the commoners,
 And was praised and honored by all.⁴¹

The decision to extract these two full-fledged lineage members and compose separate narratives for them is telling. The story of Nangwa links the Fifth Dalai Lama to the time, place, and person of Śākyamuni. While the inclusion of other preincarnation narratives from the *Book of Kadam* maps his lives across various kingdoms of the Indic world at unknown points from the distant past, this one locates him as a special individual who—however fleeting his encounter with the latest buddha of our eon—was singled out by him for a prediction of his future demonstration of good Buddhist deeds.

As for King Pelzang and his ministers, the extraction of their narrative takes on heightened significance in light of events at the Fifth Dalai Lama's court around the period when *Yangchen's Lute* and *Array of Avadānas* were completed. The Desi quotes the entire embedded story from the *Book of Kadam* in his supplement to *Fine Silken Dress*, in the fourth volume, which was completed in 1682.⁴² Given the Desi's status as the favorite and the heart-disciple of the Great Fifth, the "confidential information" (*snying gtam*) enjoyed by the virtuous interior minister and jealously coveted by the evil exterior minister may also be understood as the "heart advice" passed on from lama to disciple. Both the troubles among the king's ministers and the king's death shortly after the determination of his successor parallel the events of this period. Sanggyé Gyatso had been appointed in the position of Desi (regent) in 1679, in the wake of scandal surrounding the previous regent and monk, Lobzang Tutob (Blo bzang mthu stobs), who stepped down in 1676 after it came out that he was keeping an aristocratic woman as a mistress.⁴³ The Fifth Dalai Lama would pass away in 1682, although the Desi would keep this secret until after the Red Palace was completed in 1694.

As is well known, events would not conclude as happily for the Desi as they would for his mythological double, the interior minister Peldrub.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the effort to identify Nangwa and King

⁴¹ Jo bo rje dpal ldan A ti sha, *Kadam Son Teachings*, 307.

⁴² Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, Vol. 4, 46b5–47a3=96.5–97.3.

⁴³ Richardson 1980, 339–40.

⁴⁴ Despite the narrative parallels before the Sde srid's fall from power, Dpal grub does not appear in the rebirth lineage of the Sde srid. This may be due to its potentially controversial content, and/or the fact that it was an embedded narrative in the Dad pa rab tu brtan pa episode of *Bka' gdams legs bam*; there is no

Pelzang as distinct members of the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage highlights three important aspects of his court's project to reshape his personhood near the end of his life. The first was to convey the temporal continuity of his successive lives. While great leaps in time from one lineage member to the next were evident in earlier, shorter lists, efforts to lengthen the list in *Yangchen's Lute* filled in the gaps between his lives in the distant Indic past and his earliest rebirths in Tibet. The second was to emphasize the Dalai Lama's participation in Indic culture and society through these additional previous lives, thereby making it a noticeably more significant dimension of his personal history. In particular, the story of Nangwa anchored the Dalai Lamas' rebirth lineage in the historical and auspicious time and place of Śākyamuni. The third aspect of their project was to affirm parallels between the distant Indic past and their present moment in late seventeenth-century Tibet. Through stories like that of King Pelzang and his minister, details of past lives became grippingly immediate, replaying through concerns about leadership transitions within the Ganden Podrang government. These three aspects extended beyond efforts to emphasize the Fifth Dalai Lama's cosmic origin as Avalokiteśvara, his link to the Tibetan imperial past, or his place in the line of Tibetan rebirths predicted to Könchok Bang (lineage no. 9), points that have been previously documented.⁴⁵ They constituted elements of an alternative paradigm of kingship that was based on the embodied qualities of personhood, as exemplified through a multiplicity of incarnations. Past lives could be called upon to interpret and refashion the religio-political dynamics of the present. In the following section, I explore further implications of this paradigm for Tibet under the Ganden Podrang.

3. A Kingship of Embodied Lives

The aesthetics of "existence and peace replete" apparent in the grand hall of the Potala's Red Palace, and in the lineage of *Array of Avadānas*, recur in other texts attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama, where they further build this paradigm of embodied qualities. Here it

corresponding rebirth lineage member for the Sde srid from the embedded Snang ba narrative, either. Instead the Sde srid's lineage contains the king Zla ba dbang po (Skt. Sucandra) that bears no relation to Snang ba other than being contemporaneous with him; this king was the one who requested the buddha Śākyamuni to teach the Kālacakra Tantra at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka. *The Collected Works of Liturgy of the Gnas-chuñ Rdo-rje-sgra-deyañs-gliñ Monastery*, 3b2-3b3=6.2-6.3; Ishihama 1992, 238; Ishihama 2015, 182.

⁴⁵ Ishihama 1993; Karmay 2007, 132.

appears at the close of an undated prayer of supplication and aspiration directed toward the Dalai Lama rebirth lineage:

I supplicate the illusory incarnations of the white lotus holder
 who manifested as earthly lords in the noble land of India
 and the snowy land of Tibet, such as Könchok Bang,
 Songtsen, Lhé Metok, Relpachen, and Gewapel. | 1 | 1 | 1 |

I supplicate those who manifested as excellent preceptors:
 Gyalwé Jungné, the greatly kind Sakyapa,
 Yudrak Zhangtön, Nyimé Özer,
 and the life-trunk of weal and joy in Tibet, Gewabum. | 2 | 1 | 1 |

I supplicate those who performed the play of emanation,
 who became fields of merit by dint of
 erudition and adeptness at the crown of the ethical Saṅgha to
 place the assembly of disciples in the ocean of wisdom—
 scripture and realization. | 3 | 1 | 1 |

I supplicate Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso,
 a firefly trailing the stratum of sun and moon
 who is graciously accepted by the excellent ones who have
 come before
 by being overrated on the activation of his good propensities.
 | 4 | 1 | 1 |

By the virtue of this prayer may the welfare of Dharma and
 beings always prevail!
 From the golden hands of merit of myself and others
 may hundreds of thousands of silver coins—existence and
 peace replete—
 unceasingly stream until buddhahood is attained! | 5 | 1 | 1 |

This prayer of supplication and aspiration was composed by
 the venerable monk of Zahor upon the request of the ruler
 from Dakpo Bhrum; the scribe was Nesarpa Jamyang.⁴⁶

Well-educated reciters, auditors, and readers would recognize the image of golden hands from narratives such as the forty-fourth episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Bodhisattva Stories* (Byang chub sems pa'i rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing, Skt. Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā). In a previous life the buddha Śākyamuni was born as

⁴⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Collected Works*, vol. 15, 107b1–b6=430.1–430.6.

Hiraṇyapāṇi or “Golden Hands” (Gser gyi lag pa), from whose hands gold marvelously appeared. Furthermore, every morning a hundred thousand silver coins issued forth from each of his hands, thus making him a wish-fulfilling tree of riches.⁴⁷ This image of endless riches serves as a metaphor for *sizhi püntsok*, “existence and peace replete” or “all the marvels of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.” It is what an advanced bodhisattva has the capability and compassion to provide to everyone, granting worldly delights as well as the ultimate bliss of liberation.

Framed within the dedication of merit at the end of this supplication prayer, the allusion opens up an even more amazing possibility. Just as Śākyamuni provided all this in the past, so now the reciter imagines “myself and others” doing the same. The final verse reminds us that rebirth stories inspire people to emulate spiritually liberated beings, such as those in the Dalai Lama lineage who are praised as earthly rulers, teachers, and adepts (stanzas 1–3). As author, the Fifth Dalai Lama's humble self-positioning in relation to his predecessors (stanza 4) helps his audience conceive that while their karmic state may be modest at the present moment, one day they too may become wish-fulfilling trees lavishing all the marvels of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

If the bodhisattva's hands grant the silver coins, the bodhisattva himself is the treasury of *sizhi püntsok*. The latter is the very image we find in the opening stanza of another text attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama, a condensed stanza adaptation of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* written to accompany wall paintings in the main assembly hall of Drepung (“Bras spungs”) Monastery completed in 1654:

Treasury of all that's good in existence and peace,
lavishing weal and joy, king of wish-fulfilling gems,
famed as Śuddhodana's son with a white parasol,
circling up to the peak of existence: homage to him!⁴⁸

The person of the buddha Śākyamuni—here called by the epithet Śuddhodana's son—is the “treasury” (*mdzod*) of “all that's good in existence and peace” (*srid dang zhi ba'i dge legs kun*), a variant expression of *sizhi püntsok*. That person is hardly limited to the physical frame of Siddhārtha Gautama; he is the person of countless lifetimes, who has cycled through various lives on his bodhisattva path “up to the peak of existence.” All along the way he is a “king of

⁴⁷ Kṣemendra (Dge ba'i dbang po) 2004, 226; Kṣemendra 1989 (1959), 278.

⁴⁸ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Collected Works*, vol. 16, 65b2=136.2.

wish-fulfilling gems," one who bears the "white parasol" of kingship while "lavishing weal and joy" for all.

As *Yangchen's Lute* tells us, the person of the Fifth Dalai Lama is another such treasury of wondrous plenitude:

Supplications to enter the ocean of majestic wisdom
on the ferry to awakening by receiving wholesome impressions:
flowing speech singing the song of Yangchen's lute,
a mind that's mastered the ten fields of learning.⁴⁹

As one might expect in a Tibetan literary work composed in the classical style (*snyan ngag*, Skt. *kāvya*), it begins by invoking Yangchen (Skt. Sarasvatī), Indic goddess of wisdom and learning, of eloquence and euphony in speech, poetry, and music. The title *Yangchen's Lute*, then, both refers to the opening words of the prayer while also calling attention to the aesthetic qualities of the text.⁵⁰ While Sarasvatī is known as both goddess and river in India, the water imagery here recalls verses of praise Tibetans have attributed to Kālidāsa and preserved in the Tengyur. There she is instead compared to an ocean that washes away torment with powerful waves of compassion, an ocean that is the source of the wish-granting jewel, fulfilling hopes and coming to the aid of deluded and bewildered beings.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The block-print contains a number of orthographical errors; corrections are suggested in cited passages of this text. Here read 'jug for 'drug with Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 2009, vol. 21, 125. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 99b4=200.4.

⁵⁰ Given the highly developed state of monastic and aristocratic education in this period, a significant number of people at the Fifth Dalai Lama's court and beyond were more than sufficiently educated to have appreciated—or critiqued—the literary qualities and content of the lineage prayer, *Yangchen's Lute*, as well as the aesthetic qualities of the paintings under discussion. Several individuals involved in these rebirth lineage projects were among the educated élite, beginning with the Sde srid as patron of *Array of Avadānas*, along with the three proofreaders of its inscriptions, which were apparently based on the verses of *Yangchen's Lute*. The proofreaders were eminent scholars who played central roles in the court's textual projects: 'Dar pa Lo chen Ngag dbang phun tshogs lhun grub was the leading Tibetan scholar of Sanskrit at court, Rnam gling Paṅ chen Dkon mchog chos grags was vital to the transmission of grammatical and literary arts, and Pha bong kha pa 'Jam dbyangs grags pa was considered the Great Fifth's most important scribe. He was a learned monk and Rdzogs chen adept who edited the third and final volume of his diaries; he also worked with Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho to build the Red Palace of the Potala. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 107b1–107b2=216.1–216.2; TBRC P2947, P2382, P2277; Karmay 1988, 8.

⁵¹ Nag mo'i khol [Kālidāsa], *Praise of Sarasvatī*, 345a2–345a3=689.2–689.3. An early translation was prepared by F. W. Thomas based on a different exemplar (Thomas 1903). The Fifth Dalai Lama's work alludes to Kālidāsa and Sarasvatī

In the mannered style of classical Tibetan poetry, Yangchen and her lute (*rgyud mang*, Skt. *vīṇā*) suggest further metaphorical congruence. Whose speech also sings the flowing song of her lute, and who else is being supplicated? The answer is hidden in the text: it is the Fifth Dalai Lama, whose name—Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, “Master of Speech, Excellent-Minded Ocean”—is integrated into the stanza’s imagery.⁵² By embedding his name, the verse draws the supplicant, listener, or reader into the imaginative and relational world of the prayer, where the supplicant is ferried to the far shore of liberative awakening through the compassionate aid of the Dalai Lama. In this world, the person of the Dalai Lama is dispersive and comprises a complete sensory environment: he is the ocean under one’s feet, the song in one’s ear, the wisdom imprinting one’s mind. He is also the implied boat-captain guiding one across *saṃsāra*, a metaphorical role for buddhas and bodhisattvas that is widespread in canonical and post-canonical sources. Like the buddha, the Fifth Dalai Lama is a “treasury of all that’s good in existence and peace.”⁵³

The potential of such imagery-laden language is more than figurative in Tibetan and Buddhist contexts. In addition to appearing in the illusory human forms most commonly identified as tulkus or emanational bodies (*sprul sku*, Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*), an awakened being such as Chenrezik is considered capable of manifesting his or her presence in myriad other forms. In narratives of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*—an important Sanskrit source on Chenrezik for Tibetan Buddhists—the bodhisattva emanates in the form of rays of multicolored light, a bee whose buzzing is the sound of homage to the Three Refuges, a disembodied voice granting the six-syllable mantra, the burning wick of a lamp that warns the seafarer Siṃhala he has landed on an island of *rākṣasī* demonesses, and then the horse that safely carries him home. Moreover, each pore of Chenrezik’s body is described as containing world systems unto themselves populated by buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other beings, to be marveled at by the spiritual aspirant Sarvanīvaraṇaṣṭkambhin who travels through them.⁵⁴ The *Maṇi Kabum* (Maṇi bka’ ’bum)—a key Tibetan text that emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—

several stanzas later. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen’s Lute*, 100a2–100a3=201.2–201.3.

⁵² Given syntactical differences between Tibetan and English, it was beyond my abilities to retain the same sequence in translation.

⁵³ Similar imagery is invoked in the full title of the catalog to the Fifth Dalai Lama’s funerary *stūpa* as well as the Red Palace of the Potala in which it is housed: it is a “boat for crossing the ocean to the island of liberation, a treasury of blessings” (*thar gling rgya mtshor bgrod pa’i gru rdzings byin rlabs kyi bang mdzod*). Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Sole Ornament*.

⁵⁴ Studholme 2002, 131–54; Lienhard 1993.

expands this vision by narrating how Chenrezik radiated light from his body, creating many world systems containing emanational bodies of buddhas and bodhisattvas. In each world system with its southern continent of Jambudvīpa there is also a Land of Snows, a Tibet with its own Chenrezik who appears as the emperor Songtsen Gampo.⁵⁵

The opening stanza of *Yangchen's Lute* refracts these cosmological visions from the distant past by singing of Chenrezik's continued appearance for Tibetans. Like the Indic spiritual aspirant of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the supplicant of *Yangchen's Lute* can encounter Chenrezik through limitless media, of which his bodily manifestation as the Dalai Lama is only one. These include the words of *Yangchen's Lute* itself—attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama—as well as its imagined oceanic realm that conduces to liberation by surrounding and engaging with one's senses, like the worlds within Chenrezik's pores. As the *Maṇi Kabum* affirms, Tibet itself is one such liberative realm that not only contains a resident Chenrezik in the human form of Songtsen Gampo and his rebirths, but *is made of* the bodhisattva as another one of his illusory emanations. *Yangchen's Lute* extends this embodiment in historical time and place to its late seventeenth-century setting, when the Fifth Dalai Lama is recognized as the latest of Songtsen Gampo's rebirths in Tibet. At the same time, it recalls how Chenrezik exceeds his body to surround and support others' bodies, and to enter their minds. Its poetry invites the supplicant to engage simultaneously with the particularity of the bodily manifestation called "Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso," and with the expansive personhood of the Dalai Lama-as-Chenrezik comprising pervasive sensory media in countless times and places.

A similarly encompassing environment would have been created by the display of *Array of Avadānas*, and was also effected in the grand hall of the Potala's Red Palace. Unlike the imaginary water-world evoked through language in the opening stanza of *Yangchen's Lute*, through portrait painting the person of the Dalai Lama is visibly proliferated into dozens of bodies, surrounding its contemporaneous viewer in a cosmic vision from Chenrezik's beginning nearly a thousand eons ago to the here and now of late seventeenth-century Tibet. Immensities of scale co-exist both in the display space of the grand hall, as well as in the expanse of time and space compressed into it, from distant buddha-fields to India to Tibet. Giovanni da Col has written from an ethnographic perspective that a Tibetan

⁵⁵ Kapstein 2000, 151.

Being has to be conceived *in time*, being not a singularity but a multiplicity, not one life but a multiplicity of lives and perspective: *the sum of all the perspectives* it will traverse during the course of the virtually infinite extension of its possible lives.⁵⁶

The painted multiplicity of the Dalai Lama's rebirths—fluctuating through different physical frames—makes this mode of conception instantaneously explicit. Ordinary beings are unable to perceive their past and future lives and how these are implicated in the present moment, but the Fifth Dalai Lama, it is suggested, is capable of perceiving the continuum of his lives. He thereby makes it possible to begin to imagine the “sum of all perspectives” that make up a certain kind of person, a tulku who is an emanation of a cosmic bodhisattva. This is approximated by the visual display of his rebirth lineage, which immerses its viewers in a more temporally marked fashion than the metaphorical opening verse of *Yangchen's Lute*. As with *avadāna* stories in which beings have recurring relationships with the buddha Śākyamuni across plural lifetimes, the viewer may be reminded that he or she received karmic impressions from the Dalai Lama in a previous life, making it possible to encounter him again in the present through painting (and perhaps the physical frame of his human body), and yet again in future lives.

Other forms of sensory experience were made available to the supplicant as well. While the coordinating *Array of Avadānas* thangkas were being sketched and consecrated, *Yangchen's Lute* was recited by Paldrong Ngakrampa.⁵⁷ Recognized by title as a tantric master, Paldrong Ngakrampa Ngawang Gelek (Dpal grong Sngag rams pa Ngag dbang Dge legs) was also credited as a scribe for hundreds of works attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama, including other prayers accompanying sets of rebirth lineage paintings of the Dalai Lamas.⁵⁸ His act of reciting the supplication prayer vocalized the “flowing speech” attributed to the Great Fifth, so that listeners would receive the wholesome karmic impressions (*bag chags*, Skt. *vāsanā*) promised in the text, predisposing them to future awakening.⁵⁹ The range of usage in Buddhist terminology permits an

⁵⁶ da Col 2007, 229.

⁵⁷ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 107a6–107b1=215.6–216.1.

⁵⁸ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Collected Works*, vol. 15, 577–601; vol. 21, 388–390, 504–506.

⁵⁹ Although cannot be verified that the Fifth Dalai Lama himself composed this work—it was completed late in life when he was quite ill—it must be remembered that the Fifth Dalai Lama may well have ritually authorized others to perform the work of writing for him through *abhiseka* empowerment, as he did

alternate translation of “receiving wholesome impressions” (*bzang po'i bag chags thos*) as “learning excellent dispositions,” wherein “hearing” (*thos*, Skt. *śruta*) can convey both a more passive state of receiving as well as a more active state of learning that is the gateway to reflection (*bsam*, Skt. *cintā*) and cultivation (*sgom*, Skt. *bhāvanā*), known collectively as the threefold training (*bslab pa gsum*, Skt. *trīśikṣā*).⁶⁰ In this latter sense the supplicant is learning the excellent dispositions modeled by the Great Fifth, as illustrated by his rebirth narratives that are the main subject of *Yangchen's Lute*. The embodied qualities of the king—in all their wondrous plenitude and perfection—could be acquired by his supplicants.

Some of the king's qualities over his many lifetimes were already reflected in his supplicants as the people of Tibet. Among the Dalai Lama's preincarnations were not only Gelukpas, but also leaders of Nyingma, Sakya, Tselpa Kagyü, and Yazang Kagyü lineage traditions (Appendix A, lineage nos. 65, 66, 75; 62, 68, 72, 73; 63; 64). The person of the Dalai Lama was capacious enough, his rebirth lineage asserted, to encompass all these as well as the dynastic ancestry of Tibetan imperial rulers (lineage nos. 37–48, 50–58). If the claiming of these eminent figures for the Dalai Lama might be perceived as an act of appropriation, it could equally be interpreted as an expression of obligation that these Buddhist lineage traditions and ancient clans would be protected and accommodated under the aegis of the Ganden Podrang. In addition to wealth, variety, and numerousness, the aesthetics of abundance articulated by the Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage also promoted a vision of inclusiveness for the subjects of Tibet.

Amidst the highly politicized and turbulent dynamics of the seventeenth century, however, this was a selective form of reconciliation and inclusion. The rebirth lineage excluded groups that did not enjoy the favor of the Fifth Dalai Lama's court. Omitted from the list were the Karma Kagyüpa (Karma bka' brgyud pa) and Jonangpa (Jo nang pa), who were both forced into exile by the Ganden Podrang in the wake of political and territorial power struggles. Also excluded were the Bönpo (Bon po) who, despite improving fortunes by the end of the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime, continued to be marginalized as non-Buddhist. To return to the

elsewhere. I thank Janet Gyatso for this observation in response to other materials attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama that I presented at the Harvard Buddhist Studies Forum.

⁶⁰ It may be useful to analyze such doubled language in terms of bitextuality, to borrow Yigal Bronner's term for *śleṣa* and related practices in Sanskrit *kāvya* (Bronner 2010). A Western-language study of bitextuality and bitextual figures (*sbyar ba*) in Tibetan *snyan ngag*, adapted from *kāvya*, has yet to be undertaken.

extended metaphor laid out at the opening of *Yangchen's Lute*, the diffused person of the Fifth Dalai Lama was oceanic enough to contain a cosmologically expansive conception of Tibet, spanning from timeless and remote buddha-fields to India and Tibet, and even stretching to accommodate preincarnations in Nepal, China, and Mongolia (lineage nos. 70, 11, 78). Yet this did not preclude the specificity of his rebirth history in Tibet, which did not or would not include figures from major religious lineage traditions with whom the Gelukpa had come into conflict. For the Ganden Podrang, accommodation of these groups would have to wait until a future time.

Even taking these omissions into account, the ambitious sweep of the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage was unprecedented. As Ernst Kantorowicz's classic study of kingship has shown, Tudor jurists conceived of the king as having two bodies, a "body natural" that consisted of his mortal physical frame and the "body politic" that encompassed his "Office, Government, and Majesty royal" and also the totality of his subjects.⁶¹ But they may never have imagined that the body politic could be embodied in the king's person through his manifold lives, thus reflecting back both the diversity of his subjects and the very best that the Buddhadharmā had produced in Tibet and beyond. Nor could they have imagined that the subjects of the king could aspire to attain the same spiritual heights as the king himself, the very "peak of existence," giving them a place in the vast continuum of cosmological space-time. Yet these are the possibilities that the Fifth Dalai Lama's long rebirth lineages asked the people of Tibet to imagine.

4. *Beyond the List*

The Fifth Dalai Lama's court was hardly the first to articulate a cosmological vision that made the Indic world a significant part of an eminent Tibetan lama's personhood through rebirth lineage, as the appearance of the *Book of Kadam* several centuries earlier attests. Nor were they alone in attending to temporal implications of rebirth lineage and personhood. Sophisticated rebirth lineage work among the Jonangpa should also be noted. Dölpoṅpa placed himself favorably amidst the temporal decline of the *yugas* by identifying his preincarnation as the king of Shambhala Kalkī Puṇḍarīka and claiming his teachings from a perfect age. Beyond this he also identified himself as the Kagyü master Drigung Kyobpa Jikten

⁶¹ Kantorowicz 1997 (1957), 9, 13.

Sumgön ('Bri gung Skyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon, 1143–1207), the Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna, as well as Chenrezik and Songtsen Gampo.⁶² Overlapping with the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, Jonang Tāranātha (1575–1634) located many of his preincarnations in the Indic world, including the *mahāsiddha* Kṛṣṇācārya as well as ones with the prior buddha Vipāśyin and the buddha Śākyamuni while preaching the *Mahābheri Sūtra*.⁶³

However, from the late seventeenth century onward the aestheticized vision of the Fifth Dalai Lama's court had more widespread impact across the Tibetan cultural world. The rebirth lineages of the Pañchen Lamas, the Changkya (Lcang skya) tulku lineage, and the Qianlong emperor evince comparable concerns with Indic and Tibetan imperial-era preincarnations, the embodiment of qualities through rebirth lineage, and models of kingship.⁶⁴ The dramatic increase of tulku lineages during the seventeenth century, especially among Gelukpa—as documented by Gray Tuttle in his contribution to this issue—invites further research on how models set forth by the Fifth Dalai Lama's court for the personhood of tulkus and the production of their rebirth lineages may have been adopted, adapted, and revised. Moreover, although the value of numerousness in rebirth lineage production may have been hard to imitate—apart from respect for the Dalai Lama's uniquely elevated status, there was the problem of the sheer material resources needed for visual lineage production, not to mention the space to accommodate them—other aspects of the aesthetics of abundance were taken up in later courtly settings of Tibet, as I will discuss in future work.

I close by returning to the question of numbers. As we have seen, earlier versions of the Fifth Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage were referred to as consisting of sixteen members—a nice, round, symmetrical number. Dölpopa Sherab Gyaltzen's biography consisted of thirty-two lifetimes, matching the number of a buddha's major marks (*mtshan bzang po*, Skt. *lakṣaṇa*) and thus gesturing to the culmination of his own path to buddhahood.⁶⁵ But why construct a lineage of seventy-eight members? While it has been argued that the Dalai Lama's rebirth lineage made a point of including many earthly kings in their lineage in order to have a free hand with Tibetan politics, this does not explain the full range of narratives included in *Yangchen's Lute* or the supplement to *Fine Silken Dress*.⁶⁶ One such

⁶² Kapstein 2000, 106–116.

⁶³ Templeman 2009.

⁶⁴ In a forthcoming publication, Wen-shing Chou discusses the cultural production of these three rebirth lineages at the Qianlong court.

⁶⁵ Kapstein 2000, 106.

⁶⁶ Staël-Holstein 1932.

narrative drawn from the *Book of Kadam* is simply titled "Hare" (*ri bong*). But unlike the well-known *jātaka* of the virtuous hare who jumps into a fire to offer himself as food, this hare naughtily eats tender rice stalks before they are ready to be harvested, and then laughs at the poor farmer who tries to catch him. Further adventures ensue; though the hare utters some verses of Dharma here and there, there is no indication that they benefit anyone in the story.⁶⁷

Rather, it seems that an attempt at fullness was being made. Whereas a lineage of sixteen highlighted the most important of the Dalai Lama's past lives, a lineage of seventy-eight could serve as a sufficiently thorough accounting of the Dalai Lama's lineage given the sources that were available. Even if some individual stories in the *Book of Kadam* were of unclear hagiographic value, the cumulative effect from proceeding through all seventy-eight lives in prayer recitation, viewing, or reading, would have been one of majestic abundance. It would have approached the effects of taking in the 108 episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Avadānas*, the largest anthology of the buddha Śākyamuni's lives commonly known to Tibetans, and one that was particularly promoted by the Fifth Dalai Lama's court.⁶⁸ Even so, Desi Sanggyé Gyatso recognized the limits of representation. On the topic of emanating beings, he states that they "display bodily arrangements as numerous as the infinite buddha-fields, working for the benefit of beings. Even in this buddha-field, the number of excellent and ordinary rebirth lineage stories defies the imagination. So how could it be within the range of an ordinary person's understanding?"⁶⁹

As the opening epigram indicates, Umberto Eco has suggested that verbal and visual lists can present a "topos of ineffability."⁷⁰ The extent of the rebirth lineage may signify the advanced spiritual state of the Fifth Dalai Lama, who, it is implied, is able to recall many lives both distant and proximate. Yet unlike the auspiciously complete number of 108, the number seventy-eight is striking for its incompleteness. While a lineage of seventy-eight may have exhausted its compilers' sources, it does not have the appearance of an exhausted chain of rebirths. *Yangchen's Lute*, then, may gesture to a lineage that can extend infinitely into the past and indefinitely into the future, that indefinite vanishing point echoing the bodhisattva's vow to serve until all beings are awakened.

⁶⁷ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Yangchen's Lute*, 103a3–103a4; Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, Vol. 4, 68a3–69a2=139.3–141.2.

⁶⁸ Lin 2011, chapter 1.

⁶⁹ Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, Vol. 4, 136a6–136b1=277.6–278.1.

⁷⁰ Eco 2009, 49.

Appendix A
Dalai Lama Rebirth Lineage Members, ca. 1680–1694

<i>Sole Ornament</i> , Western Great Assembly Hall, Red Palace, Potala (ca. 1694) ⁷¹	<i>Yangchen's Lute</i> (ca. 1680)	<i>Supplement to Fine Silken Dress</i> (1682) ⁷²
A1. Sangs rgyas 'Od mdzad ye shes tog		
A2. 'Od dpag med		
B1 (gtso bo). Rje bla ma chen po	[1.] Fifth Dalai Lama	78. Thams cad mkhyen pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho: 137b3ff., 234ff.
A3. Thugs rje chen po	2. Spyran ras gzigs	1. Spyran ras gzigs: 8b2–30a6, 77b1–81b4; 24–42, 127–34
B2. 'Jig rten dbang phyug	3. 'Jig rten dbang phyug	2. Rgyal po 'Jig rten dbang phyug: 30a6–33b1, 43–47
B3. Khye'u Sngang ba	4. Sngang ba	3. Khye'u Sngang ba: 33b1–33b4, 47–48
B4. Khye'u Gsal ba	5. Gsal ba	4. Khye'u Gsal ba: 33b4–35b1, 48–51
B5. Rgyal bu Chags med	6. Chags med	5. Rgyal bu Chags med: 35b1–37b1, 51–55
B6. Rgyal po'i sras Kun tu dga'	7. Kun tu dga'	6. Rgyal po Kun tu dga': 37b1–38a3, 55–56
B7. Lha skyes	8. Bsod nams 'phel gyi brgyud [Lha skyes]	7. Rgyal bu lha skyes: 38a3–39a4, 56–57
A6, B8. Dkon cog 'bangs	9. Dkon cog 'bangs	8. Dkon cog 'bangs: 39a4–43a6, 57–65
A7, B9. Dad pa brtan pa	10. Dad pa brtan pa	9. Dad pa brtan pa, 43a6–46b5, 65–70
B10. Rgyal ba dpal [bzang]	11. Dpal [bzang]	10. Dpal bzang: 46b5–47a6, 71
B11. Dad pa rab brtan	12. Dad pa rab tu brtan	11. Dad pa rab tu brtan pa: 47a6–48b4, 72–74
B12. Blo gros 'phel	13. Blo gros 'phel	12. Rgyal bu Blo gros 'phel: 48b4–50b4, 74–78
B13. Khye'u Dga' 'dzin	14. Dga' 'dzin	13. Khye'u Dga' 'dzin: 50b4–52b1, 78–81
B14. Dge bsnyen btsun pa	15. Dge bsnyen btsun pa	14. Dge bsnyen btsun pa: 52b1–53a1, 81–82

⁷¹ The sequence of entries in this column has been arranged to correspond horizontally with the earlier lineage sequence of *Yangchen's Lute* in the middle column. Entries are numbered according to their order of appearance in this section of the text; "A" designates paintings on the ground floor, while "B" designates paintings on the walls above the balustrade. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Sole Ornament*, vol. 1, 285a3–286b4=579.3–582.4.

⁷² The sequence of entries in this column has been arranged to correspond horizontally with the earlier lineage sequence of *Yangchen's Lute* in the middle column. Entries are numbered according to the the order of appearance of their biographical narratives in this text. The numbers of entries that appear in a different sequence than *Yangchen's Lute* are marked in bold font. Page citations refer to Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Supplement to Fine Silken Dress*, vol. 4, and Ahmad's translation respectively.

B15. [Nor bzang] Rin cen dpal	16. Nor bzang	15. Nor bu bzang po: 53a1–54a2, 82–84
B16. Khye'u Zla ba	17. Zla ba	16. Khye'u Zla ba: 54a2–55a4, 84–86
B17. Rin chen snying po	18. Rin cen snying po	17. Khye'u Rin chen snying po: 55a4–56a5, 86–88
B18. Khye'u Padma	19. Padma	18. Khye'u Padma: 56a5–57a6, 88–91
B19. Khye'u 'Od zer	20. 'Od zer	19. Khye'u 'Od zer: 57a6–58b4, 91–93
B20. Khye'u Byams pa	21. Byams pa	20. Byams pa: 58b4–60a2, 93–96
B21. Seng ge sgra	22. Seng ge'i sgra	21. Seng ge sgra: 60a2–61a6, 96–98
B22. Rgyal po Bde mchog	23. Bde mchog	22. Rgyal bu Bde mchog, or, Ba lang skyong: 61a6–63a3, 98–100
B23. Lha'i rgyal po	24. Lha yi rgyal po	23. Lha'i rgyal po: 63a3–64a1, 100–102
B24. Dge 'dun 'phel	25. Dge 'dun 'phel	24. Khye'i Dge 'dun 'phel: 64a1–65a3, 102–4
B25. Rāja	26. Rāja	25. Pho reng Rāja: 65a3–66a6, 104–6
B26. Ge sar	27. Ge sar	26. Ge sar: 66a6–68a3, 106–9
B27. Ri bong	28. Ri bong	27. Ri bong: 68a3–69a2, 109–11
B28. Lo brgyad byis pa	29. Lo brgyad byis pa	28. Lo brgyad byis pa: 69a2–70a5, 111–14
B29. Rje bo'i rnam pa	30. Rje ba'i rnam par bstan	29. Dzi bo: 70a5–70b5, 114–15
B30. Bram ze Rin cen mchog	31. Bram ze Rin cen mchog	30. Bram ze Rin chen mchog: 70b5–71a3, 115
B31. Bsam gtan bzang po	32. Bsam gtan bzang po	31. Bsam gtan bzang po: 71a3–71b3, 115–16
B32. Dur khrod rnal 'byor pa	33. Dur khrod rnal 'byor pa	32. Dur khrod rnal 'byor: 71b3–72a2, 116–17
B33. Gling phran rgyal po	34. Gling phran rgyal po	33. Gling phran rgyal po: 72a2–72b3, 117–18
B34. Sro long Kun rgyu	35. Sro long Kun tu rgyu	34. Sro long Kun tu rgyu: 72b3–74a6, 118–21
B35. Rgyal po skyabs sbyin	36. Skyabs sbyin	35. Rgyal po skyabs sbyin: 74a6–75b1, 121–22
B38. Gnya' khri btsan po	37. Gnya' khri btsan po	38. Gnya' khri btsan po: 81b4–82a3, 134
	38. Mu khri btsan po	39. Mu khri btsan po: 82a3, 134–35
	39. Ding khri btsan po	40. Ding khri btsan po: 82a3, 135
	40. Mer khri btsan po	41. Mer khri btsan po: 82a3, 135
	41. Gdags khri btsan po	42. Gdags khri btsan po: 82a3, 135
	42. Sribts khri btsan po	43. Sribts khri btsan po: 82a3, 135
	43. Po da gung rgyal po	44. Spu de gung rgyal, or Bya khri bstan po: 82a4, 135
B39. I sho legs	44. I sho legs	45. I sho legs: 82a4, 135
B40. Lde 'phrul gnam gzhung btsan	45. Lde 'phrul gnam gzhung btsan	46. Lde 'phrul gnam gzhung gtsan: 82a6, 135
	46. Se snol nam lde	47. Lde snol nam: 82b1, 135

B41. Pur rgyal byams pas skyong ba rje rgyal ⁷³	47. Rdzogs pa lde rgyal	48. Lde rgyal po: 82b1, 135
	48. Lder sprin btsan	49. Lde sprin btsan: 82b1, 135
B36. Za hor rgyal po Gtsug lag 'dzin	49. Mi bdag Gtsug lag 'dzin	36. Rgyal po Gtsug lag 'dzin: 75b1-77a2, 123-25
B42. Khri sgra dpung btsan	50. Sa spyod sgra dpung btsan	50. Khri sgra dpung btsan: 82b1-82b2, 135
	51. Khri thog rje btsun	51. Khri thog rje btsan: 82b2, 135
B43. Mi rje Tho ri snyan shal	52. Tho ri snyan shal	52. Lha tho tho ri: 82b2-82b5, 135-36
	53. Gnam ri srong btsan	53. Gnam ri srong btsan: 82b5-83a1, 136
A4. Chos kyi rgyal po Srong btsan sgam po B44. Rgyal ba Srong btsan sgam po	54. Srong btsan sgam po	54. Srong btsan sgam po: 83a1-85b2, 136-41
	55. 'Dus srong mar rje	55. 'Dus srong mang po rje: 85b2-85b4, 141
	56. Khri lde gtsug brtan	56. Khri lde gtsug brtan Mes ag tshoms: 85b4-86a3, 141
A5. Tshangs pa lha'i me tog B45. Khri srong lde btsan	57. Khri srong lde btsan	57. Khri srong lde btsan: 86a3-87b5, 142-46
B46. Mnga' bdag Khri ral	58. Mnga' bdag Khri ral [pa can]	58. Khri ral: 87b5-89a1, 146-48
B37. Chos rgyal Dge ba dpal	59. Chos rgyal Dge ba dpal	37. Rgyal po Dga' ba dpal, or, Dge ba dpal: 77a2-77b1, 125-26
	60. Mkhas grub dgon pa	66. Kha che dgon pa ba: 108a3-108a5, 184
B47. 'Brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas	61. 'Brom ston rje	59. 'Brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas: 89a1-91b2, 148-53
	62. Kun dga' snying po	67. Dpal ldan Sa skya pa chen po Kun dga' snying po: 108a5-109a4, 184-85
	63. [Bla ma Zhang] G.yu brag 'gro ba'i mgon po	68. 'Gro ba'i mgon po Zhang rin po che G.yu brag pa: 109a4-110b5, 185-88
	64. G.ya' bzang pa	69. G.yam bzang pa: 110b5-112a2, 188-89
A8. Gter chen Chos kyi rgyal po Nyang ral pa can B48. Gter chen Gong ma Nyi ma 'od zer	65. [Nyang ral] Nyi ma 'od zer	60. Nyang Nyi ma 'od zer: 92a6-94a4, 155-59
B49. Gter chen Chos kyi dbang phyug	66. Gu ru Chos dbang	61. Chos dbang: 94a4-97a1, 159-64
	67. Sum ston Ye shes gzungs	70. Sum ston Ye shes gzungs: 112a2-112b2, 190
B52. Chos rgyal 'Phags pa	68. 'Phags chen chos kyi rgyal po	64. 'Phags pa: 105a4-107b5, 178-82
	69. Dge ba 'bum	71. Lha rje Dge ba 'bum: 112b2-113b5, 190-92
B53. Padmavajra	70. Padmavajra	65. Paṇḍita Padmavajra: 107b5-108a1, 182

⁷³ This is a tentative identification with Lde rgyal po; the text should perhaps be emended as *sa skyong ba lde rgyal*.

A9, B54. Dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po	71. [DL1] Dge 'dun grub	74. Pañ chen Dge 'dun grub: 116a6–119b3, 197–202
	72. Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal	72. Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po: 113b5–114b5, 192–94
	73. Mkhyen rab chos kyi rje	73. Dpal ldan bla ma Rin chen mkhyen rab chos rje: 114b5–116a6, 194–96
B55. Dge 'dun rgya mtsho	74. [DL2] Dge 'dun rgya mtsho'i dpal	75. Thams cad mkhyen pa Dge 'dun rgya mtsho: 119b3–124b1, 202–210
B50. Mnga' ris Padma dbang rgyal	75. Gter chen Padma dbang	62. Mnga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal: 97a1–100a6, 164–70
B51. Chos rgyal Bkra shis stobs rgyal	76. Chos rgyal Dbang po'i sde	63. Dharmarāja Bkra shis stobs rgyal dbang po'i sde: 100a6–105a4, 170–78
B56. Bsod nams rgya mtsho	77. [DL3] Bsod nams rgya mtsho	76. Thams cad mkhyen pa Bsod nams rgya mtsho: 124b1–130b6, 211–21
B57. Bde chen chos kyi rgyal po Dpal bzang po	78. [DL4] Yon tan rgya mtsho	77. Rje Yon tan rgya mtsho: 130b6–133a5, 221–25

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