

Bashey with supplement:

A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text and an Annotated Translation (4)

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This paper presents part of an annotated translation of the *Bashey with supplement* (*sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*, hereafter *sBzh*),¹⁾ a Tibetan chronicle of events surrounding the reign of King Trisong Deutsen (*khri srong lde'u btsan*, r. 755-797/804), reputedly as recorded by Ba Salnang (*sba/dba' gsal snang*), one of the king's ministers. The reign of King Trisong Deutsen is marked by the emergence of a unified Tibet as a major political and military force in Asia. During his time, the Tibetan Empire was at its peak and its armies invaded several other Central Asian countries in addition to China. King Trisong Deutsen also restricted and controlled the authority of Bonist ministers and banished the Chinese Chán school of Buddhism from Tibet and adopted the Indian system. It was also during his time that Samyé (*bsam yas*), the first monastery in Tibet, was founded by Padmasambhava, who also established the supremacy of Buddhism and converted the indigenous deities into guardians of the Dharma. *sBzh* constitutes a historical source concerning the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, the construction of Buddhist temples and the religious debates taking place at that time. As such it has been preserved, along with some quotations by various Tibetan scholars (e.g. *bu ston rin chen grub*, 1290-1364; *dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba*, 1503-1564/66; *ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*, 1617-1682), and has been the subject of much scholarly discussion among Tibetologists.

Under these circumstances, two noteworthy publications were issued and have received much attention from scholars dealing with related topics. One is “*Dbā' bzhed: the royal narrative concerning the bringing of the Buddha's doctrine to Tibet*” (Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger eds. 2000). This edition presents the first complete English translation of a work entitled *dba'i bzhed pa*, which is regarded as an older version of *sBzh* or a similar text.²⁾ It is very scholarly with copious notes of Tibetan technical terms and geographical places. Therefore, it is extremely helpful not only for research on *dba'i bzhed pa* but also for the research on *sBzh*. The other is “*A Compilation of Bashey*” (Dekyi ed., *rba bzhed phyogs bsgribs*, mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2009) published in Beijing. This is probably the first collected edition of *Bashey* and contains four Tibetan documents related to *sBzh* and *dba'i bzhed pa*. This allows researchers to compare and study different editions of *Bashey* in order to find the similarities between them.

However, the relationship between various editions is far from clear and it is hoped that future research will shed light on the tangle of interpretations concerning one of the most important sources for Tibetan

historiography. The present study aims simply at providing part of a new critical edition and an annotated translation of *sBzh* while referring to various preceding editions. I consider the study of the *Bashey* very important in studying the religious history of the ancient Tibet because it contains various narratives of the religious and cultural exchange of Tibetan ancient court with surrounding countries. The research that has been conducted on the text so far is, however, preliminary and still fragmentary, and it has not yet been translated into other languages in full. In view of this situation, the aim of this study is to set the stage for future comprehensive study of the *Bashey* by attempting its textual criticism and English translation in full.

Abbreviations

- sBzh A*: Rolf Alfred Stein ed., *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas, sBa-bžed, édition du texte tibétain et résumé français*, Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1961.
- sBzh B*: *btsan po khri srong lde btsan dang mkhan po bo dhi sa twa slob dpon padma'i dus mdo sngags so sor mdzad pa'i sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*, Delhi: Sherig Parkhang, Tibetan Cultural & Religious Publication Centre, 1996 [1968].
- sBzh C*: *btsan po khri srong lde btsan dang mkhan po bo dhi sa twa slob dpon padma'i dus mdo sngags so sor mdzad pa'i sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*, in: bde skyid ed., “*A Compilation of Bashey (rba bzhed phyogs bsgrigs)*,” Beijing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang (德吉编《巴协》汇编, 北京:民族出版社), 2009, pp.1-79.
- sBzh D*: *sba gsal snang gi bzhed pa*, *ibid.*, pp.80-158.
- Chyzh*: *chos 'byung gi yi ge zhib mo*, *ibid.*, pp.159-236.
- KhG*: dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, “*chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*” (stod cha), Varanasi: Vajra Vidya Institute, 2003.
- dBzh*: Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger eds., *Dbā' bzhed: the royal narrative concerning the bringing of the Buddha's doctrine to Tibet*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.

Translation

4.1 Padmasambhava's visit to Tibet

... [Padmasambhava] came to Ngamshö (*ngam shod*)³⁾ [along with Śāntarakṣita]. And he built five stone stūpas (*rdo'i mchod rten lnga*)⁴⁾ on a narrow path along the Zungkhar (*zung mkhar*)⁵⁾ ravine. Later, [Śāntarakṣita⁶⁾] arrived at the royal palace and sent a messenger to Tsenpo [*i.e.* King Trisong Deutsen

(*khri srong lde 'u btsan*)] to apply for an audience with him. At that time, Tsenpo said that he could not accept the prostration of somebody who had renounced worldly life [*i.e.* ordained monks]. [So Padmasambhava] bowed down [not to the Tsenpo but] to a large lock. Then [it] was broken into pieces. Tsenpo [was astonished and] made a prostration [on the ground to Padmasambhava]. [Afterward Tsenpo] welcomed Ācārya [Padma who] inquired after his health.⁷⁾

4.2 The Consecration of Drakmar Drinsang

Meanwhile, Sangshi (*sang shi*)⁸⁾ stated that he would build a shrine room,⁹⁾ and he constructed the gateless corridor for circumambulation (*'khor sa*)¹⁰⁾ around Drakmar Drinsang (*brag dmar mgrin bzang*).¹¹⁾ The shrine room was built on the model of [a temple in] the Mount Wutai (*de'u shan*).¹²⁾ [Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava were] asked to come [to Drakmar Drinsang]. Ācārya Bohisattva [Śāntarakṣita] told the Tsenpo: “Once upon a time, when the Buddha was dwelling in the world, it stands to reason that all the gods and demons were bound under the solemn oath [by the Buddha]. In the land of Tibet, however, there are a lot of evil ones who have not been bound under the oath. They seem not to allow the Tsenpo to practice the Dharma [*i.e.* Buddhism]. Now [I] invited here the one called Pema Jungné (*padma 'byung gnas*), who possesses greater powers than anyone else in Jambudvīpa. This tantrist is capable of oppressing and expelling all [the wicked ones] who prevent the Tibetan king from practicing the Dharma. He will also be able to bind them under oath. And I am the only one who can complete in religious logical reasoning when a dispute or controversy arises over whether the Tsenpo should practice the Dharma. For the construction of the temple, there is no builder more capable than this fortune-teller (*phywa mkhan*)¹³⁾ who tells fortune [of the lands in selecting the site for construction of the temple] and knows if the Dharma takes root [in the place]. Therefore I invited them [to Tibet].” Then Sangshi said: “Ācārya Padma, I beseech you to give a benediction to [Drakmar] Drinsang.”

Although the prime minister (*blon chen po*) did not go, all [ministers including] Nangchen (*snang chen po*) and chamberlains (*snang chen gzims mal ba*)¹⁴⁾ went [to Drakmar Drinsang]. When Ācārya Padma gave a benediction [to Drakmar Drinsang], all the gods appeared from within [the shrine room]. At midnight, when all ministers looked [into the room] with butter lamp, it was empty and no clay figurines were there. [But] the [following] morning, when [they] went [to Drakmar Drinsang] to look [into the same room again], all clay figurines were sitting in the same place as before. When Ācārya Padma made offerings [to deities], they were seen talking and eating the victuals. And the ministers examined the shrine room, and found it empty. [In the room,] all butter lamps and incenses kindled of themselves, and all cymbals (*rol mo*) sounded automatically. The five [colored] banners hanging [inside the room] increased to five hundred times, and Cong (*cong*) bells tolled spontaneously. [During that time,] nobody could eat two handfuls of grapes [because the grapes did not run out however much they eat].

4.3 Subjugation of the Local Deities

In the morning [Padmasambhava] drew a maṇḍala. And he selected Lhalung Tsoshyer Nyenlek, the chamberlain (*gzims mal ba lha lung 'tsho bzher snyan legs*), as the seat of the Pra divination (*pra stan*) and performed a mirror-divination¹⁵⁾ [to him]. When [Padmasambhava] ordered him to speak, [Lhalung Tsoshyer Nyenlek] pronounced the names of all the malicious gods and nāgas in Tibet, including Shampo (*sham po*)¹⁶⁾ who had caused the flood of Phang thang (*'phang thang*),¹⁷⁾ Tanglha (*thang lha*)¹⁸⁾ who stuck [the palace of] Lhasa with lightning and the Twelve Tenma Goddesses (*brtan/bstan ma bcu gnyis*) who had caused poor harvests, diseases and famines among people. The next day, [Padmasambhava gathered about ten¹⁹⁾] better-class families consisting of children, parents and grandparents. When he performed the mirror-divination of the Four Great Kings (*rgyal po chen po bzhi*) [to them], yakṣas and the fire god appeared [before Padmasambhava] and people were possessed by the malevolent deities and nāgas. Padmasambhava threatened and overpowered [them]. Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] taught the Dharma to the White Ones (*dkar po*) [*i.e.* the local deities endowed with virtuous qualities]. [Thus these deities were] bound under oath [to protect the Dharma]. Later, Ācārya Padma performed the fire ceremony twice in order to tame all local deities. And he told [the Tsenpo]: “[Most of] the [malicious] deities and nāgas have been bound under the solemn oath, but I still need to repeat it once. Henceforth, practice the sublime Dharma as you like, and construct temples at will.” Having said this, [Padmasambhava left for] Zurpu Kyangbutsel (*zur phug kyang bu tshal*)²⁰⁾ to subdue the nāgas. [As soon as he arrived at Zurpu Kyangbutsel,] Zichen (*gzi can*)²¹⁾ appeared [before Padmasambhava] in person, and said: “Trisong Deutsen is the greatest king on the earth. But the greatest king below the earth, that is me. We will be friends. I will give the King [Trisong Deutsen] the gold [dust] and fourteen mules laden with goods²²⁾ necessary to build the temple. Send hither all ministers to lead the elephant carrying the gold!” Having so said, Zichen was bound under oath [to protect the Dharma].

Shampo (*sham po*)²³⁾ let [heavy] rain fall on Ācārya [Padma] who [tried to] subjugate him. Ācārya took out a varja from the sleeve of his garment and raised it to reverse the rain upward. Furthermore [Padmasambhava] poured [the rainwater] into the Divine pond (*lha rdzing*) [and] the Bam pond (*bam rdzing*),²⁴⁾ and threw the vajra [into it]. Then [the water of the pond] boiled [and melted the snow mountain where Sampo resided]. Shampo stood at the mountain peak where the snow melted away, saying: “O Ācārya, do you want to compete with me so much?” Ācārya replied: “You cannot harm me. Unless you take an oath [in front] of me now, you will be burned with fire.” [Shampo said:] “As I am [from] the evil race (*nag po'i rigs*), I have no opportunity to practice the Dharma. [But] henceforth I will not cause any more harm [to the Dharma]. So do not bring Buddhist monks (*ser chags*) in front of me.” Saying this, [Shampo] was bound under oath. [And Padmasambhava] said that the fire ritual must be performed once again [in order to conclude the taming of the local deities hostile to Buddhism].

4.4 The Mad Water from South Mon

After hearing that the Tsenpo was washing his head, Ācārya Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] asked the water [used for washing the head of the Tsenpo] had been taken from. [A close servant of the Tsenpo²⁵⁾ said that] the water had been taken from Drakmar Ombutsel (*brag dmar 'om bu tshal*).²⁶⁾ [Śāntarakṣita (?)²⁷⁾ said:] “There is a spring called Tana (*rta rna*) in the northern side of Mount Meru.²⁸⁾ If the water for washing the Tsenpo’s head is taken from there, this will bring him longevity and high political authority, and give prosperity to the descendants of divine son.” When asked who could take it [from there], Ācārya, the tantrist [*i.e.* Padmasambhava], replied that he could do it. He took a golden auspicious vase from under his shoulder belt (*ga sha*)²⁹⁾ and sealed the vase by covering its mouth with a [ceremonial] scarf. Then he recited mantra and threw it to the sky. It flew higher and higher. [The same day,] while Ācārya [Padma] was taking meal after cleansing the mantra house (*'dzab khang*)³⁰⁾ with feathers of peacock, the golden vase returned to Ācārya’s lap from a distance. When [Padmasambhava] opened the vase, he found it full of whitish water.³¹⁾ [And he] gave it to all ministers, saying: “This [water] should be used to wash the head [of Tsenpo].” But, when this was taken to the [restricted³²⁾] assembly, [the ministers’ comment was:] “This is mad water from south Mon.³³⁾ Throw it away!” Thus the water was thrown away.³⁴⁾

4.5 Rejected Suggestions

Ācārya told [the Tsenpo]: “[Revered] Tsenpo, you should make your country better. The sands of Ngamshö³⁵⁾ should be transformed into a meadow and grove. Springs should appear in the arid region extending from Dra (*gra*) and Dol (*dol*) up to Takla (*stag la*) and Takphu (*stag phu*). All riverbanks should be converted into agricultural lands in order to enable all Tibetans to make their living. You should take wealth from Vaiśravaṇa (*bhaishra ba na*)³⁶⁾ and give happiness and richness to Tibet. [Then] all the treasures that exist in Jambudvīpa will be brought to Tibet. People should put the Tsangpo [river] and the lakes into a cavern to protect them. In Uḍḍiyāna, I have poured a greater [quantity of] water than this [river] into a cavern.³⁷⁾” Thus, [Padmasambhava] presented a number of proposals to the Tsenpo. And, in order to show whether this was true or false, he meditated for one morning. Then water spurted from [the arid land called] Ludzing (*klu rdzing*).³⁸⁾ Requested to show more [evidence], he transformed Drakmar Tsomogul (*brag dmar mtsho mo mgul*)³⁹⁾ into lush meadow. In that afternoon, he transformed Drakmar Lawétsal (*brag dmar gla ba'i tsha*)⁴⁰⁾ into woods. Further, when he meditated in the following morning, the sandy floor of Zungkar (*zung dkar*)⁴¹⁾ was transformed into a meadow and a spring appeared. [Thus his suggestions] certainly came true.

[But] the ministers said: “Even if the land of Tibet becomes a better country, when it has a relationship with the tantric sorcery, the royal authority will be taken over by India.” After discussion in the restricted assembly (*mdun sa chung ngu*), it was decided to stop [Padmasambhava from doing such activities]. [Later,] when Ācārya [Padmasambhava] stated that more [new] fields should be established, [the minis-

ters] replied that they had sufficient farmlands in Yarlung (*yar klung*).⁴²⁾ And they besought the tantrist to return to India (*rgya yul*), offering a great reward to him. Tsenpo, being unhappy with this [*i.e.* the position taken by the ministers], circumambulated Ācārya and offered one dré (*bre gang*)⁴³⁾ of gold. Then Ācārya [Padma] commented: “O Tsenpo, I do not desire gold. When I conclude taming the vicious demons and rākṣasas inhabiting the outlying territories of Tibet, you will be able to practice the Dharma. I came here in order to lead the [Tibetan] subjects into peace as well as to improve the land of Tibet. If I desire gold, the composite (*'dus byas pa*) will suffice!” Saying that, he touched grass, soil and stone and they became gold. Later, [Padmasambhava] received a handful of gold in order to help Tsenpo save face and returned the rest [to him].

4.6 The Instruction on the Garland of Views

Afterwards, Ācārya [Padmasambhava] determined to leave the place according to the ministers' statement. Just before leaving, he gave [the oral instruction called] *the Instruction on the Garland of Views* (*man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*) to twenty people, including the Tsenpo and his ministers.⁴⁴⁾ And he told the Tsenpo: “O Great King! In this Secret Mantrayāna of mine, the view is harmony with Dharmakāya (*chos kyi sku*), and the conduct with Enlightenment (*byang chub*). Do not let your conduct slip in the direction of the view. If it does, you will fall into the extreme view of nothingness (*chad lta*): no virtue and no vice, which would be incurable later. [Conversely,] if you let your view slip in the direction of the conduct, you will be caught in the characteristics of matters (*dnagos po'i mtshan ma*) [*i.e.* materialism and ideology] and, therefore, be unable to release yourself [*i.e.* the liberation will never come]. In this Mind Section of the Secret Mantrayāna of mine, the view forms the greater part [of the doctrine]. In the future, many people, who understand the words [alone] but gain no confidence in the view, will take rebirth in the lower realms (*ngan song*). [However,] some people [who cultivate the view and the conduct side by side⁴⁵⁾] will bring benefits to many sentient beings.” Having spoken in this way, [Padmasambhava] concealed many scriptures in clay-slate rocks [for future people]. [Later, Padmasambhava] performed the empowerment ceremony of the Guhyasamāja (*gsang ba 'dus pa*) for the Tsenpo in the proper order, and bestowed the reading transmission (*lung*s) of the Secret Mantrayāna on him. [Furthermore,] he preached [the doctrine of] the Hundred Thousand Sections of Vajrakīla (*phur bu 'bum sde*) and [sang the following song]:

O egoless and unstinting benefactors!
Whenever you are born,
In the supreme sacred place called the ‘Pinnacle under Nothing’ [*i.e.* Akaniṣṭha],
May you enjoy the fruits of the Mahāyāna Yoga.

Having sung this, he left [the place], leaving the remainder of the fire ritual unfinished. An escort led the horse [on which Padmasambhava was mounted] to show him the way.

4.7 Assassination Attempt

[Later,] some ministers sent eighteen armored assassins, saying: “If that tantrist is not killed, he will put a curse on Tibet since he has strong magical powers.” [When Padmasambhava] arrived in Mangyül (*mang yul*),⁴⁶⁾ he said [to his escort]: “Several men will come to harm us tomorrow.” [And he] arrived at a narrow path along the ravine of Deng Bab (*deng babs*),⁴⁷⁾ where the eighteen assassins [were lurking] in the corner of rock. Some [of them] prepared their arrows [in their bows ready to shoot] and others drew their swords. They were about to pounce upon Ācārya [Padmasambhava] when he performed some mudrā. Then [the killers became] frozen like clay figures that were unable to speak, shoot weapons, or gather together [in a group]. During that time, he passed straight through them and came to the top of mountain pass in Mangyül. There Ācārya said: “In order to conclude the taming of the [local] gods, nāgas, demons and rākṣasas in Tibet, I have to perform the fire ceremony three times. But the last one still remains. If everything is completed, the Tsenpo will enjoy [greater] longevity and political prosperity, and the Dharma will flourish over a long period of time [in Tibet]. [So, my] mind is burdened with what is still left [unaccomplished]. There will be major disputes [among Tibetan people] when [they] come to become well-versed in the teaching cycle of the Dharma (*chos skor*). There is a danger that the Dharma will be distorted slightly [at that time].⁴⁸⁾ Throw this at the people who attempted to harm [me] yesterday.” So saying, he gave a handful of white mustard seeds to his escort⁴⁹⁾ and sent him back. “For now, I have no disciple [who requires training] in the human realm. So I will go [for a while] to the south-west to subdue the rākṣasas.” Having so said, he jumped up from his mount and left flying amidst the clouds with his robe flapping [in the wind] and Shang (*shang*) bells ringing. [Later,] the escort threw [the seeds of] white mustard at the killers [who had been frozen like clay figures] and they became able to move and speak. When they returned to the royal palace and delivered the tantrist’s message to the Tsenpo, his mind was fully shattered [*i.e.* the Tsenpo felt great sorrow].

4.8 The Buddhist-Bonist Debate

Later, a doctrinal assembly (*chos kyi mdun sa*) was summoned at Tsomogul (*mtsho mo mgul*),⁵⁰⁾ where Selnang (*gsal snang*) was appointed as the chief of the Namci officials [who were sitting] to the right (*snam phyi g.yas kyi tshul du dpon*).⁵¹⁾ At that time, Bonists and [anti-Buddhist] ministers opposed [Selnang’s taking the post], saying: “We do not practice the Dharma. We should practice Bon.” Then Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] said: “It is wrong that two [different] religions emerge in one kingdom. Let us have a debate. If you [Bonists] win [the debate], you can disseminate the [doctrine of] Bon and I will leave here. [But] if the Dharma wins, you should abandon the Bon and practice the sacred Dharma.” [Thus] it was decided that the debate between the Dharma and Bon would be held without referees (*dpang po*). [Later, in the pig year,⁵²⁾] it was held in the palace of Zurpu Kyanbutsel.⁵³⁾ Zhang Nyasang (*zhang nya bzang*), Taktsen Dongsi (*stag btsan ldong gzig*), Senggo Lhalungsi (*seng 'go lha lung gzigs*), Nyang Shami (*nyang sha mi*) and so on were nominated as the Buddhist overseers and speakers. They supported Bodhisattva

[Śāntarakṣita]. The Bon overseers and speakers were Takra Lukong (*stag ra klu kong*), Khyunpo Dumtsuk, the great astrologer (*rtsis pa chen po khyung po dum gtsugs*), Khyungpo Tsétsé (*khyung po tse tse*), Chokla Mönlambar (*lcog la smon lam 'bar*), Tsémi (*tshe mi*) and so on.⁵⁴) During the discussion, the Dharma had superior reasoning and more profundity, while the Bon turned out to be illogical. The arguments [of Buddhist speakers] were sharp and excellent. So, the Bon could not defeat them.⁵⁵)

[At that time, people believed that] all the deceased whose funeral rites were celebrated by the Bonists in Pen-yul (*'phan yul*)⁵⁶) became Sérak demons.⁵⁷) So, it was decided that from then on the Bonists should not perform funeral rituals for the dead, and that they should not practice their religion, except in cases where [the priests belonging to the] Shyangshyung (*zhang chung*) [tradition] and Tsémi (*tshe mi*) occasionally perform the Bonist rites to subdue demons and rākṣasas (*'dre srin*) for the purpose of clearing obstacles from the king's body. And it was also decided that horses should not be slaughtered for the deceased and the meat actually eaten. Most Bon scriptures were thrown into the river and the rest were buried under a black stūpa. Thus it was decided henceforth to practice the Dharma and construct a [Buddhist] temple. The minister Gögen (*blon 'gos rgan*)⁵⁸) shed tears. The king asked him, “Do you dislike practicing the Dharma?” and [Gögen answered,] “The savage (*mon bu*) is so eloquent, and the sublime Dharma is so profound. I am too old to practice the holy Dharma.” [Tsenpo told Gögen:] “Minister [Gögen], I am immensely indebted to you.” Thus they parted ways. Later, the Chinese Śākyamuni statue (*rgya lha shAkya*)⁵⁹) was brought back from Mangyül and enshrined in Ramoché (*ra mo che*) [temple] again.

A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text

[sBzh A:21.14; sBzh B:23.21; sBzh C:19.9; sBzh D:105.15; Chyzh:177.11] ...de nas ngam shod la byon nas zur mkhar 'phrang la rdo'i [sBzh B:24] mchod rten lnga mdzad nas/ pho brang du byon nas btsan po dang zhal mjal ba'i pho nyas brda sbyar nas/ btsan po la phyag bzhes pas/ btsan pos rab tu byung ba'i phyag mi thub gsungs nas pha bong la phyag mdzad pas [sBzh B:zh A:22] bshags kyis gas/ btsan pos phyag phul nas/ slob dpon gyis snyun rmed par mdzad/ phyag gar 'bebs ces pa dang/ sang shis de'i bar du ston pa gcig rtsig ces nas brag dmar mgrin bzang 'khor sa der sgo ma mchis pa gcig rtsigs tsa na/ nang lha khang mgo de'u shan la dpe blangs pa cig rtsigs lags pa/ der phyag phebs par zhush/ a tsarya bho dhi satwas btsan po la gsol ba/ sngon sangs rgyas 'jig [sBzh D:106] rten na bzhugs pa'i tshe/ lha ma srin dam 'og tu ma tshud pa ma mchis par rigs pa la/ bod yul na dam 'og tu ma chud pa'i gdug pa can mang du mchis pas/ btsan po chos mdzad du ster ster mi 'dra bas/ da lta 'di na 'dzam bu gling na nus pa che ba'i padma 'byung gnas zhes bya ba spyang drangs nas bzhugs pa/ bod kyi btsan po chos mdzad du mi ster ba thams cad skrad [Chyzh:178] cing gzir gzir ba dang/ dam la 'dogs pa ni sngags mkhan 'dis rngo thogs/ btsan po chos mdzad pa la rtsod cing rgol ba byung na phyr rgol kyi gtan tshigs smra ba ni kho bo las mkhas [sBzh C:20] pa ma mchis/ gtsug lag khang rtsig na ltas dang bkra shis mi shis rtogs pa dang/ chos tshugs sam mi tshugs rtog pa la phywa mkhan 'di tsam du mkhas pa med pas khrid 'ongs pa yin zhes snyan du gsol bas/ sang shi na re mgrin bzang gi mnga' gsol slob dpon padma la zhu'o mchis pa dang/ blon chen po ni ma mchis/ snang [sBzh B:25] chen po dang/ snang chen gzims mal ba kun mchis te/ slob dpon padmas lha mnga' gsol bas lha thams cad nang nas ston par byon/ nam phyed na blon po kun gyis mar me khyer nas bltas pas nang na 'jim gzugs [sBzh D:107] gcig kyang med nang stong [sBzh A:23] par 'dug nang par ltar phyin tsa na/ 'jim gzugs thams cad snga ma kho na bzhin bzhugs/ de nas slob dpon padma mchod pa byed pa dang/ lha rnams gtam gtong zhing bshos gsol ba mthong/ stong par bltas pas gcig kyang mi 'dug/ mar me thams cad rang 'bar/ rol mo thams cad rang 'khrol/ spos rang 'bar zhing/ btags 'phan lnga btags pa'ang lnga brgyar 'phel/ cong rang brdungs zhing 'khrol/ rgun 'brum rdog po snyim pa tsam gda' ba de sus kyang 'tshal bar rngo ma thogs/ de'i nang par dkyil 'khor bris nas/ gzims mal ba lha lung 'tsho bzher snyan legs la pra stan byas te/ pra se na pa ta phan nas smrar bstsal bas/ bod kyi lha klu mi bsrin pa ril gyi ming smras te/ 'phang thang du chu phab pa sham po/ lha sar thog phob pa thang lha/ mu ge dang lo nyes mi nad gtong ba brtan ma bcu gnyis la sogs pa kun smras/ de'i sang cho rigs bzang po'i bu tsha pha ma dang mes phyi tshang ba la pra stan bgyis nas/ rgyal po chen po bzhi'i pra phab nas/ gnod sbyin me lhas zhal mngon sum bstan/ lha klu ma rungs pa dngos su mi la phab nas/ bsdigs shing gzir ba ni padma sambha was mdzad/ dkar po [Chyzh:179] la chos bshad nas dam la 'dogs pa ni bhodhi satwas mdzad/ des ma mthul ba padmas sbyin sreg byas nas ma mchis par byas/ de 'dra [sBzh B:26] ba lan gnyis bgyis te/ slob [sBzh C:21] dpon padma'i zhal nas lha klu dam 'og tu tshud lags te/ da rung de 'dra ba lan cig bgyi 'tshal/ slan chad lha chos ci bder mdzad pa dang/ gtsug lag khang dgongs pa bzhin du rtsigs shig gsungs nas zur phug kyang bu tshal du klu btul bas/ gzi can dngos su byung nas sa'i steng na rgyal po khri

srong lde btsan che/ sa'i 'og na rgyal po nga che de nged cag grogs po byas la/ rgyal pos lha khang byed
 pa'i gser dre'u khal bcu bzhi ngas [sBzh A:24] byin gyis/ gser khur glang po snar blon po kun len du
 thongs zer la dam la btags/ [sBzh D:108] sham po btul bas slob dpon gyi thog du chu phab/ slob dbon gyis
 thu ba sna nas rdo rje gdengs nas chu gyen la bzlog/ slar lha rdzing bam rdzing du blugs nas rdo rje
 brgyab nas chu bkol bas/ sham po gangs zhu ba'i rtse la bsdad nas/ slob dpon nga la de tsam du mtho
 'tshams pa zer/ slob dbon gyi zhal nas khyod nga la mtho ma 'tshams pa/ da nga'i dam 'og du mi gzhus na
 khyod bsreg go gsungs pas/ nga nag po'i rigs yin/ chos bgyi ba'i skabs ma mchis/ da man chad gnod pa mi
 bya yis/ nga'i drung du ser chags ma btang cig ces zer nas dam la btags/ da sbyin sreg gcig bgyi'o gsungs
 pa dang/ da ring btsan po dbu 'khru'o mchis/ de a tsarya bhodhi satwas gsan nas chu ga nas len ces dris
 pas/ chu brag dmar 'om bu tshal nas len mchi/ chu ri rab kyi byang ngos na chu mig rta rna bya ba yod/
 de nas blangs te dbu bsil na sku tshe ring lha sras rigs rgyud 'phel/ chab srid che gsungs/ chab de len pa
 sus nus slob dpon sngags mkhan na [sBzh B:27] re/ de ngas rngo thogs gsungs nas/ ga sha'i 'og nas bkra
 shis kyi bum pa gser las byas pa gcig kha dar gyis bcad nas bzhes slad kyis rgyas btap ste 'dzab byas nas
 nam mkha' la 'phangs pas je mtho je mthor song/ slob dpon gyis 'dzab khang der rma [Chyzh:180] bya'i
 sgnos byabs pas/ zan cig za yun na bum pa gser rgyang nge slob dpon gyi pang du byung/ kha phye ba'i
 nang na chu skya nar ba cig gda/ des [sBzh C:22] dbu khros zhes blon po kun la gtad pas/ de mdun sar
 brims nas lho mon gyi smyo chu yin/ [sBzh D:109] phos la thong zer nas ma mchis par bgyis/ slob dpon
 gyi zhal nas btsan po khyod kyis yul bzang por bya/ [sBzh A:25] ngam shod bye ma na dang tshal du bya/
 gra dang dol stag la dang phu sogs tshun chad chu med pa rnams su chu dbyung/ gram pa thams cad la
 zhing byas la bod kun 'tsho bar bya/ bhaishra ba na las nor blangs la bod skyid cing phyug por btang/
 'dzam bu gling gi dkor yod do cog bod du dbyung/ gtsang po dang mtsho sbugs su bcug la 'phyong pas
 chog pa bya/ ngas o rgyan du chab 'di bas che ba gcig sbugs su bcug zhes rgya cher gsungs/ de ltar 'ong
 ngam sad pa'i phyir snga dro gcig dgongs pa mdzad nas/ klu rdzing du chu byung/ da dung sad do ces pas
 brag dmar mtsho mo mgul ne sngo 'phyur la btang/ de'i phyi 'phred brag dmar gla ba'i tshal nags su
 btang/ yang sang nang par snga dro dgongs pa mdzad nas bsgoms te/ zur mkhar chu rjen nar byas chu
 byung pas 'ong nges pas/ blon dag na re/ bod yul bzang por byas nas/ sngags mkhan gyi mthu dang sbyar
 na rgyal srid rgya gar gyis phrogs [sBzh B:28] te 'gro zhes mdun sa chung ngur gros byas nas 'phro 'gum
 par chad/ slob dpon gyi zhal nas da zhing bya'o gsungs pas/ zhing yar klung kyis chog zer nas sngags
 mkhan la bya dga' cher phul nas/ slar rgya yul du bzhud par zhu ba phul bas/ btsan po de la thugs ma
 dgyes nas slob dpon la bskor ba byas nas gser bre gang phul bas/ slob dpon gyi zhal nas gser 'dod pa ma
 yin te/ bod mtha' 'khob tu 'dre srin [sBzh D:110] gdug pa btul la btsan po chos byar btub par bya/ bod yul
 bzang por byas la/ 'bangs bde ba la dgod pa'i phyir nga 'ongs na/ gser 'dod na 'dus byas pas chog gsungs
 nas/ rtswa dang sa rdo la reg tshad gser [Chyzh:181] du son/ 'on kyang btsan po'i ngo bsrung ba'i phyir
 khyor gang tsam phyag du bzhes te/ lhag ma phyir btsan po [sBzh C:23] la phul/ der blon po zer ba ltar
 chad nas/ slob dpon yar gshegs khar rje blon nyi shu [sBzh A:26] la man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba bshad
 nas/ rgyal po chen po nga'i gsang sngag 'di lta ba chos kyi sku dang bstun la/ spyod pa byang chub kyi
 phyogs dang bstun/ lta ba'i phyogs su spyod pa ma shor ba mdzod/ shor na dge med sdig med du song nas

chad lta skyes nas phyir gsor mi rung/ spyod pa'i rjes su lta ba 'brenqs na/ dngos po'i mtshan mas bcings nas grol bar mi 'gyur/ nga'i gsang sngags sems phyogs 'di lta ba shas che ste/ ma 'ongs pa na tshig gi don ni shes te/ lta ba'i gdeng ni ma rnyed pa mang po zhig ngan song du 'gro/ 'dra min 'ga' res sems can mang po'i don byed gsungs nas/ dpe cha mang po zhig rdza la sbas so/ btsan po la rim pa mdzad [sBzh B:29] gsang ba 'dus pa'i dbang mdzad nas gsang sngags kyi lung gnang/ phur bu 'bum sde bshad nas/ bdag dang gtan pa med pa'i sbyin bdag rnam/ tshe rabs 'di dang tshe rabs gar skyes kyang/ 'og min zhes bya'i gnas mchog dam pa ru/ rnal 'byor theg chen 'bras bu spyod par smon/ zhes gsungs nas/ sbyin sreg gi 'phro bya ba ma grub par slar yang gshegs/ skyel mas [sBzh D:111] chibs khrid nas yar spyang drangs pas/ blon kha cig na re/ sngags mkhan de ma bsad na nus pa che ste/ bod la byad byas par 'ong mchi nas/ gsod mi bco brgyad go ru skyon nas btang/ slob dpon mang yul du byon pa dang/ sang 'o cag la 'tshe bar byed pa'i mi 'ga' 'ong gsungs/ deng babs kyi 'phrang la byon pa dang/ brag snar mi bco brgyad po la las mda' bkang/ la las gri phyung nas slob dpon la gzed pa'i tshe/ slob dbon gyis phyag rgya bcings pas/ 'jim gzugs bzhin du gyur te smra ma shes/ mtshon 'phen pa dang sdud ma shes te rengs/ de'i bar na yar byon nas [sBzh A:27] mang yul gyi la khar byon pa dang/ [Chyzh:182] slob dpon na re ngas bod kyi lha klu [sBzh C:24] 'dre srin lan gsum du 'dul dgos pa'i 'phro lan gcig lus/ de ma lus na rgyal po'i sku tshe ring/ chab srid che chos yun ring du gnas pa las/ 'phro lus pa de yid la gcags so gsungs/ chos skor gcig ni 'byongs nas 'ong ste/ der 'khrugs pa chen po gcig kyang 'ong/ chos la rked nyag bag re 'ong nyen yod/ kha sang gi 'tshe bar byed pa'i mi de la 'di gtor gsungs nas yungs dkar spar ba gang gtad nas skyel mi mar bzlog/ da re zhig nga la mi yul [sBzh B:30] na gdul bya med pas/ nga lho nub mtshams su srin po 'dul du 'gro gsungs nas/ chibs kha nas 'phur nas sprin gseb na phar chos gos su ru ru gsag shang khro le le bzhud/ [sBzh D:112] skyel mis gsod mi la yungs dkar gtor bas/ smra shes shing 'gro shes par gyur to/ mi rnam pho brang du mchis nas/ sngags mkhan gsung ba rje'i snyan du gsol bas/ btsan po'i thugs la shin tu bcags par gyur/ de nas chos kyi mdun sa mtsho mo mgru du phub/ gsal snang snam phyi g.yas kyi tshul du dpon du bskos/ dus der bon po dang blon po rnam kha log te chos mi byed bon bya'o zer bas/ bho bhi sa twa'i zhal nas/ rgyal khams gcig la chos lugs gnyis byung na shin tu sdig che/ 'o cag rtsod pa byas la/ khyed rgyal na bon spel nga yar 'gro/ chos rgyal na bon bsnuv la dam pa'i chos bya gsungs/ bon dang chos 'gran par 'chad pas dpang po med/ pho brang zur phug kyang bu tshal du btab nas chos kyi kha 'dzin zhang nya bzang dang/ stag btsan ldong gzig dang/ seng 'go lha lung gzig dang/ nyang sha mi rnam bho bhi sa twa'i kha 'dzin dang shags 'debs su bskos/ stag ra klu kong dang/ rtsis pa chen po khyung po dum gtsugs khyung po tse tse/ lcog la smon lam 'bar dang/ tshe mi la sogs pa bon gyi kha 'dzin shags 'debs su bskos [sBzh A:28] nas/ shags btab pa'i dus su/ bon khungs la gtan tshig chung/ chos khungs bzang la rgya che bar byung ste/ shags bzang la rno ste bon gyis ma thub/ phyis [Chyzh:183] bon pos [sBzh C:25] 'phan yul du shi ba 'dur bas thams cad bse rag su gyur bas/ slad chad bon mi bya ba dang/ gshi ba mi 'dur ba chad/ zhang zhung dang tshe mis rje'i sku'i bar chad sel ba'i phyir/ 'dre srin la dus bon re bya ba las gzhan mi [sBzh D:113] bya ba dang/ gshin ched du rta gsod pa dang/ dngos su sha mi za bar chad/ bon gyi dpe kun chab la bskur/ lhag ma phyis mchod rten nag por mnan/ des slan chad chos bya ba dang/ lha khang brtsigs par chad pas/ blon 'gos rgan bshums/ rjes khyed chos byed pa la mi dga' 'am byas pas/ mon bu 'di'ang smra re

*mkhas/ dam chos 'di'ang gting re zab/ dam chos byar yod tsa na nga rgas mchi bas/ 'o na blon chen 'or
che gsung shwa la gyes/ de nas mang yul nas/ rgya lha shAkya spyang drangs te slar ra mo cher bzhugs/...*

Notes

- ¹⁾ Listed below are my research papers related to *sBzh*: “An Annotated Japanese Translation of the Bashey Annals (1): the downfall of Mazhang Trompakyé,” in *Shitennoji University Bulletin* (50), 2010, pp. 429-462; “An Annotated Japanese Translation of the Bashey Annals (2): Wrath of Demons,” in *Shitennoji University Bulletin* (51), 2011, pp. 421-430; “An Annotated Japanese Translation of the Bashey Annals (3): Padmasambhava’s visit to Tibet,” in *Annual Review of Religious Studies, Department of Religious Studies, University of Tokyo* (28), 2011, pp. 217-236.
- ²⁾ Regarding the relationship between *dba’i bzhed pa* and *sBzh*, refer to: Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger eds., *Dbā’i bzhed: the royal narrative concerning the bringing of the Buddha’s doctrine to Tibet*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000, pp. 2-4. Cf. also Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation and Memory*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 212, n.11.
- ³⁾ *ngam shod* is given as *ngam bshod* in *sBzh A* (21.14) and *sBzh B* (23.21). This is a toponym indicating the northern area of Densathil Monastery near Phukpoche. It is said that, as mentioned below, Padmasambhava suggested to Tsenpo that he ought to turn desert areas of Ngamshö into green land. On this locality, see Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje, Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein (eds.), *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, Wisdom Publications, 1991, pp. 470, 545, Map 6 (J16); Cf. also *dBzh*, p. 57, n. 170.
- ⁴⁾ *sBzh D* (105.16) describes the ‘five vajra stūpas.’ (*rdo rje’i mchod rten lnga*).
- ⁵⁾ *zung mkhar* is given as *zur/zung dkar* in *sBzh D* (105.16) and *Chyzh* (177.11). Zungkhar is a locality to the southwest of Samyé (*bsam yas*) and is known as the place where Padmasambhava built five stūpas. On this locality, see Alfonsa Ferrari, *mK’yen brtse’s Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Serie Orientale Roma (16), 1958, pp. 46-117; Keith Dowman, *The Power Places of Central Tibet*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988, pp. 219-21; *dBzh*, p. 57, n. 172.
- ⁶⁾ *KhG* (324.7-8) describes that “the preceptor of Zahor arrived at the palace and sent a messenger to Tsenpo.” (*za hor gyi mkhan po pho brang du gshegs nas btsan po la brda sbyar*). Zahor (*za hor*) is an ancient Indian kingdom associated with the home of Śāntarakṣita.
- ⁷⁾ According to this text, King Trisong Deutsen refused to prostrate in front of Padmasambhava at first, but after finding out that Padmasambhava had great magical powers he paid homage to the tantrist. A similar description is found in the *padma bka’ thang*, one of the biographies of Padmasambhava: “King Trisong Deutsen thought that he was the ruler of all black-headed Tibetans (*i.e.* those with black hair as opposed to monks with shaven heads), and that Ācārya [Padmasambhava] would pay homage to him first, as did the Master Śāntarakṣita. [...] [Later, Padmasambhava] raised one hand in the gesture of homage, and miraculous fire from his hand scorched the king’s dress. The king and his ministers all became terrified, and they prostrated upon the ground immediately.” (*rgyal po khri sron lde’u btsan thugs dgongs la: nga ni bod kyi mgo nag yongs kyi rje: mkhan po bo dhi sat was sngon phyag ’tshal: de bzhin slob dpon nga la phyag ’tshal snyam: [...] phyag deng mdzad pas phyag sor las: rdzu ’phrul me ’bar rgyal po’i na bza’ tshig: rgyal blon ’khor bcas kun gyis ma bzod nas/ phyag ni gug ril gyang ’gyel bzhin du btsal*). On this episode, see *padma bka’ thang*, *si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang* (『蓮花遺教』四川民族出版社), 1987, pp. 369, 375; Yeshe Tsogyal, Erik Pema Kunsang (tr.), Marcia Binder Schmidt (ed.), *The Lotus-Born: The Life Story of Padmasambhava*, Shambhala Publications, 1993, pp. 65-67; Keith Dowman, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- ⁸⁾ Sangshi (*sang shi*) was a son of Chinese messenger called Badeu (*’ba’ de’u*). He is thought to have been an attendant tutor of Trison Deutsen during his childhood. For further discussion on him, see *dBzh*, p. 44, n. 101; *dung dkar blo bzang ’phrin las*, *mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang ’phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa’i bod rig pa’i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal*, *krung-go’i bod rig pa’i dpe skrun khang*, 2002, p. 2028.
- ⁹⁾ *sBzh A* (22.2), *sBzh B* (24.5-6), *sBzh C* (19.14), *sBzh D* (105.21) and *Chyzh* (177.16-17) give *ston pa*. Needless to say, *ston pa* means a spiritual teacher or the Buddha. But in this context, *ston pa* seems to indicate a shrine room that enshrines divine statues and in which prayers and memorial services are made. As is mentioned below, it is said that clay figures of deities had been enshrined in this room.
- ¹⁰⁾ *’khor sa* means the circumjacent space or the path for circumambulation round a sacred building. In this context it seems to indicate the circumambulation corridor round Drakmar Drinsang. In the *Sanglingma* (*zangs gling ma*), one of Padmasambhava’s biographies, it is said that when Vimalamitra arrived at

- Samyé, King Trisong Deutsen and all the subjects escorted him to the place called 'Khor sa Chenmo' (*khor sa chen mo*). See Yeshe Tsogyal, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- ¹¹⁾ *sBzh A* (22.2-3) and *sBzh C* (19.14-15) give: *brag dmar 'gran bzang*; *sBzh B* (24.6) gives: *brag dmar mgrin bzang*; *sBzh D* (105.21) gives: *brag dmar 'gram bzang*; *Chyzh* (177.17) gives: *brag dmar 'gran bzangs*. Drakmar Drinsang is Trisong Deutsen's birthplace and is believed to have been one of the five temples built by Mé Aktsom (*mes ag tshoms*, alias for *khri lde gtsug brtan*), the father of Trisong Deutsen. *sBzh* versions report that the temple was demolished by those ministers who strongly protested against the introduction of Buddhism, and that it was rebuilt by Sangshi before the construction of Samyé monastery began. According to Dungkar Lozang Trinlé, Drakmar Drinsang was at first a royal palace, but later became a temple after the birth of Trisong Deutsen. See dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, *op. cit.* p. 1497. On this locality see also, Keith Dowman, *op. cit.*, 1988, p. 233.
- ¹²⁾ *de'u shan* can be identified as the present Mount Wutai (五臺山) located in northeastern Shanxi Province, China. *KhG* (324.12; 302.23-303.1) gives *de'u shan* as *rgya'i de'u shan* (i.e. *de'u shan* of China) and comments that it is also known as the 'Five-Peaked Mountain' (*ri de ni ri bo rtse lngar grags pa de yin no*). *sBzh* versions (e.g. *sBzh A*:7.10-16; *sBzh B*:8.9-18) and *KhG* (302.13-303.1) report that Sangshi was dispatched to China at the behest of Mé Aktsom, and that he visited a temple called the 'Noble Mañjuśrī palace' (*phags pa 'jam dpal gyi pho brang*, or *arya manydzu'i pho brang*) in the mountain.
- ¹³⁾ *phywa mkhan* means a fortune-teller or a diviner who is skilled in construction planning and the relevant divination. According to *sBzh*, for the construction of Samyé monastery a fortune-teller was invited (probably from Nepal) as a supervisor whose responsibility it was to examine the soil for its suitability for founding the monastery as well as to determine the ritual and esoteric placement of the foundation. *sBzh A* (20.7-10) says that Tsenpo sent Selnang (*gsal snang*) to meet Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita and a fortune-teller at Mangyül. On the relevant discussion cf. *dBzh*, p. 53, n. 141; Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*, Motilal Banarsidass, 2008, p. 218.
- ¹⁴⁾ *KhG* (325.6) gives: *gnang chen gzims mal ba*; *Chyzh* (178.7-8) gives: *sna chen po gzims mal pa*. This title seems to indicate the rank given to personal attendants on the Tsenpo. Also, the title *snang chen po* is likely to be the abbreviated form of *nang 'khor chen po*, which indicates the chief of the domestic attendants and officers in charge of internal affairs. See *dBzh*, p. 55, n. 160.
- ¹⁵⁾ *pra stan* is mentioned as *spra/phra stan/bstan* in *sBzh A* (23.6), *sBzh B* (25.12), *sBzh C* (20.16), *sBzh D* (107.8) and *Chyzh* (178.18). The term *pra stan* is composed by *pra* and *stan*. *Pra* (*pra/spra*) refers to a type of mirror-divination and a goddess (*pra mo* or *pra'i lha mo*) associated with it. The goddess *pra mo* seems to have some sort of relation to the goddess Pramohā, one of the eight Gaurī (*ke'u ri brgyad*), but the details are unclear. The word *stan/bstan* usually signifies the 'seat' or 'basis', but in this context it seems to mean the object that divine spirits are drawn or summoned to, or the person who gazes into the mirror and describes various apparitions to the priest who directs the divination ceremony.
- In his book *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, Nebesky-Wojkowitz reports on a divination ceremony called the 'Pramo divination of the King Gesar' (*ge sar rgyal po'i pra mo*) which requires a boy aged about eight: "He should be about eight years old, and should come from a better-class family. [...] The boy takes his seat on a white cushion in front of the mirror. [...] And the boy is asked to gaze for a while into the mirror. If the divination works well, the boy will soon claim that he sees various apparitions in the mirror. He has to describe these to the priest, who derives from the account of his helpmate the answer to the questions which the *ge sar rgyal po pra mo* should clarify." On the mirror-divination of the King Gesar, cf. René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*, Book Faith India, 1996, p. 462-464.
- ¹⁶⁾ Shampo is Yarlha Shampo (*yar lha sham po*), an original spirit of Tibet. Yarlha Shampo is the name given both to a mountain in the Yarlung Valley of Central Tibet, and to the protector deity associated with it. This spirit is said, according to legend, to have been bound under oath by Padmasambhava when Buddhism was first established in Tibet.
- ¹⁷⁾ On this locality see *dBzh*, p. 46, n. 107.
- ¹⁸⁾ Tanglha (*thang lha*) is the abbreviated form of Nyenchen Tanglha (*gnyan chen thang lha*) which means a mountain range of northern Tibet as well as the protector deity associated with it. Legend has it that Tanglha was bound under oath by Padmasambhava and eventually became a protector of Buddhism. On the mountain deity Tanglha cf. *dBzh*, p. 37, n.72; René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-209.
- ¹⁹⁾ *sBzh D* (107.12-13) and *KhG* (325.20) describe 'about ten [families]' (*bcu tsam*).

- ²⁰⁾ *zur phug kyang bu tshal* (lit. ‘Kyangbu forest of Zurphu’) is mentioned as *zur phud klung/rgyang/rkyang rgyu/du tshal* in *sBzh D* [107.20], *Chyzh* [179.5] and *KhG* [326.4-5]. This locality seems to indicate a forest in Maldro (*mal gro/dro*), a river valley to the northeast of Lhasa. Dungkar Lozang Trinlé identifies *zur phud kyang bu tshal* as present-day *mal dro gzi can thang* (dung dkar blo bzang ‘phrin las, *op. cit.* 2002, p. 1813). Accordint to *sBzh*, the debate between Buddhist and Bonist was held in this place. On this locality, see Giuseppe Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, IsMEO, 1950, p. 84; *dBzh*, p. 60, n. 187.
- ²¹⁾ Zichen (*gzi can*) is also known by the name of Maldro Zichen (*mal gro/dro gzi can*) or the ‘majestic nāga of Maldro.’ The *Sanglingma* (*zangs gling ma*) says that Padmasambhava went to the upper end of Maldro valley and performed a ritual to establish a treasure for this nāga. See, Yeshe Tsogyal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
- ²²⁾ According to *KhG* (326.7), Zichen gave fourteen *khal* of gold dust (*gser phye khal bcu bzhi*) to Trisong Deutsen. *khal* is a unit of measure of volume, equivalent to about twenty five to thirty pounds.
- ²³⁾ See n. 16.
- ²⁴⁾ *sBzh* gives: *lha rdzing bam rdzing du blugs nas*. In this context the relationship between the divine pond (*lha rdzing*) and the Bam pond (*bam rdzing*) is unclear. But in a preceding different section in *sBzh* (e.g. *sBzh D*:106.5-15), there is a description that the Bam pond differs from the divine pond: “During the reign of Tibetan King, Songtsän Gampo, the practice of the sublime Dharma was not allowed. Due to the collapse of the divine pond (*lha rdzing*) AND the pond *bam rdzing*, a flood occurred in Phang thang, and the snow of the Mount [Yar]lha Shampo came crashing down.” (*bo kyi btsan po srong btsan sgam po'i sku ring la dam pa'i chos mdzad du mi ster zhing lha rdzing dang/ bam rdzings gdol* [read *rdol*] *nas 'phang thang du chu bo che gtong ba dang/ sham po'i gangs rnyil ba dang/*). Incidentally, *bam rdzing* is given as *bam/bang/bem bsdzid/brjid/rdzing* in *sBzh A* (24.3), *sBzh B* (26.10) and *sBzh D* (108.2-4). The term *bam rdzing* can be translated as the ‘pond’ (*rdzing*) of ‘corpse/putridity’ (*bam*), but the exact meaning is unknown.
- ²⁵⁾ *sBzh D* (108.11) gives: *bzhes bzlas 'om bu tshal nas len zhes gsol*; *KhG* (326.17) gives: *bzhen bla na re 'om bu tshal nas len zhe gsol*. Shyéda (*bzhes bzla*) or Shyengla (*bzheng bla*) – not reported in the other versions of *sBzh* – seems to be the name of or the title for the close servant of Tsenpo.
- ²⁶⁾ Drakmar Ombutset (lit. the ‘Red Rock Tamarisk Forest’) is a well-known locality near Samyé and is considered to be the place where a royal residence was located. See *dBzh*, p. 56, n. 164.
- ²⁷⁾ Although *sBzh D* (108.12) and *KhG* (326.18) attribute this statement to the *mkhan po*, it is not clear whether the *mkhan po* is Padmasambhava or Śāntarakṣita.
- ²⁸⁾ Mount Meru (*ri rab*) is considered to be the centre of all the universes in Buddhist cosmology. Tana (*rta rna*, lit. the ‘horse’s ear’) is the Tibetan form for Aśvakaṛṇa, one of the Seven Golden Mountains (*gser gyi ri bdun*) around Mount Meru, and is so called because of the shape of its summit. In this context, however, it is used to mean a spring located on the northern side of Mount Meru.
- ²⁹⁾ *ga sha* indicates raiment used by tantric priests, including shoulder-belts, necklaces and strings of human skulls or bone bits.
- ³⁰⁾ *'dzab khang* is mentioned as *'dzub/dzapra khang/khung* in *sBzh A* (24.13), *sBzh B* (27.4), *sBzh C* (21.22-23) and *sBzh D* (108.20). It seems to indicate a room or a house for mantra repetition. *'dzab* renders the Sanskrit word *śāpa*, meaning a ‘curse.’
- ³¹⁾ *sBzh D* (108.19-22) and *KhG* (327.4) give: *chu 'o ma 'dra ba* (i.e. ‘milk-like water’).
- ³²⁾ *sBzh D* (108.23-24) and *KhG* (327.5-6) give: *mdun sa chung ngu* (i.e. ‘restricted assembly’ or ‘low level assembly’).
- ³³⁾ *Mon* (*mon*) indicates the lands to the south or southwest of Tibet. This appears in some versions of *sBzh* as the source of vulgar and wild dangerous customs. According to Dungkar Lozang Trinlé, this region became Tibet’s territory during the reign of Tibetan King, Songtsän Gampo. For the further information, see the section of ‘*mon*’ and ‘*mon khul 'go 'dzin rta dbang bla gnyer*’ in dung dkar blo bzang ‘phrin las, *op. cit.*, pp. 1622-1623. Cf. also *dBzh*, p. 57, n. 169.
- ³⁴⁾ *sBzh D* (108.24) and *KhG* (327.6) report that this decision was made based on the opinions of the assembly participants that the water was not beneficial to *sku'i rim gro* because it was mad water from Mon. *sku'i rim gro* (or *sku rim*) mentioned here is the honorific term for *rim gro* that means the rite for the well-being of the king. This suggests that the act of washing Tsenpo’s head had some kind of religious significance.

- ³⁵⁾ See n. 3.
- ³⁶⁾ *sBzh A* (25.2) and *sBzh B* (27.11) give: *bhai shar ma Ni*; *sBzh C* (22.5) gives: *bhom sha ra maNTi*; *sBzh D* (109.2) gives: *bhai shra ma na*; *Chyzh* (180.7) gives: *bhe sha ra ma na*; *KhG* (327.8) gives: *be shra wan na*. These seem to be transcriptions of the Sanskrit word Vaiśravaṇa, an important figure in Buddhist mythology. In Tibetan sources, this deity is also mentioned as ‘Namtösé’ (*rnam thos sras*) or ‘Namsé’ (*rnam sras*). Namtösé is believed to be one of the ‘Four Heavenly Great Kings’ (*rgyal chen rigs bzhi*) watching over the four cardinal directions of the world. He is also considered to be the god of wealth as well as the leader of all the yakṣas who often cause diseases through demonic possession.
- ³⁷⁾ *gtsang po dang mtsho sbugs su bcug la 'phyong pas chog pa bya/ ngas o rgyan du chab 'di bas che ba gcig sbugs su bcug*. The passage is rather obscure and the translation proposed here is tentative; the word ‘*phyong*’ in rare cases can mean ‘protect.’ Legend has it that in various regions Padmasambhava buried rivers under the ground.
- ³⁸⁾ *klu rdzing* (lit. the ‘nāga pond’) is given as *klu/klu'i sdzing/rdzing/rdzings* in *sBzh A* (25.5), *sBzh D* (109.15) and *Chyzh* (180.11). This seems to be a toponym indicating the arid land in Drakmar (*brag dmar*), but the details are unknown.
- ³⁹⁾ Drakmar Tsomogul, also called Samyé Tsomogur (*bsam yas mtsho mo mgur*), was a locality close to Samyé monastery. It was known as a production area of wood and there is a legend that the timber used for building Samyé monastery was transported from this area.
- ⁴⁰⁾ *brag dmar gla ba'i tshal* means the ‘Deer Grove at Red Rock’ literally.
- ⁴¹⁾ See n. 5.
- ⁴²⁾ *yar klungs* is mentioned as *yar lungs* in *sBzh A* (25.10), *sBzh B* (28.2), *sBzh C* (22.16), *Chyzh* (180.18) and *KhG* (328.2). This is a toponym indicating a fertile valley in Lhokha (*lho kha*) district in southern Tibet, where Tibetan civilization and the first dynasty first begun. On this locality, see Keith Dowman, *op. cit.*, chapter 11.
- ⁴³⁾ Dré (*bre*) is a unit of Tibetan volume measure, equivalent of about one liter or two pints. One dré would weigh about thirteen kilos.
- ⁴⁴⁾ According to *sBzh D* (D110.7) and *KhG* (328.11), he gave the instruction to twenty-one disciples including the king and his subjects (*rje 'bangs nyi shu rtsa gcig*).
- ⁴⁵⁾ *KhG* (328.19) gives: *lta spyod ya ma bral ba 'ga's*.
- ⁴⁶⁾ Mangyül (*mang yul*) is a toponym indicating an area north of the Kathumandu valley, between Trisuli and the present border of Tibet. This locality is said to have been the gateway from Tibet to Nepal and India, and appears as a place through which people pass between those countries in some written histories. On this locality, see Yeshe Tsogyel, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje, *op. cit.*, p. 889, Map4 (J8-10); *dBzh*, p. 38, n. 76.
- ⁴⁷⁾ Deng Bab (*deng babs*) is mentioned as *deng/dong babs/bas/'phangs* in *sBzh A* (26.14), *sBzh B* (29.10), *sBzh C* (23.20), *sBzh D* (111.7) and *Chyzh* (181.21). This seems to be one of the gorges in Mangyül on the way between Tibet and Nepal, but its accurate place is unknown. In *sBzh* (e.g. *sBzh B*:5.5-8), there is a description that the emissaries stopped off at the gorge called ‘Dong Bab’ (*dong 'babs*) on their way to India: “Thinking that India is renowned for the Dharma, [the father of Trisong Deutsen(?)] dispatched emissaries to southern Nepal with gifts in order to please the king of India. During their stay at the gorge of Dong Bab, the small pieces of hail continued to fall for seven nights.” (*chos rgya gar na grags pas/ rgya gar gyi rgyal po'i thugs bzung ba'i don du skyes dang pho nya ba lho bal du brdzangs pas/ shul* [read *bshul*] *dong 'babs kyi 'phrang du sgung* [read *khu*] *phabs* [read 'phangs] *sgung* [read *dgung*] *bdun bab/*). The same story also appears in *KhG* (299.17-19).
- ⁴⁸⁾ According to *sBzh D* (111.18-21), after this prophecy Padmasambhava stated as follows: “The non-Buddhist rivals may appear in any places where there is the Buddha Dharma. [In such cases.] there will be disputes [between Buddhists and anti-Buddhists]. When there is no opposition from the non-Buddhists, there will be controversies among Buddhists themselves.” (*sangs rgyas kyi chos gar byung bar mu stegs gyi 'gran zla re byung nas rtsod pa byed dgos pa las/ mu stegs la sogs pa'i rgol ba ni mi 'byung na/ sangs rgyas pa nyid nang rtsod pa nyid du 'gyur*). A parallel description is found in *KhG* (329.19-22).
- ⁴⁹⁾ *KhG* (330.1) reads that [Padmasambhava] gave a handful of white mustard seeds to his ‘escorts’ (*skyel mi rnam la yungs dkar par* [read *spar*] *gang gtad*).
- ⁵⁰⁾ See n. 39.

⁵¹⁾ *sBzh A* (27.9-10) and *sBzh B* (30.7) give: *snam phyi g.yas kyi tshul du dpon*; *sBzh C* (24.12-13) gives: *rnam phyi g.yas kyi tshul du dpon*; *sBzh D* (112.6-7) gives: *gnam phyi ba g.yas kyi tshugs dpon chos kyi bla*; *Chyzh* (182.12-13) gives: *snam gyi tshul du dpon*; *KhG* (332.9) gives: *chos kyi tshugs dpon bla*. *snam phyi g.yas kyi tshul du dpon* is an obscure title which seems to indicate the chief of the Namci (*snam phyi*) officials who were sitting to the right (probably of the Tsenpo). According to *brda dkrol gser gyi me long* (btsan lha ngag dbang tshul khirms ed., mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 赞拉·阿旺措成编著《古藏文辭典》民族出版社, 1997, p. 427), *snam phyi pa* means a ‘personal attendant’ (*zhabs phyi nang ma*) or ‘steward’ (*gsol dpon*). On this title cf. *dBzh* p. 47 (n. 113), p. 60 (n. 184).

It is not known whether it is related to this or not, but some Tibetan historical documents describe the correct seating position for the host when performing ceremonies. For instance, *The Mirror of the Royal Genealogies* and *KhG* report that at the party to celebrate Trisong Deutsen’s first walk (*zhabs 'dzugs kyi dga' ston*), the relatives of Nanam (a family clan in early Tibet) sat on the right side of Trisong Deutsen’s father while Chinese officials on the left. *The Biography of Yeshe Tsogyal* says that when the debate between Bonists and Buddhists was held, Buddhist speakers sat on the right side of the King while Bonists on the left. Still, *The History of Buddhism by Buton* and *KhG* describe that when the Samyé debate was held, the Chinese Buddhist monk sat on the right side of the Tibetan king whilst Indian Paṇḍit Kamalaśīla on the left. These descriptions may suggest that the seating position reflected the person’s position in the social hierarchy of ancient Tibet. See *rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981, p. 200; *KhG*, pp. 298, 385; *mkha' 'gro ye shes mtsho rgyal gyi rnam thar*, sri khrom mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989, p. 142; *bu ston chos 'byung gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1988, p. 188.

⁵²⁾ *sBzh D* (112.12) and *KhG* (332.14) record that the debate was held in the year of the pig (*phag gi lo*), that is either 759 or 771 C.E.

⁵³⁾ See n. 20.

⁵⁴⁾ Concerning the participants in the debate, the *Lekshé Dzö* (*legs bshad mdzod*), a Bonist history book, says as follows: “According to the *Sīgyü* (*srid rgyud*), [...] Overseers from each party were appointed. Ngam Takra Lugong (*ngam stag ra klu gong*) and Nanam Trompakyé (*sna nam phrom pa skyes*) were nominated as the Bonist overseers. Drawa of Shākya-rung (*shAkya rung gi bra ba*) and Nyar Taktsen Dongsī (*snyar stag btsan ldong gzig*) were nominated as the Buddhist overseers. Gö Trizang Yablhak (*'gos khri bzang yab lhag*) was appointed as a referee. Drenpa Namkha (*dran pa nam mkha'*) was the advocate for Bon. Bodhisattva [*i.e.* Śāntarakṣita] was the advocate for Buddhism.” (*bon chos gnyis kyi kha 'dzin so sor bskos pa'i bon po kun gyi kha 'dzin ni ngam stag ra klu gong dang/ sna nam phrom pa skyes gnyis bzhag /ban dhe kun gyi kha 'dzin ni shAkya rung gi bra ba dang/ snyar stag btsan ldong gzig de gnyis bzhag /mgo pa kun gyi drang mkhan ni 'gos khri bzang yab lhag la bcol/ bon gyi shags mkhan dran pa nam mkhas byas/ chos kyi shag mkhan bod hi sat was byas...*). For details, see Samten G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1972, pp. 88-89; shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan, *legs bshad rin po che'i gter mdzod*, mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1985, p. 210.

⁵⁵⁾ Regarding the reason why the Bonists lost the debate, Bonist historians seem to have a different view from that described here. For instance, in the *Lekshé Dzö* written by Shardza Tashi Gyaltzen (*shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan*, 1859-1933/1935), there is a description as follows: “...Thus the king let Bonists and Buddhists contest so as to be able to condemn and suppress Bon, but since the Bonists, far from being defeated, had been highly successful, the king could not do anything. As the king, through the power of his previous prayers, wanted to practice the Dharma, and the Buddhists and ministers, who were interested in the Dharma, several times wickedly promoted calumny between the Bonists and the king, and as sentient beings in that degenerate age had so little merit and evil practice increased, whilst the Tibetans no longer submitted to the discipline of the precious Everlasting Bon, the essence of all doctrine, the time had arrived to suppress the doctrine once more...” (*de ltar bon bsnyub pa'i snyad du rgyal pos de lta bu rnams bon ban gnyis byed du bcug kyang/ bon po rnams pham du ma nyan te gong du dpag pas cir byar ma btub pa la/ rgyal po yang sngon gyi smon lam dbang gis chos spyad pa la dga' ba dang/ ban de rnams dang blon po chos la dga' ba rnams kyi rgyal po dang bon po'i bar du bsam sbyor ngan pas ma nyes pa'i phra ma mang po yang yang bcug pas dang/ mar 'grib kyi sems can rnams bsod nams dman zhing sdig spyod mang bas dang/ bod kyi 'gro ba rnams bstan pa'i snying po g.yung drung gi bon rin po ches gdul ba'i zhing du ma gyur pa la sogs pas bstan pa lan gcig nub pa'i dus la bas ste...*). For details, see Samten G. Karmay, *op. cit.*, p. 90; shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

- ⁵⁶⁾ *'phan yul* is an area to the north of Lhasa and is said to have become Tibetan territory during the reign of Namri Songtsen (*gnam ri srong btsan*), the 32nd king of Tibet (Yarlung dynasty). This area was known as an important centre for various Bonist priests, and the name of the *Bon of the Extensive Prajñāpāramitā from the country of Pen-yul* (*'phan yul rgyas pa 'bum gyi bon*), a set of scriptures of Bon religion, is said to have come from this place name. On this locality, see *dBzh*, p. 95, n. 373.
- ⁵⁷⁾ *Sérak* (*bse rag*) is a type of mischievous spirit that consumes the potent essences of food and wealth.
- ⁵⁸⁾ *blon 'gos rgan* is given as *blon po chen po 'gos khri bzangs yab lhag* in *sBzh D* (113.1-3). He was a renowned minister who was active during the middle of the 8th century, and is also known as one of the 'seven wise ministers' (*'phrul blon mdzangs mi bdun*) who contributed to the development of Tibet. Although the basis of his religious belief is unclear, *sBzh* (e.g. *sBzh A*:13.2-15.3; *sBzh B*:14.9-16.14) reports that he led Mazhang Trompakye (*zhang ma zhang khrom pa skyes*), a famous anti-Buddhist minister, to be buried alive. However, according to the *Namjé Truldé* (*rnam 'byed 'phrul lde*), a Bonist history book, it is said that he opposed to the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, saying as follows: "O Lord, divinely born, you are young. Your ancestor Drigum (*gri gum*) once suppressed Bon and his life was short and he was killed by (*lo ngam*) at the age of thirty-six. Your great grandfather Songtsän Gampo (*srong btsan sgam po*) nearly suppressed Bon and so his life was short and he died at the age of thirty-six. [...] So far during the thirty-eight reigns we have never had any experience of the grace of holy Buddhism. Now whether it is to be understood or not, whether it is to be taught or not, you, divinely born, have the power and may do whatever you please." (...'*gos khri bzang yab lhag na re/ rje lha sras sku gzhon pa lags/ mes gri rum* [read *gum*] *btsan pos kyang bon thang cig bsnuks pas sku tshe thung ste sum cu rtsa drug pa la 'bangs lo ngam gyis bkrongs/ yab mes srong btsan sgam pos kyang snub grabs mdzad pas sku tshe thung ste sum cu rtsa drug pa la gshegs/ [...] de sngon gdung rabs sum cu rtsa brgyad yan chad la/ dam pa'i chos kyi bka' drin yod ma myong/ da shes dang mi shes/ slob dang mi slob/ lha sras mnga' che rang gang dgyes mdzod...*). For details, see Samten G. Karmay, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88; *shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan*, *op. cit.*, p. 209. Cf. also *dBzh*, p. 68, n. 231.
- ⁵⁹⁾ *rgya lha shAkya* (*lit.* the Chinese god, Śākya[muni]) indicates the statue of Śākyamuni Buddha, brought to Tibet by Wencheng, the Chinese queen of Songtsän Gampo. *sBzh* reports that during the time of the persecution of Buddhism this statue was taken from Ramoché temple to be buried around Khardrak (*mkhar brag*), and that it was later dug up and brought to Mangyül.

Bashey with supplement :

A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text and an Annotated Translation (4)

Shin' ichi TSUMAGARI

This paper presents part of an annotated translation of the *Bashey with supplement* (*sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*, hereafter *Bashey*), a Tibetan chronicle of events surrounding the reign of King Trisong Deutsen (*khri srong lde'u btsan*, r. 755-797/804), reputedly as recorded by Ba Salnang (*dba'/sba gsal snang*), one of the king's ministers. The reign of King Trisong Deutsen is marked by the emergence of a unified Tibet as a major political and military force in Asia. During his time, the Tibetan Empire was at its peak and its armies invaded China and several Central Asian countries. King Trisong Deutsen also expelled the Chinese monks and banished the Chinese Chán school of Buddhism from Tibet and adopted the Indian system. It was also during his time that Samyé, the first monastery in Tibet, was founded by Padmasambhava, who also established the supremacy of Buddhism and converted the indigenous deities into guardians of the Dharma. I consider the study of the *Bashey* very important in studying the religious history of ancient Tibet because it contains various narratives of the religious and cultural exchange of the ancient Tibetan court with surrounding countries. The research that has been conducted on the text so far is, however, preliminary and still fragmentary, and the text has not yet been translated into other languages in full. In view of this situation, the aim of this study is to set the stage for future comprehensive study of the *Bashey* by attempting its textual criticism and English translation in full.