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34.

LONGING FOR RETIREMENT: THE TESTAMENT OF CHOS
MDZAD NYI SHAR, THE LAST YA NGAL

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khyod nī rgas ste nyī ma 'der gngang ste bzhag /
Now that you are elderly, you have been given leave to bask in the sun.

The Chronicle, Pt 1287, l. 258

Introduction

It is an honour to be able to contribute to this celebration of the achievements of such a prolific and versatile colleague in the field of Tibetan Studies. My own acquaintance with Peter Schwieger began with a ridiculously auspicious first meeting on the roof of Lhasa's Jokhang temple exactly thirty years ago, and reached its professional apotheosis in 2011 with the inception of a highly productive collaboration in the domain of Tibetan social history, a project that will see him through to his retirement.¹ From the vantage of that high pass he will be able to look back on a successful career of teaching, research and institution-building, and can advance down the other side with a spring in his step, content in the knowledge that his duties have been discharged and his succession assured.

Such transitions are by no means always so smooth. Although we may be more familiar with the spectre of careers being abruptly derailed or terminated by institutional revisions, the opposite is also possible: being compelled to remain in a position of responsibility that the incumbent would dearly like to quit. Figures in

¹ The cooperation consists of two consecutive Franco-German projects, jointly funded by the German Research Council (DFG) and France's National Research Agency (ANR): *Social History of Tibetan Societies, 17th–20th Centuries* (FRAL_2011_SHTS), and *Social Status in the Tibetan World* (FRAL_2016_TibStat). The research on which this article is based was carried out within the framework of these two projects. I am indebted to Nyima Drandul for his help with obscure passages in the will, and to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub for her helpful remarks on an earlier draft of the article.

authority do not always exhibit the same generosity with their ageing servants as Srong btsan sgam po did with the elderly general dBas Phangs To re dbyi tshab, in the epigraph to this article. A dramatic example is that of 'Dul ba rgyal mtshan (1239–1293), a scion of the Bru family and an abbot of the Bonpo monastery of Yeru Ensakha in Tsang.² His teacher, Blo gros rgyal mtshan, bestowed the abbatial succession on him with the words, “I’m getting old now. Since you, too, are a master of the doctrine, you should take over the seat of the early masters; look after the monks and disciples; take care of the affairs of the monastery, and serve the doctrine.” He duly accepted his master’s command, and though things went well enough for some time he clearly ruffled some feathers, because somebody tried to poison him. While this convinced him that the life of an administrator was not for him, the monks insisted that he should continue to run the affairs of the monastery:

Since the lama’s command had been so solemn, for several years he took care of the monastery, shedding the rain of the Magic Word of Bon on all the assembled community and disciples, and worked intensively for the benefit of living beings. But the children of men are inclined to malice and jealousy: when he was once offered some rather special food, he became reluctant to remain there. However, although he made a number of attempts to escape, he was recaptured each time and prevented from leaving.

After a number of such failed attempts to flee the monastery he decided he had really had enough, and announced, “‘I will leave today. Whoever has the influence and authority should come and catch me.’ But no one dared to lay a hand on him, and nobody could utter a single word.”³ He was at last free to wander Tibet as a hermit, and all further approaches from Yeru Ensakha were met with a sharp rebuff.

This article will consider the particularly poignant case of another religious figure, a nineteenth-century nun named Chos mdzad nyi shar, who wanted nothing more than to retire but was prevented from doing so by the absence of an heir. The institution for which she was responsible was not a monastery but the family estate, which was one of nine in the little Bonpo settlement of Lubrak, in what is now Nepal’s Mustang

2 Tibetan terms and personal names will be presented in orthographic form, while place names will be rendered roughly phonetically.

3 *de nas bla ma'i gsung gis / da nga na so ni rgas / bstan pa'i bdag po yang khyed rang yin pas / gong ma'i gdan sa zung la grwa bu slob kyi skyong ran dang / gdan sa'i bya ba dang / bstan pa'i zhabs tog gyis shig gsungs nas / phyi nang gsang gsum rgyud lung man ngag kun gyi dbang lung byin rlabs dang bcas pa gngang nas gdan sa phog / der mtshan ldan bla ma'i bka' lci bas / lo 'gar gdan sa bskyangs shing 'dus pa'i 'khor dang / bu slob kun la 'phrul ngag bon gyi char phabs cing / 'gro don rgya chen po mdzad pas / de yang sems can mi'i bu rnams ru nga zhing 'phrag dog shas che bas / de dus bda' mngar gyi gsol zas byung ste / der bzhugs pa thugs ma bde nas / 'bros thabs thengs 'ga re mdzad pas / yang yang bzung zhing ma btang / res shig zhal nas / de ring nga 'gro yin yod do / su ngo che ba risal drag pa rnams / 'dzin du shog gcig (35) gsungs nas byon pas / kun gyi sku la 'ju ba dag ga la nus te / tshig gcig yang zhu ma phod do / (rTogs ldan nyams brgyud pp. 34–35). Translations are from *The Precious Garland*.*

District. All prospective male heirs had died, and though she was well into her eighties, deeply in debt and on the verge of starvation, the local ruler forbade her to let the estate dissolve. When she was nearly ninety years old she resolved to leave her house and land to a young man of unrecorded parentage named Padma bsam grub. The choice was a controversial one, and when she dictated her will in 1872 she felt it necessary to justify her actions by including a detailed account of the events leading up to the decision. Her declaration that she would leave all her worldly goods to the young man conveys a palpable sense of relief, and the will has something of a *nunc dimittis* on the part of an elderly woman who felt she had to cling on to life mainly because of the terrible responsibility of ensuring the survival of the estate that was in her charge; for this was no ordinary estate. Chos mdzad nyi shar was the last member of the Ya ngal clan in Mustang, and the estate had been in the family ever since it had been established, seven hundred years earlier, by her ancestor Yang ston bKra shis rgyal mtshan. In the event, Padma bsam grub rescued the estate, and it was his great-great-grandson, Lama Tshul khrim, who kindly permitted me to photograph the document.

The Ya Ngal Clan

The Ya ngal are a well-known Bonpo clan who appear in numerous historical works. Among the Bonpos, their prestige lies mainly in the fact that several members were key figures in the transmission of the rDzogs chen system called the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*. The story of how the clan came to the Annapurna region of what is now Nepal has been told elsewhere, and a brief summary of the main events will be enough for the purposes of the present article.⁴ The first member of the clan to reach the area of northern Lo was Yang ston chen po, ‘the great teacher from the Ya ngal clan’, Shes rab rgyal mtshan, in the first half of the twelfth century. It was his son, bKra shis rgyal mtshan, who established a Bonpo community in Lubrak, a valley that was populated by *srin po* demons—that is to say, non-Tibetan cave-dwellers. Members of the descending generation established a number of Bonpo centres in Dolpo, to the west of Mustang, where the clan was reinforced by other Ya ngal from Tibet. The family is represented to this day in several settlements in Dolpo, including Bicher, Tsharka and Hribchok, names that are mentioned in Chos mdzad nyi shar’s will.

4 The presence of the Ya ngal in Central Tibet in the eighth century is attested in *dBa’ bzhed* (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 94–95, 101). The story of the founding of Lubrak by bKra shis rgyal mtshan according to various historical and popular accounts is given in Snellgrove 1967: 4; Jackson 1978: 204; Ramble 1983, 2015. A summary of the Ya ngal lineage, based on the clan history (*Ya ngal gdung rabs*) is presented in Ramble 1985 and also in Kind and Ramble 2003. A more extensive study of this text, based on a comparison of different versions, has recently been undertaken by Nyima Wozer Choekhortsang (Hojer 2017). An eastern Himalayan tradition in which the Ya ngal appear as a priestly lineage unconnected with Yungdrung Bon has been investigated by Toni Huber (2013).

The Ya Ngal Estate in Southern Mustang

Following the unification of Nepal by the Gorkhas in the late eighteenth century, the hereditary rulers of southern Mustang were allowed to retain a degree of autonomy over local affairs. 1857 saw the introduction a system known as *ijāra*, whereby the government in Kathmandu auctioned the right to collect local revenues to the highest bidder, who was also given judicial powers. The two rulers who are named in the will, sKu zhabs Zil non and sKu zhabs bKra shis, were aristocrats from the nearby settlement of Dzar who were either local agents of a southern contractor or else contractors themselves. In any event, they were the main figures of authority in southern Mustang.

The term that I have translated here as ‘estate’ is *grong pa*. A *grong pa* is the largest of several domestic units. (The equivalent entity in Central Tibetan would have been the *khral pa* household.) It comprises one or more households (*khang pa*) that may themselves be composed of different categories of ‘hearths’ (*me khral*, lit. ‘fire-tax’), such as a dependency for elderly parents (*rgan tshang*) or single family members (*mo rang*, *pho rang*), among others. While a *grong pa* may subsume one household or several, all *grong pa* have equal rights to public resources (above all, irrigation water), equal civic obligations (provision of communal labour and rotating officials), and equal liability for certain taxes. These obligations can be onerous, and a household that lacks the material or human resources to meet its requirements must resort to borrowing or hiring, and this can become a costly business. The abandonment of estates was something that rulers and communities were at pains to prevent; the former because such a move would deprive them of labour and revenue, and the latter because the remaining households would have had to provide a proportionately larger share of taxes levied on the community.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Ya ngal estate was flourishing. At that time, Chos mdzad nyi shar was a disciple of dKar ru grub dbang bsTan ’dzin rin chen (1801–1860), an eminent lama from eastern Tibet who spent several years in Mustang and Dolpo. In his autobiography he records that, in 1847, several members of Ya ngal family were living in Lubrak:

In particular there was the holder of the Ya ngal clan, Lama bsTan pa, and his wife Shes[-rab] bzang[-mo], as well as Tshe bzang mtsho mo and the noble Nyi shar, among others. These five (*sic*) showed me great reverence, and offered me whatever devout support they could: goods enough for a horse-load or a bullock-load.⁵

5 *De yang khyad par yang ston gdung ’dzin / bla ma bstan pa yang za shes bzang dang / tshe bzang mtsho mo gang ga nyi shar sogs / de lngas dag snang gus byed zhabs tog gang nus tshad rta glang khur po lta bur phul ... (Autobiography, pp. 155–56).* I have taken *yang za* here to refer to the wife of Lama bsTan pa, though the term might also denote a member of the Ya ngal clan who had married out. ‘Noble Nyi shar’ translates *gang ga nyi shar*. *Gang ga* is evidently

Two decades later, only Chos mdzad nyi shar was still alive. In the normal course of events a householder in Mustang would not have needed to make a will. All property would pass to the eldest son, whose brothers would join him in a polyandrous marriage. If there were no sons, the eldest daughter would inherit, and would take an in-marrying husband. In the event of a couple being childless, the estate would pass to the nearest male relative of the head of the household. A woman would normally pass on her jewelry and other personal effects to her daughter, and her wishes concerning the distribution of the items might be recorded in a will. Men, too, might make a will concerning the allocation of certain moveable goods. The only two other wills I have recorded in south Mustang were also left by nuns. In these cases, the wills deal only with moveable property, leading us to conclude that there were heirs-apparent to the estates themselves.

The heir to the Ya ngal estate at this time was Chos mdzad nyi shar's elder brother, Lama dBang rgyal. He had a wife and three children, but following their death from undisclosed causes he decided to abandon the worldly life and went to Tibet to become a monk. Before departing, he entrusted the estate to his sister's care. Her hopes that he might remarry and produce an heir were dashed when she later received news that he had died in Tibet. Chos mdzad nyi shar informed the ruler, sKu zhabs Zil non, that the Ya ngal line had come to an end, and asked his permission to dissolve the estate, but he refused. After subsequently realising that the perpetuation of the estate was a matter of honour, she invited members of the clan from Dolpo to take over. Two brothers accepted the invitation, but both died soon after coming to Lubrak. She then invited two other clan members, a father and a son. They too died, after incurring heavy debts with which Chos mdzad nyi shar herself now found herself saddled. An invitation extended to another family in Dolpo met with a refusal: the lama said he had only one son and could not spare him, but recommended that she approach a certain Lama Kun dga' from the village of Tsharka, who had several sons. Lama Kun dga' demurred. He gave no reason, but in the light of the fate that had befallen three sets of would-be heirs, it is understandable that the lama should have been reluctant to consign any of his sons to what must by now have seemed a thoroughly toxic inheritance. An overture to another Ya ngal family in Tsharka fell on deaf ears. Chos mdzad nyi shar suspected that the messengers she had paid to go to Tsharka might not actually have made the journey, but they confirmed, under oath, that they had done so and that Lama Kun dga' had declined.

an error for *ga ga*: later in his autobiography, when listing his main disciples in Lubrak, he names "bsTan pa and *ga ga* Nyi shar of the Ya ngal clan" (*ya ngal bstan pa ga ga nyi shar*; *ibid.*: 311). In southern Mustang the title *ga ga* is usually reserved for members of the aristocracy. Strictly speaking, the Ya ngal were not members of the aristocracy (*sras po*) but belonged to the priestly rank (*bla mchod*), and the title *ga ga* is presumably a reference to Chos mdzad nyi shar's status as a nun from an eminent clan. It is certainly curious that dKar ru makes no mention of the nun's brother and father, respectively (according to the will) dBang rgyal and lHa rgod. Lama bsTan pa may be one of these by a different name.

Having resigned herself to the prospect of the estate not remaining within the Ya ngal clan, Chos mdzad nyi shar then considered her late mother's family. The story of the transfer of the estate from the Ya ngal to Padma bsam grub is well known in Lubrak, but the version that is usually told differs in certain significant respects from the testimony of the will. The two versions agree that Chos mdzad nyi shar (whose name differs in the oral account) was the last Ya ngal in Lubrak. According to the oral version, her relations with her maternal relatives were poor, and although they would have wanted to inherit the estate she declared,

Even if my relatives in Dzong give me bread made from the flour of ground turquoise, gold and silver as filial service (*zhabs tog*), I shall not accept them. Even if the boy Padma bsam grub gives me bread made from a flour of ground barley husks, he shall be my heir.

This theatrical flourish is not recorded in the will, which recounts that, on the contrary, Chos mdzad nyi shar did approach her matrilineal kin but that they declined the invitation. If she chose Padma bsam grub as her heir, it was, she says, because of a combination of factors: the conviction that she should not, contrary to her initial impulse, allow the estate to be dissolved; the absence of any surviving candidates among either her paternal or maternal kin; and the assurance of Lama Kun dga', her fellow Ya ngal in Dolpo, that as far as he was concerned she could pass the estate on to whomsoever she wished.

Inheriting the estate must have been something of a challenge for the young Padma bsam grub. The main body of the document is followed by twenty lines of text in two columns.⁶ The left column is an inventory of the moveable goods in the house, and the right column a list of debts. Apart from religious items—a few books, images and musical instruments—the sum total of the property amounted to: one drinking vessel; one metal flask; two brass pots repaired with patches; one damaged frying pan; three small rakes; one hoe; three wooden boxes; one mattock; one wooden flask, and one clay pot. The debts he inherited included more than half a ton of grain, a large quantity of salt, as well as cash, butter and assorted jewelry. But the capable Padma bsam grub succeeded in bringing the estate back from the brink of dissolution. There is no written record of when Chos mdzad nyi shar died, but pious village lore has it that she lived till the age of 108. Perhaps the story is true; in which case, after years of exhaustion, hunger and despair she would have been able to enjoy almost two decades of retirement in Padma bsam grub's devoted care, basking in the sun.

⁶ For reasons of space, the text and translation of these twenty lines are omitted from the presentation of the document below.

Translation⁷

The 20th *skar ma* of Sunday, the 17th day of the 5th month in a Water Monkey year (1872). Here in Lubrak, that has been the seat of the Ya ngal clan from ancient times, ever since the time of bKra shis rgyal mtshan down to Lama dBang rgyal, the son of Lama lHa rgod, the patrilineal line of the Yang ston has been present in the priestly estate of Lubrak. A wife was brought for my elder brother, Lama dBang rgyal, and he took over the estate. But although they had three sons, these all died young and his wife, too, passed away. He became wearied with the world and declared that he would go to Tibet to pursue the religious life. The family told him he ought not to do this, but he would not listen, and said to me, “Nyi shar, please take care of the estate,” and he gave me a gift of an amulet box worth forty rupees. I had to do as he told me, and duly stayed in the estate. With the inexorability of time and the lucklessness of this poor Nyi shar, my brother died, and the priestly line came to an end. I told Kuzhab Zil non that the estate was finished; I, a single woman, would not be able to maintain it, and begged him to let me relinquish it. “You may be a woman,” he replied, “but you should not let the estate dissolve. You have to keep it going.” He presented me with a ceremonial scarf, and since I could not disobey him I had to remain in the estate. I, Nyi shar, thought carefully about the matter: my relatives and my brother Lama dBang rgyal would have lost face, and I, the woman Nyi shar and my family would have been disgraced [if I had let the estate disappear], and so I invited Lama Triwa and his brother from Bisher and Samling. But the scheme failed owing to a lack of merit, and they died. And so I invited Lama Tre [bKra shis] bstan ’dzin and his son, named gYung drung bstan ’dzin. They took a wife and inherited the estate, but owing to their bad karma the succession was interrupted, and their line came to an end, and I was again left alone. Subsequently, Yung [drung] bstan [’dzin]’s bad karma resulted in him losing his wealth, and then his life. Not only had the estate lost all its external and internal assets, but I had incurred debts of at least 100 rupees.

I told sKu zhabs bKra shis that I could not maintain the estate, but he would not listen to me, and insisted that I should keep it going. I paid the Thakali named sMan pa a debt of 99 rupees [lit. 100 less one] that Lama Yung [drung] bstan [’dzin] had owed him. But I was old now, and my feet were leaving my body behind, and since I had nothing at all I was obliged to incur debts. As the saying goes, the father was dried out on the cliffs, and the mother was dried out on the lake. My situation was hopeless.

I invited Lama bSam grub of Bisher to come to Lubrak with his family, and though, in my state of exhaustion, I asked him to take over the estate since we were members of the same clan, he replied that, since he had only one son, he would not be able to help. He added that Lama Kun dga’ had several sons, and that I should try

7 Photographic reproductions of the document are provided in the appendix of colour plates, Figs 34.1, 34.1a and 34.1b.

asking him. And so he declined the invitation, but said that if they did not agree I should do as I saw fit.

I asked the young lama of Hribchok to come, but he did not accept the invitation. I had been inviting members of my clan, but none would agree. Since all my efforts had been unsuccessful I decided to turn to Lama Kun dga' of Tsharka, since he had several sons and would surely not let me down if I depended on him. I was destitute, but since this was a matter of face and honour I took a loan from someone and paid bsTan 'dzin dbang rgyal of Lubrak a fee and some provisions to go [to Tsharka]. But Lama Kun dga' would not come.

I then asked Amchi Rig 'dzin of Tsharka to come. The preceptor of Lubrak, Padma bsam grub, and Nyi ma bsam grub of Pigling went there with a letter of invitation, but the amchi did not come. I was 87 years old by now, but could find no heir. Some time later I suffered a fall and nearly died, and then almost died from light-headedness resulting from my indigence. I sent Tshe dbang rdo rje as a messenger, but [the amchi] still would not come. I then immediately sent bsTan 'dzin dbang mo to issue the invitation. By way of a reply, the amchi sent me a letter say that he would not come, and that I should give the estate to whomsoever I wished. "Grandmother," he said, "we have a close bond on both our paternal and maternal sides. You should come here to Tsharka. Who you give the estate's land to is entirely up to you, and you should act accordingly." I proposed to my maternal relatives, foremost of whom is gYung drung mgon po, that they should have the estate; they should pay my debts, and support me if I fell ill, and cover the cost of the merit making ceremony after my death. But no one would take over the estate; they declined the invitation.

I reflected that, although I had relatives on both my paternal and maternal sides and had counted on them, no one at all would take it over. "Well," I thought, "I, Nyi shar, have no one to call my mother or my father, if there is no one who can meet the community obligations for this estate, who can provide me with sustenance when I am ill and can cover all the costs after I have died, it will be like that dreadful proverb about dying in the wind. This must be the effects of a wrongful past coming home to roost." I said to the two messengers, "If it transpires that you didn't actually go to Tsharka, you will be brought to justice before our ruler," and with the Triple Gem as witness [I made them swear an oath] that would pertain in both this life and the next. But even though I challenged them during our discussion, saying, "Please repeat aloud what Lama Kun dga' and his son said after they discussed the matter," the two messengers and also bsTan 'dzin dbang mo said, "It is true that they said, 'we shall not come to take over the Lubrak estate;' this really was the case. 'It is a matter of clan honour,' they said, '[that we have invited you here] but if you do not come, you can give the fields and the house of the estate to whomsoever you, our paternal aunt, wish. Aunt, you yourself should give it away!' With the lama and the Triple Gem as our witnesses, [we swear] that this is what they said"—so they maintained.

I thought that if there was indeed no one who could pay the government tax; assure the taxes and corvee duties for the community of Lubra; provide for me in case

of illness, and cover the necessary expenses after my death, and who could pay my debts – then I would surely lose face, and be a disgrace to my forebears, and would not be able to find my way on the path to the next life. And so without there being two tongues in one mouth, or cooked meat reverting to being raw, without newly bringing up matters that have just come to mind, in my state of exhaustion I placed my trust in Padma bsam grub of Lubrak. The fact that I did not die of starvation is entirely thanks to him. And since he is the only one I trust, I, Chos mdzad nyi shar, bequeath to him my estate. Let no one, whether mighty or weak, raise the slightest objection. I, Chos mdzad nyi shar, set my mark in confirmation that I have given it to him freely and willingly. Those who acted as witnesses to the immutability of this agreement are: Tshe dbang, the *midü* of Kag; So ma kun dga' of Kag; gYung drung bon skyabs of Lubrak, Phur pa of Lhadrub; rNam rgyal of Tshultrim Gönpa [in Dzar] - these five were the witnesses. The scribe was Lo chen Nyi ma tshe ring of Mönthang.

TRANSLITERATION AND EMENDATION

A diplomatic transliteration of the text is followed by suggested emendations for an improved reading:

Conventions for Transliteration

- Double underlining: text written below the main line
- *Italicised text*: reading doubtful
- Contracted forms (*bskungs yig*) are romanised in such a way as to represent the contraction, followed in brackets by the expanded form, which does not attempt to correct spellings. For example, *dkoogs* is expanded as *dkon mchogs*.
- Some contractions feature the short stroke that usually (but not always) stands for an affricate, and is therefore known as *tsha rtags* or *dza rtags* depending on the missing letter in question. This sign is represented by a circumflex ^.
- The capital letter Z stands for the honorific *che rtags* symbol. Inexplicably, in documents from South Mustang this symbol often features before syllables beginning with the consonant *zh*.

Conventions for Emendations

Line-by-line emendations are provided after the transliteration; to facilitate identification, the edited lemmata include at least one syllable that has not been altered. Note that no attempt has been made to emend *gi/gis* (and their variants) or *pa/ba*, or any proper names.

- Underlined text: South Mustang Tibetan (SMT) term with no obvious equivalent in Standard Tibetan
- < : corresponding to (Standard Tibetan term)

Transliteration

1. § chu spre lo zla ba 5 lnga pa'i tshes 17 za nyi ma skar ma nyi shu la / ya ngal dgongs mi dan sa gnas chen klu brag du /
2. yang ston bkris rgyal mtshan nas tshur / blaṃ (bla ma) lhar rgod sras blaṃ (bla ma) ang rgyal bar du yang bston gdung rgyud ma chad par klu brag bla
3. brang du byung 'dug kyang / a jo blaṃ (bla ma) ang rgyal la rtsun mo le nas drong ba phogs rgyab nas/ sras po gsum tsaṃ khrung kyang
4. tshe ma ring kyang tsun mo yang tshe las 'das song / 'khor la zhen ba logs nas / bod la chos la gro rgyu yin sung
5. nas/ pha mi 'de 'dra byed gu me yong zer kyang ma len bar / khyod nyi shar gyi 'drong pa'i tsa 'dzin byed rog byed gsung nas
6. sngan pa la dngul bzhi bcu'i ga'u cig snang nas / bka' ma khyad par drong pa la dad dgos byung/ skal pa'i dus rtag dang
7. ngos nyi shar bsod rnam med par brten / a jo drong / gdung rgyud chad nas gyang/ sku Zzhabs gzil non rnam rgyal la
8. ngos gyi drong ba yal song / ngos bu mo cig gi drong ba zin mi thub dgong ba zhu pa yin Zzhus kyang / khyod bu mo yin kyang drong
9. ba yal du cug brgu mi y[o]ng / khyad drong ba zung dgos yod gsung nas / ba dar snang nas bka' ma thags par rtan nas drongs pa
10. la dad dgos byung / ngos nyi shar nas saṃ glo zhib par tang nas kyang / ngos pha mi dang a joṃ (jo bla ma) ang rgyal shang chad/ ngos bu mo
11. nyi shar kyang ngo tsha pha mi zhabs dren bsaṃ nas / bhi sher bsaṃ gling nas blaṃ (bla ma) khri ba gnyis dan drang ba yin kyang bsodṃ (bsod nams) ma thub par
12. drong song / rjes sor du blaṃ kres bstan 'dzin / bu g.yungdru (g.yung drung) bsti^n zer ba dan drang nas / sna ma slang nas / drong pa'i phogs rgyab
13. byas kyang / kho yi las ngan ba byas nas rgyud chad song / byes sor rab chad nas ngos cig por lus song / rjes sor tu

14. yang / blaṃ (bla ma) g.yung bstan gyi las ngan pa byas nas / nor kyang rdzogs srog kyang rdzogs / drong ba ting n[as] phyi nor nang nor rdzogs
15. ma zad bu len rgya la ma stan byas nas 'dug / nga ni dgongs ba zhu ba yin zer nas / sku Zzhabs bkris (bkra shis) la ngos drong ba
16. zung rgyu man / Zzhus kyang sma bsan par / yang kyer smabsen (sma bsen) drong pa 'dzin dgos byung ngo / blaṃ (bla ma) g.yung rtan bu len
17. dngul rgya la a las gang chags / thags pa sman lha la byang ba yin / rjes sor ngos na so rgas / rkang lags lus po bor / nor
18. med par rten bu len yang mang por zug / pha zer na brag la rkam / ma zer na tsho la rkam par brten nas 'u dug
19. par byung nas / bhi sher blaṃ bsam̄sgrubs (bsam sgrubs) rnam̄s rgyal klu brag du phebs zhus / nga'i 'u dug la tan nas / ngos rnam̄s pha tshan yin
20. pas drong pa'i tsis zhes zhus pa yin kyang / ngos la bu cig men pa med bas / nga'i ni mi khob dug pas / blaṃ kung ga
21. la bu mang po dug / yong na zer chogs / ma yong na i spyi rang gang mdzad na mdzad gsung nas zhal gyi ma zhes /
22. srib chogs bla chung phebs zhus kyang zhal gyi ma zhes / ngos kyid brgyud pa la zhus kyang zhes ma lus song / nga ci drag
23. gang drag la thug nas kyang / ma byung sam nas tshar ki blaṃ kun ga la blo kal nas / khong bu mang po dug blo tad byed na
24. khong gi slus mi yong bsam̄ nas / rang la nor med kyang / sna dang ngo tshar yin bsam̄ nas / mi nas bu lon kyis nas / gla rto byang
25. nas klu brag bstin (bstan 'dzin) ang rgyal tang kyang phebs ma byung / rjes la tshar kha am̄ ji ring^n (ring 'dzin) la phebs zhus ba yin / rjes la zhu
26. yig dang / klu brag dbu mdzad padma bsam̄sgrub (bsam grub) / spag ling nyi ma bsam̄sgrub (bsam grub) song kyang phebs ma byung / nga ni lo yang rgya bcu rgyabdun (rgya bdun)
27. song kyang / sus kyang tsa 'dzin ma byung pa / rjes la nga rang gyel nas shi la thugs / nor med par sten rlung la shi bar thugs nas

28. bang mi tshe dbang rdoer (rdo rje) tang kyang phebs ma byung / rjes cag logs gan ltar dan dren la ngos gi bsti^n (bstan 'dzin) ang mo tang kyang ngos ni
29. yong rgyu man / drong ba ni su thad la ster na yang ster / i spi ni sha dang rus pa'i dam tshigs yin pas / tshur tshar kha la phebs
30. drong pa'i sa zhing ni su thad la [s]ter na yang ster phyogs bas i spi rang gi dbang yin bas ster zhog gsung pa'i bka' gsal
31. dang zhu yig snang byung / ma tshan g.yurngs (g.yung drungs) mgoon (mgon po) tsos pa'i ma tshan rnam la nga yi drong ba yang zo / bu len yang byong
32. na rgyag shi rgyag yang byed zer kyang / su thad nas tsas spyod yang ma byung / man zer byung / ngos la pha tshan ma tshan
33. yod bsam nas blo tad byas kyang / su thad nas kyang tsas spyod ma byung par rten nas / da yin ngos nyi shar pha ma rna sa med
34. par ngos thags yin par dug thags chod / mo shi la thugs nas nor zas med par rten nas rlung la shi par thug nas / da ma byung song sam
35. nas / drong ba di la rkang migs lags migs dang / nga la na rgyag shi rgyag byed gan cig med na rlung la shi pa'i dpe ngan pa dang / nga bags chags ngan
36. zhing yong ba dug zer nas kyang / ngos kyi bang mi gnyis la / ngos ni tshar kha sma sleb song pas / khyod bang mi gnyis rjes sor du
37. dpoon'i (dpon po'i) khrim la thug kyang / rdzun bras blam (bla ma) dkoogs (dkon mchogs) spang du tsug nas / tshes bde 'chi gnyis la thub ba cig blam (bla ma) kung ga pha bu gnyis
38. gyi zhal gros nas / gang gsung ngos cher shad rog byi gnas bros tsod kyang / bang mi gnyis dang ma zad bsti^n ang mus kha
39. nas / ned char ngos ni klu brag drong ba za ru mi yong zer ba nges phyar yin / a ni rus pa'i ma ngo tsha yin pas tshur tshar
40. kha la ma phebs na / khyod kyi drong pa'i zhing khang su thad la rter na yang rter chogs / a ni rang gi ster cigsung (cig gsung) nas kyang / blam dkoogs (dkon mchogs) spang

41. tsug yin zer par nas / ngos nas kyang — 1 Zrgyal sa'i zhes phral byang thub pa
1 dang / klu brag yul pa'i cig ya / gnyis
42. ya rkang bro lags bro stang nus pa cig dang / nga nyi shar na na rgyag shi na shi
rgyag byang thub ba cig dang / bu lon byang thub ba cig
43. ma byas na / ngos kyang / sna chad pha mi zhabs kyang dran tshe 'chi ma yang
lam me byor bsam nas / kha 1 lce 2 medr (med par) / tsos pa byen logs
44. med par / dran rtam sar kyed med par / 'u dug par rten nas / klu brag padma
bsamsgrubs la blo tad snying tad byas nas kyang / ngos rlung
45. la mi shi par khong gi thugs rjes yin / dcha (da cha) yang kho la ma rtog blo dad
med bsam nas / ngos chos mdzad nyi shar nas padma samgru (sam grub)
46. la drong ba ster ba yin / tho rman dragzhan (drag zhan) su thad nas tser spu tsam
byed rgyu mi phyogs yod pas / glo glang gyur med nas snang pa yin
47. pas / ngos chos mdzad nyi shar gyi phyags rtags / don cha 'di la mi gyur pa'i cha
spang / skags mi dus tshedng (tshe dbang) yin / skags bso ma kung
48. ga yin / klu brag.yurng (brag g.yung drung) bon skyabs / lha sgrub gi phur ba /
tshul khrim dgon pa'i rnam rgyal cas cha spang mi lnga yin / yig bris sman
49. thang lo chen nyi ma tshe ring yin / ma zad blaṃ (bla ma) kung ka yi / nga shang
/ so[m?] po mar spag bha ra ghang rkang pa la rdzu/ru mi nyus drong pa su
50. la ter na ter zig / §

Emendations

1. gong ma'i gdan sa 3. btsun mo len nas grong pa phog brgyab; 'khrungs kyang 4.
btsun mo yang; zhen pa log; 'gro rgyu yin gsungs 5. pha mes de; byed rgyu mi yong;
grong pa'i rtsa 'dzin; byed rogs byed gsungs 6. sngon ma; gnang nas; grong pa la
sdod dgos; bskal pa'i 7. bsod nams; a jo 'grongs; nas kyang 8. grong pa yal; gcig gi
grong pa 'dzin; grong 9. pa yal du 'jug rgyu; khyed grong pa 'dzin dgos; 'ba' dar
gnang; thags par rten nas grong pa 10. la sdod; bsam blo zhib; btang nas; pha mes;
shangs chad 11. pha mes zhabs 'dren; gdan drangs 12. grongs song; gdan drangs;
mna' ma bsangs; grong pa'i phog 13. rjes sor rabs chad; gcig po 14. grong pa gting
nas 15. brgya la ma rten; zhus pa; ngos grong pa 16. 'dzin rgyu; ma gsan par; yang
skyar ma gsan grong pa; bu lon 17. ale gang chag; sbyang pa; rkang lag lus po 'bor

18. bu lon; la skam; mtsho la ska; 'u thug 19. phebs zhus; 'u thug la rten 20. grong pa'i rtsis bzhes; bu gcig min pa; mi 'kho 21. mang po 'dug; zer chog; ici (SMT < a che) rang; ma bzhes 22. ma bzhes 23. bsam nas; blo bkal; 'dug blo gtad 24. bslu mi yong; ngo tsha; skyi nas; gla lto sbyang 25. btang yang phebs 26. brgyad bcu gya bdun 27. su yang rtsa 'dzin; shi la thug; par rten rlung; thug nas 28. btang yang phebs; rjes caglog (SMT < ?); gdan 'dren; btang yang 29. rgyu min 30. grong pa; ster chog; ibi (SMT < a phyi) rang; ster shog 31. gnang byung; gtsos pa'i; rnam la nga yi grong pa; bu lon yang sbyong 32. na rgyags shi rgyags; rtsad (?) spyod; 33. blo gtad; na (mna'; SMT < zer) sa 34. ngo thog yin par 'dug thag chod; thug nas; par rten nas; song bsam 35. grong pa 'di; rkang migs ? lag migs ?; na rgyags shi rgyags byed mkhan 36. 'dug zer; dngos nas tshar khar ma sleb 37. khrims la; rdzun bras ?; dpang du btsugs; tshé 'di phyi 38. ngo cher? 'chad rogs byas nas gros rtsod; ngo cher? ngos; grong pa za ru; ngo cher? yin; sna ngo 40. phebs na; grong pa'i zhing; ster na yang ster chog; dpang 41. btsugs yin; bzhes khral sbyong thub 42. rkang 'gro lag 'gro; gtong nus pa; na [na] na rgyags shi na shi rgyags sbyong 43. kyang 'dren tshé phyi mar yang lam mi 'byor; btsos pa rjen log 44. 'dran gtam gsar skyes; 'u thug par; blo gtad snying gtad 45. ma shi; ma gtogs blo dad/gtad 46. grong pa bster; tho dman; nas btse/tser spu; blos blangs 'gyur med nas gnang 47. phyag rtags; don rtsa; mi 'gyur ba'i cha dpang 48. bcas cha dpang

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