

found in any available Indian nor other older Tibetan³⁹ material, it is more than probable that the original source of the above-mentioned episode found in the commentaries on the "Drop of Nourishment for People" (as well as in the Mongolian Geser) can well be looked for in China and that it is identical with the tale from *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* of 10th century. It can be assumed that the tale went through changes on Tibetan soil — it became more simple, but at the same time it included a new motif, the magic stick and formula. Providing that a Tibetan commentary on the "Drop of Nourishment for People" was not written later than the early 17th century, when its first Mongolian translation is supposed to be done, the Chinese tale could be taken over by the Mongolian Geser from this commentary or even from its Mongolian translation. It also may be that narrators or compilers of different versions of the Mongolian Geser knew both the newer Tibetan adaptation as recorded also in some of the commentaries on the "Drop of Nourishment for People", as well as the Chinese version of the episode. However, in view of similarity, almost identity of the episode in the Mongolian Geser and the commentaries it is very unlikely that they could develop from their Chinese model fully independently.

In any case, the above-mentioned observations suggest that the tale about "the magic creations of the female demon" included in the "Mongolian (and Tibetan) stories from Pañcatantra" has been borrowed from China.

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THE STAR KING AND THE FOUR CHILDREN OF PEHAR: POPULAR RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS OF 11TH-TO 12TH-CENTURY TIBET*

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It may go without saying in these days, with the ascendancy of literary-critical approaches to historical studies, that most of our sources for historical investigation are pieces of literature composed for specific purposes, not simply to reflect still-life pictures of historical moments, but to mold the present by selecting from among possible pasts. Many significant movements at work in history have, for one reason or another, not been portrayed for us in their own writings. One prominent reason for this is just that, regardless of their importance at their historical moment, they were left out of the 'mainstreams' that went on to make and transmit histories of themselves told according to their own points of view. In order to reenact the historical moment, it becomes necessary to read closely and critically whatever sources might be available, trying to make the most of a situation made difficult for those who want to know history. Especially when it is a question of 'popular' movements and practices,¹ the hints contained in narrative histories and polemical works have to be isolated and amplified, since evidence about what were, in their own times, quite widespread, general and influential phenomena, becomes devoiced (not necessarily self-consciously sup-

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¹ Our intention here is to cover particular early Tibetan popular religious movements. In the future, we hope to initiate study of the historical developments and configurations of Tibetan popular religious practices. The literature in Tibetan on such practices is, needless to say, quite limited and scattered, but perhaps therefore all the more worthy of our attention. This study needs to be set within the broader context of lay-monastic relations in Buddhist history and society. Within Mahāyāna studies, there is a broad array of opinion as to the role laypersons played in Mahāyāna origins and developments, leading to interesting scholarly controversies which will not be entered into here. (See G. Schopen, Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10 (1985) 9-47. See also R. A. F. Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti: A Mahāyāna Scripture*. University Park 1990, for the ideal of the accomplished lay Bodhisattva in the form of Vimalakīrti.) It is perhaps important to note that while the tensions between the laity and monkhood are underlined in what follows, this tension has not been universal. Within Tibet itself, individual Buddhist leaders who were at the same time monks have expressed different attitudes on the potentials of lay religious practices, ranging from the dismissive, the patronizing, the accommodating, the accepting, and the advocating.

³⁹ Except the short reference to it in Šes-rab Rdo-rje's commentary from 16th century. See the note No. 8 of the present article.

pressed) in the triumphalist records of subsequent writers. 'Amplification' carries with it the obvious danger of making mountains out of anthills. In our case, although the testimonies which follow are relatively quite brief and almost always polemically motivated, they do not themselves minimize the importance or the broad appeal of the movements in question — rather the contrary is the case. Our most difficult and perhaps insurmountable problem is how to rightly read through and between the lines to ascertain what the leaders and followers of these movements would have had to say about themselves in their own texts, were such texts available to us.

We stress at the outset that the movements we will discuss here were all Buddhist movements in the sense that they generally adhered to the complex of beliefs that Tibetans have referred to under the name *Chos* (Dharma), even though some later writers have called them non-Buddhist. They have nothing, or very nearly nothing, to do with that other Tibetan religious current called *Bon*. We will first look at the movement led by one Skar-rgyal ('Star King') in western Tibet in the early 11th century. Our second subject is a plurality of movements that have been styled by most of their opponents as a collectivity which they call the 'Four Children of Peihar' (Pe-har Bu Bzhi). These last four leaders were active in the mid-11th to mid-12th centuries in various parts of central Tibet, more specifically in Gtsang province and the area of 'Phan-yul.² The Four Children are almost always characterized in our sources as *Rdol-chos*,³ which I would like to translate as 'Outbreak Teachings' or, better, 'Pop[ular] Buddhism', in keeping with the etymological and practical usage of the term. The teachings of the Star King are never characterized by this term, but I believe it could have been equally well deployed against him.

Over twenty years ago E. Gene Smith suggested that the same Klu Skar-rgyal ('Naga Star King') of the time of Rin-chen-bzang-po (958–1055) who was also called Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal ('Buddha Star King') in the story told by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta ought to be identified with the Bon treasure excavator Gshen-chen Klu-dga'.⁴ He recommended a line of research which could establish this iden-

² 'Phan-yul is a major valley just to the north of Lhasa in Central Tibet.

³ I know of no use of this term before the middle of the second half of the 12th century, when it appears in a work by Zhang G.yu-brag-pa. It is found a number of times in early 13th-century works. The term *Rdol-bon* appears first in the history of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer at the end of the 12th century, and reappears in an anti-Bon polemical passage in the early 13th-century work, the *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*. The later Tibetan tradition seems to have forgotten the earlier meaning of *rdol*, and this is why one sometimes finds the word in corrupted forms (based on the graphic similarity of 'rd' and 'j' in Tibetan script) such as 'jol' or even 'mjol' in the phrase 'Jol-bon' (see, for example, G. Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet*, Tr. by Geoffrey Samuel, London 1980, 224). This mistaken spelling, which is nevertheless frequently adopted without comment in Tibetological literature, appears to have originated in the 1801 anti-Bon polemic of Thu'u-bkwan, which is in part based on the anti-Bon polemic of Sher-'byung (on both of which, see D. Martin, *The Emergence of Bon and the Tibetan Polemical Tradition*, Bloomington 1991, 170–173, 182–223).

⁴ See E. G. Smith, Introduction. In: L. Chandra (ed.), *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, (Śatapiṭaka Series, no. 80) New Delhi 1970, 6, note 13. The life of Gshen-chen Klu-dga' has been told in D. Martin, *Emergence*. His important textual 'excavations' (*gter-ma*) were

tity, in particular, an examination of the early commentaries to the *Classifying the Three Vows* (*Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye*) of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta (1182–1251).⁵ Although we have some other sources available to us, we will follow Smith's suggested method and begin with the story of Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal as told by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta. Afterwards, we will look at relevant passages in available commentaries. In its broader context, Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta tells the story in order to provide an example of one who taught in harmony with the Buddha's pronouncements in a very general way, while getting some main points wrong.

During the time of Rin-chen-bzang-po,⁶ one named Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal would emit lights from his forehead and sit cross-legged in the sky, sometimes on a throne of 'jag-ma'⁷ grass. He gave teachings on voidness and seemed to display great lovingkindness and compassion. His teachings even aroused states of contemplative concentration (*śamādhi*) in others. All the world believed in him. He made his teachings a little different from those of the Śākya King [the Buddha], and they spread widely.

Then Rin-chen-bzang-po, after he had engaged in six months of spiritual practice, went with a firm state of contemplative concentration before Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal, who was seated cross-legged in the sky, teaching. It is known that, with a mere glance from Rin-chen-bzang-po, he fell to earth and lay there unconscious.

It is said,⁸ "If the great personage Rin-[chen]-bzang[-po] had not lived in those times, the wrong teachings of the one named Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal would have been established."

almost certainly found in the year 1017. Geographical and biographical evidence shows that the Star King and the Gshen-chen had, contrary to Smith's suggestion, nothing to do with each other.

⁵ It may be that this work was written in the vicinity of 1232 (see D. P. Jackson, Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *The Tibet Journal* 8:3 (1983) 13).

⁶ According to notes attributed to Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta himself, we should read, "At the time Rin-chen-bzang-po was dwelling in Upper [Tibet], or Mnga'-ris." See Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Bstan-bcos* (= *Sdom Gsum Rang Mchan 'Khrul-med*). Recently published in India (no publisher's information available), 132.5.

⁷ There is a story told by Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, *Rgyal-rabs Gsal-ba'i Me-long*, Dehra Dun 198-, in eleventh chapter, 82), telling how, in the time of Emperor Srong-btsan-sgam-po, one Akaramatiśīla went to an island in the ocean and beheld there on the tip of each blade of 'jag-ma' grass a seated Buddha. He then brought back a sheaf of this grass for the Emperor. A variant of this same story is located at Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, *Chos-'byung Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston* (= *Dam-pa'i Chos-kyi 'Khor-lo Bgyur-ba-mnams-kyi 'Byung-ba Gsal-bar Byed-pa Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston*). Ed. Rdo-tse-rgyal-po. Peking 1986, 198, where the source cited is the *Ka-bkol-ma*, i.e., the *Bka'-chams Ka-khol-ma* (Ed. by Smon-lam-rgya-mtsho, Kansu 1989), which may have been extant in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, since it was said to have been excavated by Atiśa. See also R. O. Meisenzahl, *Die große Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus nach alter Tradition*, Sankt Augustin 1985, plate 133 (folio 198 recto, line 6).

⁸ The use of the word 'said' (*gsung*) lends greater respect and authority to the source of this and the following statement than does the word 'known' (*grag*) in the preceding paragraph, which implies only general knowledge. This is important to note, since the literal English transla-

It is said, "A great *nāga*-spirit known as Skar-rgyal who preferred the 'dark side' entered into a bad person⁹ and magically took on the form of a Buddha."

Some classes of delusionary spirits (*bdud*) such as this take on the form of people or saints (*'phags-pa*) and, in order to spread wrong teachings, mix them with Dharma, mix wrong teachings into the essential points, and then they are *able* to teach them. To make an analogy, more [people] can be killed by poison when it is added to good food. If known to be simply poison, no one could be killed.¹⁰ Likewise, other people are tricked when wrong teachings are added to a few good teachings. If [people] knew they were simply wrong teachings, the delusionary spirits would fool no one.¹¹

Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta continues for several pages in the same vein, but for present we would just like to underline that the word 'Bon' is not used anywhere in the entire body of this work by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, although one might expect some reference to it, given its polemical nature.¹²

Of the later commentaries, that of Spos-khang-pa provides the most interesting information. According to Spos-khang-pa, the people of Mar-yul¹³ in Mnga'-ris named him Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal because he emitted light like the light of the star (*skar-ma*) Venus (Pa-ba-sang) from the circle of hair on his forehead.¹⁴ That he could sit on a high throne of 'jag-ma grass demonstrated [his ability to be] weightless. Householders as well as learned and monastic people of Tibet followed him. Rin-chen-bzang-po looked at him with the gaze (*lta-stangs*) of his chosen deity¹⁵ whose *sādhana* he had performed for the six preceding

tions of the Tibetan words seem to carry the opposite implications. According to the notes of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta (*ibid.*, 133) the speakers of these words are "scholars of generations past."

⁹ The text included in the commentary by Spos-khang-pa reads *skye-ngan*, 'one of bad (low class) birth' rather than *skyes-ngan*, 'bad man'.

¹⁰ The same analogy is drawn by Chag Lo-tsā-ba in his 'Critique of Wrong Tantra' as contained in *Sngags-log Sun-'byin-gyi Skor* (= *Chag Lo-tsā-bas Mdzad-pa'i Sngags-log Sun-'byin dang 'Gos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas-kyi Sngags-log Sun-'byin*). Thimpu 1979, 11.6.

¹¹ The text for the passage is found in Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye* (Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Bstan-bcos*. n.p. 1971, folio 80r.6 through folio 81r.6), and in the same work as contained in *Sa-skya Bka'-'bum* (= *Sa-skya-pa'i Bka'-'bum*. Vol. 5. Tokyo 1968, 316.6 ff.). Jared Rhoton composed a doctoral dissertation (Columbia 1985) on this text which I have not yet been able to consult.

¹² One does find Bon mentioned in another work by him. See his collected works as contained in *Sa-skya Bka'-'bum*. Vol. 5, 431b.3. Bon first surfaces in the polemical literature beginning in about 1230 in the *Dgongs-geig Yig-cha* anti-Bon polemic and in a polemic by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta's contemporary Chag Lo-tsā-ba.

¹³ Mang-yul, according to the commentary of Go-rams-pa, which has little to add to the information about Skar-rgyal found in Spos-khang-pa's commentary.

¹⁴ The *mdzod-spu*, a circle of hair between the eyebrows, is one of the thirty-two major marks of a Buddha.

¹⁵ According to the 1954 commentary by Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin, (Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Mchan 'Grel*. New Delhi 1979, 239.4), the chosen deity was the Dharma Protector Bsc-'bag Gur-mgon (= Mgur-gyi-mgon-po). See D.

months. The Great Translator took his shawl and tied it around Skar-rgyal's neck, exorcising him.¹⁶

Skar-rgyal said, "I am a *nāga*-spirit who lives in lake Gu-ma of Mar-yul.¹⁷ My teachings have covered all Tibet. They have become inseparably mixed into many texts and precepts like salt in water. They cannot be separated out. I promise from now on not to give wrong teachings."

According to the words of Rin-chen-bzang-po, "A *nāga*-spirit who was an adherent of Ratīśvara (Dga'-rab-dbang-phyug),¹⁸ named Skar-rgyal, entered into the being [lit., continuity, *rgyud*] of an unfortunate¹⁹ shepherd²⁰ and taught in the form of a Buddha."

This Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal, a name meaning *Buddha* Skar-rgyal, is a name for the human being who seemed to his followers to be a Buddha. He was possessed by a *nāga*-spirit Skar-rgyal, from whom we might suppose that he

Snellgrove-T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*. Boulder 1977, 99–100 for the story of Rin-chen-bzang-po's contemplative visualizations of this particular form of Mahākāla. Dpa'-bo, *Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston* (Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, *Chos-'byung Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston: A Detailed History of the Development of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Vol. I. Delhi 1980, p. 524.6) says that the chosen deity concerned was Bhairava ('Jigs-byed).

¹⁶ *Bka' bsgo drag-po mdzad-pa*. Literally, 'to do a forceful exhorting'.

¹⁷ Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin (Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin, *op. cit.*, 240.1) says he was from Khu-nu, or the lake of Khu-nu. Khu-nu is the present Kinnaur (= Kunawar) district on the upper Sutlej, now a part of India accessible from Tibet through the Shipkyi Pass. It is not so far from Mtho-ling where Rin-chen-bzang-po spent some time. No place name Gu-ma could be located in any other context. The spelling given in the 17th-century commentary by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (Mkhan-chen Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Rnam-bshad Legs-bshad Zla 'Od Nor-bu and Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Spyi-don Kun Gsal Nor-bu'i Phreng-ba: Two Commentaries on the Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye*. New Delhi 1978, 412.1) is Gung-ma. The spelling Gu-me will also be noted below. A region of Kashmir (Kha-che) named Ku-ma-na is mentioned in a 1557 history (see 'Dul-'dzin Mkhayen-rab-rgya-mtsho, *Sangs-rgyas Bstan-pa'i Chos-'byung Dris-lan Smra-ba'i Phreng-ba*. Gangtok 1981, 73.6), but with reference to the third collection of scriptures 300 years after the death of the Buddha. This was in the close neighborhood of Jullundur (Jalandhara) in present day Himachal Pradesh. Perhaps more likely, from the standpoint of phonology, would be an identification with the large oasis of Gūma on the route between Karghalik and Khotan (see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*. Vol. 1, 99 ff.), although it seems fairly far removed from Rin-chen-bzang-po's field of activity.

¹⁸ In Buddhist contexts, this is a name or epithet of the king of delusionary spirits (*māra*), usually known as Kāma. (R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*. Paris 1959, 157; R. A. Stein, La Gueule du Makara: un trait inexpliqué de certains objets rituels. In: A. Macdonald-Y. Imaeda (eds), *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*. Paris 1977, 59.) The name literally means 'Rati's Lord', Rati being the name of Kāma's wife in Indian mythology.

¹⁹ 'Unfortunate' translates *bsod-nams chung*, 'small merit'. In ordinary usage, it means 'unfortunate' or 'luckless', but it comes out of a Buddhist framework where 'merit' (*bsod-nams*) is a result of past good deeds, and therefore the one who experiences the 'luck' is ultimately responsible for it, even if not in the present lifetime.

²⁰ According to Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin (Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin, *op. cit.*, 240.2), he was a goatherd (*rwa-brdzi*).

took his name after the possession had taken place. If this is the case, we really do not have any proper name for the human being besides the name of the spirit which allegedly inhabited him for a time. The name Skar-rgyal is known as a Tibetan translation of an Indian personal name *Tiṣya*. It was also used to translate the nouns *tiṣya* and *puṣya* from Sanskrit, both words used to refer either to a particular lunar month or to a constellation. I can find no reasonable explanation for the fact that there is a city in Ladakh called Kargil (Skar-rgyal?), or whether this has any bearing on our arguments.²¹

While the two earlier commentaries supply us with a geographical location for this teacher Skar-rgyal, they do not agree with each other, and they are even contradicted by another commentary. One of the early commentaries says it was the area of west Tibet called Mar-yul (which is generally identified with Ladakh) or the area in the eastern part of Mnga'-ris province named Mang-yul (just north of modern central Nepal, at least in later times subdivided into Gung-thang and Skyid-rong). This sort of confusion in Tibetan sources has led to considerable scholarly confusion and arguments,²² and for present purposes it is perhaps as well to live with the ambiguity. The location given by the recent commentator Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin may accord better with what we know of Rin-chen-bzang-po's life. He says that Skar-rgyal was at Khu-nu, or the area of the present-day Kinnaur district in India. Kinnaur borders on Gu-ge (with its capital then at Mtho-liding), which was site of much of Rin-chen-bzang-po's activity in his later life. In fact, according to the oldest available biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po, he never travelled further east than Purang.²³ This would

²¹ In A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. 2, New Delhi 1972, 128, we find the spelling Dkar-skyil for this town in Ladakh. Modern newspapers often spell it as Dkar-'khyil. We also find the name Skar-rgyal belonging to one of the prior reincarnations of the Buddha — see Mkhas-pa Lde'u, *Mkhas-pa Lde'us mdzad-pa'i Rgya Bod-kyi Chos-'byung Rgyas-pa*, Lhasa 1987, 30, 33. For others with this same name, see H. Guenther, *The Life and Teachings of Nāropa: Translated from the Original Tibetan with Philosophical Commentary Based on the Oral Transmission*, London 1971, 16; Khetsun Sangpo (= Mkhas-btsun-bzang-po), *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism* (in Tibetan), Vol. 1, Dharamsala 1981, 111. For reference to one named Skar-rgyal among the many Buddhas of the past, see for example Bod Mkhas-pa Mi-pham-dge-legs-mam-rgyal, *Snyan-ngag-gi Bstan-bcos Chen-po Me-long la 'Jug-pa'i Bshad Sbyar Dandi'i Dgongs Rgyan*, Dharamsala 1980, 49. I think it more likely that Skar-rgyal claimed to be a manifestation of a Buddha of the past (if he used the name for himself at all) and that the claims that he was a manifestation of a *nāga* or of Pe-har were then introduced into the story for polemical effect.

²² G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Roma 1956. (Serie Orientale Roma 10.) 74; G. Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzang-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet around the Millennium*, New Delhi 1988, 15; D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, Vol. 2, Boston 1987, 393, 417, 429. For an article devoted to this issue, see L. Jampal, *The Three Provinces of Mña'-ris: Traditional Accounts of Ancient Western Tibet*. In: *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization*, Ed. by B. N. Aziz—M. Kapstein, New Delhi 1985, 152–156.

²³ D. Snellgrove—T. Skorupski, *op. cit.*, 91. According to the notes attributed to Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta (see Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom Gsum Rang Mchan*, 133.4), Skar-rgyal was in Khu-nu. For the problem of the historical authenticity of these notes, see now D. Jackson, *Several Works of Un-*

rule out the possibility that the 'exorcism' took place in Mang-yul, which lies to the east of Purang. The same biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po, written by one of his disciples after his death and therefore perhaps dating from as early as 1060 A.D.,²⁴ tells us that the 'exorcism' took place in Purang:

Just at the time that he went to Purang there was a monk there who appeared sitting cross-legged on a seat of coarse grass. Every-one was paying him respects and there was general wonderment, but our Lama Translator [= Rin-chen-bzang-po] gave thought to the matter and knowing that it was a delusive manifestation of Pe-har,²⁵ he sat for a month in profound coercive rites. Then he went to him and pointed his finger at him, and the monk turned head over heels,

usual Provenance Ascribed to Sa skya Paṇḍita. In: E. Steinkeller (ed.), *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Gēza on his Seventieth Birthday*, Vienna 1991, 242–249.

²⁴ This biography is the one translated and published in Tibetan script edition in D. Snellgrove—T. Skorupski, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 85–98, 101–111. Texts of the same biography may also be found appended to G. Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzang-po*, and in *Collected Biographical Material about Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po and His Subsequent Reembodiment*, Delhi 1977. The early date would make it one of the earliest specimens of the biographical genre called *nam-thar* to be devoted to the life of a Tibetan (rather than an Indian) religious figure. Although critical historians may well entertain doubts as to the antiquity of this biography, it was certainly known in the 15th century, since it is directly cited in the 1484 history of the Bka'-gdams-pa order written by Bsod-nams-lha'i-dbang-po, *Bka'-gdams Rin-po'che'i Chos-'byung Rnam-thar Nyin-mor Byed-pa'i 'Od Stong* [1484] (as contained in *Two Histories of the Bka'-gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Burma*, Gangtok 1977, 291.5, 292.2), as well as in the 1476 history 'Gos Lo Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb-ther Sngon-po*, Zhin-hwa 1985, 94. For some doubts, see D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan*, vol. 2, 477–478. Unlike Snellgrove, I do not believe that the presence of miraculous elements (in actuality few) necessarily points to a later reworking of the text. Miracle stories are not 'irrelevant' to the life of a saint, and miraculous stories are told to this day about Rinpoches during their lifetimes. Indeed, if presented with an early Tibetan biography of a saint without any miraculous element, we would as reasonably conclude that it must have been rewritten at the hand of a former professor of the University of London. I see very little reason to doubt that the biography by Khri-thang (= Khyi-thang) is genuinely old and preserved today in a form reasonably close to the original. The scholarly reservations of Tucci and Snellgrove are too speculative to be a useful guide. Tucci (G. Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzang-po*, 28) suggested that the author "must have drawn extensively from the popular traditions," but under the circumstances, this tells us nothing at all. The line near the beginning of the text, which Tucci suggests (*ibid.*, 55) "has all the appearance of a gloss or later insertion" in actuality has all the appearance of being an essential statement following the author's own outline. Besides, I can see no special motive for the alleged insertion. Note that the same sort of alternation in spelling between Khyi-thang and Khri-thang is found in Old Tibetan texts in the names of the sons of Dri-gum-btsan-po (Bya-khri = Bya-khyi) and in an Old Tibetan spelling for *ral-gri* ('knife') — *ral-gyi*.

²⁵ Pe-kar. A variant manuscript of this work reads *klu-bdud*, a type of spirit which is opposed to the *nāga*-spirits; this of course contradicts the idea that he was possessed by a *nāga*-spirit. For iconographic representations of Pe-kar/Pe-har, see D. I. Lauf, *Eine Ikonographie des tibetischen Buddhismus*, Graz 1979, 146, and references supplied there. See also below.

fell to the ground and went.²⁶ From then on our Lama Translator was treated with great respect.²⁷

There are enough similarities in wording and detail to assume that this or a similar written or oral text was used (or vaguely remembered?) by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta.²⁸ There are also quite obvious differences — the six months of spiritual practice are reduced to one month; the teacher is a 'monk' (or, better, a learned religious teacher, a *dge-bshes*)²⁹ who turns out to be a delusive manifestation of Pe-har (or significantly, in variant ms., a *klu-bdud* spirit) rather than a low-class person possessed by a *nāga*; rather than bringing the 'levitating' teacher down to earth with a look (*lta-stangs*), here Rin-chen-bzang-po brings him down with a gesture.³⁰ In both versions, the teacher was able to sit on a seat of 'jag-ma grass to the amazement of onlookers, but here there is no mention of the other miraculous abilities of emitting light from the forehead or sitting crosslegged in the sky. Both versions are equally silent about any specific teachings of that teacher that would explain to us what was wrong with them, neither is there the slightest mention of Bon.³¹

There is another brief account, roughly contemporary to that of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, contained in the story text accompanying the commentary to the sixth

²⁶ The use of the verb *song* here may imply that he 'disappeared' or 'vanished' in a more-or-less miraculous manner.

²⁷ D. Snellgrove-T. Skorupski, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 91. I have given the translation that appears there without any significant changes.

²⁸ We should remember that this biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po is said to be the middle length version. It is entirely possible that Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta had the longer (but no longer extant) version of the biography available to him.

²⁹ It seems improbable that at this early period the word *dge-bshes* (an abbreviated form of *Dge-ba'i Bshes-gnyen*, a calque translation of the Sanskrit *Kalyāṇamitra*) would have had the same special connotations that it held for the later Bka'-gdams-pa and Dge-lugs-pa sects. I think here it just means 'religious teacher'.

³⁰ *Sdig-mdzub*. This is a characteristic gesture in the iconography of wrathful *lha* (including *Mahākāla*), generally with the index and small fingers flung toward the sky, the middle and ring fingers being pressed to the palm. It is interesting that the 'gesture' and 'gazing' are combined (rather awkwardly) in the account by Sher-'byung translated a little further on.

³¹ In a late 16th-century work we do find reference to a story of Rin-chen-bzang-po having a contest of magic with Bonpos. He had to mix Zhang-zhung with the words of the mantra in order to win. The source for this story is said to be in the *Pū-ṭra'i Yig-cha*. See *Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan*. *Collected Writings of Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan*. New Delhi 1975. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 308.6; and Zhe-Chen Rgyal-tshab Padma-rnam-rgyal, *Snga'-gyur Rdo-rje-theg-pa Gtso-bor Gyur-pa'i Sgrub Brgyud Shing-ṛta Brgyad-kyi Byung-ba Brjod-pa'i Gtam Mdor-bdsud Legs-bshad Padma Dkar-po'i Rdzang-bu* (A Concise Historical Account of the Techniques of Esoteric Realization of the Nyingmapa and Other Buddhist Traditions of Tibet). "Reproduced from a manuscript from the collection of A. W. Macdonald." Leuven 1971, 150. Some of the coercive magical rites used in the Sa-skya sect do employ mantras with Zhang-zhung words (see also Gu-ru Bkra-shis (= Stag-sgang Mkhas-mchog Ngag-dbang-blo-gros = Dbyangs-can-dga'-ba'i-blo-gros), *Bstan-pa'i Snying-po Snga'-gyur Nges-don Zab-mo'i Chos-kyi 'Byung-ba Gsal-bar Byed-pa'i Legs-bshad Mkhas-pa Dga'-byed Ngo-mtshar Gtam-gyi Rol Mtsho*. (= *Chos-'byung Ngo-mtshar Gtam-gyi Rol Mtsho*). Delhi 198X. Vol. 2, 819.6).

subject heading of the early 13th-century *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*.³² This passage seeks to demonstrate that teachings received through the transmission of a lineage are more profound and miraculous than revelations through earth, sky and tree revelations or Pop[ular] Buddhism (*Rdol-chos*). As examples of those who received sky revelations (*gnam-chos*), he names the greater and lesser Ka-ru-'dzin³³ who emerged at different times:

While some say that he did *sādhana* at Glang-ru in the Nepal Valley (? Bal-mo), the great Ka-ru-'dzin is the one who was brought down to the ground from the sky with a gesture (*sdig-'dzub*) of gazing (*lta-stangs*) by the translator Rin-chen-bzang-po.

Sher-'byung, the author of these words, goes on to tell about a lesser monk attending the group teachings of one Zhang-shar-ba who stopped coming because a white man [Pe-har] came down from the sky and said, "Listen to my teachings. I will lead you to the sky." The poor monk was powerless to go. Zhang-shar-ba tamed the spirit and said, "If it were any teacher but me, the entire assembly would have fallen under his power with no trouble."

It may be interesting to look at other similar stories, related about the 11th–12th centuries, in which Pe-har³⁴ plays a role. The following passage is from a famous history of the 'Brug-pa sect:

Bya 'Dul-'dzin [1091–1166] founded a teaching monastery at Zul-phu. Dpe-dkar emanated [there] as a young monk (*btsun chung*). Then, when he saw an opportunity, he did something that violated the Vinaya. But, besides a robe with the fur showing on the outside, they saw nothing. Then, he had faith and became a disciple.³⁵

³² Found in Dhon Sher-'byung (= Dhon Shes-rab-'byung-ngas), *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*. Bir 1975. Vol. 2, 457–496, entitled *Lta Sgom Spyod-pa'i Tshoms-kyi Lo-rgyus*. The passage in question occurs at 460.4.

³³ For Ka-ru-'dzin, see also Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye*, 52v. At present I have no explanation for his name, but it does seem significant that he has been confounded with Skar-rgyal. Compare the story of the Newari Ka-ka-ru-'dzin in the polemic by Chag Lo-tsa-ba (*Sngags Log Sam-'byin*, 13), where he is portrayed as a false Padmasambhava who appeared at Samye after the real Padmasambhava had returned to India. Chag Lo-tsa-ba says he was possessed by 'king' (*rgyal-po*, here is used to refer to a class of spirits) Pe-kar (i.e., Pe-har).

³⁴ There is a brief work on the story of Pe-har in the collected works of Cha-har Dge-bshes Blo-bzang-tshul-khri-m (see *Gsung-'bum Dkar-chag* (= *Zhwa-ser Bstan-pa'i Sgron-me Rje Tsong-kha-pa Chen-pos Gtso-s Skyes-chen Dam-pa Rim-byung-gi Gsung-'bum Dkar-chag Phyogs-Gcig-tu Bsgrigs-pa'i Dri-med Zla-shel Gtsang-ma'i Me-long*). Lhasa 1990, 397).

³⁵ 'Brug-pa Padma-Dkar-po, *'Brug-pa'i Chos-'byung*. (= Gangs-can Rig Mdzod series no. 19). Lhasa 1992, 256. Compare also G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*. Delhi 1976, 80: "Dpe-dkar (i.e., Pe-har) himself having assumed the form of a novice, attended on him [Bya 'Dul-'dzin]. He never seemed to transgress even a single precept of the Vinaya except when he was wearing a fur-coat trimmed with fur on the outside."

Another interesting story is told about Pehar manifesting as a young boy at Tshal Gung-thang Monastery, just a short distance upstream on the opposite bank of the Skyid-chu from Lha-sa. Zhang G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-'grus-grags-pa (1123–1193) disliked Pehar and ordered that no picture of him should be painted in a new monastery he was building (the Tshal Yang-dgon). Pehar considered this an insult, and took the form of a young boy. The young boy helped the painters so much that they asked how they might pay him for his work. The boy said that he wanted only that they should paint a small picture of a monkey holding an incense stick. One night Pehar entered into the painted monkey and burned down the monastery with the incense stick.³⁶

Among the several historical works by the Sa-skya scholar 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs is one on the history of the Mahākāla tantric cycles written in 1641. In this work are, interestingly, two versions of the story of Skar-rgyal. The first version³⁷ follows that of the biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po by Khyi-thang-pa, and adds no significant details, even in wording, although he does add the miraculous ability to emit light rays from his body. The second version exhibits some details that may be of some interest.³⁸

Having come at what would seem to be the beginning of the Later Spread of the doctrine, the noxious Bonpos were doing some harm to the Buddha's teachings, and [some people might] even ask, 'Are they the delusive manifestation[s] of Dpe-kar [which we have] mentioned previously?'

Others [say that] a noxious *nāga*-spirit who liked the 'dark side' and stayed in Gu-me Lake in Mang-yul, or in the gorge of Bse-rib,³⁹ entered into a bad person. His name was Sangs-rgyas

³⁶ For this and other stories about Pehar, see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. Mouton 1956, 94–108. There is no special symbolic significance to the image of the monkey with the incense stick, only that if a monkey were to play with an incense stick, it might very possibly cause a fire.

³⁷ Found in 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597–circa 1662), *Dpal Rdo-rje Nag-po-chen-po'i Zab-mo'i Chos-skor-mams Byung-ba'i Tshul Legs-par Bshad-pa Bstan-srung Chos Kun Gsal-ba'i Nyin Byed*. New Delhi 1979. Vol. 1, 176.5–177.2, as well as in an extract from the same work contained in *Collected Biographical Material about Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po and His Subsequent Reembodiments*. Delhi 1977, 172.5 ff. D. Snellgrove–T. Skorupski (op. cit., vol. 2, 99–100, text on 112–113) translated another portion of this extract, but without noting that the original source was by A-myes-zhabs, although this was already determined by D. Jackson (D. Jackson, Notes on the History of Se-rib. *Kailash* 6: 3 (1978) 201, note 17).

³⁸ This passage follows what D. Snellgrove–T. Skorupski (op. cit., vol. 2, 83, 99) call manuscript version B. The same passage is found in 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs (op. cit., vol. 1, 210.6–211.4), as well as in *Collected Biographical Material*, 228.1 ff.

³⁹ For Se-rib (= Bse-rib), see Kun Chang, On Zhang zhung. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica* extra volume no. 4 (= Studies Presented to Tung Tso Pin on His Sixty-fifth Birthday). Pt. 1 (1960) 145. As Chang there notes, this name is mentioned twice in the *Old Tibetan Annals* from Tun-huang. It was "a country to the southwest of Tibet with a population of fifty thousand." See D. Jackson, Notes on the History of Se-rib, where Se-rib is located in the Kali-Gandaki valley south of Mustang (Lo, Glo) in what is now Nepal.

Dkar-rgyal. Light emanated from his body and he would sit cross-legged in the sky or on the tips of 'jag-ma grass, teaching wrong Dharma, and so on. The Great Translator subdued him by means of this [very] Dharma Protector [Mahākāla] and made him nameless. After this, he [Rin-chen-bzang-po] composed his *Critique of Wrong Mantra*.

Some of the unique points of this version are as follows. A-myes-zhabs suggests that there may be a connection between the Skar-rgyal episode and the Bonpos of the Later Spread period, although on no special authority besides, "it is said" (zer). Besides this, he gives an alternative geographic location not found in our other versions. He implies that Rin-chen-bzang-po was inspired to write his *Critique of Wrong Mantra*⁴⁰ by his experience with the false teacher, while earlier sources only mention these as unconnected, although chronologically close, occurrences. He also says that Skar-rgyal was made 'nameless'. I suppose this to mean that he lost his reputation, but it may also point to the fact, previously noted, that no real personal name for him has been preserved in these traditional historical accounts.

The fact that the earliest source, the biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po, gives no name whatsoever for the false teacher led me to speculate about another passage which predates Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta's work and which I came across in the works of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po. The person mentioned in this passage *could* be identified with Skar-rgyal on the basis of name and a common ability to perform miracles, I suppose, if the chronology could only be made to agree.

'Jig-rten-mgon-po is relating to his followers an anecdote which he had heard from his own teacher Phag-mo-gru-pa. It is told within the general context of a sermon to the effect that it is absolutely essential to understand the nature of the mind in order to go beyond *saṃsāra*. For this, nothing else, not even miraculous abilities, can be of any assistance.

The Bodhisattva Zla-ba'i-rgyal-mtshan had three brothers, the youngest of whom was a Bonpo named Dkar-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan. He had very great [miraculous] power. It is said that he had the power to [tie] the tops [lit., 'heads'] of mountains on either side [of himself] in a knot.⁴¹ Still, even though one obtained such sorts

⁴⁰ This work, although not available in reprint form, must nevertheless exist somewhere. See the listing of polemical works collected in a single volume in L. Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*. New Delhi 1985, 673–674 (nos 15801–15814). The same collection is listed as existing in three sections in *Klong-rdol Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-gi Gsung-'bum*. Lhasa 1991. (Gangs-can Rig Mdzod series nos. 20–21). Vol. 2, 604–605. A handwritten table of contents to a one-volume collection is preserved on microfilm at the Nepalese National Archives (running number E45088, reel number E2449/14), but not the actual volume. (I must thank Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard for kindly sending photocopies of the last-mentioned work.) According to all these sources, the polemical work attributed to Rin-chen-bzang-po filled 48 folio pages.

⁴¹ The same miraculous ability is attributed to the ancient Bonpo sage Stong-rgyung[mtshu-chen] in Skyabs-ston Rin-chen-'od-zer, *Spyi-spungs Khro-bo Dbang-chen-gyi 'Grel-pa* (and the *Dal-phur Spyi-don*, excavated by Khu-tsha Zla-'od). New Thobgyal 1973, 93.8.

of clairvoyance, [ability to make] magical projections and [miraculous] power, if one has not understood one's own mind, it is of no avail. A moving drum will not at all raise one from *samsāra*.⁴²

Following usual Tibetan abbreviation practice, a four-syllable name such as Dkar-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan might very easily appear in a written text as Dkar-rgyal, and we do find Dkar-rgyal as an alternative spelling of Skar-rgyal.⁴³ It would seem at first glance that our miracle-working Skar-rgyal was in fact a Bonpo with a proper name (not, in this case, the name of a *nāga*-spirit) Skar-rgyal and a brother who could perhaps be identified.

In fact, this Bodhisattva Zla-ba'i-rgyal-mtshan can be identified and that is the reason why this Dkar-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan could not be a contemporary of Rin-chen-bzang-po. Bodhisattva Zla-ba'i-rgyal-mtshan was a contemporary of Sgam-po-pa (1079–1153) and a teacher of Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110–1170) in the year 1135 or shortly thereafter.⁴⁴ This makes it unlikely in the extreme that his brother, apparently a younger brother as well, could have been the same as the teacher defeated by Rin-chen-bzang-po (who died in 1055).

Did the teachings of Skar-rgyal really lapse into total obscurity? The version in Spos-khang-pa's commentary would lead us to think that these teachings had more than a passing effect on later Tibetan Buddhism. Besides, the

⁴² Text in 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-ten-mgon-po, *The Collected Writings*. (Gsung-'bum) of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-ten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal. New Delhi 1969. Vol. 4, 374.4 ff. The reading of *nga* 'gres ('moving drum') in the last sentence is not very certain, and the translation presumes an archaic meaning for the verb 'gre. A similar line is found on the preceding page (373.5): 'khor-ba las rta nga 'gres gang las ma 'phags. 'a moving horse [or] drum by no means raised [them] from *samsāra*'. See also Karma-pa I Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, *Selected Writings of the First Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa*. Gangtok 1980. Vol. 1, 264.6 ff. This does remind us of the story of Na-ro Bon-chung (in the Milarepa biographies) in which he rode on his drum to the top of Mt. Ti-se.

⁴³ See, for examples, 'Brug-chen IV Padma-dkar-po, Chos-'byung bstan-pa'i Padma Rgyas-pa'i Nyin-byed. In: 'Brug-chen IV Padma-dkar-po, *Collected Works* (Gsung-'bum) of Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po. Darjeeling 1973. Vol. 2, 353.6, and Khetsun Sangpo (= Mkhas-btsun-bzang-po), *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*. (in Tibetan). Dharamsala 1981+. Vol. 1, 828. Padma-dkar-po sums up the story of Skar-rgyal in just four syllables, "Klu Dkar-rgyal btul," which means 'He civilized (or, converted) the *nāga* Dkar-rgyal.'

⁴⁴ Mkhan-po Ye-shes-chos-dar (= Khenpo Yeshe Chhodar), *Myam-med Dwags-po Bka'-brgyud-kyi Ring-lugs Dri-ma med-pa'i Tshul Cung-zad Gleng-ba Legs-bshad Dbyar-mga'i Sgra-dbyangs*. Sarnath 1972, 60; G. N. Roerich, *op. cit.*, 472, 557, 561, 1024–5, 1055; 'Brug-chen IV Padma-dkar-po, Chos-'byung. 541.1; Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, *Deb-ther Dmar-po* (= *Deb-ther Dmar-po-rnams-kyi Dang-po Hu-lan Deb-ther*). With added footnotes by Dung-dkar Rin-po-che Blo-bzang-phrin-las. Peking 1981, note 531. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216) received novice vows from Bodhisattva Zla-ba'i-rgyal-mtshan in his eighth year (circa 1154) according to his biography by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta contained in 'Jam-dbyangs-blo-gter-dbang-po (ed.), *Lam-'bras Slob Bshad*. Dehra Dun 1983. Vol. 1, 36.6.

Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston, although relatively late, being completed in 1564, adds a unique, but perhaps significant statement.⁴⁵ The entire passage reads,

In Mnga'-ris there was one who said "I am Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal" who had the magical power of appearing in the form of Teacher. He levitated in the sky, giving teachings a little different from the Teachings of the Buddha, and all the people gathered [around him]. At that time Great Translator [Rin-chen-bzang-po] performed a six-month *sādhana* of Bhairava, and after stabilizing the generation stage practices, he went to where Skar-rgyal was staying. With a mere look by the Great Translator, he turned into an ordinary herdsman. It is said that among the teachings which he [Skar-rgyal] taught [all] sank [into obscurity] except for the *Benefits of the Vajracchedikā*. It seems that a *nāga*-spirit of the dark side known as Skar-rgyal had possessed a herdsman and started to create obstacles for the Teachings.

It is difficult to know precisely what to make of this statement about the *Benefits of the Vajracchedikā*. It is a very popular collection of fifteen stories which all testify to the efficacy of reciting or copying the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* for averting various calamities and securing a good rebirth, while some of the stories are very like the later popular genre of 'das-log⁴⁶ stories. The *Benefits* was often appended to manuscripts of the *Vajracchedikā* in Tibet. Although it was never included, so far as I have been able to discover, in the Tibetan canon

⁴⁵ Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba, Chos-'byung Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston: A Detailed History. Delhi 1980. Vol. 1, 524.6–7; Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba, Chos-'byung Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston. (= *Dam-pa'i Chos-kyi 'Khor-lo Bsgyur-ba-rnams-kyi Byung-ba Gsal-bar Byed-pa Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston*). Ed. Rdo-rje-rgyal-po. Peking 1986, 527. For a reference to the *Benefits of the Vajracchedikā*, see K. M. Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*. Cambridge 1973, 34 (this reference I owe to Dr. Gregory Schopen). There are numerous examples in manuscript collections, as well as some recent reprints. It is very often appended to manuscript editions of the *Vajracchedikā*. I have in my possession a microfilm copy of a rather unusual example of a woodblock-printed version, thanks to the Nepalese National Archives (see bibliography under *Rdo-rje gcod-pa'i phan-yan*). This, too, was meant to be appended to a text of the *Vajracchedikā*, as we may judge from the marginal notation *Kha* ('part 2').

⁴⁶ L. Epstein, On the History and Psychology of the 'Das-log'. These 'das-log stories were meant for the edification of laypeople, and most of them were also written by laypeople. According to Epstein, most 'das-log stories came into existence in the period between the early 16th and the middle of the 18th century. For a translation of a 'das-log story, see Th. Schreve, Ein Besuch in buddhistischen Purgatorium. ZDMG 65 (1911) 471–486. Of course, the roots of the 'das-log go much deeper into Buddhist history: one may cite the story of the visit of Maudgalyāyana to the hells, a very popular story in China, as an example, and stories of similar type may be located in K. M. Nakamura, *op. cit.*, and Y. K. Dykstra, *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan: the Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki of Priest Chingen (1007?–1044?)*. Hirakata City 1983. Epstein finds the roots in the canonical cycles of Avalokiteśvara. See also F. Pommaret, Les Revenants de l'au-delà ('das-log) sources littéraires et tradition vivante. Un première présentation. In: S. Ihara-Z. Yamaguchi (eds), *Tibetan Studies*. Narita 1992. Vol. 2, 673–690. The study of 'das-log stories in light of their ability to motivate popular laypeople's practices has not yet been done.

(the Kanjur), it bears no author statement in the five editions I have consulted. Whether or not this text comes from Skar-rgyal, we do not know. It seems that, if so, he would have been a very Buddhist teacher indeed. More research is necessary.

Still, there is a kind of justice, I think, in ascribing the *Benefits* to him. The text reflects the same sort of popular approach to Buddhism that was so roundly condemned by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta in his *Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye*.⁴⁷ *Nirvāṇa*, rebirth in Sukhāvātī or Tuṣita and other lofty goals of Buddhist religious and spiritual practice are promised to those who simply recite or copy the scripture. There is, of course, much scriptural justification for these sorts of claims, even in the text of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* itself.⁴⁸ It perhaps goes without saying that many, particularly the learned scholars, would agree with Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, that *Nirvāṇa* cannot be such a fast and simple thing. Nonetheless, these were very popular ideas and, as our sources make clear, Skar-rgyal gained a broadly-based, popular following which in some degree threatened the emerging official consensus. Perhaps the 'nāga-spirit' which possessed him was, as I have previously suggested in a different context,⁴⁹ a veiled metaphor for the common folk, the farmers and nomads. In this idea there seems to be more than a little poetic justice. What would happen to the religious elites if a religion could get along without them? Can one blame the religious scholars such as Rin-chen-bzang-po and Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta for their strong and worried reactions?

The *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*, composed in about 1235, has something to say about 'excavations' (*gter-ma*) and 'popular religion' in the first Adamantine Statement under its sixth general subject heading:

There are some who would have it that teachings (*chos*) without lineages and earth teachings (*sa chos*), sky teachings (*gnam chos*),⁵⁰ *gter-ma* and so on are profound and miraculous. But we

⁴⁷ Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom Gsum*, 69r and 79r. See also similar statements in another of his works contained in *Sa-skya Bka'-bum*, vol. 5, 332a.1 ff., where he insists that the scriptural passages which promise lofty results for ordinary devotional practices were not intended to be taken literally, thus, in a single interpretative stroke, doing away with the entire scriptural justification for a broad range of Buddhist practices, for the most part laypeople's practices.

⁴⁸ G. Schoepff, 'The Phrase "sa prthivīprade śaścattvabhūto bhavet" in the *Vajracchedikā*: Notes on the Cult of the Book in Mahāyāna. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 17 (1975) 147–181. However, the text of the *Vajracchedikā* falls short of promising the very highest religious and spiritual goals, saying rather only that reciting the text of the sūtra at a particular place makes that place a holy place, and, by implication, the recitation would provide the same merit as pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism. Scriptural recitation becomes a kind of verbal pilgrimage, with all the spiritual benefits of bodily pilgrimage, but without so much hardship.

⁴⁹ D. Martin, *Human Body Good Thought (Mi-lus-bsam-legs) and the Revelation of the Secret Bonpo Mother Tantras*. M.A. Thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington 1986, 34–35.

⁵⁰ For a late fifth century Chinese example of a 'sky teaching', see K. Tokuno, 'The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues'. In: Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (ed.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. Honolulu 1990, 38.

hold that the teaching transmitted through a lineage is [truly] profound and miraculous.⁵¹

There are collections of historical stories (*lo-rgyus*) meant to accompany each of the general subject headings of the *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*. The stories at the beginning of the historical text accompanying the commentary to the sixth general subject heading provide an account of the teachings of the 'Four Children of Pe-har'⁵² which according to him are *Rdol-chos*, 'Outbreak Teachings' or 'Pop[ular] Buddhism'. The stories go like this.

There were four people captured by spirits by the names Shel-mo Rgya-lcam,⁵³ Zhang-mo Rgya-'thing, 'O-lam Bha-ru and Bso Kha-'tham. Each of these four had their own particular philosophical claims. The first believed that thoughts and objects are not interconnected. When Shel-mo's husband was killed by another man, she felt great grief but did not want to weep in front of others. So she went to a cave with people carrying *tsha-tsha* and remained there for a long time crying. When she got exhausted, Pe-kar came from the sky and said to her, "Do not cry. There is absolutely no connection between your thoughts and external objects. If there were, since you cry thinking about your husband, he ought to return to you as before; you cried and called out, but still no husband."

Hearing these words, she thought about them and decided they were true. She went into a meeting at the lower end of that same valley, where a teacher was explaining Dharma to five hundred students and started dancing.

Thoughts and things have no connection.
The very idea must be rejected —

⁵¹ Dbon Sher-'byung, *Dgongs-gcig*, vol. 1, 171.1.

⁵² Pe-har *bu bzhi*. For Pe-har (= Pe-[d]kar), see S. Hummel, Pe-har. *East and West* 13:4 (1962) 313–316, and below.

⁵³ According to the Bu-ston polemic, she was named Snyi-mo Rgya-lcam, and her followers were called the Union Release (Sbyor-sgrol-pa). Note, however, that the Bu-ston polemic (located in *Sngags log sun-'byin*, 33–34) is probably not really by Bu-ston. Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma, *Thu-'bkwan Grub-mtha'* (= *Grub-mtha' Thams-cad-kyi Khungs dang 'Dod-tshul Ston-pa Legs-bshad Shel-gyi Me-long*. Gansu 1984, 74, says, "There is one [polemic] which purportedly is authored by Bu-ston, but since it doesn't appear in the listings of his collected works, and since even with its pretensions of compositional skill it doesn't have the feel of scholarly discourse, it was simply written by a simpleton and ascribed to Bu-ston Rin-po-che." I have discussed the history of the early Tibetan polemical literature elsewhere (in D. Martin, *Emergence*); and for a valuable treatment of more recent literature belonging to the Tibetan polemical tradition, see M. Kapstein, *Purificatory Gem and its Cleansing: A Late Tibetan Polemical Discussion of Apocryphal Texts*. *History of Religions* 28: 3 (1989) 217–244. Nyang-ral (Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'odzer, *Chos-'byung Me-tog Snying-po Sbrang-rtsi'i Bbud*. Ed. by Chab-spel Tshe-brtan-phun-tshogs et. al. Lhasa 1988, 494) says, "From Snc-mo Rgya-lcam of Dbus [was one?] Glong Nag-po Rgya-'dzam. They are called the Flyers ('Phur-tsho)."

by teacher, student and teaching three —
that they are the least bit interconnected.

she said as she danced, and everyone, teacher and students included, got up and started dancing all at once. They became her followers, calling the cave where she had stayed Prophecy Relic Cave.⁵⁴

While the one named Zhang-mo Rgya-'thing-ma⁵⁵ was doing religious exercises, a bird, which was an emanation of Pe-kar, killed a snake and the wind carried a leaf from a tree which hit the snake corpse which then utterly disappeared. The woman saw this and thought, "Just like this, that which is slain is by nature nonexistent." She is said to have sung a song,

I know that thinking the killer and killed
suffer any effect is just a mistake
just like the leaf, the bird and the snake.

She also gained some following.⁵⁶

The view of 'O-lam Bha-ru⁵⁷ was, "It is not true that results come from causes. Causes cannot do anything. It's good to kill. Fire and water have exchanged places.⁵⁸ Meaning lies in the natural state of things." Doing just the opposite of what he said were those called the Crazies and the Nudists, and they gained some followers.

Bso Kha-'tham's⁵⁹ view was that 'attaining the celestial life' meant understanding that there is no virtue or sin. He seems to have killed many people.

⁵⁴ Lung-bstan Sku-gdung Phug. Evidently 'relic' because of the presence there of *tsha-tsha* containing remains of her husband.

⁵⁵ Zhang-mo Rgyal-mthing appears in G. N. Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 984, where it says, "She being afflicted by grief after her husband's death, Dam-pa bestowed [on her] the precepts which teach the absence of a link ('*brel med*) between mind and objects (*dnagos*), and she obtained emancipation." Nyang-ral, *Chos-'byung*, 494, supplies her the name Zhang-po Rgya-'thing (a form that does not imply that she was a woman) and adds that she was associated with the place named Zar Stag-sna. It is clear that the identities of the two women among the 'Four Children' have been partially confused. As we will see shortly, the two men were also partially confused.

⁵⁶ Her followers were called the Crazies (Smyon-tsho-pa), according to Bu-ston. Nyang-ral calls them the Crazy Yogis (Rnal-'byor Smyon-tsho).

⁵⁷ The name occurs in Bu-ston's polemic as 'Od-la Bab-tu, and his followers are called the Do Nothings (Byar-med-pa). Nyang-ral (*op. cit.*, 494) calls him 'O-la 'Ba'-su, associates him with a place called Rtsi-ri, and calls his followers the Do Nothing Yogis.

⁵⁸ The phrase used here, *me chu go bzlog*, may also refer to one of the 'seven miraculous pulses' by which physicians may learn about the health and private life of the patient (or even of the patient's close relative or friend). See T. J. Tsarong, *et. al.*, *Fundamentals of Tibetan Medicine*. Dharamsala 1981, 26, 96 (note 18); Y. Dhonden-S. Topgay, *Pulse Diagnosis in Tibetan medicine*. Tibetan Medicine series no. 1 (1980) 23. See also the following note.

⁵⁹ Nyang-ral (*op. cit.*, 494) calls him Sro Kha-'thams, the 'Victor' (Rgyal-ba, i.e., Jina, or Buddha) of Ru-mthams, and styles his followers the Fire-Water Reversalists (Mc Chu Go Log-pa). His name was Srog-khang Thabs-shes, according to the Bu-ston polemic. He is evidently identical to the Bla-ma Sro-ba of S. G. Karmay, *The Great Perfection (Rdzogs chen): A Philosophical*

As for 'earth teachings' (*sa chos*), it has often happened in Gtsang that Bon and Chos have been mixed together in a single treasure site (*gter-kha*), and they seem to get 'translated' ('transformed') from one to the other...⁶⁰

Of the just mentioned 'Four Children of Pe-kar', it is said that three appeared in Gtsang, while 'O-lam Bha-ru appeared in 'Phan-yul. Zhang-mo Rgya-'thing-ma was later converted by Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas and became his consort.

To sum up, one ought to stay away from such impure lineages.⁶¹

The history by Nyang-ral, which seems to be our earliest source on the Four Children (although not so called by him), since it dates to the last decades of the 12th century, adds two more groups — the Stag-tsho⁶² group of the Yogi of Shangs and the Mgos-tsho group of Rdzi-lung — and calls them all collectively 'Six Dark Yogis' (Rnal-'byor Nag-po Drug). After brief statements about each of them, he says,

They performed well the 'practice transmission'.⁶³ The followers of the Lo-tsâ-bas and Pundits [the followers of the New

and Meditative Teaching in Tibetan Buddhism. Leiden 1988, 206, and perhaps the Bla-ma Sro of G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 149. The So clan produced many important Rnying-ma and Zhi-byed teachers during this period. According to Bu-ston, his followers had many perverse texts such as the Treatise Seven Pebble Cycle (*Rte'u [=Rde'u] Skor Bdun*, on which, see below), the View Awareness Knot Cycle (*Lta-ba Rigs-pa'i Mdud Skor*), and the Proposition that Fire and Water Have Exchanged Places (*Gtan-tshigs Me Chu Go Log*), etc.

⁶⁰ The section about 'sky teachings' (*gnam chos*) has been translated above.

⁶¹ This passage is found in the opening pages of the text entitled *Lta Sgom Spyod-pa'i Tshoms-kyi Lo-rgyus Gsal-byed* contained in the various editions of the *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha* (for example, Dbon-po Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, *Dgongs-chos Dgongs-pa Gcig-pa'i Yig-cha*. Thimpu 1976. Vol. 2, 434.5–436.5).

⁶² This Stag-tsho ('Stag Faction') is known to be among the many sub-factions that developed within the 'Four Factions' in the monastic community of the Later Spread. More specifically, the Stag Faction was one of the three factions formed from the Upper Lo Faction, which in turn was one of the three factions that developed among the monastic followers of Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug in Gtsang Province. The Stag Faction was named for Stag Lo Gzhon-brtson (i.e., Gzhon-nu-brtson-'grus), who built the Stag Lo Lha-khang. This Stag Lo Gzhon-brtson might be identical to the travelling companion of 'Brog-mi named Stag-lo Gzhon-nu-tshul-khrims, although this needs more study (see 'Brug-chen Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, 393–396). Likewise, the Mgos Faction may be identical to the monastic faction initiated (also in Gtsang) by Mgo-ba (= 'Go-ba) Ye-shes-g-yung-drung, who had his residence at Sbre Lha-khang. It is interesting that Nyang-ral includes these two groups of apparent monastic origins (and evidently active in the early 11th century) together with the Four Children who were lay Buddhists (evidently active after the mid-11th century).

⁶³ 'Practice transmission' (*sgrub-brgyud*) is a term still in fairly common use among the Bka'-brgyud-pa schools, where it is sometimes contrasted to 'meaning transmission' (*don-brgyud*), although both are equally esteemed. 'Practice transmission' emphasizes sâdhana practice, while 'meaning transmission' emphasizes the kind of learning transmitted through the oral precepts.

Translations evidently are intended here] styled them 'Pop[ular] Buddhism' (*Rdol-chos*).⁶⁴

Of all the sources, Nyang-ral seems to supply the least biased and even somewhat sympathetic report. Nyang-ral was himself a lay Rnying-ma-pa teacher and one of the most renowned treasure excavators (*gter-ston*). He makes his statements on the 'Dark Yogis' within the context of his brief history of the 'practice transmissions' (*sgrub-brgyud*) which is included in his treatment of the Later Spread (Phyi-dar), and therefore unconnected with his own Ancient (*Rnying-ma*) traditions.⁶⁵ The main significance of Nyang-ral's account for us is that it allows us to distance ourselves from the accounts of the Four Children as told in works by followers of the New Tantra (or Later Spread) schools.

It may be that one of the two women among the Four Children became a consort of Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, which would connect her to the Zhi-byed school he founded, which finally disappeared as a distinct institutional entity due primarily to its success in penetrating nearly all the other sects.⁶⁶ Perhaps of more significance, one of the men *might* have something to do with the history of the Great Perfection (Rdzogs-chen) of the Rnying-ma tradition. Bso Kha-'tham, could be identical to the Bla-ma Sro-ba who taught something called the Great Perfection Seven Pebble Cycle (Rdzogs-chen Rde'u Skor Bdun). Bu-ston's polemic attributes this cycle to him, although under variant form of his

⁶⁴ Nyang-ral, *Chos-'byung*, 494. The entire passage reads (in simple Wylie transcription) as follows: *dus de tsa na zar stag sna'i zhang po rgya 'thing las rnal 'byor smyon tsho dang / rsi ri'i 'o la 'ba' su las rnal 'byor byar med dang / ru mtshams kyi rgyal ba sro kha 'thams las me chu go log pa dang / dbus kyi she mo rgya leam las / glong nag po rgya 'dzam / {de} la 'phur tsho zhes zer te / shangs kyi rnal 'byor stag tsho dang / rdzi ling gi mgos tshos kha bskang pa 'di rnams la / rnal 'byor nag po drug zer / khong rang gis sgrub brgyud bzang por byed / lo pañ gyi rjes su 'breng ba rnams ni khong gi de rnams rdol chos su byed* (note letters within brackets {} were unclear in the original from which the modern publication was edited).

⁶⁵ Nyang-ral includes in his category of 'practice transmissions' various lineages of Zhi-byed, Geod, Bka'-brgyud-pa, followers of Dam-pa Dmar-po, and the Six Dark Yogis. All these lineages would later be placed (and in roughly the same order as Nyang-ral's text) under suspicion by Chag Lo-tsā-ba (1197–1264) in his polemic, with the exception of the Four Children/Six Dark Yogis, which he notably ignores. All have in common that they belonged to the period of the Later Spread and that their lineages and followers were predominantly, if not entirely, laypersons. (The Bka'-brgyud-pa had, however, seen a remarkable growth in monasticism during the last half of the 12th century.) We might add that nearly all the treasure excavators in Tibetan history were laypersons, and the polemical works of the 13th century are equally opposed to all these types of lay religious movements. It is true that there were treasure excavators who were monks, 'Ja'-tshon-snying-po (1585–1656) being the most famous of a very few exceptions to the general rule. It is also true that the schools of the Later Spread did, especially in the 11th century in the initial stages of their transmission from India, include some famous examples of lay religious leaders: the first leaders of the Sa-skyā school; the translator Mar-pa, initiator of the Tibetan lineages of the Bka'-brgyud-pa school; and 'Brom-ston-pa, regarded as the most important Tibetan disciple of the Bengali teacher Atiśa, were all laypersons. Still, the presence of leaders who were laypersons in the incipient stages only underlines the fact of their subsequent rarity.

⁶⁶ This absorption of the Zhi-byed school by the other Tibetan schools is said to have occurred in the time of Rog-ban Shes-rab-'od (1166–1244).

name Srog-khang Thabs-shes. According to a late testimony,⁶⁷ the seven pebbles are summarized as follows: 1) There are no past or future lives. 2) There is no cause, no result. 3) There is no virtue, no sin. 4) At the time of death one becomes a Buddha. The skull discarded, it will be enough. 5) Whether you stick your arm inside a black yak-hair bag or stick it in a black goat-skin bellow makes no difference. 6) Whether you visualize Great Compassion or visualize a white snow mountain makes no difference. 7) Counting Mani prayers or imitating donkey braying makes no difference. Sog-bzlog-pa adds that a student of Rong-zom-pa by the name of Lee-ston⁶⁸ had the same ideas, and that neither Sro-ba nor Lee-ston should be considered Buddhist, since their views are 'extremist' (*mu-stegs-pa*), violating the Middle Way. Although there are many difficulties in our way, tracing the very complicated history of the Seven Pebble Cycle might prove important, since it is possible that there might still exist genuine textual materials associated with it. To base any conclusions on this late testimony by Sog-bzlog-pa would be premature. His account of Bla-ma Sro-ba, like the accounts of the Four Children, portrays him as so radically, and archetypically, non-Buddhist⁶⁹ that we have to take grains of salt liberally, and wait until we can find some sources of self-representation. Nyang-ral's account is the closest thing to self-representation we can locate at present.

It is doubtful whether any of the stories about the 'Six Dark Yogis', alias the 'Four Children of Pehar' are literally true. At least, I doubt if it will ever be possible to accumulate enough accounts of these persons to get much better perspectives on what they were actually doing. Like the Star King before them, they clearly led popular religious movements of some kind, some time in the mid-11th through late 12th centuries.⁷⁰ But the stories we have are all told by the

⁶⁷ Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, *Slob-dpon Sang-srgyas-gnyis-pa Padma-'byung-gnas-kyi Rnam-par Thar-pa Yid-kyi Mun Sel (= Bka'-thang Yid-kyi Mun Sel)*, Thimpu 1984, 123. Sog-bzlog-pa was born in 1552. This work was composed, according to the colophon, in the Zil-gnon year, which would correspond to 1606. This manuscript reprint is not very clear, and some of the readings are uncertain.

⁶⁸ Although there were numerous persons of the period who might be called Lee-ston ('teacher of Lee'), the one probably intended here is Lee-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan, a rather shadowy figure. In Gu-ru Bkra-shis, *Bstan-pa'i Snying-po*, vol. 2, 365.6 ff., he is portrayed as a Phur-pa student of one named Drag-po. This Lee-ston was connected with the area of southern Tibet called Upper Nyang. He became a great teacher who travelled about shaded by a parasol and surrounded by his followers. When he met the teacher Drag-po, the latter was impressed with his knowledge. Although he studied the tantra commentaries with Drag-po, he didn't learn the practices, and therefore was not able to hold the transmission lineage of the oral instructions (*man-ngag*).

⁶⁹ Bu-ston's polemic says about the Four Children, "Their's are not Buddhist teachings. They are teachings (*chos*) of Dpe-dkar."

⁷⁰ Nyang-ral, *Chos-'byung*, 494, places them in approximately the same time as Dam-pa Dmar-po (= La-stod Dmar-po), who seems to have been a contemporary of Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba, active in the mid-eleventh century (see G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 1025–1030; Kong-sprul Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (= Blo-gros-mtha'-yas), *Shes-bya Kun Khyab (= Theg-pa'i Sgo Kun las Btus-pa Gsung-rab Rin-po-che'i Mdzod Bslab-pa Gsum Legs-par Ston-pa'i Bstan-bcos Shes-bya Kun Khyab)*, Peking 1985, Vol. 1, 555). This La-stod Dmar-po was a Tibetan, and must not be con-

winning side. For Sher-'byung, as for his contemporary Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta,⁷¹ the 'excavation' (*gter-ma*) phenomenon belongs to the same classification, the same 'class', with other 'eruptive' (*rdol*) and, for the then-emerging political power of their 'Bri-gung-pa and Sa-skya-pa schools, potentially disruptive forces. My impression is that the 'Four Children of Pe-kar' were real persons, but that they and their teachings (whatever they might have been) have been badly garbled and stigmatized in the 'official' view as murderous. They probably produced headaches rather than deaths. I think that *Rdol-chos*, as well as *Rdol-bon* are referring to religious movements that 'break out' (*rdol*) among lay people (which may then go on to attract monks to their movements), hence popular religious phenomena as contrasted and in a state of dialectical tension with the mainstream 'official' religion, with its strong concern for its own undisturbed continuity. At one level, labeling these teachings of Bon and Chos 'eruptive' (*rdol*) is also a way of denying them any (legitimate) historical background.

It may be, although we stress that this is a hypothesis, that neither the Star King nor the Four Children had, originally, anything at all to do with the spirit Pehar. In the case of the Star King, this would explain why the sources disagree and even contradict each other about the identity of the spirit-entity that supposedly inspired him. Our earliest sources do not associate the Four Children with Pehar at all, and the earliest source doesn't associate them with any spirit-entity at all. Another class of stories told about Pehar's activities in the 11th–12th centuries (the stories involving Zhang-shar-ba, Bya 'Dul-'dzin and Zhang G.yu-brag-pa, told above) portrays him, in addition to his usual role as protector of the treasuries at Samye Monastery, as an entity who tends to instigate boys or 'small monks' (*btsun-chung*) to perform acts of mischief. It may have been just this disruptive and 'shady' reputation of Pehar that led 13th-century writers to associate these popular movements in hindsight with his inspiration. Hence, there is very little indeed that we may say positively and with confidence about them —

fused with the still more controversial A-tsa-ra Dmar-po, an Indian tantric teacher who visited Tibet before the mid-eleventh century (G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 1049–1050).

⁷¹ Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta says in his *Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye*,

Volumes that came from mines (*gter*),
religious traditions stolen from others,
composed teachings and dream teachings —
teachings that possess the mind,
even if they trace their lineage to Vajradhāra,
when they give these teachings to others
they not only violate the Dharma
but violate even their own words.

and later on,

If teachings that have not existed from the beginning
suddenly make an appearance
they must be rejected, whether Buddhist or Tīrthika,
so that everyone will know they are fabrications.

This translation based on the version in Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom Gsum Rang Mchan*, 139.6–140.2.

perhaps, but only perhaps, their names and the names of their teachings (not their actual content and intent) are genuine.

Although we might criticise them, we cannot condemn the authors of the Later Spread for writing their own histories and slighting those whom they considered to lie outside their own historical lineages. Everyone does the same thing, including even some contemporary historians of science. The present paper might itself be an example. What is remarkable is that they have anything at all to say about these movements that lay outside their emerging institutional boundaries. Perhaps those self-definitional boundaries were well served by reserving to themselves the power to define the opposition. One reason that most obviously suggests itself is that they did, in fact, feel that these movements were serious competitors with their own. The polemic attributed to Bu-ston, for example, says with obvious opprobrium that the teachings of the Four Children did well in Eastern Tibet (Mdo-khams) and filled Central Tibet (i.e., Dbus and Gtsang provinces). To emphasize the power of these largely lay movements, but at the same time to portray them in an extremely unattractive light, suited their aim of glorifying the final predominance of their monastic groups over the religious as well as political fields. As time went by, the identities of the lay religious leaders became more and more confused, until in recent literature, when mentioned at all (as at least the Star King occasionally is), they have become abstracted archetypes of the 'false teacher', devoid of any individual character. Naturally, it does not follow that these incipient movements, accused of the most reprehensible immorality and wrong ideas by their 'establishment' opponents, were therefore necessarily free of reprehensible conduct and heterodoxy. The point is that we just do not know. Historians today should be cognizant of the extent of our ignorance about them, an ignorance written into the texts for their consumption.

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Meditation is Action Taken: On Zhang Rinpoche, A Meditation-based Activist in Twelfth-century Tibet

Dan Martin

... but there is neither east nor west...

— Rudyard Kipling.

As far as the genuine realization of the Insight (prajna) that comes from meditation is concerned, it makes no difference whether you meditated in the western world or in the eastern (bsgom byung-gi shes-rab rtogs-pa gsha'-ma de ni nub-phyogs-kyi 'jig-rten dang shar-phyogs-su bsgoms-pa gnyis-la khyad med-pa yin).

— Phag-mo-gru-pa, in a public teaching (*Bka'-bum*, vol. 3 [GA], folio 93r.3).

The Buddha said, 'Don't just do something, sit there!'

— Daniel Berrigan.

In religious studies no less than in everyday life these days, there is a frequent, if often unspoken, presumption that one must uncompromisingly choose whether or not to be 'really' religious. What this seems to mean is that we must either isolate ourselves permanently and entirely from the secular world and its nagging concerns, or be secular, in which case any interference by religion would create an unwanted drag on our ability to accomplish things of significance in the workaday world. This assumption has its correlate in the legal field in the 'separation of Church and State.' Students of Tibetan history know that by the mid-13th century, if not as we would suggest already in the last half of the 12th century, Tibet turned toward a polity in which religious and secular leaders joined in a partnership or even, as happened in relatively brief periods, combined in one single person. This ideal of the 'coupling of Religious and Secular Life' (*chos srid zung 'brel*) remained in force in Tibet itself up through the middle of the twentieth century. The contrast between these two approaches — the one in which any 'worldly' involvement by religious leaders is necessarily hypocritical and the second in which religio-political cooperation, even to the point of identity, is entirely acceptable or expectable — is troublesome on many levels. Fortunately for us, we do not feel that we have to find an intellectual or ideological resolution valid for all time and space, but rather we wish only to gain

insight into how the tension found some kind of resolution in the life and writings of one particular Tibetan leader at one particularly formative point in Tibet's lengthy history.

Lama Zhang was born in 1123 into a family that could claim aristocratic origins. We will call him Zhang for reasons of brevity (longer versions of his name are mentioned below; he may also be called Zhang Rinpoche, a title by which he was known during his lifetime). He is known as Zhang because among his ancestors were ministers of state belonging to the Sna-nam clan who had been awarded their positions because their clan had supplied brides to members of the imperial dynasty. These were the 'maternal uncles' (*zhang*) of the emperors, entitled (perhaps as part of the marriage alliance agreements) to a certain amount of leadership status. It may be a mistake to lay too much emphasis on this 'aristocratic' background, since we find no indication that Zhang's immediate family had any significant landholdings or leadership role, autobiographical and biographical accounts of his early life hardly make any mention of aristocracy, and he only started to sign his works using the clan-name Sna-nam in the last decades of his life, following the year 1175 by which time his had long been a household name in central Tibet.

By the time Lama Zhang arrived on the scene, Tibet's imperial period was a series of glorious pages of

Sna-nam clan

origin of
name
'Zhang'



A portrait of Lama Zhang G.yu grags pa (1123-1193), the founder of the Tshal pa Bka' rgyud pa school, on an ancient slit-tapestry *thang ka*. (After Dorji-Ou-Wangchu, *Bod kyi thang ga*).

its past. In the mid-ninth century, two claimants to the throne were born after the assassination of the Emperor U'i-dum-rtsan (better known to posterity by his nickname Glang-dar-ma, 'Young Ox'), and then a series of three major peasant uprisings, along with feuds between endemically rivalrous aristocratic landowners, made Tibet 'fall to pieces,' as the Tibetan historians so aptly put it. In Zhang's time there were still descendents of various splinters of the royal line ruling over various more-or-less minor parts of the Tibetan plateau (only the rulers of the 'boot' and the 'hat,' the western and northeastern parts of the plateau, held territories of some significance). Others had fallen on hard times, and some even took monastic orders. Two royal bloods would later become followers of Zhang. None of them could garner the necessary prestige to extend rule over all or even the greater part of the Tibetan plateau, and so while 'Tibet' was at the time a definite cultural-linguistic entity, politically speaking it was fragmented, albeit with powerful memories of a once and glorious unity.

Whatever connection his family might have had to the old aristocracy, by the time Zhang was seven he already had instilled in him by his father and especially

by his mother, a former nun, the importance of a religious education. He often accompanied his mother to religious discourses given to the nuns, with whom her mother preserved her old contacts, including discourses by one Ma-jo Dar-ma. The assembled nuns and Ma-jo were particularly impressed one day when the four year old child Dar-ma-grags — for this was his name as a child — recited for them from memory a set of verses on the Great Completion (Rdzogs-chen) entitled, *Mind Meditation: Six Meanings of Enlightened Mind* (Sems Sgom Byang-chub-sems Don-drug-ma). These verses, which ought to be examined in light of the early Mind Class tantras of the Rnying-ma-pa school, are uniquely preserved in Zhang's *Partial Works* (Bka' Thor-bu). We would like to translate this brief work in full, since it demonstrates, already at a tender age, his engagement with 'ultimativist' Buddhist perspectives which comes through so clearly in his later compositions on the Great Seal (Mahamudra).

Mind Meditation: Six Meanings of Enlightened Mind

1. *Prostrations to Blessed Lord Samantabhadra (Total Good).*

*Great personage whose compassion-ocean engulfs all artistry,
guide the thoughts of the fortunate persons
with your self-knowledge and your realization.*

Everyone, even godlings and earth spirits, hear these words of truth:

2. *If you know your very mind is Buddha
it is needless to reverence the Buddha-Dharma-Sangha in another way.*

Know the meaning of Dharma Proper and Great Bliss is attained.

Dharma and mind have never been two.

3. *Seeking the nature of mind it is not found,
so there is no showing it to another saying, 'This is what it's like.'*

Mind and Dharma are not any thing.

When meditating there is no thing on which to meditate.

4. *No matter what signs of interrupting thoughts occur
the reality of those thoughts is Dharma Proper. That said,
the Dharma Realm need not be sought through any other [means].*

In this there are neither preventive measures nor therapies.

5. *Just so, in all time and in every way,*

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← find
in Bka'
Thor-bu
764

not wavering from the very [mind] is the Dharma Body.
When this reaches [full] force, the world has no essence.
Through compassion, emanations embrace all
and a great shower of love falls on all beings.

6. If there is no two-ness of meditation and meditator
one abides in bliss in the continuity of the ultimate
meaning.

This is what is called Enlightened Mind meditation.

This is the meditation of immaculate Enlightened Mind,
showing the meaning of not wavering from the great open
vortex of realization.

What we see here is an emphasis on the primacy of
the meditative goal of directly realizing the nature of
mind, to which all other things are subordinated;
devotional acts, the life of learning and intellectual
investigation, and even the cultivation of compassion,
are all of secondary significance. (Zhang was a near
contemporary of Phya-pa, a giant in the Tibetan
history of Buddhist scholastic logic, and Mchad-kha-
ba, famous for publicizing the until-then esoteric
teachings of Mind Training, which give priority to the
systematic cultivation of compassion). This attitude
on the priority of meditation is common, even if in
somewhat varying degrees, to all the Bka'-bgyud-pa
teachers of Zhang's time and before. To illustrate this
position with one quote attributed to Zhang's
acquaintance Phag-mo-gru-pa,

The learned scholars cut away the veils [of words]
with words and establish the objects of knowing... Make
forests into pens, oceans into ink, land into paper, and
still there would be no end to their writing. Yogins do not
establish external objectivities; they establish the mind.
The mind established, its objects establish themselves.

One set of episodes in his early life, we believe,
offers insight into another aspect of Zhang's character.
In his early teens, he attended on a tantric master who
belonged to the Rngog clan. Since he had been placed
in charge of provisions, he was unable to attend the
ritual initiations, but received the blessings anyway.
He came to believe that receiving or not receiving
initiations in their full ritual forms was not in and of
itself important, a view that he would later express in
his *Path of Ultimate Profundity*. He also several times
saw healing rituals done without regard for the ritual
directions, but which were nevertheless successful in
healing the sick clients. He himself, in his twenties in
Kham province, did threadcross and fire rituals "from
memory," without instructions on the proper
procedures, which were nonetheless efficacious. These
experiences convinced him that, regardless of how the

rituals might be carried out, the 'words of truth' — an
ancient Vedic concept, which for Zhang means words
spoken out of one's own realization of the truth — are
what makes them work, giving him a [healthy?] J
disregard for ritual proprieties that has never been
especially prevalent in Tibetan society.

Along with this attitude went a disregard for what
we might properly call 'philological proprieties.' It is J
true that Zhang studied hard as a youth, and his studies
included some of the most challenging philosophical
treatises ever produced by Buddhists. He says in his
main autobiography, "I studied much of the
Abhidharma with the teacher Sam-bu Lo-tsa-ba, as well
as the *Pramanavartika*, the *Five Paths*, the *Sutralamkara*
and other texts. I did not understand them." Whatever
level of intellectual understanding Zhang did or did not
achieve (his superior literary talents suggest that he is
being overly modest), it is still true that there is in his
literary corpus, which is quite large for his times (several
complete sets of his works in four or six volumes have
surfaced only recently), not so much in the way of J
textual exegesis and constructive philosophical thought.
What we mainly find are songs and poems, oral
instructions, visionary descriptions, and
autobiographical accounts, all perhaps better suited to
people who live their truths rather than thinking them
out ahead of time. His literary style was at times quite
unorthodox or 'experimental,' becoming even more so
as he grew older. In some of his last works, spiritually
inspired verses of startling lucidity are interspersed with
lengthy strings of interjections of "Red fox. Red fox.
Red fox," "Eat shit. Eat shit. Eat shit" and the like, J
leading one to consider the possibility he may have been
the first beat poet, or perhaps the first scat singer.
Certainly, he was able to break free of convention in a
number of interesting ways. ← *

After a difficult period in his late teens in which
he resorted to destructive magical rites employing
goat sacrifices, his parents died and, in his depression
which would sometimes verge on the suicidal, he
wandered off to eastern Tibet, to Kham province. In
his twenty-third year he took the novice vows, and in
the following year he dreamed that a slimy snake-like J
creature came slithering out of his body, a sign that he
was being purified of his earlier misdeeds. Then, in
the spring of 1148, he took complete monastic vows,
receiving one of the names by which he would from
then on be known, Brtson-'grus-grags-pa ('Diligence
Fame' — his name often occurs in the form Zhang
G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-'grus-grags-pa; the G.yu-brag-
pa part is due to his founding of G.yu-brag
Monastery some time in the 1160's.) Turning down

Rga

'Ol-kha-ba

offers to serve as a household priest (*mchod-gnas*), he stayed in a tent for a year until he met one of his most important spiritual teachers, the translator of Rga. Rga guided him in various yogic exercises and gave him the initiations for the tantric deity/Buddha Cakrasamvara. A few years later Zhang went back to central Tibet in order to be close to Rga, but ended up meeting and studying with other teachers instead. It was in about 1152, while with one of his teachers named 'Ol-kha-ba, that he began giving religious discourses in semi-public settings. His first compositions also date from this same time. There is a strong sense of orality in all his works, which seems to suggest that many of them were actually based on transcriptions of his spoken words, even when this is not explicitly stated.

Sgom-tshul

But the most decisive event for Zhang's spiritual life as well as his public leadership role was his meeting with Sgom-tshul. This meeting, which took place in about 1154 was accompanied with a deluge of realization, and he received the lineage of the Bka'-brgyud masters, becoming authorized to grant Vajrayana instructions to disciples of his own. It was just a few years later that Zhang, at the request of an otherwise obscure disciple by the name of Mar-pa (not to be confused with the famous teacher of Milarepa), composed his *Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang*, the work for which he would become best known to posterity.

= 4 factions in Dbus

- Klu-mes
- Rba
- Rag
- 'Bring

Although not directly relevant as 'background' to this work, which will be sampled further on, we would like to say something about Zhang's later life as a leader over a significant part of Central Tibet (Dbus). We must first say a few words about the 'four factions' active within the resurgent monastic order, since this will help explain the circumstances behind his coming to power. Monastic life was nonexistent in the central provinces of Dbus and Gtsang in the last half of the 9th century and the first half of the 10th. In the latter half of the 10th century, several men from Dbus and Gtsang provinces undertook a lengthy journey to the northeast in order to receive the monastic vows preserved there. When they returned to central Tibet, the newly made monks from Dbus province at first stayed in separate buildings located at the imperial period temple of Bsam-ya, close to the banks of the Gtsang-po River, benefiting from the patronage of the royal descendent residing there. Some of the monks then left Bsam-ya to found monasteries in the valleys of the Skyid-chu (i.e., the valley of Lhasa) and especially in its upper tributaries. These four factions, named after the clan names of

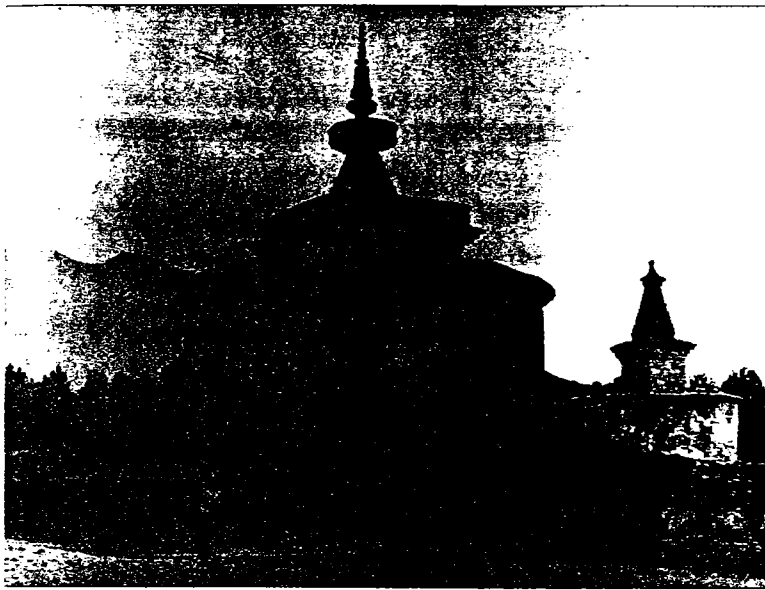


The Jo khang with its processional paths. Lama Zhang was entrusted the responsibility of maintaining the temple by his teacher Dwags po Sgom Tshul after the 1160 war between the religious communities of Lhasa. (After Dorji-Ou-Wangchu, *Bod kyi thang ga*).

their founders, the Klu-mes, Rba, Rag and 'Bring factions, began to accumulate estates donated by their faithful patrons. Over time, disputes about these estates created serious friction between them. In 1106 at Bsam-ya, the Klu-mes faction was battled by an alliance of the Rba and Rag factions, and most of the outlying temples of Bsam-ya were burned to the ground, while the walls surrounding the temple compound were completely destroyed. Later, in 1160, fighting broke out between the Rba and 'Bring factions. The battles continued for a few years until the most holy sanctuaries of Lhasa, the Jo-khang and Ra-mo-che (by then about 500 years old), were very seriously damaged. At this point, Zhang's already-mentioned teacher Sgom-tshul (who had been, since 1150, prominent as the head of the monastic 'headquarters' [*gdan-sa*] of the Bka'-brgyud school) was invited to come to Lhasa to mediate between the warring factions. Sgom-tshul stayed in Lhasa long enough to restore the circumambulation routes and wall paintings of the two temples, and then entrusted their protection to his student Zhang. The sources are not very explicit about the chronology, but this must have occurred in about 1166.

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Finding himself 'saddled with power,' monk Zhang's worldly problems began. In 1175 he founded Tshal (or Tshal Gung-thang) Monastery, a short walk upstream from Lhasa, in order to protect the sanctuaries of Lhasa from further harm from the direction of the upper valleys, no doubt in particular from the 'Phan-po valley, where the Rba and 'Bring factions had been based. In the process of building Tshal monastery and later another nearby monastery in 1187, he is said to have directly involved himself in battles waged in order to procure building materials or in order to enforce compliance with his newly established laws. It is difficult, at the present stage of research, to assess the precise degree of Zhang's personal involvement in the violence, but perhaps needless to say, this brought charges of worldly entanglement and hypocrisy. One passionately critical set of verses is preserved in the *Partial Works*, and here we will just supply a taste of it in translation.
To mislead the faithful you have your own interpretive devices,



The great Sku 'bum stupa of Tshal Gung thang monasteries, founded by Lama Zhang in 1175 and 1187 respectively. (Picture by H. Richardson).

resorting to the scriptures with scant knowledge of the words, but then pretentious about the meanings, contemptuous of the methods.

Shame on you, you fine-speaking scholar, because the words have nothing to do with your meanings...

Beggar-monk Zhang, what haven't you done?

When you first started meditating you practiced renunciation,

but in your old age you had to give that up to make a living and openly sought to create wealth, estates, and so on....

By buying and selling, field work and agriculture, battles and

various other means you seek a shelter for your old age.

You are certainly deeply misguided

and these battles on the empty fields and meadows

have brought all sorts of grief to countless living things:

to worms, lizards, mice, ants and so forth.

For a religious person, doing such sinful deeds, shame on you.

Scripture, reason and precepts of the Lama all say to give up worldly business.

You conduct business even more than a householder.

You need everything and use everything;

all kinds of things you need.

Contemplative with so many needs and necessities, shame on you.

It was perhaps in response to such criticism (by all accounts he gave up fighting only in about 1189 at the urging of the First Karma-pa) that Zhang appointed

one of his disciples as a Great Chief (Dpon-chen), in order to delegate to him some of these worldly responsibilities. This may very well be the origin of the position of the Great Chief in other sects, where their role was primarily to enforce sectarian interests, even militarily if need be. Note that in the 'Bri-gung Bka'-brgyud sect, the same position was seemingly incongruously called Sgom-pa, 'Meditator.' Tibetan historical writers, when they take notice of Zhang, have been (perhaps surprisingly?) lenient; at the very least they are willing to give him credit for his sainthood, sometimes even accepting that his most controversial and militant actions were performed in a state

of enlightened consciousness and compassion. There is no unanimity, however, and the controversy remains to this day (practitioners are advised to go for *zhal-shes* on this point). Although the circumstances, the hows and the whys, require further illumination, it seems highly likely that Zhang played an important role in Tibet's development into what is (innaccurately, from a Buddhist perspective) termed in political science a 'theocracy.' He may help us to explain why it is that

1189
gave up fighting
→ 1st Karma pa

from his time on central Tibet's polity remained sectarian-based, rather than monarchical as was most of the world in those times. Is it possible that Zhang had found, even prior to his advent to power, some way of accommodating militancy in his Buddhist outlook and in his personal character? I leave the answer to the reader, except to suggest that, from Zhang's own perspective, he was only putting into practice his understanding of what might today be called "engaged Buddhism," or, in terms that would have made more sense to Zhang, bringing compassion and non-dual awareness to their peak by plunging once more into the life of the world in the post-meditation phase.

Now we would like to say a few words about the significance in later Tibetan history of his most famous literary work, *Path of Ultimate Profundity*. To put it simply, it was controversial, as was Zhang's later life. Several passages in this work were known, whether directly or indirectly, by the Savant of Sa-skya (1182-1251) who criticized Zhang, although never by name, in his famous work of scripture-based, but nonetheless critical and in some sections I would say polemical, scholarship called the *Classification of the Three Vows* (*Sdom Gsum Rab-dbye*), composed in the 1230's. Among the things the Savant chose to criticize were specific statements in Zhang's work about the possible non-necessity of tantric initiations for approaching Great Seal teachings and the possibility that initiations might be obtained without being conferred in a formal ritual manner. Still more significantly, the Savant rejected the idea of the self-sufficiency of meditative realization of the nature of the mind, calling this by the metaphor that Zhang, among others (Sgam-po-pa and possibly the 8th-century Chinese Ch'an teacher Ho-shang Mahayana), occasionally used for this, the 'Singly Sufficient White [Medicine]'. In order to better comprehend Zhang's outlook as well as its rejection by the Savant, it would be necessary to fully explore the history of the 'gradualist' (*rim-gyis-pa*) versus 'instantanealist' (*cig-car-ba*) types, along with the often-overlooked third type called 'jumpers' [*thod-rgal-ba*]. Trying to avoid complexity, we could just say that many Tibetan teachers throughout history have accepted that there are certain people who, because of the results of their cultivation in previous lives, do not need to follow the usual step-by-step one-thing-at-a-time progression on the Path to Enlightenment. This is not a Tibetan invention, but has its direct roots in tantric lineages in India, and less directly in Mahayana discussions about the Path (where it 'normally' takes three endless aeons of rebirths, a period which might, even in the sūtras, be

shortened by various expedients). As Tilopa, the Indian initiator of the Bka'-brgyud lineages, says in the opening words, which follow, of one of his famous works entitled *True Logic of the Impeccable Word* (*Bka' Yang-dag-pa'i Tshad-ma*), what is good for one is not therefore good for the other, or as Zhang said, "One standard does not work for all persons":

Persons by virtue of their different mental constitutions may be either gradualists or instantanealists.

This great medicine for the gradualist turns to poison for the instantanealist.

This great medicine for the instantanealist turns to poison for the gradualist.

Therefore, for those who have the results of prior cultivation, we will herein set forth teachings for the instantanealists.



An elderly Lama Zhang. (After Lipton-Ragnubs Nyima Dorje, *Treasures of Tibetan Art*.)

Zhang's work, being a verse compendium of oral precepts on Mahamudra, is aimed primarily toward those with sufficient 'prior cultivation,' but the gradualists are by no means left out of the picture. The Path, being a process of change and not a static entity, may be redefined at various points along the way, and different people need to hear different teachings at different times. Those looking for a doctrinal unity without being cognizant of this process will sense inconsistencies and even contradictions. To attempt to

Sa-pa

- rim-gyis-pa
- cig-car-ba
- thod-rgal-ba

resolve them as if they 'existed' in a spatial, non-temporal, state of contingency would be to demonstrate ignorance of the basic premise that the mind and its cognitive faculties, in concert with its perceptions of its environments, did, do, will, should, and must be transformed.

In its basic structure, chapter eight begins with a discussion of the gradualist path, with gradualists who are also tantra practitioners. Incidentally, enclosed in this discussion is a remarkable, because rare, list of a few of those popular laypeople's devotional practices which find their inspiration in the sūtras — constructing the small molded clay reliquaries called *tsha-tshas*, erecting sacred icons, saving the lives of animals that would otherwise be killed, and reading scriptures (or having them read, if one is unable to do so oneself). This part is followed by an illuminating discussion of tantric ethics, which blends almost seamlessly into a treatment of the four yogas of the Great Seal. The four yogas, which might be understood as different points in the meditative unfoldment of Enlightenment (not as a fixed-ordered set of 'steps'), dominate the center stage in chapter eight, but they have been discussed elsewhere (see Martin 1992 in the bibliographical essay below).

The final aim of this meditative unfoldment is the 'Great Impression,' or 'Great Seal' (or perhaps even 'Great Gesture'). Kong-sprul, in the 19th century, explained what the Great Seal is in a very succinct manner, "Coupling is the Seal, and because all dharmas (all 'objective' phenomena) are embraced in this coupling, it is Great. Nothing is beyond it." While reading the translation, one should mentally underline how various pairs of objectifying and subjectifying terms such as [1] socializing and seclusion, [2] public and private, [3] post-meditative experience of the world and solitary meditative equipoise, [4] distraction and freedom from distraction [also, Dharma Proper and Mind Proper, appearing in other chapters of Zhang's work], are used. Notice the times and places in which either the objectifying side or the subjectifying side seems to predominate. Note, too, when they are equally balanced. Notice, finally, the point at which it becomes senseless to speak in terms of any of these pairs. Contrary to testimonies of his critics, Zhang's Mahamudra is definitely not about turning off the mind (he calls that 'blanking out') or escaping from life's problematic aspects. Just the opposite. It recommends an amplification of sensory and mental faculties, and even, finally, a full embrace of all experience. Sound dangerous? Judge for yourself by carefully reading *The Path of Ultimate Profundity*,

chapter eight, entitled, 'On Action.' Meditation is one of the actions he particularly recommends, but not as an end in itself, not as a method of relaxation or stress reduction. The clarity of his emphasis on post-meditation is liable to confound the more scientific meditation researchers, with their inbuilt assumption that somehow we may know someone is meditating by observing their behavioral modes, or by measuring what is most accessible to measuring devices, rather than what is most important. For Zhang, the real breakthrough occurs when one has injected the meditation-heightened awareness into all kinds of actions, initiating a newly awakened manner of life that doesn't look anything like meditation. It might, instead, look a lot like an ordinary life.

[Note: Some explanatory material has been inserted in italics within square brackets.]

Chapter Eight: On Action

*The yoga practitioner of the Great Seal
brings out the luster of meditative experience
in the wish-fulfilling jewel of realization
and fulfils all needs and desires through the power of
practice.*

*As soon as the gradualist persons
engage in the Path of Secret Mantra,
they distance themselves from non-virtuous thoughts
and expunge samsaric things from their minds.
When they have set their minds on Great Awakening,
they generate the thought of benefitting beings
with intentions free of selfish interests.
Keeping always their pride of divine status,
they do mantra repetitions, mandal offerings,
torma rites, worship offerings and the other seven limbs
of offering.*

*They do torma rites for feeding the hungry ghosts
and water offerings for feeding the water spirits.
They perform services for the Lama if they have one,
feasts and communion circles for monks,
and give to beggars without holding back.
They must do inner and outer fire offerings.*

*They construct tsha-tsha, chortens and images.
[Tsha-tshas are small clay plaques of Buddha images
and chortens.]*

*They protect the lives of animals. They read scriptures.
In short, they fill their time between practice sessions
with nothing but virtuous activities
motivated by great compassion.*

*They have no time for irreligious activities,
let alone non-virtuous actions.*

They must purify all inner and outer obscurations
 and strive to accumulate merit
 in accordance with the virtuous dharmas of all levels of
 beings
 through conscientious and restrained conduct
 like that of a new bride
 or of an extremely observant monk.
 Concealing their good qualities, these increase in privacy.
 Those who belittle karma and karmic results
 will have contempt for conventional methods.
 Like a bird without wings, they will surely fall
 into the chasm of low rebirths.
 Hence, they must give up the most minor non-virtues
 and work for the most minor virtues.
 Such virtuous preparation will give them
 a diligence that never rests,
 and after achieving some solidity,
 their practices divide into the external and internal.
 Their social practice accords with that of the people,
 while their inner practice, their meditative concentration,
 grows in isolation.
 When meditative experience of the inner practice has grown,
 without being detected by beginners,
 they engage in actions that accord with that experience,
 doing whatever advances their contemplative absorption
 and realization.
 They must make use of the half-ten deathless
 [i.e., the 'five elixirs' of Highest Yoga Tantra]
 and also rely on the five strengths
 [i.e., power of faith, of perseverance, of memory, of
 meditative concentration, and of insight].
 Without denying the half-ten sensory qualities
 [i.e., form, sound, taste, smell, and touch],
 they have given up attachment to them and take them as
 friends [on the Path].
 When the farmer's wheat shoots
 have been watered and manured, they grow.
 When the yogi's Total Knowledge sprouts
 make use of sensory qualities, they grow.
 Because they never separated from unproduced
 meditative experience,
 they use them with no attachment whatsoever.
 When this freedom of the six heaps to act on their own
 [the 'six heaps' are the sensory consciousnesses of eyes,
 ears, nose, tongue, body and mind]
 takes over with non-dual realization,
 they must lead life as they will
 without dos and don'ts.
 With meditative experience of non-dual realization,
 there is no 'wear this' and 'don't wear that.'
 Whether good or bad, they wear their clothes.
 There is no 'eat this' and 'don't eat that.'

Whether clean or dirty, they must eat it.
 This makes non-discursive Total Knowledge increase.
 There is no 'say this' and 'don't say that.'
 They must speak as if they were sleep-talking.
 They must not make themselves conform to anything
 but relax and remain as they happen to be.
 They must not be separated from the experience of
 Dharma Body.
 They must not be attached to anything.
 Whether their own acquaintances or others
 say good or bad things about them,
 they must not make trouble even for a moment,
 but remain impassive as a lifeless object.
 They must never ever do things
 that harm the mind.
 Just as deer flee from the presence of people,
 so must they constantly flee the presence of people.
 They must not make distinctions like 'he is good' or
 'he is bad' towards others, with pride in their own
 goodness.
 Just as a swindler conceals his crimes
 they must always hide their own good qualities.
 They must not be puffed-up 'big men'
 but always keep an inferior place.
 Though they have realized the absence of high and low,
 they must constantly worship the Lama and sky-goers.
 In short, they must give up all
 selfish interests, trickery and affectations.
 For as long as the meditative equipoise and subsequent
 experiences are two things,
 they must check if the perceptions in meditation are stable
 or unstable.
 If their perceptions in meditation are not stable,
 theirs is a fool's meditation that consists in wrapping their
 heads up and murmuring,
 misunderstanding what meditation is all about.
 They must work for physical and verbal virtues,
 being motivated by love and compassion.
 If they have stability in meditative equipoise,
 it is still easy for physical and verbal virtuous actions to
 be broken off.
 Nevertheless they must apply themselves exclusively to
 meditative equipoise.
 This post-meditative experience of which we speak
 has nothing to do with sitting or standing.
 For the beginner, meditative equipoise means
 to stabilize the mind one-pointedly and unwaveringly
 on an appropriate virtuous object of concentration.
 If they have done this, it is equipoise whether they walk
 or sit.
 If, not remaining in one-pointed concentration,
 the mental whirligigs begin to run wild,

even if seated on the meditation cushion, it is post-meditation.

The meditative equipoise of realizing their very minds is to be known through the levels of the four yogas which follow.

When the ONE-POINTED YOGA arises, they understand the nature of their very minds. Like the center of uninterrupted space, it is a void clarity, unobstructed, without middles or extremes.

This remaining very sharp and distinct, it is the contemplative equipoise of the first yoga. The vacillating thoughts that pour out from it are, even if seated on the meditation cushion, the post-meditation.

If the very sharp and distinct void clarity remains, then even if they are conversing, walking, or sitting, they remain in the continuum of meditative equipoise. When the YOGA OF THE UNFISSURED INTEGRAL arises, one realizes the substance of one's very mind. Awareness is an unfissured integral with no break in its flow. One's very mind remains as Dharma Body without production or prevention, without acceptance or rejection.

This is the meditative equipoise of the second yoga. If they remain in this meditative equipoise, they remain in its continuity even when walking and talking.

If signs of fissuring cause disturbance, then even if seated on the meditation cushion, it is post-meditation.

When the YOGA OF QUALITATIVE EQUIVALENCE arises, one realizes the classificatory marks of one's very mind. One understands how, out of the unfissured integral Dharma Body of one's very mind, the manifold of samsara and nirvana arises.

In all the various mental complexes, non-discursiveness, appearances, non-appearance, abidings, non-abiding, voidnesses, non-voidness, clarity, non-clarity, because of their qualitative equivalence as clear light Dharma Body,

they see no phenomenon that is not Dharma Body.

They see no signs that are not Clear Light.

The hour in which realization of such qualitative equivalence takes hold

is the meditative equipoise of the third yoga.

When the original mind takes hold, whether they jump, run or have conversations, they remain in the continuity of this meditative equipoise. When they separate from the original mind, even if seated on the meditation cushion, it is post-meditation.

When the YOGA OF NON-MEDITATION arises, the substance of awareness having no underpinnings, the yogis have nothing to meditate with.

With no one to do the meditation, they are adrift.

It is said that in them are completed the Buddhas who have the Three Bodies and the five Total Knowledges [The Three Bodies of the Buddhas are Dharma, Complete Assets and Manifestation; their five Total Knowledges are Mirror-Like, Equality, Particularized Understanding, Deed Accomplishing, and Dharma Realm Total Knowledges].

They perceive absolutely that it is just so.

This accomplishment of the Great Seal

thoroughly establishes that it is just so.

They have no haughty thought that they have attained an accomplishment that was there all along.

Of recollection that has taken hold or not taken hold there is none.

Of mental activity or inactivity there is none.

Of qualitative equivalence or non-equivalence there is none.

In the self-preservation of non-dual perception there are no gradations of meditative equipoise and post-meditation.

In the uninterrupted flow of void awareness there is neither production nor cessation.

Like the [legendary] garuda bird which has already completed its special powers inside the shell, and so, when free of its shell, cuts through the heights and depths of the sky,

the qualities of the Three Bodies are already completed in mind.

Free of physical confinement, benefits for others dawn.

In this way, the occurrence of non-meditation [yoga] has no meditative equipoise or post-meditation stages.

No matter how lofty the realization,

for as long as one is in training, meditative equipoise and post-meditation are two.

There is recollection that has or has not taken hold.

There is distraction and non-distraction.

But when it arises as nothing to be trained, this is what we call non-meditation.

In it there is neither meditative equipoise nor post-meditation

because one remains exclusively and constantly in meditative equipoise.

Walking, sitting and even lying down do not make any difference.

Sleeping or having dreams make no difference.

Holding conversations and even eating make no difference.

These activities are entirely embraced by the mind of aboriginal realization.

They are all nothing besides meditative equipoise.
 Jewels, whatever is needed or desired, are theirs to make use of.
 The rays of the sun are theirs to make use of.
 All are within the yogi's constant meditative equipoise.
 We call this 'non-duality realized.'
 Post-meditation in the time of SINGLE-POINTED YOGA
 views these things as persistent materializations
 that must be visualized as illusions which nevertheless appear.
 Post-meditation in the time of the UNFISSURED INTEGRAL
 YOGA
 views these things sometimes as illusory appearances
 and sometimes as only persistent materializations.
 Either way they must be visualized as Dharma Body.
 Post-meditation in the time of QUALITATIVE
 EQUIVALENCE YOGA
 views these things as dawns as Dharma Body when
 recollection has taken hold.
 When recollection has not taken hold, they view them as
 only fuzzy persistent materializations.
 In the NON-MEDITATION YOGA, meditative equipoise
 and post-meditation are simply Dharma Body.
 I do not have the mouth for a great deal of talk.
 I do not have the mouth for swallowing dry barley-flour.
 Don't wrap up your own head.
 [Don't smother your independence.]
 In the time of non-meditation,
 it remains evident whether one sleeps or not.
 If you want to analyze it, fine. If not, fine.
 If recollection takes hold, fine. If not, fine.
 It remains evident as Dharma Body, beyond self and others.
 Through exerting themselves in impartial compassion
 it dawns forcibly and without doubts.
 Until such an occasion occurs,
 those contemplatives who are fond of blanking out
 are only fooling themselves.
 Such fortunate contemplatives must,
 until they reach the level of non-meditation,
 serve the Lama and accumulate merit.
 If they have not been fooled by blanking out,
 the accumulation of merit will not mislead them.
 This is the heart talk of the realized ones.
 The difference between the social and individual
 is lost on the Total Knowledges of Dharma Body.
 When free of dualistic attachments,
 nothing is lost on the eight worldly dharmas
 [concerns for gaining profit, comfort, acclaim and
 good reputation, as well as concerns to avoid loss,
 discomfort, criticism, and damaged reputation],
 so, although wandering in society,
 they are in seclusion.

When, with dualistic attachments,
 they concern their minds with happiness and sorrow,
 even if they stay alone, they are socializing.
 Therefore isolation is fine and socializing is fine.
 What is most important is not to be attached to anything,
 and not to concern the mind with happiness and sorrow,
 without ever lacking in non-dual realization.
 Distinctions between individual and social,
 distinctions between meditative equipoise and post-
 meditation,
 were taught with the intention of guiding
 people who are beginners.
 In uncompromising presentations, there is no twoness
 of social and individual, of meditative equipoise and
 post-meditation.
 If one asks why, it is because the mind itself
 is parallel production of Dharma Body.
 Appearances are the light of Dharma Body's parallel
 productions
 like the flame and the light of the flame.
 Since in the substance of Dharma Body, awareness,
 there can be no waxing or waning in its constant flow,
 how can there be meditative equipoises and post-
 meditations?
 That a contemplative who has gained stability in this
 realization
 has no meditative equipoise and post-meditation, no one
 would dispute.
 For these reasons, one standard does not work for all persons.
 If it is a question of which is most important, realization
 or meditative experience,
 then it is realization that is important, not meditative
 experience.
 No matter how fine the meditative experience,
 in the absence of realization there can be no liberation.
 No matter how lofty the realization,
 in the absence of compassion, it is the Path of Hearers.
 One may have tasted the contemplative absorptions
 of the four trances (dhyana) and so forth,
 [the four dhyanas of Theravada Buddhism]
 but with the great fault of non-realization
 the experiences will fade and finally
 one will fall into lower rebirths and the like,
 and then there will be unfading sufferings. Consider
 this carefully.
 All experiences are compounded things.
 All compounded things are impermanent, will fall apart.
 Therefore, without being attached to meditative
 experiences,
 realize the non-dual Total Knowledge.
 ['Complete nirvana' is one placeable in neither nirvana
 nor samsara.]

Complete nirvana is under the purview
of realization exclusively.

Mind-made non-duality is realized through extensive
learning.

But this non-duality of which we speak dawns from within.
It is due to the Lama's blessings alone.

Reverence for the Lama with faith
grows realizational Total Knowledge from within.

What does it have to do with philosophical analyzers?

Even I would make the claim that it can be perceived
in words.

But when realization has dawned in the mind,
it needs to be considered whether bad circumstances have
an effect on it or not.

On your right stands somebody chopping with an axe
saying all sorts of cruel things.

On your left stands another making offerings of
sandalwood incense,

respectfully proclaiming all kinds of nice things.

In times of undergoing such good and bad things,
if they can, without getting distressed on their account,

accept them without pleasure or displeasure,
then even if they do crazy things in public, it is fine.

However, if they do not have facility in the powers
to transform bad faith and so forth,

then performing the secret activities in groups
will be the ruin of themselves and others.

When the different kinds of clairvoyances
of knowing whether they will help others, etc., arise

and they have gained facility in these powers,

there is no difference between their public and private
actions.

The Revered Milarepa said something about this.

"The ten virtues are not actions to be taken up.

The ten sins are not actions to be given up.

Stay as you are, relaxed, without affectations."

Did not Revered Lo-ras also have this to say?

"The Three Precious are not

something high and awe-inspiring to be worshipped.

They are complete in the awareness continuum.

You will never find a place to take Refuge."

To me, the beggar-monk Zhang,

and to you my realized Vajra Brother[s] as well,

these thoughts of the Revered Ones,

are as clear as a flame in a glass.

If I tell them and they have trouble understanding,

it is because these things dawn on their own

to those who, with faith, please the Lama

and whose hearts the Lama's blessings pierce.

The 'actions that conquer the universe' and

the 'activities of Great Meditative Equipoise'

are not mentioned here for fear of verbosity.

One must look in the oceanic Supreme Tantras.

I do not have the mouth to tell much here.

Without babbling nonsense,

they will engage in the activities at the right time,
will make efforts without being too tight or too loose.

Their views will be free of partial perspectives.

Their conduct will be free of affectation.

Their compassion will be impartial.

Their meditation will be undistracted.

Good qualities will emerge without ending.

They will achieve benefits for beings without end.

Even though non-dual realization has not taken hold,
some talk nonsense about forceful methods for fixing people,
"Enemies and friends, gold and dirt clods, are the same,"
they say without bothering to even fix their style into a
high style.

If this brought liberation, then little children would be
liberated.

If, when non-dual realization has not taken hold,
they think that the absence of give and take brings
liberation,

we would have to say that every lunatic would be liberated.

If, when non-dual realization has not taken hold,
the nonexistence of clean and dirty brought liberation,
then dogs and pigs would be liberated.

If, when non-dual realization has not taken hold,
careful skill in action led to liberation,
then brides would also be liberated.

If, when non-dual realization has not taken hold,
being loose and spontaneous led to liberation,
then every fool would be liberated.

When non-dual realization has taken hold,
then whether their behavior is coarse or refined,
either way they will be liberated.

When the non-dual realization has not taken hold,
actions, whether coarse or refined, are entangling.

When filled with impartial compassion,
whatever way they act is the Supreme Path.

When impartial compassion has not taken hold,
no matter how they act, it is an inferior path.

Bibliographical essay

Research on Zhang Rinpoche was first undertaken during tenure as a fellow of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in 1993. Since then a number of complete and partial unpublished manuscripts of Zhang's works have been collected. A complete version of his works has only very recently been published in reprint form in Tibet.



A complete translation of the work sampled here has been published in Dan Martin, "A Twelfth-century Tibetan Classic of Mahamudra, *The Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2 (1992), pp. 243-319 (chapter 8 is re-published here in an altered form with the permission of the then editor). Readers who require exact references to the Tibetan texts should consult this article. Certain translational problems were discussed in another article, "Wrapping Your Own Head: Problems of Context & Individuality as Pre- and Post-Considerations for Translating *The Path of Ultimate Profundity, The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang*, a Twelfth-century Tibetan Verse Compendium of Oral Instructions on Mahamudra," contained in: E. Garzilli, ed., *Translating, Translations, Translators: From India to the West*, The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies at Harvard University (Cambridge 1996), pp. 59-73. Still more on Zhang Rinpoche's and other early Bka'-brgyud-pas' attitudes about the life of learning and meditation, see "Beyond Acceptance and Rejection? The Anti-Bon Polemic included in the Thirteenth-Century *Single Intention (Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha)* and Its Background in Tibetan Religious History," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 25, no. 3 (June 1997), pp. 263-305.

The Tibetan text that forms the basis for the translation of *Mind Meditation: Six Meanings of Enlightened Mind*, is to be found in the first modern publication of Zhang Rinpoche's (partial) works, *Writings (Bka' 'Thor-bu) of Zhang G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-grus-grags-pa*, "reproduced from a manuscript from the library of Burmiok Athing by Khams-sprul Don-brgyud-nyi-ma," Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang (Tashijong 1972), pp. 58-60.

For important related readings, see David Jackson, "Sa-skya Pandita the 'Polemicist': Ancient Debates and Modern Interpretations," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1990), pp. 17-116. Note especially footnote nos. 86, on signs of friction between meditation-based and learning-based Buddhists in the 12th century, and 103, on Zhang Rinpoche, themes that have been pursued in much greater detail in the same author's subsequent book, *Enlightenment by a Single Means*, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna 1994). See also Rob Mayer's interesting review article on Jackson's book entitled, "The Sa skya Pandita, the White Panacea, and Clerical Buddhism's Current Credibility Crisis," contained in *The Tibet Journal*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), pp. 79-105.

Most highly recommended for a general idea about the Bka'-brgyud traditions of Mahamudra (including a number of citations of Zhang Rinpoche's *Path of Ultimate Profundity*) is a sixteenth century work by Takpo Tashi Namgyal (=Dwags-po Bkra-shis-rnam-rgyal), *Mahamudra: The Quintessence of Mind and Meditation*, tr. by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, Shambhala (Boston 1986). An important if rather technical review of this book, by Matthew Kapstein, has been published in: *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1990), pp. 101-114.

⁴⁶ This is seen, for example, in their tendency to use Vedic gods as the *upamāna*, a point noted by J. Brockington, *Ibid.*, p. 444. The nature of formulae in epic narrative has been studied much more in relationship to Greek epic, where their archaic nature was noted by Milman Parry: see "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry", in *The Making of Homeric Verse: Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. A. Parry (Oxford 1971), in particular, pp. 329ff. C.M. Bowra also discussed in detail the general tendency of heroic formulaic similes to preserve ideas and details from much earlier eras, in *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1964), pp. 390ff. See, in particular, his argument that, 'Formulae may... preserve relics of lost beliefs and outmoded theological ideas', p. 397.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Arjuna's encounter with Śiva in the form of the Mountain Man: 3.41.7ff, especially the reference back to this at 5.195.13; and passages where the idea of a triumvirate of gods begins to appear, with Rudra/Śiva in the destructive role, for example, 13.14.183-5 and 12.328.12. Apart from this, however, the identification is still not particularly strong, and the longer descriptions of the *pralaya*, where one might hope to see it made, throw little light on the subject.

⁴⁸ The theme of *EMH* 4.

Abbreviations

Mbh Mahābhārata
EMH Études de Mythologie Hindoue

PEARLS FROM BONES: RELICS, CHORTENS, TERTONS AND THE SIGNS OF SAINTLY DEATH IN TIBET*

DAN MARTIN

Summary

Although there has been much work, in recent years, on the *sacrum* of Christianity, and some important studies have appeared on Buddhist relic cults and related facets of Buddhism, so far very little has been written on Tibetan Buddhist relics. This paper, while offering some material for a historical perspective, mainly seeks to find a larger cultural pattern for understanding the interrelationships of a complex of factors active in Tibetan religious culture. Beginning with problems of relic-related terms and classifications, we then suggest a new assessment of the role of the Terton ('treasure revealer'). Then we discuss 'miracles' in Tibet, and the intersection of categories of 'signs of saintly death' and relics. Much of the remaining pages are devoted to those items that fall within both categories, specifically the 'pearls' that emerge miraculously from saintly remains and images that appear in bodily or other substances connected with cremations. After looking at a number of testimonials on these miraculous relics, we examine the possibility that these items might be 'deceitfully manufactured', looking at a few Tibetan polemical writings which raise this possibility. In the conclusion, we suggest that there are some critical links between three spheres of Tibetan religiosity: 1. *sacrum* which are not relics, 2. relics, and 3. signs of sainthood. Finally, we recommend an approach to religious studies that takes its point of departure in actual practices, and particularly the objects associated with popular devotional practice.

Tibetans have, and have had, very highly developed cults of relics, as does North African Islam and as did medieval Christianity, to give a few instances. The reasons are in all three cases approximately the same. Buddha, Muhammed and Jesus, regardless of other differences, all had human bodies; all died. All of them being, in some sense, revealers of historical religions, they as well as the later saints in their traditions have tended to sanctify everything and everyone with which or with whom they came into contact. This admitted, it will be rather obvious that the physical things in the most intimate association with them, in particular their physical remains (if available),¹ should above all be held worthy of the greatest respect and reverence. In the experience of the believer, however, the relics are no more merely passive and

unresponsive objects of worship than the living revealers or saints themselves could possibly be. Something palpable is given in return for their veneration, something we might call grace or blessing. What the Moroccan Maraboutist calls *baraka*² and the early medieval Christian might have called *charis* ('gift') or *dynamis* ('force', 'power'),³ a Tibetan would call *byin-rlabs*.

Byin-rlabs is commonly glossed as 'gift wave',⁴ but it more properly goes back to a literal translation of a Chinese word⁵ which was almost certainly made during the earliest introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in the seventh or eighth centuries. It is not a literal translation of the Sanskrit Buddhists term *adhiṣṭhāna*.⁶ Its actual, or rather its philologically correct, meaning is 'received by (way of) giving'. The believer receives a 'gift' from the saint (in person or in vision), relic or consecrated article. The nature of the 'gift' is and always will remain a mystery to those most secularly oriented persons who have existed in all times and places. For the sake of definition it will be sufficient for our present purposes to say that, no matter what qualities we may wish to include in our concept of sanctity or spirituality, this 'gift' is intended to assist in the development of those same qualities in the receiving individual. It is a gift that, indeed, depends on the receptivity of the individual (faith, and so forth), and hence the bafflement of the learned scholars confronted with this most popular religion practiced by adherents of all Tibetan schools. Sanctity is a quality possessed by particular persons and things. Therefore, to speak about 'the holy' without any reference to those things that are holy is equivalent, to my way of thinking, to discussing 'brilliance' without mentioning what sort of things might be brilliant, such as a lightbulb, an actor, a scientist, a reflection, or a sunset.

In contrast to the paucity of English words, Tibetan has two most commonly used words for relics in general and several less common ones. The first general term, *gdung*, or *sku-gdung*, is the honorific word for 'bone' (also, 'ancestry', 'clan') but its meaning is often extended to mean 'remains' in general. The other, *ring-bsrel*, means, etymologically speaking, 'kept for a long time', hence, 'cherished'. The English word 'relic' coming from Latin by way of French, means 'remains' or 'something left over'. One of the less common Tibetan terms is *phel-gdung* ('increasing bone'), a word

which has a more restricted meaning. Another, *sha-ri-ram*, is a straight transliteration from the Sanskrit word for 'body', which is used in Tibetan interchangeably with *ring-bsrel*, both of these words (as well as *gdung*) occasionally having a more specific meaning. Finally, there is *byin-rten*.

*Byin-rten*⁷ is a contracted form of *byin-rlabs-kyi rten*, which we may translate, 'blessing support/receptacle'. The word *rten* is difficult to render precisely, having connotations of 'support, dependency, prop, container', and so forth. It is used in several terms which have a bearing on our subject. The Tibetan Buddhist world has three major classifications (sometimes increasing to five⁸) of things worthy of worship. The first is 'Body receptacles' (*sku-rten*), the images of Buddhas, deities and saints. The second is 'Speech receptacles' (*gsung-rten*), the words of Buddhas and saints embodied in sacred texts of all sorts. The third is 'Thought receptacles' (*thugs-rten*). This third is, for all intents and purposes, identical with the chorten (*mchod-rten*).⁹

The chorten is well known to many as the Tibetan counterpart to the *stūpa*, *cāitya*, *dagoba* (from *dhātugarbha*, 'relic container'), pagoda, etc., of South, Southeast and East Asian architecture. Here we are not so concerned with the form of the chorten, which literally means 'worship' (*mchod*), 'receptacle' (*rten*) and functionally (also, I believe, in origin) acts as a reliquary, as with the objects it is meant to contain. Not all relics are always kept in chortens; but we may, I think more or less correctly, assume temporarily that everything that is placed inside a chorten is considered to be a relic. By examining what articles are included when a chorten is consecrated,¹⁰ we will have a fairly complete picture of what things have been classified as relics as well as a beginning toward discovering how different particular Tibetans or groups of Tibetans have subclassified them.

For this purpose, we may feel fortunate to have a large number of accounts of the construction of chortens by a wide variety of authors. These were written with the basic motive of cataloguing the materials, styles and workmanship used in their construction and thus memorializing the merit of the craftsmen and donors as well as the deceased saint in whose honor it might have been built, as well as eulogizing the chorten and its surroundings as a holy

place and describing the spiritual and other benefits to be derived from visiting it or doing the ritual circumambulations and so on. We will provide summarized samplings of some of these Guides, or 'Indices' (*dkar-chag*), which have been chosen in an attempt to represent all the Tibetan sects, beginning with one from the early seventeenth century. These have been placed in an appendix since, although they supply the basic starting points (the 'data') for much of our discussion, these listings of relics will not be of impelling interest to the majority of readers. A brief look at the appendix will be sufficient for most purposes.

What Does the Evidence Tell Us?

We will not be able to deal here with certain aspects of the relic cult in Tibet due, in part, to a shortage of information. At this stage, we could not pretend to give social science analyses along the lines of patron-client relations, community structures and so on. It is much more regrettable not to be able to supply evidence for the impact of relics on people, either as individuals or as social entities. (Pilgrimage Guides and biographies should prove helpful here.) Were miraculous healings at chortens as frequent a phenomenon as they were at medieval European saints' shrines? (At present, my impression is that they were not.) Did the role of relics in Tibetan culture change in significant ways over time? How do various aspects of the Tibetan relic cults relate to Indian, Chinese, or Khotanese (or other Central Asian) prototypes? Is there anything uniquely Tibetan about it?¹¹ These and many other questions, as important as they may be for a well-considered view of the subject, will have to find answers in the future, although some evidence supplied here may be found useful.

The evidence does tell us, first of all, that while all schools of Tibetan religion regard the same general sorts of things as relics, there seems to have been no generally accepted sub-classification scheme in use. Within the Gelugpa sect, there appears to have been a rather standard three- or four-fold classification, while the Nyingma (and possibly the Kargyudpa and Bonpo as well) preferred five-fold classifications. A much larger body of evidence would need to be collected in order to substantiate even this very basic statement.

By looking at the origins of the individual relics, we can easily detect sectarian affiliations. Lha-btsun's Guide contains mostly Nyingma, but also Kargyudpa, relics and nothing connected with other sects. Zhu-chen's Guide contains predominantly Sakyapa relics, and it does not include the 'images' or 'increasing bone' (with the exception of two from the Buddha, and this apparently for reasons of controversy to be clarified in due course). Gung-thangpa's list emphasizes bodily and contact relics of Gelugpa saints, although not exclusively. Kong-sprul's Guide contains mostly Bonpo relics, but also consecrated articles and relics from all the other major sects, as we might expect, it being sponsored by a 'nonsectarian' (*ris-med-pa*).

As for the nature of the relics as such, they may mostly be described as the physical remains of the saints or things sanctified by close proximity to them. The special types which may not appear to fit with this description will be discussed later on. We may note that, with few exceptions, the saints in question are both male and clergy. There is only one bone relic derived from a woman. If we limit ourselves to clearly historical personages (excluding Buddhas, ancient sages, and so forth), there are about 57 cloistered religious men, seven lay or uncloistered religious men, and three 'holy madmen'. These numbers are *not* scientifically accurate, being based only on the material produced in evidence in the appendix, otherwise the proportion of cloistered religious men would be even higher.

Various bodily emissions constitute a significant minority of the relics: blood, urine, reproductive substances, mucus (handkerchiefs). Many of these relics, especially the testicles included in Lha-btsun's Guide, carry almost too obvious associations of vitality, reproduction and growth. The theme of an underlying vitality adhering to the mortal remains of saints finds its strongest expression in the miraculous multiplication of relics referred to as 'increasing bone' (*'phel-gdung*) which will be dealt with below. The closest to a European equivalent we can point to is the liquefaction of blood. Although not *really* equivalent, both are examples of how seemingly inert, 'dead' substances can take on life, especially in response to devotion directed their way.¹² In Tibetan Buddhism, the vitality of the relic is in no way reduced by its division and

translation. There is little hint of the resistance to the division of the saints' physical remains such as was noticeable in early medieval European relic cults.¹³ This undoubtedly reflects the fact that Tibetan Buddhists, like other Buddhists and unlike Christians, have no widely shared idea of bodily resurrection. The cremated remains of the Buddha Himself were immediately divided into eight portions. Ordinarily, dead bodies are quickly consigned to the elements (through burial, cremation, submersion or exposure, which may be understood as earth, fire, water and air 'burial'), although embalming is done in some extraordinary cases for highly regarded teachers (the embalming salts then becoming greatly valued as relics).

Finally, the Guides may tell us that the cults of saints were closely connected to the cults of holy places. While earth, stones, and plants from holy places are never included under the classification 'relic', yet they are mentioned in all the Guides studied, and this is surely not without significance. We may speak not only of 'relics of geography', but also of a geography of relics; for while relics most generally stay where they have been deposited, making pilgrimage necessary, they may also be moved, although this can hardly be done lightly, and this subject also deserves some attention in future comparative studies. Now we will have a few words to say about the movers.

The Categorical Distinction and the Role of the Terton

There are other remarkable things that should be observed from the evidence. One is that the Tibetan terms for 'relic', specifically *ring-bsrel* and *gdung*, have both a broad and a narrow meaning. In their broad meaning, they include more than one ordinary understanding of the word 'relic':

- 1) They include mantras, *dhāraṇī*, scriptures, and commentaries on scriptures; even the central pole of the chorten in view of the fact that it is always inscribed with *dhāraṇī*.
- 2) They include images:
 - A) Molded images of clay which is often mixed with remains of saintly bodies, clothing, etc. Called *tsha-tsha*, these images may be of small chortens, Buddhas, deities, saints, etc.

- B) Wood, stone, metal (etc.) images which, of course, may also contain saintly relics and/or *dhāraṇī*.
- C) Images (chortens, letters, etc.) formed on or from the remains. These are often formed of the same material as the objects in 4, below.
- 3) Although a somewhat distinct category, consecrated articles (*dam-rdzas*). This means especially consecrated pellets which sometimes include the following or other types of relics. Consecrated articles are not in themselves *ring-bsrel* (or *gdung*), but both together belong to the broad category of *byin-riten*.
- 4) They include *ring-bsrel* and *gdung* in the narrow sense, the so-called 'mustard seed like relics', or 'increasing bone'.

Ultimately we intend to focus on the fourth category, but first a few comments on the language problem with regard to the first two. These items are not 'relics' in our sense of the word, but it might be suggested that our failure to comprehend the fact that in *Tibet* they are included in the same classification with bones, teeth, hair, clothing, etc., of the saints has led to huge cultural misunderstandings in the works of outside scholars. Intractable differences in cultural values may underlie simple differences in categorization.

My case-in-point is the Rediscoverer of Hidden Treasure (Terma/*Gter-ma*), the Terton (*Gter-ston*/*Gter-bton*). This issue alone could be grounds for a book,¹⁴ so we will limit ourselves to little more than a hypothesis, since full substantiation would require a huge collection of evidence. Why was the Terton such a controversial figure? Was it because he, and (even if less frequently) she, dug up literary works of more-or-less questionable religious authority?

"Yes" and "No." "Yes," because we may easily question the authenticity of the Termas. "No," because that is not all there is to it. There were reasons why their authenticity was in question, reasons that may be more 'social' than 'theological'. If we use the term 'popular religion' to mean religious practices with significant social impact which arise from a broadly based popular appeal, and, at least in point of origin, are somewhat divorced from, if not at odds with, the established religious authorities, then 'popular religion' must mean above all the cults of saints (the cults of holy persons), the cults of relics (the cults of holy things) and pilgrimage (the cults of holy places). My hypothesis is that the Terton filled three important roles in the religious culture of Tibet: 1) Saint. 2)

Translator of relics. 3) Pilgrimage leader, or, to keep within a Tibetan terminological framework, opener of Hidden Countries (Sbas Yul). These Hidden Countries may be understood as 'rediscovered pilgrimage sites' although, in practice, the Tertons frequently became a 'translator' of populations, leading at times thousands of people on revelation-inspired migration-pilgrimages to previously unsettled 'promised' ('prophecied', to be more exact) lands.¹⁵

The key to this reassessment of the Tertons lies in the fact that the books they rediscovered were not, perhaps contrary to our cultural expectations, viewed primarily as literary works to grace library shelves, or even as rare 'first editions'. They were above all relics, either as objects owned by ancient sages or manuscripts written by their own hands. These books, as may be seen in a few instances in the chorten Guides summarized below, could be inserted into images or chortens prior to consecrations.¹⁶ It is surely not by chance that a large number of the Tertons' finds were made in images, chortens, and temples;¹⁷ and usually together with all the other items Tibetans have called relics (*ring-bsrel*), consecrated articles (*dam-rdzas*), and images. To give just one of countless possible examples, when Ratna-gling-pa was about thirty-five years old (in 1438), he made the following rediscoveries together with several volumes of precepts and ritual propitiations at Dge-ri¹⁸ Brag-dmar.

Brahmin Flesh Pellets. Red and white reproductive substances. Elixir Pellets and [Long] Life Pellets. 'Increasing bone' from the heart of Pra-chen Ha-ti.¹⁹ 'Increasing bone' from the tooth of O-rgyan-chen-pö [= Padmasambhava]. Hair and 'increasing bone' which came from the dried nasal blood (*shangs mtshal*, 'nose vermilion') of the Lady Mtsho-rgyal [the Tibetan wife of Padmasambhava]. Clothing and other articles belonging to the Guru [= Padmasambhava].²⁰

We would not make the claim that the Tertons are *entirely* explainable as relic/pilgrimage entrepreneurs, only that this side of their character has been glossed over in the past. We feel confident that something close to this general picture of the Tertons' role will emerge more clearly when detailed studies on the full-length biographies of major Tertons such as are available for Ratna-gling-pa and Padma-gling-pa²¹ have been done. Meanwhile, we turn to the problem of an item which, we will agree, is certainly a 'relic'

in every sense of the word, but of which Euro-American cultural history has no experience. These are the 'pearls'.

The 'Pearls' as Sign of Sainthood and Relic Par Excellence

We turn to the Nyingma tantra, the *Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba* ('Blazing Remains').²² It belongs to the highest of three classes within the highest of the Nine Vehicles of the Nyingma school—the Precepts Class (Man-ngag Sde) of the Ati-yoga Vehicle. It is one of the principal seventeen tantras of the Precepts Class. It is written in the form of a dialogue between the Buddha Vajradhâra and the Skygoer (*Mkha'-'gro-ma*) named Clear mind (Gsal Yid).

In chapter one, Clear Mind asks Vajradhâra about the signs of sainthood. Vajradhâra describes, in response, various physical marks which signify spiritual cultivation in previous lives, such as the mark of a conch on the shoulder, etc., symbols of the Body, Speech and Mind of the Buddha. In chapter two, various abilities signifying previous cultivation are described: the ability to remain unharmed in fire, to walk without sinking in the water, to walk without touching the ground; to travel in the sky, crossing the continent of Jambudvîpa at six hundred leagues a moment like wind, to pass through mountains and rocks, etc. Then there are signs experienced by highly developed yogis as preludes to the complete dissolution of the physical body into rainbow colored radiations.²³

These signs, the special marks on the body in chapter one, and the miracles of chapter two, may be understood respectively as those signs of sainthood which emerge at birth and those that accompany a saintly life. The third chapter, predictably, treats the signs of saintly death²⁴ which are:

- 1) *Images* left behind after cremation. Images of both peaceful and wrathful deities. These signify that the saint is to attain liberation in the after-death state.²⁵
- 2) 'Bone' (*gdung*). These are of five types:
 - A) *Sha-ri-ram* (Tathâgata type/center) are white, bright and transparent, forming in the fat. About the size of a pea, they develop from the bone marrow.
 - B) *Ba-ri-ram* (Vajra type/east) are blue-green and darkish. About the size of a mustard seed or small pea, they are formed from the essence of (digestive?) heat, emerging from the interstices of the ribs.

- C) *Chu-ri-ram* (Ratna type/south) are yellow colored. They are about the size of a mustard seed, forming in the blood, appearing on top of the liver.
- D) *Bse-ri-ram* (Padma type/west) are bright and red. Size is about that of a mustard seed. It forms from a combination of the elements, comes from the kidneys.
- E) *Nya-ri-ram* (Karma type/north). Sapphire blue, about the size of a mustard seed, formed from the essence of knowledges, it occurs on the lungs.²⁶

All five of these are generally formed in spherical shapes and transparent. *Ring-bsrel* are similar to these, only smaller, the size of sesame seeds or dust, and they may be destroyed by the elements, whereas *gdung* are indestructible. *Ring-bsrel* may come from the head, from the backbone or other joints, or from the skin and flesh.

3) *Lights* are of three types:

- A) Those that encircle the area around the corpse or the house in which it lies.
- B) Lights going up vertically.
- C) Lights shining from the ribs of the corpse.
- 4) Mysterious *sounds* coming from the different directions surrounding the corpse.
- 5) *Earth tremors* signifying different degrees of spiritual attainment depending on the number of days which elapsed since the death.
- 6) *Atmospheric phenomenon*. Rain, storms, hail, wind, mist, fog, rings around the moon, etc.

This third and final chapter ends as the audience expresses its appreciation for the answers given by Vajradhâra as, so to speak, the curtain falls. The work was translated and verified by the Indian Master Vimalamitra and the Tibetan translator Ka-ba Dpal-brtsegs.

The first category of signs, the images left behind after cremation, is known from a testimonial by a modern Mongolian Buddhist leader, speaking about things he observed in about 1923. *Sharil* is a Mongolian loan from Sanskrit (*śarīra*) with the broad and narrow meanings of the Tibetan *ring-bsrel*.

... when I was nine or ten years old and still residing at Serku Monastery in the Amdo region, I had a friend Monon Serku *gegen*, two years older than I. When he died and was cremated, I observed that his *sharil* (Skt. *śarīra*; a jewel-like deposit remaining after the cremation) was in the shape of an image of Yamdagha (Skt. Yamântaka), "Conqueror of Yama," the supreme deity of hell and the protector of the Buddha's Law. This phenomenon greatly astonished me, and I bowed in veneration to it. On another similar occasion, after the cremation of a venerable lama, I beheld that on the skull of his remains were imprinted three images of the Buddha. Manjushri (Skt. Mañjuśrī; Ch. Wen-shu *p'u-sa*) was situated in the middle, with Ariyabul

(the thousand handed Kuan-yin *p'u-sa* or Avalokiteśvara) on one side, and Ochirbani (Skt. Vajrapāṇi; Ch. P'u-hsien *p'u-sa*) on the other. This would have been difficult for me to believe had I not seen it with my own eyes. To this day I still marvel at this miraculous occurrence.²⁷

We have noticed some similar phenomena in the chorten Guides by Kong-sprul and Lha-btsun, both of which, we should point out, mention skulls with the Tibetan letter 'A' naturally formed on them.²⁸ We may see that these 'images' have been formed either directly out of the bone or from the substance now to be described.

The second category of signs, the *gdung* and *ring-bsrel* (= ringsel) are described by a contemporary western Buddhist and former nun based, in part, on her own observations.

Ringsel are small spherical relics, usually white, though sometimes manifesting the five colors, which emerge from the ashes of great teachers after their death or from sacred places such as Buddha statues or stūpas. It is said that they are brought forth by the devotion of the disciples, and that even when a very advanced practitioner dies, if there are no devoted disciples, there will be no ringsel. There are also cases of ringsel appearing after the ashes or bits of bones have been collected and kept for some time. Someone might have some remnants and keep them very devotedly and carefully, and after some time, look at them and they may have turned into ringsel. Ringsel also have the ability to reproduce. One of them gets bigger and bumps appear on the side and then the bumps become small ringsel. In 1970 the stūpa of Swayambhu in Kathmandu produced ringsel on the eastern side of the stūpa. There were thousands all over the ground and all the monastery, including the highest lama, who almost never left his room, were outside picking them up.²⁹

I fully realize that there will be some readers who will take the position that this source is too 'New Age' and therefore not admissible as evidence in the higher courts of academia. Against this somewhat condescending attitude, we present the following unimpeachably Tibetan testimony drawn from the memoirs of *Rdo-ring Paṇḍi-ta*. The circumstances surrounding this testimony hold their own fascination, but this story has already been summarized in English.³⁰ We will say only by way of introduction that *Rdo-ring Paṇḍi-ta* and the other Tibetan officials mentioned here were under official arrest by the Nepalese government at the time the following event took place (in about June 1792). This is all part of the very complex chain of events that developed in the course of Tibetan-Nepalese hostilities.

Then, on the full moon holiday of Saga Dawa, 'three holidays in one',³¹ I together with the Minister (Bka'-blon) G.yu-thog, Snya'-nang Sho-pa, Rgyal-rtse Sne-stod-pa, Bkras-lhun Thang-smad Nor-dbang, and the Sa-skya Secretary, all the nobles and servants together, were doing prostrations, circumambulations, and aspiration prayers at the great chorten Bya-rung-kha-shor (Bodhanath).³² First I alone found a piece of 'increasing bone' ('*phel-gdung*) about the size of a 'fish eye'³³ on the circumambulation path on the east side of the great chorten. After that I and all the others started looking for them. There were then to be gathered various sizes of increasing bone, *sha-ri-ram*, 'fish eyes' and so forth on top of the stepped levels (*bang-rim*) beneath the 'vessel' (*bum-pa*), and on the circumambulation path. A few times some of them fell down from the thirteen disks ('Dharma wheels') of the spire and from the vessel part at the center of the chorten proper with a plunking sound, and people saw this with their own eyes. We told the village people and monks from the Red Hat Lama's monastery that they should get some quickly, but not so many were found. In all there were about thirty of these 'increasing bone' which we obtained as supports of our faith, and they remain in our possession even now.

On the next and following days, we as well as others searched for them daily, but despite our efforts not a single one was found. This was quite clearly a miracle for confirming our faith and for producing great blessings.³⁴

There are countless similar testimonies to be found in Tibetan literature on *ring-bsrel* emerging from a variety of objects. Here are a few instances from the biography of the famous Sakya scholar Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1450?) which was written in 1474. When some time had passed after Rong-ston's death, the big toenail of his right foot was found to have entirely transformed into a substance like mother of pearl. Another person had procured a tooth of the saint which later turned into a substance with the appearance of amber, and it gave birth to hundreds of *ring-bsrel* which finally filled up its container. Still another person received a tooth which immediately produced a *ring-bsrel*. Later, a single *ring-bsrel* appeared on the same spot, and after it fell another appeared there.³⁵

The following example is quite intriguing for the fact that it comes from an interesting episode in Buddhist history that is always ignored in the general surveys. In the late thirteenth century, in Tabriz (in the extreme northwest of Persia, and just to the west of the south end of the Caspian Sea), the Mongol ruler Arghun was a great supporter of both Buddhism and Buddhist monks. The following took place in April of 1288 A.D.

Buka's envoys brought back with them to Persia one of the relics so much esteemed among the Buddhists, called Sharil. These are hard pieces of a

substance which is said to be found in the ashes of some saintly persons when cremated. Von Hammer says that Buddha's heart was supposed to be made of bone and not of flesh, similarly with the hearts of great men, and that the sharil is really held to be the ossified heart of the cremated person. Arghun, we are told, treated this relic with the greatest honour, gold was strewn over it, while a feast was duly celebrated.³⁶

The naturally formed images and 'pearls' or 'increasing bone' ('*phel-gdung*) have some things in common. They both may come from cremated bodies.³⁷ But the 'pearl' phenomenon is not limited to a cremation context. 'Pearls' are also produced by living persons, from their skin and particularly their hair. Sometimes they are said to form from blood. They may, as in Kong-sprul's Guide, be found on a tooth. They can come out of chortens or images. Another thing the images and 'pearls' share is that both belong to two otherwise distinct conceptual categories in religious life. They both tend to belong equally to the category of relics and the category of 'signs of saintly death'. We would argue that it is precisely this intersection of categories that lends the 'pearls' their unique place in the Tibetan cult of relics. Add to this their smallness and relative availability to individual believers; their insertion into images and chortens where, like other relics, they would normally be wrapped and labelled to preserve knowledge of the saint who produced them;³⁸ and their use as a kind of death-bed sacrament.³⁹ All this amounts to a fairly large cultural weight for what is, in actuality, a very small globe-shaped mass of tiny crystals which I have personally handled and observed, to all appearances in the process of growing out of both hairs and bones. They are said to be continually produced long after the cremation in the case of bones and after cutting in the case of hair. There are several possible naturalistic explanations which we will not explore here, concerned as we are with the classical Tibetan view in which they might be either miraculous or fraudulent.

Disputing Relics

Fraudulent? Tibet, too, has had its skeptics. We have an early and detailed criticism of 'popular religion'⁴⁰ penned by the founding father of Tibetan scholastic method, Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta Kundga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251).⁴¹ He was the proponent, perhaps

the most prominent Tibetan proponent, of a Buddhism squarely based on both textual authority (scriptures) and reason. His work called *The Classifications of the Three [Types of Buddhist] Vows* takes an especially hard line against those who advocate instant or 'singly caused' Enlightenment (what he calls *dkar-po gcig-thub*), including those who make such extraordinary claims as, 'circumambulating a chorten once is sufficient.'⁴² His criticism of popular religion (cults of holy places included) is found in a context which underscores his strong, even passionate, concern for philological propriety in religion. Just preceding the passage which is translated below is found a discussion on various scriptures then extant in Tibet which he considered apocryphal or otherwise unreliable; while immediately following are discussions of various Indian Buddhist terms which were, according to him, either wrongly rendered by Tibetan translators or wrongly etymologized by Tibetan scholars. Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta may be a 'skeptic' in this passage, but he is not questioning the possibility or actual occurrence of these amazing phenomenon so much as he is questioning their etiology and significance according to *popular* ('foolish' or 'childish', to use his own words) interpretations.

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The reasons why *ring-bsrel*, hearts and tongues⁴³ images⁴⁴ and so forth emerge from the remains of cremated saints needs to be investigated a little. The *ring-bsrel* of the three types of saints emerge through the force of their saintly qualities. As receptacles for the merit of embodied beings,⁴⁵ these emerge [genuinely] like jewels from a [definite] origin.⁴⁶ Some *ring-bsrel* are made by malicious *gdon* spirits. Others emerge [naturally] from the four elements. There are, as well, some which are brought into being as faith producing manifestations by deities who delight in the Buddha's teachings. But nowadays the majority of *ring-bsrel* are deceitfully manufactured.⁴⁷ Hence, the distinctions between these types must be examined by the wise [the scholars].

The emerging of hearts, tongues, images and so forth is not preached in Buddhist scripture.⁴⁸ Still, generally speaking, all these things are deceitfully manufactured. Even if they were genuine, there is no scriptural authority or rational method for distinguishing genuine from manufactured, hence the difficulty of establishing whether or not they are positive signs.

The dawning of several suns, the approximation of windows in space, rainbows at night, lights radiating from a corpse, sudden visions of deities and spirits, the nondeceitful dripping of *ring-bsrel* from a living person's body...⁴⁹ Such things the foolish may take for positive signs, but if wise persons saw such things, they would know them to be signs of impediments.⁵⁰ While the foolish may be amazed at images crying, walking, dancing, or uttering words; at showers of blood, sound of donkeys braying beneath the ground, animals speaking human tongues, and so on,⁵¹ if wise persons perceive such

things, they know that enemies are invading the country, or that other calamities are headed their way. When people perceive things of this nature, they would do well to consult the wise.

These are just a few examples of common misinterpretations.⁵²

Although it may seem a bit of an irony, the death and cremation of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta himself was accompanied, according to his biographers, by various miraculous signs, including those same 'images' which he had averred were not taught in Buddhist scripture. In the version of his life according to the *Sa-skya'i Gdung-rabs* by Kun-dga'-bsod-nams, completed in 1509 A.D., the signs at his death included banners of victory, instrumental and vocal music, and earth tremors. When his body was cremated, the smoke made rainbows and there were sounds of instrumental music which everyone present heard. His remains for the most part turned into all sorts of naturally produced divine images and *ring-bsrel*.⁵³ Kun-dga'-bsod-nams now cites a previous biography by one Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan:

On the middle of his 'crown protuberance' there occurred distinct and perfect images of Hevajra and Mañjuṣa. In the area of the forehead bone was the [deity] assemblage of Cakrasamvara. On a piece of his collarbone was the Buddha Bhagavan. On his shoulder bone was a Khasarpāṇi. In the hollow of his foot was an Avalokiteśvara. On sections of his backbone were the four 'secret mothers' (*gsang-ba'i yum*, i.e., consorts). On his knee bones were Tārā and Acala. On the fingers of his right hand were images of Maitreya with the gesture of turning the Wheel of Dharma [seated] above a *nāga* tree. These ten [just listed] occurred as Body receptacles. The melodious speech of Brahma—lion's roar of Voidness—the letter 'A', symbol of nonorigination, appeared in relief [this being the Speech receptacle]. Above his two ears were two Namgyal chortens. [There was] a Samaya [instrument] Vajra marked in the center with [the syllable] Hūṃ. His pure thoughts and intentions emerged as self-produced Dharmakāya [the Mind receptacle]. Besides these, an incalculable number of various sorts of *ring-bsrel* occurred.⁵⁴

As this quote makes clear, Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta's failure to find scriptural authority for 'images' did not put a stop to them, and this fact was not missed by later critics.

One of the few persons in Tibetan history who argued against the views expressed by Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, but especially against his later commentators, was Mkhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje (1569-1645), a scholar of the Drukpa Kargyudpa school. In one of his polemical works, most of them aimed at Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-

rgya-mtsho (1523-1596) and his students, he comments on Sa Paṇ's passage on relics. The general work⁵⁵ is mainly given to the subject of holy places, especially those two places in Tibet which were most sacred to the Kargyudpa—Mount Kailash in western Tibet and Tsari in the Assam borderlands in the east.⁵⁶ Both were believed to be identical to holy places mentioned in the *Cakrasamvara* and other tantras, a belief to which Sa Paṇ, needless to say, did not subscribe.⁵⁷ Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje discusses a few lines at a time, and since it would not suit our purposes to reproduce the statements of Sa Paṇ once more, the following is meant to convey the substance of his critical response. Direct translations are enclosed in double quote marks, the remainder being paraphrased.⁵⁸

When Sa Paṇ says that the *ring-bsrel* of saints emerge through force of their saintly qualities, Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje responds, "True." To the statements on their being produced by malicious spirits, the four elements or deities, the answer is, "Half-true." When Sa Paṇ says that most *ring-bsrel* nowadays are deceitfully manufactured and that they must be distinguished by scholars, Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje cries "Foul!"

"Of course, if the scholars honestly look into the problem, they will know," Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje says, "but even we confused 'fools' can figure it out if we look into it." But what Sa Paṇ is really doing here is casting aspersions on the many stories of variously colored *ring-bsrel* which occurred as signs of the spiritual accomplishments of the past Kargyudpa masters. What he is really saying here when he says, "Nowadays the majority of *ring-bsrel* are deceitfully manufactured," is this: 'If these supports of worship occur in my case, they are not to be included.' We could just as well argue that these *ring-bsrel* [of Sa Paṇ], even if not deceitfully manufactured, might belong to the other classes of those made by malicious spirits, the four elements, or deities.

"There have indeed been those few who take *gangs-thig* ('snowdrop' stone), pearls, etc. wrap them in cloth and place them in a reliquary box announcing that these are *ring-bsrel*. These people shouldn't just be scolded, when even fists would be appropriate."

On the statements about hearts, tongues and 'images' not being taught in Buddhist scriptures, he responds by citing the passage which we have just translated on the images that occurred on the bones of Sa Paṇ himself. An empiricist, he pits the weight of repeated observation against Sa Paṇ's scripture-based rationalism:

"All sorts of divine images, letters, deity insignia (*phyag-mtshan*) and 'increasing bone' composed of small bones, resinous exudations, ashes and stones from the funerary pyres have adhered to the remains of many of the masters of India and Tibet. Both talk about these as well as the articles themselves have formed objective spheres of the sense organs." He makes an

example of the relics of Rgya-ras-pa. "The great intellectuals have trouble knowing what to make of such reports. [Sa Paṇ] added these misleading verses which make the contrary [opinion] more obvious and without at all thinking, involves himself in a mass of contradictions. Is he saying about these divine images, which were not preached in Buddhist scriptures, but which have nevertheless been engendered from the remains of our lamas, that they are all deceitfully manufactured? Even if we took such a possibility for a fact, since there is no scriptural authority or rational method to decide one way or the other, we could not pretend to establish their goodness or say that they are bad. Knowing this, we must count these ways that Body, Speech and Mind receptacles occur as being among the great miracles. Therefore, to assert that they are all false is like a deer chasing a mirage. It [the argument] will lead to nothing but exhaustion.

"The *Blazing Remains Tantra*, which is counted among the Old Translations, explains how hearts, tongues and images as well as entire heads emerge whole [from the cremation fire]. If true, how could he write that they are not taught in Buddhist scripture? And if he did not accept this tantra as a valid scripture, he should have in the first place critically examined it. Therefore people's arguments about the goodness or badness [of these signs] are in broad terms only [arguments about] existence or nonexistence, and they thereby commit one of the 'four extremes' [to be avoided in Buddhist philosophy]."⁵⁹

Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje goes on to discuss the other miracles mentioned by Sa Paṇ. Going back to the scriptural sources on the crying, walking, dancing and talking images, Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje finds that those sources are talking specifically about images of 'wordly deities' (deities who assist or hinder worldly goals rather than aiding toward the ultimate goal of Enlightenment). Consecrated images of transworldly deities [to the contrary] perform such actions as part of the Emanation Body deeds of Buddhas, in order to aid and encourage people in their quest for Enlightenment. About the other miraculous occurrences, Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje says that they are, after all is said and done, *miracles*, and as such they are naturally difficult things to explain even if one *does* ask the scholars about them.

While the former arguments were part of a larger debate between the Sakyapa and Kargyudpa sects, the following is from a debate between the Sakyapa (?) 'Bri-gung Dpal-'dzin, and a Nyingma apologist, Sog-bzlog-pa. The argument on the nature of 'signs of saintly death' takes a slightly different twist. Dpal-'dzin (as cited by Sog-bzlog-pa) wrote in his circular entitled 'How to Distinguish What Is and Is Not Dharma' [*Chos dang Chos-ma-yin-pa Rnam-par Dbye-ba'i Rab-tu Byed-pa*]:

Some say that the adherents of Great Perfection are Buddhist (Chos) because of good signs at their funerals. These good funeral signs to which they refer have their textual authority in what sūtra or tantra? When the Completely Perfect Buddha[s], the Arhats and other saints died it is said that there were *bad* omens such as earthquakes, a nearby fire (? *phyogs tshig*), shooting stars and winds. When great personages such as these pass away, it means the merit of creatures is used up. Therefore it is right that such [bad omens] as these should occur. When one has been reborn in the divine realms [i.e., *not* a saint!] flowers fall. Images, letters, hearts, tongues and eyes do not occur [in the case of] saints. Images, letters, hearts and tongues do occur [in the case of] Bonpos who despise Chos.⁶⁰

The reply of Sog-bzlog-pa:

"The relics (*ring-bsrel*) of the three [types of] saints emerge through the strength of their [saintly] qualities." This backing by the scriptural authority of the sūtras is sufficient [in the case of *ring-bsrel*]. The occurrence of images and letters is [however] one of the things that sets tantras apart from sūtras.

The Reverend Lord [Atiśa] said, "Deity images occur to those who have [mastered] the Generation Stage. For those of pure conduct there are rainings of flowers. For Bodhicitta, *ring-bsrel* drip out. To show the actual meaning of the external and internal sensory potentialities (*skye-mched/āyatana*), the letter 'A' [occurs]. For Nonreturners (Phyir-mi-ldog-pa/Anāgāmin), a spiraling conch [occurs]. In the case of [Bodhi]sattvas who have not abandoned *samsāra*, hearts and tongues occur." This and more may be found explained in the [*Bka'-gdams*] *Glegs-bam*⁶¹ itself.

It may well be that when great personages pass away, bad signs occur because the merit of creatures is used up. But also receptacles of Body, Speech and Mind occur for the multiplying of their own liberated saintly qualities as well as of the merit of those whom they are meant to help. The Reverend Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta had a Hevajra [image] in the middle of his *uṣṇīṣa*, a Khasarpāṇi on his shoulder along with a great many other deity images. The Lord of Beings, Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras-pa had twenty-one images of Avalokiteśvara on twenty-one sections of his backbone. The learned Gung-ru⁶² had the long *Aṣṭa* mantra in raised relief on his skull. There have been an unimaginable number of spiritual teachers who had: the letter 'A' showing the actual meaning of the external and internal sensory potentialities; the *Om Aḥ* and *Hūm* which are supports of Body, Speech and Mind; the six syllables (*Om Maṇi-padme Hūm*) and so forth. One may know by looking at their individual biographies how many of the great personages of the past [had such signs] including the peerless doctor from Dwags-po (Sgam-po-pa) who had heart and tongue [unburnt]. Well now, how can you [Dpal-'dzin] not think that these are good [signs]?⁶³

One main point that emerges from these polemical statements is that Tibetan thinkers have not been unanimous in their views about the significance of relics and signs of saintly death. Neither were they unanimous about the 'authority' of scriptures and other writings (such as saintly biographies). Charges of fraudulence were

mainly exchanged along sectarian lines as footnotes to larger disagreements. The scripture-based rationalist can accept only miracles with their source in scripture, while the empiricist can say little in reply except that these things happen, with or without direct scriptural justification. We might argue together with the empiricist position that nuclear explosions have happened, even if there is no direct scriptural passage which could 'prove' them. On another hand, the arguments might lead us to reflect on some sober issues of religious studies—How much is the actual practice of a religion prescribed by its scriptures? What aspects of religious culture might be missed by comparative religionists who insist on limiting themselves to the study of scriptures? What do we gain by giving this one word 'scripture' to religious books which might mean different things to different people, even within a single religion or tradition? Students of religious culture might naturally feel more affinity with the Tibetan empiricists on this issue while, no doubt, the learned philologists, with their concern for textual propriety similar to that of Sa Paṇ, will find this discussion slightly unsettling. Now we will look at another work that some Tibetan Buddhists would treat as 'scripture' while others would not.

Making Relics

There is a text from the collected rediscoveries of the Terton Padma-gling-pa⁶⁴ which, we are given to believe, came from the hand of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje, the founder of the Nyingma Ati-yoga lineages, giving directions on how to produce *ring-bsrel*. It is, in several ways, an exasperating text which I will summarize as well as I am able. First, it tells the importance of realizing the first two of the 'four appearances' (*snang bzhi*)⁶⁵ according to the Crossover (*Thod-rgal*) teachings of the Precepts Class of Ati-yoga in order to bring about the transformations in the body which will produce *ring-bsrel* for the sake of the faithful. Then a *sādhana* description begins. It requires the use of a skull in which five mantras and five drawings are to be inscribed with an ink composed of herbal essences and liquid gold. Inside the skull (or skulls) is to be placed [a?] *ring-bsrel* of a Sugata (Buddha or saint) or at least one that is definitely from a Siddha (yoga practitioner with magical powers).

The Five Good Medicinal Herbs⁶⁶ are wrapped in pieces of cloth and arranged upon the five inscribed mantras. Basic rituals are prescribed, and a mantra given which is to be recited through a seven day retreat.

When good results are achieved, attach the *ring-bsrel* to your arm-pit without anyone seeing you. Then, either for yourself or someone else, when it is time to die and the signs of death are complete, take those same *ring-bsrel* and, thinking they are the essence of all Tathāgatas, put them in the throat. When the body is cremated, there will be a stack of *ring-bsrel*. If you want images, take a naturally occurring image and do as above; place them in the throat, and so they will emerge at cremation. Keep these deeds secret. If someone sees or hears these things, bad people will make exaggerated talk and those with wrong views will increase their accumulation of sin. This being secret mantra, do it in secret. This was written by Dga'-rab-rdo-rje for the sake of increasing the Bud-dha's teaching, hidden by Padmasambhava, and brought out of the chorten at Samye by Padma-gling-pa.

This work seems to convey an attitude in which certain deceits are approved of for the promotion of faith. Indeed, Padma-gling-pa was one of the most controversial of Tertons, and he often had to defend himself against charges of fraudulence.⁶⁷ Which is not to belittle him. His autobiography is, for instance, one of the most extraordinary and colorful pieces of Tibetan (and Bhutanese) literature. If read carefully, this text on making *ring-bsrel* does not make all *ring-bsrel* out to be purposefully manufactured in order to induce faith in the faithful; in fact, the process of making them requires the use of a genuine *ring-bsrel* (or image), the multiplication of which does not seem to be explained by the ingredients used. We have what looks like a clear case of using a miracle to produce a miracle.

An earlier Tibetan text, written in about 1170 to 1190 by Zhang G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-'grus-grags-pa (1123-1193) also tells a way of 'making' *ring-bsrel* (here called *sha-ri-ram*), but in a very devotional context. The text we are about to cite is one of a set of seven texts with the collective title 'Seven Expedients [for Developing Devotion toward] the Lama' (Bla-ma'i Lam-khyer Bdun). Before citing in his support an otherwise unknown tantra,⁶⁸ he says,

Yogis, when their Lama has passed away, [should] take his powdered bones (*gdung-rus-kyi phye-ma*), place a syllable Hūm made of gold in the middle, and attach this to the neck or at the top of the head. Worshipping and making prayers at intervals, when they have purity of intent toward the result that they desire, in seven years the bones (*gdung*) will increase (*'phel-ba*) into an incalculable [number of] *sha-ri-ram*.

A late nineteenth century medical missionary in Mongolia, the Reverend James Gilmour, including *ring-bsrel* in his list of frauds consciously perpetrated by lamas. Of course, as a missionary, he had reasons of his own for making such charges:

When famous lamas die and their bodies are burnt, little white pills are reported as found among the ashes, and sold for large sums to the devout, as being the concentrated virtue of the man, and possessing the power of insuring a happy future for him who swallows one near death. This is quite common. I heard of one man who improved on this, by giving out that these pills were in the habit of coming out through the skin of various parts of the body. These pills called *sharil*, met with a ready sale, and then the man himself reaped the reward of his virtue, and did not allow all the profit of it to go to his heir.⁶⁹

Although we may seem to be stacking the evidence in favour of fraudulence, I personally do not believe that the cynical view is necessarily the correct one. I think of these things rather as anomalies, not yet investigated in any systematic way by natural sciences, but meanwhile their occurrence is perfectly acceptable to my generally rational if somewhat pragmatic way of thinking. Still, I acknowledge that these anomalies ('miracles', if you will) could, due to their popular appeal, encourage imitations or 'reproductions' after the fact.

There is at least one other analogous phenomenon in Tibetan religious culture which is not a relic *per se*, but rather a consecrated article. We refer to what is known as the Mani Pellet (Ma-ni Ril-bu). This Mani Pellet is produced during a religious service, usually lasting several days, the relatively wellknown "Mani Rimdu" (Ma-ni Ril-bsgrub) of Nepal's Sherpas being one such ritual. Its ingredients, primarily wheat flour, must include, according to one source,⁷⁰ both *ring-bsrel* and a Mani Pellet made previously. The 'mother' pellet is capable of giving birth to a number of smaller 'baby' pellets, a phenomenon I have not observed.⁷¹ Unlike *ring-bsrel*, Mani Pellets are non-crystalline, smooth, light or reddish brown and somewhat asymmetrically

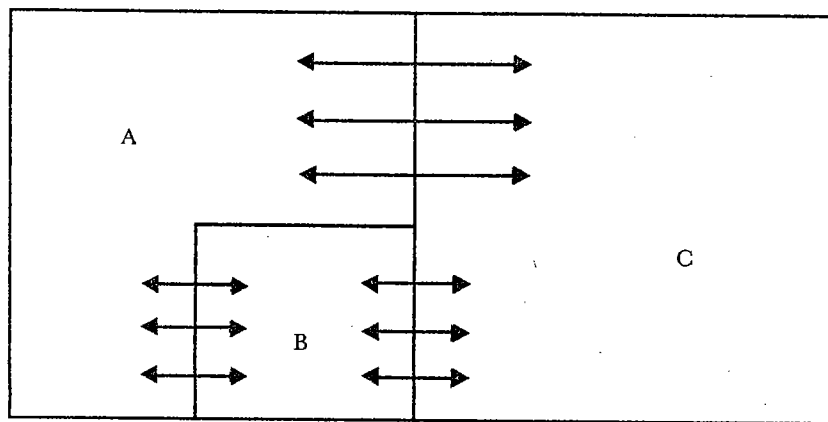
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spherical. Evidently the 'baby' pellets emerge from their 'mother' pellets in the same way in which the *ring-bsrel* emerge and ultimately detach themselves from the bone or hair. These pellets are decidedly not reproduced under conditions of extreme heat.

A Conclusion, or, It May Be Best Not to 'Conclude' Too Much

In summary, a considerable range of cultural phenomena and popular beliefs have crystallized around the cults of relics in Tibet. If we students of Tibetan culture have so far failed to realize any general portraits of this complex of beliefs, objects, and practices, it is, to my mind, not only because we have failed to predict it, but also because we find certain of its manifestations extreme, distasteful, or, so to speak, culturally surprising.⁷² Perhaps it is because of our own cultural experience with similar phenomena.

Protestant Christianity in particular has led us toward a view of scripture as the source of all presently available religious inspiration. Except for a few relatively logocentric Tibetan scholars, here represented by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Tibetan religious life as a whole has recognized scripture as a contingent and integral part of a broad array of sacred items, including temples and chortens, humanly-made as well as 'natural' (self-produced) images, and things we would recognize as relics. 'Relics' in the Tibetan case is a broader category than our own, often including scriptural texts, images, *tsha-tsha*. Consider the following simple chart for a moment.



The square of A which is inclusive of square B represents the holy things in Tibetan Buddhism. A exclusive of B represents the holy things that are not relics, while B represents relics, and C represent signs of sainthood or what is practically its synonym here, 'miraculous events'. But the category walls that we have charted out in black and white prove to be semipermeable membranes. Mediating between A and B are: 1. Scriptural volumes that are also relics of contact by virtue of belonging to a saint. 2. Scriptural volumes that are bodily relics because bodily relics of saints have been used for the ink, etc. 3. Chortens (and temples) that contain relics of all types. 4. Images and *tsha-tsha* that contain relics of various types. 5. Images that are relics of contact, or images that have been thoroughly identified with saints (such as the excavated 'representatives', *sku-tshab*, or more generally images 'made from life'). 6. Sacramental pellets which may contain some hints of various relics.

Bridging the divide between relics (B) and miraculous events (C) are: 1. *ring-bsrel* or 'increasing bone' ('*phel-gdung*'). 2. Images formed on or of bodily relics. 3. Hearts, tongues, and eyes that emerge intact from the cremation fires.

Although less emphasized here, there are bridges between non-relic holy things and miraculous events, such as talking images or images produced 'naturally', signs of sainthood such as imprints of hands and feet in solid rock, and so forth.

Finally, once the visual impact of the chart has done its work, the boundaries may be permitted to dissolve, leaving a single sphere of substantives and verbs standing for the holy substances and occurrences of Tibetan Buddhism. The logical subject of all possible sentences that might be generated from these particular nouns and verbs is, of course, the holy person, the Buddhas and the whole range of other Buddhist saints.

Although there can be no culturally unbound way of arguing for or against a culture-bound attitude (and this holds true for 'scientific' attitudes in all their varied, temporary expressions), I would argue that our typical attitudes toward the cults of relics of past and present in our own and other cultures is not due to our lack of cultural relics. We are all collectors of relics of some sort or another. Rather, we have these attitudes because we no longer have any strongly shared popular cults of *saints*.⁷³

If saint recognition lies behind these relic-related cultural complexes, then there is, in addition, a third factor behind recognized sainthood. We refer to that inexplicable phenomenon which forms the basis for the shared popular recognition of saints, to those mysteriously diffusing spiritual influences which are the social contributions of these strange, often reclusive and sometimes at least superficially antisocial creatures. These blessings, these 'gifts',⁷⁴ are the bedrock of all the cultural classifications and practices outlined in this paper. Our failure to recognize their power hampers even our less *matter*-ialistic attempts at social analysis precisely because we do not see what it is that *matters* most in the subject we want to investigate. It requires a basic acknowledgement of this power to render the extreme manifestations, which may be as shocking to the everyday normalities of their home culture as they would be to others, intelligible. It is the living blessing of the saint that touches us when we come in contact with the relic, presuming some measure of openness, of faith. As an anonymous Tibetan author of the thirteenth century said, employing characteristically Tibetan metaphors,

If the white glacier of veneration has not formed,
from where will the flowing streams of blessings come?⁷⁵

Popular religion, plainly put, has the capacity to widen the margins of our intellectual as well as social outlooks; it strains our credulity as well as our perception of our responsibilities which seem so strongly outlined in our individual 'social contracts'. It is hinged with imagination, beliefs, practices and sometimes even 'material' objects not so well covered by the usual understandings of the situations we find ourselves in. This gives it an important transformational role in the social *and* intellectual spheres, not only in the private religious lives of individual believers.

Although the point is arguable, I would at least advance for the sake of argument that we students of comparative religion have too often looked for the source of the 'holy' in abstract concepts and revealed words because of our own personal fondness for abstract concepts and books. We sit embroiled in scholastic wranglings about the nature of the Alâyavijñâna, the Dharmakâya or the Holy Spirit, while Tenzin the yak herder circumambulates the neighborhood chorten telling his beads. Of course, Sonam the

government official and some monks from a nearby monastery are right there behind him. Who understands the 'holy' better? We scarcely consider that we may be looking too hard and too far for something Tenzin and Sonam know is right here with us. This seems to be what we are really talking about when we invoke the words 'popular religion', or is it perhaps something different from 'real' religion? What do historians know about sacred *presence*? In actuality, we share similar ideas about the identity of these particular pearls no matter how far away from them talk and controversy and historical sifting seem to have taken us, but we disagree about the nature of the bones from which they come. At the very least, all this talk about 'popular religion' could help lead us toward more self-critical and serious considerations on the identity of the swine before whom they should not be thrown. They, too, may be us, since miracles do tend to dissolve at the touch of those whose worldview finds no place for them.

Appendix: Data on Tibetan Relics

Guide to the Sikkimese Chorten Named Sku-'bum Mthong-ba Rang-grol

This Guide, written by Lha-btsun Nam-mkha'-'jigs-med (1597-1653 A.D.),⁷⁶ opens with a eulogy on the area surrounding the chorten, noting such features as a naturally formed clay chorten with drops of elixirial *nâga*-water on it, the mere touching or tasting of which will clear up an aeon's accumulation of defilements.⁷⁷ Surrounding this are four 'thrones' blessed by the Guru (Padmasambhava) with hand and foot prints and likenesses of the eight auspicious symbols in relief. The surroundings are like the eight great cemeteries,⁷⁸ filled with yogis, spirits, cannibals and animals including leopards, bears and poisonous snakes. Scents of sandalwood and camphor are in the air. The local human and animal inhabitants have few desires, a sense of satisfaction. They have no possessiveness toward their houses and wealth. They have no miserliness, no stinginess.

Several wealthy people built this chorten as prophesied by Padmasambhava in this place which is, in its non-vital aspects,⁷⁹ a divine palace, its 'vital' inhabitants constituting a mandala of divinities. Its building was accompanied by dream signs as well as

external signs: letters of the alphabet falling from the sky in a dream consecration, a rainfall during the actual consecration ceremony, etc.

Now the chorten itself is described. The contents are listed below under the categories employed by the text itself:

1) Tantric *dhāraṇī*:⁸⁰ In the uppermost tip, the Btags-grol Mthong-grol of Ati-yoga Tantra⁸¹ and the five great *dhāraṇī* including that of Uṣṇīṣa[*vijāya*].⁸² In the base of the *harmikā* ('bre), *dhāraṇī* of the deities of Mahā-, Anu-, and Ati-yogas...⁸³

2) The insertion of scriptures and relics (*ring-bsrel*): 'Increasing bone' ('*phel-gdung*) of Śākyamuni Buddha. In the base of the spire, a tooth of Śāriputra⁸⁴ and bones of Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa.⁸⁵ In the bulge of the 'vessel' (*bum-pal/kumbha*):⁸⁶ 'increasing bone' from the White Chorten at Samye (Bsam-yas)⁸⁷ as well as from Rgyal-rtse⁸⁸ and Rtse-la-sgang.⁸⁹ Chu-ri-raṃ⁹⁰ 'increasing bone' of the Buddha... Miraculous relics of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje.⁹¹ The forearm of Rgyal-ba-mchog-dbyangs⁹² and bones of nine other Nyingma historical figures of the eighth century (listed).

3) Consecrated substances (*dam-rdzas*) and blessing bestowing objects of worship (*rtan byin-brlabs-can*, = *byin-rtan*):

A jewel blessed by Buddha Kāśyapa,⁹³ brought by Nāgārjuna from the *nāga* land, concealed by Padmasambhava at Turquoise Lake in Tsari,⁹⁴ and rediscovered by Ye-shes-rdo-rje.⁹⁵ Images of the Buddhas of the five types (*rigs*, 'families'). A reddish bronze Buddha image. A fine, large image of Maitreya made of golden bronze... A testicle (*a-ril*) rediscovered by 'Ja'-tshon-snying-po⁹⁶ at Kong-phrang-brag. The red and white Bodhicitta (in this context, 'reproductive substances') of Padmasambhava and his consort rediscovered at Lha-ri Snang-mtha'. Hair of Padmasambhava. Hair of Tibetan emperors. A testicle rediscovered at Bsam-yas Mchims-phu. A testicle rediscovered from behind the Jowo (Jo-bo) image at Lhasa.⁹⁷ Clothing, hair, testicle[s], etc., of Padmasambhava rediscovered by Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa⁹⁸ along with an assortment of consecrated articles and manuscript pages rediscovered by the various Rediscoverers (Terton, *gter-ston*, discussed above). Relics and consecrated articles from Kargyudpa saints. Elixir Pellets (*bdud-rtsi ril-bu*).⁹⁹ A tooth of 'Brug-smyon Kun-legs.¹⁰⁰ More hair relics. A skull of Khyung-po Ras-chen with a naturally formed letter 'A' on it along with his forearm with a natural image of Amitāyus. Special earths and stones from India, Tibet and China. Brahmin flesh rediscovered by O-rgyan-gling-pa (b. 1323) and the same rediscovered by Rdor-'bum-chos-grags and Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma.¹⁰¹ Flesh of Ratna-gling-pa.¹⁰² Loincloths (*ang-rag*) of Gtsang-smyon and of Dbus-smyon.¹⁰³ The sitting cushion and loincloth of Tilopa.¹⁰⁴ The bones and shroud of Nyang Ta-tha-ga-ta.¹⁰⁵ Milarepa's loincloth... Long Life Pellets of the Karma school which include the 'increasing bone' of Yang-ston-pa. A garuḍa bird¹⁰⁶ claw discovered at Mdzo-nag. Earth and stone from various parts of Tibet... Precious stones. Medicinal herbs. Food. Grains. Cloth.

There follow several long quotes prophesying the opening of the Hidden Country (Sbas Yul) of Sikkim, the author of this piece

being the person credited with its 'opening'.¹⁰⁷ Then there are more 'advertisements', saying that three years of meditation can be accomplished in three days at this chorten; finally, more prophecies and praises of Sikkim.

*Chorten Guide by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1697-1774)*¹⁰⁸

Zhu-chen was a monk of the Sakyapa (Sa-skyapa) school, famous as a poet, but mainly remembered for his role as main editor (*zhu-chen*) of the collection of Indic treatises in Tibetan translation—the Tanjur—as it was printed in Derge (Sde-dge). Among his works is a two volume catalogue of the Derge Tanjur. Zhu-chen's description, beginning as is usual with scriptural citations demonstrating the merits to be gained by building a chorten, tells us how this particular chorten was constructed in Derge through the efforts of the Lama Lhun-grub-ting-'dzin in memory of the abbot 'Jam-dbyangs-bsod-nams.¹⁰⁹ Zhu-chen's list begins with the insertion of *dhāraṇī* (which he calls by one of their common names, 'Dharmabody relics') into various parts of the interior. Then the listing of other relics (the *gdung ring-bsrel*)¹¹⁰ begins:

Two genuine 'increasing bone' of the Tathāgata the size of mustard seeds. Hair of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta.¹¹¹ Clothing of Chos-rje Bla-ma Dam-pa.¹¹² *Tsha-tsha*¹¹³ in the shape of White Tārā containing relics of Dkon-mchog-dpal-ldan-pa. Clothing of Dpal-ldan-don-grub. Powdered bone of Nam-mkha'-rin-chen. *Tsha-tsha* in the shape of Hevajra containing relics of Mkhan-chen Bzang-po-rgyal-mtshan. Clothing of Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs.¹¹⁴ The entire head of hair of Bsod-nams-bzang-po. Clothing and powdered bone of Bkra-shis-lhun-grub. A single tooth, powdered bone, clothing of the All Knowing Tshul-khrims-lhun-grub-pa. Bone ash of Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-dpal-bzang-pa. Hair of Shug-ra-ba Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor. Bones of the Vajraholder Bkra-shis-bzang-po. The Great Siddha Thang-stong-rgyal-po's¹¹⁵ Long Life Pellets. Seven Rebirth (as Brahmin) Pellets of Dga'-ldan-pa.¹¹⁶ Pellets consecrated by the Panchen Lama. Elixir Pellets made by the Lamas of Ngor.¹¹⁷

There follows a long list of images of saints and Buddhas which were inserted, in other words, *tsha-tsha* made of clay which contained the following relics:

Tooth of the Bodhisattva Chos-'phags.¹¹⁸ Bones of Sa-chen.¹¹⁹ Shroud (? *sku-chings*) of Bsod-nams-rtse-mo.¹²⁰ Coat of Rje-btsun-grags-pa. Hair of Sa-skyapa Paṇḍi-ta. Dance costume of the previous [Sakyapa] masters. Sleeve cloth and coat of Sa-lo.¹²¹ A cover used when transporting a leather mask (?)

bse 'bag) from India. Skull of Bdag-chen Ngag-dbang-po. Hair of 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams.¹²² Sleeve cloth and bones of Glo-bo Mkhan-chen...¹²³ Bones of a long list of other Sakyapa saints. Earth and water from holy places in India, Nepal and Tibet including Bodhgaya, the Nairāṇajā River and so forth.

These relics, with yellow cloth and fragrances, filled the entire chorten up to the top of the 'vessel' (*bum-pa*) part. Various types of jewels and precious stones were enclosed. Sandalwood. Myrobalan (*a-ru-ra*) fruits. Herbs. Incense. Sugar. Molasses. Honey. Grains. Chinese tea. Mud from Lake Manasarovar. Pebbles from glacier mountains. Various fruits. The work ends with a brief account of the consecration carried out by the author himself, and the dedication of merit.

*Gung-thang-pa's (1762-1823) Guides to the Contents of Several Chortens including one Erected in Memory of Blo-bzang-bkra-shis*¹²⁴

This Guide, unlike the others summarized here, is a simple list of contents without further description of the chorten or surrounding area. It is included within a larger work devoted to such 'content lists' of both chortens and images.¹²⁵ The life of Gung-thang-pa, a renowned Gelugpa cleric, abbot of Tashikhyil Monastery¹²⁶ in Amdo, Northeast Tibet, has already been described,¹²⁷ so we will go directly to the Guide itself:

Genuine 'increasing bone' of the Buddha. Clothing and hair of Atiśa.¹²⁸ Clothing of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta¹²⁹ and of Chos-rje Don-grub Rin-po-che.¹³⁰ Hair, clothing and shroud of Bdag-nyid-chen-po [one of the Sakyapa hierarchs, unspecified]. Clothing of Lho-brag Grub-chen.¹³¹ Clothing of the translator from Rwa.¹³² Hair and clothing of Thang-stong-rgyal-po.¹³³ Clothing of Rgyal-tshab-rje.¹³⁴ Hair and clothing of Mkhas-grub-rje.¹³⁵ Clothing of 'Dul-'dzin-pa.¹³⁶ Hair and clothing of Ba-so Chos-rgyan.¹³⁷ Hair of the Second Dalai Lama Dge-'dun-rgya-mtsho (1475-1542). Clothing of the Third Dalai Lama Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1543-1588). Hair of the Fourth Dalai Lama Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (1589-1616). Hair, a book, and clothing of the First Panchen Lama Blo-bzang-chos-rgyan.¹³⁸ Hair and fingernails of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682). Clothing of the Second Panchen Lama Blo-bzang-ye-shes (1663-1737). Hair and clothing of the Seventh Dalai Lama Bskal-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1708-1758). Clothing of Khri-chen Rgyal-mtshan-seng-ge,¹³⁹ Dung-dkar 'Brug-grags,¹⁴⁰ the Bya-khyung abbot¹⁴¹ and others. Hair of Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje,¹⁴² the Kanjurwa Incarnate,¹⁴³ Grub-dbang Stobs-ldan Rin-po-che,¹⁴⁴ the All Knowing 'Jigs-med-dbang-po,¹⁴⁵ Khri-chen Ngag-dbang-bkra-shis,¹⁴⁶ the Chas-pa Incarnation,¹⁴⁷ Smin-gling

Chos-kyi-rgyal-po¹⁴⁸ and the Sgom-chen Rin-po-che¹⁴⁹ himself. Bones of Rje Chos-skyong-rgya-mtsho and Khri Nam-mkha'-bzang.¹⁵⁰ Embalming salts (*pur tshwa*) of the Master of Spiritual Accomplishment¹⁵¹ himself. Four thousand images of the Rje Bla-ma,¹⁵² four thousand images of the Medicine Buddha (Sman-bla), one thousand each of Amitāyus and Tārā, a little more than a thousand other images, among them the eight Sugatas, Amitābha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Bhairava and Vijāya. Many pellets containing various objects of worship (*rtan*) from India and Tibet. Wood, stone, earth and water from holy places of India, China, Western Tibet (Mnga'-ris), Nepal, Central Tibet (Dbus-gtsang) and Eastern Tibet (Mdo-smad). In addition, fragrant herbs, types of incense, powder of precious substances, and so on. These completely filled the interior without leaving any remaining space. As the most important of the 'four types of relics',¹⁵³ the Dharmabody relics, or *dhārāṇī*, were inscribed according to custom and inserted into the upper, lower and middle parts of the chorten.

Before leaving Gung-thang-pa, we would like to mention some of the more interesting items from the other chorten content lists within the same larger work. One content list includes books: the 'root tantras' of *Cakrasamvara* and *Guhyasamāja*; the *Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra*, the *Lam-rim Chen-mo* of Tsongkhapa, etc.¹⁵⁴ There are fingernails and blood ('body vermilion', *sku-mtshal*) relics. There are Tsongkhapa's urine (*gsang-chab*) pellets,¹⁵⁵ nasal blood (*shangs khrag*) of the Fifth Dalai Lama, rosaries, *tsha-tsha* made by the hands of Smṛti¹⁵⁶ and the Panchen Lama.

Then there is one curious statement about a genuine starter (*phab-rgyun*, as in 'yeast starter' for making beer or yoghurt) for many ancient supports of worship (*rtan*)¹⁵⁷ which contained hair, tooth, bone and clothing relics of an impressive array of saints; Nyingma, Kargyudpa, Gelugpa and Sakyapa saints, about forty-four all told, if we count the Seven Rebirths (as Brahmins) Flesh. As the yeast starter analogy makes clear, we are dealing with a substance consecrated by minute, and probably extremely minute traces of relics added to the 'brew' through centuries of consecration rites, similar to the way Tibetan beer is made with the residues from earlier batches, thus preserving and transmitting the mold spores necessary for fermentation.¹⁵⁸

In a later list, we find hand and foot imprints (*rjes*), copies of texts for chanting which belonged to many holy persons, double headed *dāmaru* drums, vajras, bells,¹⁵⁹ and a natural syllable *Om* made of bone.¹⁶⁰ In yet other lists are handkerchiefs (*shangs-phyis*), powder of various persons' bones and clothing mixed together, pellets made with bones of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

*Kong-sprul's (1813-1899) Guide to the Chorten Built to Enshrine the Remains of his Bonpo Teacher G. yung-drung-phun-tshogs*¹⁶¹

So far, we have examined one chorten Guide by a Nyingma Ter-ton, one by a Sakyapa literary figure, and another by a Gelugpa hierarch. Now we turn to the fourth and last Guide by the most famous of several great leaders of what has been called the Universalist or Nonsectarian (Ris-med) movement. Kong-sprul started life as a Bonpo (about which, more shortly), then entered a Nyingma monastery and, finally, became a Kargyudpa monk. These moves from monasteries of one sect to those of another were simply that for him. He had a strong appetite for knowledge that could not be satisfied by a single school. Indeed, it could not be confined to religious studies; his medical works, for example, are contemporary classics in the field. By entering the Nyingma monastery, he did not, even if it may have been expected of him, *renounce* his Bonpo past. He devoted himself to Bon studies throughout his life and, the present text being one proof, continued to hold his Bonpo teachers in the highest esteem. Kong-sprul did not necessarily crusade against intolerance; he was just not the sort of person who could understand why intolerance should exist, or why others should find sectarian affiliations so overwhelmingly important.¹⁶²

The Bon school is not easy to characterize simply (and simple characterizations are dangerous, generally). It claims direct descent from a (not necessarily *the*) pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet which had its founding moment when Gshen-rab-mi-bo (16,016-7,816 B.C.)¹⁶³ visited Tibet in pursuit of stolen horses. Kong-sprul's Guide begins with a sketch of Bon doctrine and history which, despite its interest, cannot be disentangled here. Bon was and is the subject of much polemic in Tibetan life and literature, but for our purposes it is enough to say that, as it has existed in the last millenium, it in any case supplies its adherents basically the same sorts of answers to the same religious needs as do the other sects.

The teacher whose relics were to be enshrined in the chorten, G. yung-drung-phun-tshogs, took monastic vows at Sman-ri Monastery, the principal educational center for Bon studies in Gtsang province of central Tibet, and spent much of his life engaged in religious retreats. That his contemplative visualizations included Old (Nyingma) and New Tantras as well as Bonpo

divinities makes it a little more understandable that Kong-sprul, as his student, would follow a career of intersectorian tolerance. Kong-sprul tells further details of his teacher's life; but let us turn now to the contents of the chorten built in his honor. The Bon relics (*ring-bsrel*) are divided in five classes:

- 1) Bon Relics: The collected *dhāraṇī* of Bon written in gold and silver on azure colored paper. Many other canonical Bonpo *dhāraṇī* and sūtras (listed by title). One volume, it should be noted, was printed on Chinese paper using ink made of vermilion mixed with jewel (powder), herbs and relics (of the most general category of 'blessing supports', *byin-rtan*).
- 2) Mustard seed like relics: In the uppermost tip of the chorten, a relic (*sha-ri-ram*) larger than a Tibetan pea which came from the bone of Khyung-po Rang-grol Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.¹⁶⁴ A pea sized relic which came from the bone of Sku-mdun Bsod-nams-blo-gros.¹⁶⁵
- 3) Bon image relics: A thousand images each of some eleven Bonpo deities and saints made from clay mixed with the ashes of Kong-sprul's teacher, G. yung-drung-phun-tshogs. Other images.
- 4) Physical remains relics (*sku-gdung-gi ring-bsrel*): In the upper, east part of the inside of the 'vessel' (*bum-pa*), a tooth of Bru Nam-mkha'-g.yung-drung¹⁶⁶ marked by two white mustard seed like relics (*sha-ri-ram*). A dark maroon colored letter 'M' which appeared on the heart of Stag-la of Khyung-po. A skull relic of Do-shang Bla-ma marked by a golden color. Khyung-za Chos-sgron's¹⁶⁷ skull with a naturally formed letter 'A'. Remains of many learned and spiritually accomplished persons of all sects (not listed).
- 5) Clothing (etc.) relics: Hair, hats, clothing, rosaries, handprints, etc., of some thirty-five different Bonpos (names listed), for the most part belonging to the thirteenth century or later.

As a final, distinct category, Kong-sprul lists the consecrated articles from the *Chos* traditions, by which is meant all the Tibetan Buddhist sects besides Bon:

Consecrated articles of the *Chos* traditions: An Indian book which belonged to the great translator Vairocana. Flesh of Seven Times Reborn as Brahmin Pellets. Consecrated articles of the Karmapas [including] Great Black Pellets (Ril Nag Chen-mo). Elixir Pellets (Bdud-rtsi Ril-bu) of the Ngor subsect of the Sakyapa school. Other types of blessed, consecrated articles which were contained in the 'worship box' (*rtan sgam*) of the Derge ruling family (Sakkyong Sde-dge) including Nyingmapa, Karmapa, Drukpa ('Brug-pa), Sakyapa and Gelugpa articles.

Then there is a description of the materials used to build the chorten and the method used in its construction, in this case following the instructions from a work by Kun-grol-grags-pa.¹⁶⁸ Then there is a list of holy places of India, Tibet and Nepal, whence came

earth, stone, wood, grass, flowers, etc., which were enclosed. Kong-sprul ends with quotations from Bon scriptures to demonstrate the benefits of circumambulating, prostrating, and lighting lamps at a chorten.

More Evidence: Consecration and Dhâraṇī Insertion Texts

So far, we have looked at chorten Guides in some way connected with all five of the major sects of Tibetan Buddhism; but let us now have a look at a different type of literature, texts which describe the actual process of consecration. One Gelugpa chorten consecration has already been studied elsewhere. The author is the first Lcang-skyā incarnation, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-chos-ldan (1642-1714).¹⁶⁹ He supplies the following general classification of relics (*ring-bsrel*) aside from the *dhâraṇī*, which are also included in his discussion:

- 1) Mustard seeds like relics: 'Increasing bone' of the Tathâgata and so forth.
- 2) Remains (*sku-gdung*) relics: Remains of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.
- 3) Clothing (*sku-bal*) relics: Hair, nails, clothing and so forth, of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.¹⁷⁰

My second example of a chorten consecration text (or, more technically speaking, a 'dhâraṇī insertion' text) is that of 'Bri-gung Rig-'dzin Chos-kyi-grags-pa (b. 1595). The title of this work, written in 1636 A.D., translates—*Ocean of the Two Accumulations [of Merit and Total Knowledge]: Ritual Methods for Inserting the Five [Types of] Relics (ring-bsrel)*.¹⁷¹ It deals with consecration rites for images as well as chortens. Beginning with comments on the correct mensuration of images and chortens, it then quotes at length from the *Kûṭâgâra Sûtra*¹⁷² on the merits of building chortens. Then we are happily supplied with a most thorough classification of relics:

1) Dharmabody relics: These might be understood to be "Dharma incorporating"¹⁷³ relics. These relics, which indicate the nature of the Dharmabody, include the eight chortens and *tsha-tshas* which in turn contain *dhâraṇī*, for instance those of Śâkyamuni, Uṣṇîsavijâya, Vimaloṣṇîṣa, and so on.

2) Mustard seed like relics: These come from the bones of special people such as the three types of saints.¹⁷⁴ Those which are transparent in color and as big as a pea or larger are called *gdung*. Those smaller than this are called *ring-bsrel*. In the *Skū-gdung 'Bar-ba* and other tantras of the Nyingma Secret Mantra, there is a division into five: *sha-rî-ram*, *ba-rî-ram*, *chu-rî-ram*, *nya-rî-ram*, and *panyîsa-ram*.¹⁷⁵ But these are only divisions according to color. They, as

well as all the other *gdung* and *ring-bsrel*, are included within the category of mustard seed like relics.

3) Dharma relics: Mantras from Vajrayâna literature and *dhâraṇī* from Sûtrayâna literature. All the pronouncements of the Buddhas as well as reliable commentaries on the same are included in this category.

4) Remains (*sku-gdung*) relics: The remains of the Root Guru or other superior personages, of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Hearers and Solitary Realizers. Body (images), Speech (scriptures) and Mind (chortens) receptacles which include the preceding. This category generally includes such things as their flesh, blood and bones.

5) Clothing (*sku-bal*) relics: Hair of those same sorts of personages. Their finger or toe nails, clothing, etc. In general, anything blessed by its connection with their bodies.

This work has many interesting details on the treatment of relics (example: one should not insert entire articles of clothing, but rather fragments or ashes) and on the consecration rituals themselves, which cannot be treated here due to their great complexity and variation.¹⁷⁶

My final examples are from another work by Kong-sprul.¹⁷⁷ He supplies the following classification:

- 1) Dharmabody relics: *dhâraṇī* and mantras.
- 2) Remains relics: remains of supreme personages.
- 3) Clothing relics: pieces of hair, fingernails and so forth.
- 4) Mustard seed like relics: Those things known as 'increasing bone' and *sha-rî-ram*, particularly those from the Buddha.

Then he cites an alternative classification from a text that had been "recently" translated from Chinese into Tibetan in the eighteenth century,¹⁷⁸ the *Bodhigarbhâlamkāra*:

- 1) Dharmabody relics: *sâtstsha* (= *tsha-tsha*) and chortens.
- 2) Tathâgata relics: same as 2 in preceding list.
- 3) Clothing relics: same as 3 in preceding list.
- 4) Dharma relics: *dhâraṇī*, mantras and volumes of scripture.
- 5) Mere mustard seed relics (*yungs-'bru tsam-gyi ring-bsrel*): same as 4 in preceding list.

Kong-sprul does not find these designations and definitions in any essential conflict, although the very different definitions for Dharmabody relics are worth noting.

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Please note that part of this material, viewed in its historical dimension, is subject of a short paper entitled 'Crystals and Images from Bodies, Hearts and Tongues from Fire: Points of Relic Controversy from Tibetan History', forthcoming in the proceedings of the Fifth International Association for Tibetan Studies Conference held at Narita, Japan, on August 1989.

¹ Jesus, of course, is believed to have ascended into heaven with His body, thus limiting (but not entirely) the availability of His bodily remains. I have not learned about the preservation of any of Muhammed's *bodily* relics, although the hairs of his beard seem to be widely spread. I heard that a few hairs from Muhammed's beard were kept in a reliquary box at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. His footprints are also said to be found there. Jesus's footprints are believed to be on the Mount of Olives just across the valley from the Dome of the Rock. For more on Christian relics and on relics generally, see Bentley, *Restless Bones*. This is the most readable book I have found on the subject, although there are many. For an interesting comparison between Buddhist and Christian relics, see Benard, 'Living Among the Dead.'

² Geertz, *Islam Observed*, p. 44. This is related to Hebrew *brachah*, with the same meaning.

³ The Greek *khariis pneumatike*, or *dynamis*; MacCulloch, 'Relics', p. 654.

⁴ For example, Ekval, *Religious Observances*, p. 156. One more imaginative ethnographer has given the translation 'splendourous ripples' (Stablein, 'Medical-Cultural System', p. 195).

⁵ Inagaki, 'Kûkai's *Sokushin-Jôbutsu-Gi*, p. 194.

⁶ Basic literal meaning of the Sanskrit word is 'being near, being at hand, resting upon, indwelling', etc.

⁷ This is perhaps the most general term, being used to cover not only sacred icons, but consecrated articles (about which, more below) and relics, as all are 'receptacles of blessings'.

⁸ The two optional categories, more frequently encountered in Nyingmapa and Bon sources, are 'quality' (*yon-tan*) and 'action' (*phrin-las*).

⁹ It should be noted that all three 'receptacles' may contain relics of some sort, the 'Speech receptacles', or holy books, being no exception. Small quantities of relics could be, and were (examples below), mixed with ink. Shakabpa (*Bod-kyi Srid-don*, vol. I, p. 56) notes that cremation ash could be mixed with the ink used in copying scriptures.

¹⁰ Of course, many reliquaries and images have been opened by museum curators, art collectors and the like, and their contents 'scientifically' investigated. This I leave to the scientists, not having any inclination for such morbid business. I put this activity in one class with icon destruction, grave robbing and other such acts which reflect a fundamental attitude of disrespect toward both the living and

the dead. It is, when done with the usual motivations, an insensitive act of desecration. One exceptionally well informed and thorough example of this approach should be mentioned; Robert A. Hatt, 'A Thirteenth Century Tibetan Reliquary'.

¹¹ I have now dealt in some detail with this issue in Martin, 'Crystals and Images.'

¹² There is also a kind of dust, called *manna*, that was sometimes miraculously emitted from saints' tombs (see Duncan-Flowers, 'Pilgrim's Ampulla', p. 128 ff.) and the miraculous emissions of oil, called 'myrrh', noted in Bakirtzis, 'Byzantine Ampullae', p. 141 ff.

¹³ See McCulloch, 'From Antiquity to the Middle Ages.'

¹⁴ Since writing these words, an extremely illuminating book on the nature of Tertons and their rediscoveries has appeared—Thondup Rinpoche, *Hidden Teachings of Tibet*. One of the most remarkable things about this book, besides the clarity with which it shows the identity of terma texts with relics, is the number of full color pictures of relic-images (called *sku-tshab*, 'representatives') which were rediscovered together with texts (*ibid.*, p. 151).

¹⁵ More often than not, these mass migrations to Hidden Countries were aimed at southern 'uncivilized' (according to Tibetan perceptions) areas. For one such attempt at Tibetan colonization in the first years of the twentieth century which failed, see Lamb, *McMahon*, vol. 2, p. 320. For the Tibetan side of the same story, see Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambhala*, pp. 69-70. See also Brauen-Dolma, 'Millenarianism' and works cited there.

¹⁶ See Lha-btsun's Guide, where rediscovered manuscripts as well as consecrated articles and relics were enclosed during the consecration. Kong-sprul's Guide includes canonical Bonpo sūtras as well as "an Indian book which belonged to the great translator Vairocana." Vairocana lived in the late eighth to early ninth centuries. An "Indian book of the great translator Vairocana" is mentioned among objects placed in the chorten for enshrining the remains of the Third Pan-chen Lama. See Pan-chen III, *Collected Works*, vol. 13, p. 573.3.

¹⁷ An informal survey of the part of Dargay's *Rise of Esoteric Buddhism* where she translates summary biographies of the Tertons shows, apart from sealed boxes buried under earth or stone, the following rediscovery sites: temples (15), caves (8), images (7), chortens (4), lakes (2), and pillars (1).

¹⁸ Dge-ri. An unidentified place name. See Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 1053, where the building of a chorten in this place is mentioned.

¹⁹ Probably an eccentric representation of Prabhahasti (= Pra-bha-ha-ti), one of the Eight Great Sages (Rig-'dzin) who also include Padmasambhava in their number. Prabhahasti is especially connected with the revelation of the Nyingma *Vajrakila* (*Phur-pa*) Tantra; Thondup, *Tantric Tradition*, pp. 16, 18, *et passim*. We must note that the "red and white reproductive substances," or "red and white Bodhicitta" (Byang-sems dkar dmar) are not just reproductive substances *per se*. They derive from the parents and are believed to continue (somehow) in the body. When saintly lamas die, they are sometimes said to emit these substances from their right and left nostrils. See Barlocher, *Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 448 ff.

²⁰ Ratna-gling-pa, *Collected Rediscovered Teachings*, vol. 1, p. 159. This biography was compiled by Nor-bu-yongs-grags (seventeenth century) who preserved earlier biographical and autobiographical material intact.

²¹ See now Aris, *Hidden Treasures*. The nature of the rediscoveries themselves is not so well covered in this treatment of the life of Padma-gling-pa. There is an

interesting references to "a relic... spontaneously produced from one of his teeth." (p. 66).

²² *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (1982, vol. 11, pp. 788-815; 1973, vol. 9, pp. 600-624).

²³ This naturally makes it difficult to leave bodily relics. Allione, *Women of Wisdom*, pp. 192-3 (note 42), gives a description which closely reflects some Tibetan beliefs on these 'disappearing lamas'. It is interesting to note that they are said to leave their hair and nails behind. We have seen how hair and nails belong to the 'clothing' (*sku-bal*) relic category, as things closely connected with, but not a part of, the body.

²⁴ These same signs are discussed by Thondup, *Tantric Tradition*, pp. 194-5, note 163.

²⁵ Dargyay, *Rise of Esoteric*, p. 214 (note 60), calls these images *rtēn*. In my experience (admittedly limited), they are always called simply *sku* ('body, image') with the specific meaning known only by context. To quote Dargyay in full, "The Tibetan language has different terms for the various kinds of relics. There are *rtēn* and *ring-srel*—relics. *rtēn* signifies relics in the shape of Stupas or gods that originated from parts of the corpse during the cremation. *ring-bsrel* denotes some whitish pill-like stuff that also came from the cremation residues."

²⁶ These types of relics will be discussed later on. It is interesting to compare a text representing the words of Zhang G.yu-brag-pa (1123-1193) to his disciples in a Wood Mouse year (1144?—This seems too early, and there is probably a mistake in the date). This text identifies the five relics (*gdung*) of the Tathāgata as: 1) *sha-ri-ram* which depends on the flesh; 2) *chu-ri-ram*, which depends on the blood; 3) *nya-ri-ram*, which depends on the marrow; 4) *ba-ri-ram*, which depends on the bones and cartilage; 5) *ka-ri-ram*, which depends on the brain and sinews. This passage occurs in Zhang, *Bka'-rgya-ma*, vol. 2, pp. 2.6-3.1. Further (Nyingmapa) sources on these types of relics are cited in Sde-srid, 'Dzam-gling-rgyan-gcig, pp. 563-66.

²⁷ Hyer and Jagchid, *Mongolian Living Buddha*, p. 12. Sanskrit spellings have been corrected in the citation. 'Sharil' seems to have been borrowed into Tibetan as *sha-ril*, to mean relics with images in relief (see *Bod Rgya Tshig-mdzod Chen-mo*, p. 2828).

²⁸ In the Sku-tshab-gter-lnga temple in the Thāk district of Nepal, D. Snellgrove noticed, "a section of the skull of [a] ... lama with the Tibetan letter A embossed as it were on the bone, for he had meditated so long on this basic vowel-sound, which lies at the root of all existence, that it had produced its written symbol miraculously inside his skull." Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, p. 187.

²⁹ Allione, *Women of Wisdom*, pp. 203-4 (note 140; see also p. xxiv, note 1). Note as well M. Slusser's (*Nepal Mandala*, vol. I, p. 151, no. 69) statement: "According to a Buddhist monk I once talked with at Syayambhū, they [stūpas] also contain *rincils*, a divine substance which in the form of firm, white variously sized beads mysteriously spews out of stupas on occasions. They are exceedingly precious and, wrapped in brocade and silk, as I have shown, are conserved in phials as reliquaries."

³⁰ See Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, pp. 153-182, the chapter entitled 'War with the Gurkhas and Dogras.'

³¹ It is on this day that Tibetans celebrate the birth, Enlightenment and final Nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni Buddha, hence 'three holidays in one' (*dus-chen gsum 'dzom*).

³² Bodhanath is the other great chorten of the Nepalese valley. Swayambhunath is to the west of Kathmandu, while Bodhanath lies to the east.

³³ *nya-mig-ma*. For another reference to 'fish eyes' in a relic context, see Dpa'-bo, *Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston*, vol. 2, p. 641.

³⁴ *Rdo-ring Bka'-blon, Rdo-ring Paṇḍi-ta'i Rnam-thar*, vol. 2, pp. 850-851. I must thank Tashi Tshering of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala) for pointing out this passage to me.

³⁵ From the biography of Rong-ston as contained in Śākya-mchog-ldan, *Complete Works*, vol. 16, pp. 299-378, at p. 365.

³⁶ Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, pt. 3, p. 321. Von Hammer's unique theory about the nature of *ring-bsrel* might be based on a misapprehension of the idea (attested in the passage from the *Bka'-gdams Glegs-bam* cited elsewhere) that they appear as signs of highly developed Bodhicitta ('awakened heart' being one possible translation).

³⁷ A reliably early account of *ring-bsrel* appearing after a cremation is found in the biography of Sgam-po-pa (1079-1153) written by his disciple 'Ba'-rom-pa (1127-1203?)—see O-rgyan-pa, *Dkar-brgyud*, pp. 267, 269.

³⁸ Gyalzur, 'Spells on the Life-Wood', p. 180.

³⁹ Sangay, *Bod Mi'i 'Das Mchod*, p. 1, where *ring-bsrel* are crushed and mixed with 'yak' (the female 'bri, naturally) or cow butter and placed in the mouth of the dying person. For an English summary of the same work by Sangay, see *Tibetan Medicine*, series no. 7 (1984), pp. 30-40, under the title 'Tibetan Ritual for the Dead'. Shakabpa (*Bod-kyi Srid-don*, vol. 1, p. 56) also attests to this practice, as does Rdo-ring Bka'-blon, *Rdo-ring Paṇḍi-ta'i Rnam-thar* (vol. 2, p. 841), a work dating to the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁰ In Tibetan, the word *mi-chos* has various uses, one of them in the field of law, but it is also used to mean 'religion of the people'. In the latter case, the term is in opposition to *tha-chos*, 'religion of the gods', which means Buddhist methods for transcending the mundane realm. Comparing the meanings of *mi-chos* and our term 'popular religion' only seems to complicate matters in this context, since they share only a small part of their semantic fields. The greater part of Tibetans' popular religious practices are very clearly Buddhist, having their justifications and inspirations in Buddhists scriptures, while the goals of these practices (in any case the *final* goals) are Buddhist ones.

⁴¹ The Nyingma teacher Rong-zom-pa Chos-kyi-bzang-po (eleventh century) was also a scholastic, although his works do not focus so directly on problems of method. Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109-1169) might deserve the title of 'founding father' of Tibetan scholastic method even more than Sa-skyā Paṇḍi-ta, but his works are no longer available (except in citations) and they have certainly not had the enduring influence on Tibetan education as have those of Sa-skyā Paṇḍi-ta. For valuable material on Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, his influence on Sa-skyā Paṇḍi-ta and many others during this period, see Kuijp, 'Phya-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge's Impact'.

⁴² See especially the passage in Sa-skyā Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Bstan-bcos*, p. 69b (line 1, ff.), where he criticizes people for following the letter rather than the intentions of these sorts of statements (which are, after all, commonly found in many sūtras). In effect, he criticizes them for not being sufficiently educated or intelligent to recognize commonplace rhetorical devices. *Dkar-po gcig-thub* means 'white one-is-enough'. It is an epithet applied to more than one medicinal substance meaning that a single ingredient is deemed sufficient for

relieving the disease—most medicinal treatments prescribed by Tibetan doctors are compounds, with those of 25 or more ingredients not at all unusual. Recent discussions of *dkar-po gcig-thub* have focussed too narrowly on the philosophical aspects, entirely missing Sa-skye Paṇḍi-ta's uses of the term in relation to popular religious practices (see especially Broido, 'Sa-skye Paṇḍita', Jackson, 'Sa-skye Paṇḍita', and references supplied there).

⁴³ To hearts and tongues we should add eyes. Sometimes when saints are cremated, the hearts, tongue or eyes (or all three) remain unburned. This is a sign that the mind, speech and body (respectively) of the saint have achieved close approximation to the Mind, Speech and Body of Buddhahood. In the 1484 A.D. history of the Bka'-gdams-pa sect by Bsod-nams-lha'i-dbang-po it is said that when one of the greatest Bka'-gdams-pa teachers of the eleventh century (*Po-to-ba* (1027-1105), was cremated, "heart, tongue and many *ring-bsrel* of the five different colors emerged." (See *Two Histories of the Bka'-gdams-pa Tradition*, p. 314.8.)

⁴⁴ The 'images' (*sku-gzugs*) and so forth referred to in this context are the divine images and syllables which appear in relief on the bones of deceased saints. On this point, the commentaries are in agreement. The fifteenth century commentary by *Spos-khang-pa* (vol. 3, p. 337), quotes reports (while reserving judgement on their truth value) to the effect that these images are caused by Generation Stage contemplations and that *ring-bsrel* are produced by cultivation of Bodhicitta (Enlightened Thought); but see Ramble, 'Status', p. 348, n. 24, for another explanation. The probable source of *Spos-khang-pa* is the *Bka'-gdams Glegs-bam* (see below).

⁴⁵ As Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin (writing in 1954) interprets in his commentary (p. 260, line 4), these genuine *ring-bsrel* should be a subject for confidence since they become worship supports for the accumulation of merit by embodied beings through touching, thinking or hearing about, and perceiving them. The commentary of *Spos-khang-pa* (vol. 3, p. 334) has a different reading for this passage which makes both the strength of the saintly qualities of the deceased as well as the strength of merit of embodied ones to be causes for the occurrence of *ring-bsrel*.

⁴⁶ According to the same commentary by the Mkhan-chen (p. 260, line 5), the genuine *ring-bsrel* is like a jewel which is known to have come from its place of origin in the ocean or a mine and hence of unquestionable authenticity.

⁴⁷ The Mkhan-chen (p. 261, line 2) suggests that they might be manufactured out of various substances (including mother-of-pearl and ivory) and through magical illusions.

⁴⁸ It is significant that Sa-skye Paṇḍi-ta did not include *ring-bsrel* among the items not mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. *Go-rams-pa* Bsod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489), in his commentary as contained in the *Sa-skye Bka'-bum* (vol. 14, p. 193d, line 4) cites the *Bskal-bzang* (*Bhadrakalpa*) *Sūtra* (Toh. no. 94) and the *Meeting of Father and Son Sūtra* (Toh. no. 60) of the *Dkon-brtsegs* section as scriptural sources for *ring-bsrel*. That the 'images' are mentioned in the *Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba*, would not impress Sa-skye Paṇḍi-ta; he would not have accepted this tantra as a genuine scripture, along with most of the other Nyingma tantras and rediscoveries (*gter-ma*).

⁴⁹ *Spos-khang-pa* (vol. 3, p. 338, line 4) specifies that these *ring-bsrel* produced by living persons come from their teeth, hair or armpits.

⁵⁰ According to Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin (p. 262, line 3), these occurrences were said to be bad signs in the *Stag Sna* Avadāna (i.e., *Stag Rna*; Toh. no. 358). The fifteenth century commentary by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (p. 431, line 1) was his most likely source for this statement.

⁵¹ Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin p. 262.6) cites a passage from the *Mig Bcu-gnyis-pa Sūtra* (Toh. no. 359) which says that moving or crying images are signs of calamity. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (p. 431, line 2) adds the birth of strange animals to the list of prodigies and quotes a passage from the *Mig Bcu-gnyis-pa* (the name means 'Twelve Eyes'). I have now discussed these sūtra passages in Martin, 'Crystals and Images'.

⁵² The Tibetan text for the translated passage begins on page 318a, line 3, of the *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba* as found in the collected works of Sa-skye Paṇḍi-ta in the *Sa-skye Bka'-bum* (vol. 5, pp. 297-320). It may also be found in Sa-skye Paṇḍita, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi Rab-tu Dbye-ba'i Bstan-bcos*, pp. 88a-89b.

⁵³ Kun-dga'-bsod-nams, *Sa-skye'i Gdung-rabs*, p. 144.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145. On the dating problem for the translator of Yar-lung who worked in Kathmandu, Nepal, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, who probably lived in the late 13th to 14th centuries, see Kvaerne, *An Anthology*, p. 2. See now Martin, 'Crystals and Images'.

⁵⁵ This work, entitled *Gnas Gsum Gsal-byed Nor-bu'i Me-long*, is found in Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, *Responses*, pp. 327-463. Sa Paṇ's passage on relics was also noted by Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho in his work, first published in 1701, on the tomb-chorten for the Fifth Dalai Lama (Sde-srid, 'Dzam-gling-rgyan-gcig', p. 563).

⁵⁶ On Tsari, see Martin, 'For Love or Religion?', and Sorensen, *Divinity Secularized*, pp. 113-142.

⁵⁷ For his arguments, see Sa-skye Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom-pa Gsum-gyi*, pp. 65-70 (or the same passage as contained in the *Sa-skye Bka'-bum*, vol. 5, p. 312 ff.).

⁵⁸ The passage rendered here is found in Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, *Responses*, pp. 430, 3-435.5.

⁵⁹ These four pairs of extremes are: 1. creationist positivism—cessationist nihilism. 2. eternalist positivism—apocalyptic nihilism. 3. existence positivism—nonexistence nihilism. 4. phenomenal positivism—emptiness nihilism.

⁶⁰ For this passage, see Sog-bzlog-pa, "Gsang-sngags Snga-gyur-la," p. 427.2 ff. We have not yet been able to resolve the problem of the date of Dpal-'dzin's treatise to our satisfaction. It seems his 'circular' appeared not long after the death of Klong-chen-pa in 1363, and *Bod Rgya Tshig-mdzod Chen-mo*, vol. 3, p. 3244, gives 1400 as the year of composition. For some discussion, see Kuijp, 'Miscellanea', p. 173 (note). The dates of Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan are 1552-1624.

⁶¹ For the content and transmission of the *Bka'-gdams Glegs-bam* (or *Jo-bo Glegs-bam*), see *Two Histories*, pp. 33.6, 366.4 ff., 379.8. The present passage is also cited in Sde-srid, 'Dzam-gling-rgyan-gcig', p. 563. An anonymous Kargyudpa work of the thirteenth century (Anon., *Gnad-kyi Them-bu*, p. 27.3) has a rather similar passage:

These are the signs that occur at the time of death—
When one has realized [the unity of] voidness and compassion,
there is a shower of flowers.
When one speaks the truth without ulterior intentions,
free of artifice, tongues occur.
When realization has stabilized, hearts occur.
When the seminal (*kun-da*) bodhicitta is stabilized,
ring[b]srel occur.
When one has achieved stability in the generation stage,
images occur.

⁶² This refers to the Sakya teacher Gung-ru-ba Shes-rab-bzang-po (1411-1475), on whom see Jackson, *Early Abbots*, pp. 15-16.

⁶³ One should also notice in the same work by Sog-bzlog-pa (p. 504.4 ff.), some discussion about various types of *gdung* and *ring-bsrel* as signs of particular degrees of spiritual development. He cites the *Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba* as well as a commentary on the *Gsang-ba Ring-bsrel* (i.e., the *Bodhigarbhālamkāra*) by Bodhibhadra (Slob-dpon Byang-chub-bzang-po). The latter citation contains a four-fold classification: 1) Remains (*sku-gdung*) relics. 2) Mustard seed like remains (*sku-gdung yung-'bru lta-bu*) relics. 3) Clothing (*sku-bal*) relics. 4) Dharmabody (Chos-kyi Sku) relics.

⁶⁴ He lived from 1445 to 1521. The best sources so far in English on the life of Padma-gling-pa are Aris, *Bhutan* (index), and Aris, *Hidden Treasures*. The full title of the work is *Kun-bzang Dgongs-pa Kun-'dus-las: Gsang Khrid-kyi Rgyab-skor: Ring-bsrel-gyi Sgrub-pa Dga-'rab-rdo-rjes Mdzad-pa*—found in Padma-gling-pa, *Rediscovered Teachings*, vol. 15, pp. 433-6.

⁶⁵ For these 'four appearances' (Vier Aufgänge), see Dargyay, 'Die Ausbildung buddhistischer Mönche in Tibet', p. 109.

⁶⁶ Yuthok, *Yuthok's Treatise*, p. 290, where the Six Good Medicinals are:

- 1) *dzā-ti* (nutmeg).
- 2) *cu-gang* (bamboo manna).
- 3) *gur-gum* (saffron).
- 4) *li-shi* (clove).
- 5) *sukmel* (lesser cardamon).
- 6) *ka-ko-la* (cardamon).

The Five Good Medicinals are the same, minus only the last.

⁶⁷ Some readers of earlier drafts of this work have objected to our use of the word 'fraudulence' in this context. It is, admittedly, problematic. We use the word to mean simply that Padma-gling-pa's procedures for making *ring-bsrel* and 'images' emerge after cremation are quite different from what the believers are led to expect. Aris (*Hidden Treasures*) has since called Padma-gling-pa (along with Tertons generally) a fraud, although we see little reason to dwell on this issue here.

⁶⁸ This tantra is cited under the title *Rdo-rje Thugs-mchog 'Bar-ba*. I was unable to locate any other reference to this text (although the last word 'Bar-ba' does remind us of the *Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba*, mentioned elsewhere in these pages). For the text by Zhang G.yu-brag-pa, with colophon title "Bla-ma'i Sku 'Bag-la Brtan-pa'i [Brten-pa'i] Le'u," see Zhang, *Writings*, pp. 199.6-202.1 (translated passage at pp. 199.6-200.2).

⁶⁹ Gilmour, *Among the Mongols*, p. 231.

⁷⁰ The *Ma-ni Ril-bisgrub-kyi Cho-ga 'Khyer Bde* by Lcang-skyā I Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-chos-ldan (1642-1714) found in supplement to the Suzuki reprint of the *Peking Kanjur and Tanjur*, vol. 164, pp. 116-8; no. 6311. There are numerous other Tibetan texts on the practice available. There have been several studies of the Sherpa's Mani Rimdu, but the most recent and complete one is Kohn, *Mani Rimdu*.

⁷¹ My own observations of the pills themselves form the basis for the description which follows. On Mani Pellets, see Rockhill, 'Lamaist Ceremony'. This hundred year old article also contains interesting information and views about 'increasing bone'.

⁷² See, for example, Ramble, 'Status', pp. 351-353. In some cases the shock is based on gross misperceptions. I am certain that stories of coprophagy among Tibetans are, at base, travellers tales based on the alleged appearance of some of the

medicinal pellets dispensed by lamas and physicians, and not on any knowledge of their actual contents (I think in particular of Ekai Kawaguchi, the Japanese Tibet traveller, who repeats a traveller's story that dates back to at least the seventeenth century). Those who wish to trace the literary roots for this cultural misconception should refer to the citations supplied in Bourke, *Scatalogic*, chapter 8, 'The Ordure of the Grand Lama of Thibet.' The statements of Bourke have to be critically read in light of his scatophilia, his date, his comparativism, and his considerable lack of familiarity with things Tibetan. Much of what he says is compromised, also, by his evident confusion of 'phel-gdung with *ril-bu*. Bourke received a few *ma-ni ril-bu* from Rockhill, and had them analyzed by a Dr. W.M. Mew of the U.S. Army. Dr. Mew sent back the following report to Bourke dated April 18, 1889,

I have at length found time to examine the Grand Lama's ordure, and write to say that I find nothing at all remarkable in it. He had been feeding on a farinaceous diet, for I found by the microscope a large amount of undigested starch in the field, the presence of which I verified by the usual iodine test, which gave an abundant reaction.

There was also present much cellulose, or what appeared to be cellulose, from which I infer that the flour used (which was that of wheat) was of a coarse quality, and probably not made in Minnesota.

A slight reaction for biliary matter seemed to show that there was no obstruction of the bile ducts. These tests about used up the four very small pills of the Lama's ordure.

Very respectfully and sincerely yours, (signed) M.W. Mew (Bourke, *Scatalogic*, pp. 52-53).

Obviously, Bourke had already told Dr. Mew ahead of time that what he would be analyzing was 'ordure' of a Tibetan lama. There is nothing (aside from the "slight reaction for biliary matter") in Mew's *scientific* analysis to persuade us that the *ril-bu* he examined contained anything more than the flour which, as Rockhill says in a quote on the preceding page (p. 51), is the primary ingredient used in their manufacture.

It is entirely possible, however, that some *ril-bu* (the *gsang-chab ril-bu* mentioned in the appendix), might contain a hint of the urine of a highly revered lama. In recent times, disciples of certain lamas have been known to sip a little of their urine as an expression of strong devotion (see, for example, the biography of the late Geshe Rabten). Here devotion is the primary factor, not a particular fondness (or unusual aversion) for the ingestion of urine. Devotion overcomes natural aversion.

⁷³ This is not to say that many of our sub-societies do not have strong relic and saint cults. Tibetan Buddhism itself is fast forming sub-societies in North America, Europe, Australia, Taiwan, Singapore, etc. It would be interesting to know to what degree these groups preserve facets of the Tibetan relic cults.

⁷⁴ What Turner (*Image*) called "flow" (a unitive experience emerging in the course of play and worship) and what Eliade (*Cosmos*) would have described as a re-connection with mythic, primordial time. Although these types of terms and their accompanying explanations might be helpful in some sense, still they are at best partial, generalized, and therefore inadequate representations for a spectrum of possible personal experiences of the sacred(s?) which are *terribly* difficult to 'explain', or even to describe. I propose that the undefinable is best left undefined, or maybe left to define itself within its own appropriate context. That which is not defined is not therefore unknown.

⁷⁵ Anon. *Gnad-kyi Them-bu*, p. 42.4.

⁷⁶ Tibetan title: *Sku-'bum Mthong-ba-rang-grol Dkar-chag Mdor-bsdus: Don Gsal Me-long*. This work is found in Nam-mkha'-jigs-med, *Collected Works*, vol. 4, pp. 437-59.

⁷⁷ The two defilements, or 'veils', are, according to Mahâyâna, those due to afflictive emotions (*klesha*) and knowables (*jñeya*) which are countered by the two accumulations of Merit (*puṇya*) and Total Knowledge (*Jñāna*) respectively.

⁷⁸ These eight great cemeteries are often depicted in one of the outermost circles of mandalas, restricting, but what is considered more important, permitting access.

⁷⁹ Literally, 'vessel world' (*snod-kyi 'jig-rten/ = bhājanaloka*) which contains the 'living beings world' (*bcud-kyi 'jig-rten/ = sattvaloka*). The Tibetan word *bcud* emphasizes the *vital* aspect, meaning the life essence conceived as a sort of sap. I have avoided the word 'material' (for the word *snod*), since it functions within a different dialectical framework.

⁸⁰ *Dhāraṇī* (*Gzungs*) are rather like long mantras. Usually, they are extracted from sūtra rather than tantra literature. They are used for a wide variety of purposes, some of them quite this-worldly and magical.

⁸¹ Tantras pertaining to the ninth Vehicle of the Nyingma school. *Blags-grol mthong-grol* means 'touch-liberation sight-liberation'.

⁸² *Peking Kanjur*, no. 198. It seems that all the Uṣṇīṣa deities (Uṣṇīṣavijāya and Vimaloṣṇīṣa, in particular) are intended.

⁸³ The three divisions of Inner Method Tantras (Nang Thabs-kyi Rgyud), a classification of tantras particular to the Nyingma school.

⁸⁴ A chief disciple of Śākyamuni Buddha.

⁸⁵ A famous Terton born in 1340, died 1396 (?). Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 541.

⁸⁶ The central, rounded, part of the chorten.

⁸⁷ One of the four large chortens at Samye (Bsam-yas).

⁸⁸ Gyantse of the maps, a major trading center in southern Tibet.

⁸⁹ Perhaps the same place as the Rtsa-sgang of Roerich, *Blue Annals*, pp. 946, 948, 962-3, 965-6.

⁹⁰ This unusual word will appear again. See note 175, below.

⁹¹ The human originator of the Nyingma Ati-yoga lineages.

⁹² One of the twenty-five main Tibetan followers of Padmasambhava; Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide*, p. 117.

⁹³ A preceding Buddha, i.e., one who preceded Śākyamuni Buddha. His relics are said to be contained in the chorten of Bodhnath (which Tibetans call Bya-rung-kha-shor), just outside of Kathmandu, Nepal.

⁹⁴ Rtsa-ri. Holy place in southern Tibet renowned for its beautiful and dangerous natural features.

⁹⁵ Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras-pa Ye-shes-rdo-rje (1161-1211 A.D.), disciple of the Gling-ras-pa who founded the Drukpa ('Brug-pa) branch of the Kargyudpa school. He 'opened' the Hidden Country of Tsari. 'Hidden countries' have been discussed *supra*.

⁹⁶ A contemporary of the author, he lived 1583-1656. See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 722. He was a famous Terton.

⁹⁷ A celebrated Buddha image brought to Tibet by the Chinese wife of Srong-btsan-sgam-po (reigned ca. 620-649).

⁹⁸ Note 85, above.

⁹⁹ Elixir or *bdud-rtsi* is used to render the Sanskrit *amṛta*, which literally means 'deathless'. The Tibetan word frequently refers to the transfiguration, transubstantiation, transformation or what-have-you of various disgusting substances or deluded psychological constituents (the *skandhas*, *āyatana*s, etc.) into pure and beneficial 'substances' (the *bdud-rtsi lngal = pañcāmṛta*) Total Knowledges (Ye-shes/ = Jñāna). These alchemical denotations should be kept clear, while a literal representation of the Sanskrit word behind the Tibetan as 'deathless' could not convey this essential import. Often translated 'ambrosia', 'nectar', and so forth.

¹⁰⁰ One of the most famous Mad Saints (Smyon-pa) who lived 1455-1529. His biography was translated into French by Rolf A. Stein, and more recently, into English by Keith Dowman, and into German by Andreas Kretschmar.

¹⁰¹ Two very early Terton about whom relatively little has been written. Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma is said to be the first Terton (although here we should specify that he is said to be the earliest Terton of the Nyingma school, since Bonpo history has claims to even earlier Terton). He was active in the last half of the tenth century.

¹⁰² Another, more famous Terton who lived 1403-1478. Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, pp. 583-5.

¹⁰³ Two of several very famous Mad Saints active in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Gtsang-smyon is especially remembered as the editor of the most popular biography of Milarepa. He lived 1452-1507.

¹⁰⁴ The tenth century Indian originator of the Kargyudpa lineages.

¹⁰⁵ The fifth Karma Kargyudpa Hierarch, or Black Hat (Zhwa Nag), usually known as De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (= Tathāgata), lived from 1384 to 1415. See Roerich, *Blue Annals*, pp. 506 ff.

¹⁰⁶ A mythical bird, enemy of the snake-like *nāga* spirits.

¹⁰⁷ See Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambhala*, p. 69. The life of Lha-btsun Nam-mkha'-jigs-med is told in Dargyay, *Rise of Esoteric*, pp. 166-9. But it is important to note that "Sikkim" should be substituted in all places where "Bhutan" is mentioned. This is a simple case of misidentification.

¹⁰⁸ Zhu-chen, *Collected Writings*, vol. 7, pp. 305-315. Full Tibetan title is *De-bzhin-gshegs-pa'i Byang-chub-chen-po'i Mchod-rten-gyi Dkar-chag: Ngo-mtshar Me-long*.

¹⁰⁹ The full name given is 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs-bsod-nams-bzang-po-bkra-shis-grags-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.

¹¹⁰ There is no subclassification being employed here. Bodily relics, clothing relics, and consecrated articles are all mixed together in no particular order.

¹¹¹ Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), the famous author of books on literary and scholastic subjects (including music) who was also important in the propagation of Buddhism among the Mongols.

¹¹² This title refers to Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375), teacher of the famous Tsongkhapa and Bu-ston, as well as author of a well known history of the Tibetan dynastic period, the *Rgyal-rabs Gsal-ba'i Me-long*.

¹¹³ Images of deities or chortens made from clay and (generally) containing relics of some sort or another.

¹¹⁴ An abbot of Ngor; 'Jam-dbyangs-blo-gter-dbang-po, *Rgyud-sde Kun Btus*, vol. 1, contents page.

¹¹⁵ Thang-stong-rgyal-po Brtson-'grus-bzang-po, probably born in 1385, although his dates are problematic, is perhaps best known for his devotional works which gained popularity in all the sects and his building of chain suspension bridges.

- ¹¹⁶ Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 858.
- ¹¹⁷ Ngor Monastery (= Ngor E-wam Chos-sdings), the seat of a Sakya sub-school founded in the early fifteenth century.
- ¹¹⁸ He plays a part in the *Prajñāpāramitā* and other scriptures. See Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 938, for references. The Sanskrit form of his name is Dharmodgata.
- ¹¹⁹ Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158), famous Sakya patriarch.
- ¹²⁰ Another important Sakya patriarch who lived from 1142 to 1182 A.D.
- ¹²¹ Sa-skya Lo-tstsha-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1485-1533). Became abbot of Sakya Monastery in 1498.
- ¹²² Probably refers to the person in preceding note.
- ¹²³ Glo-bo Mkhān-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub (1420-1489), well known for his commentaries on the logical and scholastic treatises of Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta.
- ¹²⁴ This is probably the sixty-fourth Chairholder (Khri-pa) of Ganden Monastery (from 1789 to 1795) by the same name. See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 6, p. 201.
- ¹²⁵ This larger work with the title *Gsung Thor-bu-las: Rten Gsum-gyi Dkar-chag dang Skor Tshad-kyi Rim-pa Phyogs Bkod* is found in Gung-thang-pa, *Collected Works*, vol. 10, pp. 162-191. The part actually summarized here is found on pp. 179.1-181.1.
- ¹²⁶ One of the largest monasteries in Amdo, Bkra-shis-'khyil.
- ¹²⁷ Norbu, 'Gungthangpa's Text in Colloquial Amdowa', pp. 222-4.
- ¹²⁸ Atiśa (d. 1054) was the most celebrated Indian Master in Tibet at the time of the Second Propagation (Phyi Dar) of Buddhism and the spiritual father of the Kadampa (Bka'-gdams-pa) school which would later be absorbed into the Gelugpa school. In the late eleventh through early thirteenth centuries, the Kadampa had a strong influence on the other sects, the Kargyudpa in particular.
- ¹²⁹ See note 111, above.
- ¹³⁰ Probably the important teacher of Tsongkhapa from Amdo usually called Don-grub-rin-chen. See Wayman, *Calming the Mind*, p. 16.
- ¹³¹ Lho-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan (1326-1401) was a Kadampa/Nyingma visionary, both teacher and follower of Tsongkhapa.
- ¹³² Rwa Lo-tstshā-ba Rdo-rje-grags was the most famous propagator of Yamāntaka tantras in the tenth to eleventh centuries. His biography is one of the most widely read classics of Tibetan literature, although it has yet to be translated.
- ¹³³ See note 133, above.
- ¹³⁴ Rgyal-tshab-rje Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364-1432) was one of the two most celebrated followers of Tsongkhapa.
- ¹³⁵ Mkhas-grub-rje Dge-legs-dpal-bzang (1385-1438) was the other of the two most celebrated followers of Tsongkhapa. These two are routinely placed on the left and right hand sides of Tsongkhapa in religious iconography. Mkhas-grub-rje is the author of a work translated by Lessing and Wayman, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*, in addition to countless other works.
- ¹³⁶ 'Dul-'dzin-pa is almost certainly a reference to 'Dul-'dzin Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, the disciple of Tsongkhapa.
- ¹³⁷ Ba-so Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1402-1473) was, like Rgyal-tshab-rje Dar-ma-rin-chen and Mkhas-grub-rje before him, a Chairholder of Ganden Monastery.
- ¹³⁸ This is a slightly abbreviated form of the name of Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1579-1662) who was given the title of Panchen (Pan-chen) Lama by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama. He served as abbot of both Tashilhunpo (in 1600) and Depung (in 1617). See Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide*, p. 145.

- ¹³⁹ Rgyal-mtshan-seng-ge (1678-1756) was the fifty-third Chairholder of Ganden (from 1732 to 1738). See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 6, p. 185.
- ¹⁴⁰ An unidentified person, evidently from the Dung-dkar Monastery in the Tromo Valley (Gro-mo Lung) in South Tibet between Sikkim and Bhutan.
- ¹⁴¹ Probably the abbot of Bya-khyung Monastery in Amdo who is intended here was Rtsa-ba Blo-bzang-rgyal-mtshan (1700-1785), a student of Lcang-skyā (see following note). See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 560.
- ¹⁴² The Second Lcang-skyā Incarnate of Peking, Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786), alias Ye-shes-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me. One of his biographies has been edited and summarized in Kämpfe, *Ni ma'i 'od zer*.
- ¹⁴³ Bka'-gyur-ba No-mon-han. Bka'-gyur-ba is a title used for any lama who is known to have read the entire Kanjur or one who frequently gives ritual reading authorizations (*lung*) for the Kanjur (the collection of sūtras and tantras in over a hundred volumes). Therefore, it is difficult to know which of the many such lamas of Tibet and Mongolia might be intended here.
- ¹⁴⁴ Not identified.
- ¹⁴⁵ Also called Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po (1728-1791). The Second 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa incarnate, he also signed his name as Ye-shes-brtson-'grus-grags-pa'i-sde. Several of his works have been translated into English. He is especially known to Tibetan monks as author of most of the monastic textbooks (*yig-cha*) in use at the Gomang Datsang of Depung Monastery (among others). Like the other 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa incarnates, he resided primarily at Tashikhyil (note 126, above).
- ¹⁴⁶ Alias Khri-rgan-tshang, he was a pupil of the first 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa Incarnation.
- ¹⁴⁷ Not identified. All of the unidentified persons in the following text will be left unfootnoted.
- ¹⁴⁸ This is most certainly the Smin-gling No-mon-han Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las-rgyal-po (1678-1739), a student of Lcang-skyā Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (note 142, above). See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 583.
- ¹⁴⁹ The sixteenth Chairholder of Ganden (1473-1539). See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 6, p. 136.
- ¹⁵⁰ Nam-mkha'-bzang-po was the fifty-fifth Chairholder of Ganden from 1746 until 1750 when he died. He is also known as the first Zam-tsha Incarnation.
- ¹⁵¹ In other words, Blo-bzang-bkra-shis, in whose memory this chorten was built.
- ¹⁵² This also refers back to the Blo-bzang-bkra-shis to whom the chorten was dedicated.
- ¹⁵³ *Ring-bsrel mam bzhi*. For these, see the chorten consecration text of Lcang-skyā Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-chos-ldan mentioned below. This four-fold classification is most usual with Gelugpa writers.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 176.4-5.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 176.6. 'Urine' pellets also appear on pp. 177.1 and 183.1.
- ¹⁵⁶ Smṛtiśrījñāna is an important transitional figure in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. This Indian master was translating tantras in eastern Tibet when Rin-chen-bzang-po was introducing the 'new' translations in western Tibet and, so, he is considered as the last of the 'old' tantra translators.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 177.3, ff.

¹⁵⁸ See especially Ardussi, 'Brewing and Drinking', p. 119, for other beer making metaphors, which were quite popular in Tibet, a country with many beer drinkers.

¹⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 181.

¹⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 182.1.

¹⁶¹ Full title: *Mchog-gzigs Bla-ma Dam-pa G.yung-drung-phun-tshogs-kyi Gdung-rten Dkar-chag: Lha'i Sgra Snyan*. Contained in Kong-sprul, *Collected Works*, vol. 11, pp. 321-41.

¹⁶² See E. Gene Smith's long introduction to Kong-sprul, *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia*, for the best English source on the life of Kong-sprul.

¹⁶³ Kvaerne, 'Chronological', pp. 220-221.

¹⁶⁴ Evidently the same as Rang-grol Bla-ma Rgyal-mtshan, born 1328 according to Kvaerne, 'Chronological', no. 119.

¹⁶⁵ Abbot of Sman-ri Monastery from 1810 to 1835 who lived 1785 to 1835. It was he who ordained Kong-sprul as a Bonpo monk. Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 7, p. 642.

¹⁶⁶ Lived 996-1054 A.D. (?): Kvaerne, 'Chronological', nos. 67, 76, 80.

¹⁶⁷ The text reads Chog-sgron. She is a female saint, since Khyung-za means 'wife from the Khyung clan'. Chos-sgron is a rather common woman's name. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify her. The Khyung clan was also the clan of Kong-sprul himself.

¹⁶⁸ Born 1700, famous author and major figure in the 'New Bon' movement. See Martin, 'Bonpo Canons', for biographical material.

¹⁶⁹ In an 'extra' volume of the Suzuki reprint of the *Peking Kanjur and Tanjur* (vol. 164, pp. 83 ff.; no. 6299). This work is the subject of a short article by Jampa Kalsang called 'Grundsätzliches zur Füllung von mC'od Rten' which should be consulted for further details.

¹⁷⁰ In Lessing and Wayman, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals*, pp. 106-107 is another three-fold classification of relics:

- 1) Dharmabody relics: *dhāraṇī*.
- 2) Remains (*sku-gdung*) relics: mustard seed sized relics which come from the remains.
- 3) Clothing (*sku-bal*) relics: images.

¹⁷¹ *Ring-bsrel Nga'i Gzhügs Tshul Lag-len: Tshogs Gnyis Rgya-mtsho*. Found in *Gzungs 'Bul Lag-len*, pp. 225-309. 'Bri-gung Rig-'dzin was a Drikung ('Bri-gung) Kargyudpa who held many Nyingma lineages. He was also considered to be a Tertön.

¹⁷² *Peking Kanjur*, no. 998. This and a few other short, closely related sūtras, were the subjects of Bontor, 'Miniature Stūpas, Images and Relics'.

¹⁷³ The concept of Dharmabody (Dharmakāya) is a very important one. In this context, it may suffice to say that the 'Dharma' that is incorporated includes both the Word of the Buddha (including scriptures) and the 'phenomenon' of the world. These two are identical from a devotional point of view, since everything that is of any substance in the universe is found in scripture, and everything that is found in scripture is found in reality.

¹⁷⁴ 'Phags-pa *gsum*. This refers to: 1) Hearers. 2) Solitary Realizers. 3) Bodhisattvas who have reached the Stage of Direct Vision (Mthong Lam/Darśana-mārga) according to the Mahāyāna's generally accepted doctrine of the Five Staged Path derived from the *Abhisamayālamkāra* (itself based on the *Prajñāpāramitā*)

and associated literature. This is the technical meaning of 'saint' ('*phags-pal* = *ārya*) in Tibetan Buddhism, although the relevance of this technical meaning for the popular recognition of saints is at the very least problematic.

¹⁷⁵ This list differs slightly from the list in the third chapter of the *Skugdung 'Bar-ba* (already cited). These curious terms were evidently formed by Tibetans who falsely etymologized the loan word *sha-ri-ram* to mean 'flesh' (*sha*, in Tibetan) *ri-ram* and, on that basis formed further compounds. This cannot necessarily prove that there were no Indic terms or items behind them, although it may lend itself to that conclusion. (This point is discussed in Sde-srid, '*Dzam-gling-rgyan-gcig*', pp. 543-4.) Compare the categorization in the rediscoveries of Padma-las-'brel-rtal (1291-1315?) called the *Mkha'-'gro Snying-thig-gi Chos-skor* (p. 70.6): *sha-ri-ram*, *chu-ri-ram*, *ba-ri-ram*, *nya-ri-ram* and *pan-rtal-ri* (= on p. 71.3, *panyisa-ram*; p. 131.6, *panyisa-ram*). There are minor, not especially significant differences between this presentation of the 'signs of saintly death' and that in the *Skugdung 'Bar-ba*. The *Skugdung 'Bar-ba* as well as the *Mkha'-'gro Snying-thig* are dateable at the very latest to the time of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363) who was the first to publicize them. Both the seventeen tantras (of which the *Skugdung 'Bar-ba* is one) and the *Mkha'-'gro Snying-thig* belong to the Precepts Class (Man-ngag Sde) of the Ati-yoga Vehicle—the former as the main texts of the unbroken oral tradition (Bka'-ma), the latter as one of four cycles which represent the Rediscovered (Gter-ma) tradition of the Precepts Class. Therefore, it is nothing strange that these collections should share some common contents. For insights into the lives of Padma-las-'brel-rtal and Klong-chen-pa, see Aris, *Hidden Treasures*, pp. 27-30.

¹⁷⁶ An excellent and highly recommended introduction to the business of Tibetan Buddhist consecration is Gyalzur and Verwey, 'Spells on the Life-Wood'. It is, however, mostly limited to the pre-consecration rituals of preparing and inserting the sacred contents. For the consecration proper, see Sharpa Tulku, 'Ritual of Consecration', and Panchen Ötöl, 'The Consecration Ritual.' Yael Bontor, has devoted her dissertation research to this topic. See Bontor, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Consecration Ritual*.

¹⁷⁷ This work, entitled *Rten-la Gzhug 'Bul-ba'i Lag-len Lugs-srol Kun Gsal Dri Bral Nor-bu Chu-shel-gyi Me-long*, is contained in Kong-sprul, *Rgya-chen Bka' Mdzod*, vol. 12, pp. 97-153 (including a few related appendices). The passage rendered here is found on pp. 101.5-102.

¹⁷⁸ See Schopen, 'Bodhigarbhālamkāra', which contains a study of various problems surrounding this text and its history, which is quite complicated (evidently, to judge from Schopen's article, Kong-sprul's five-fold classification does not in fact occur in the version of the *Bodhigarbhālamkāra* which he [Schopen] used; see also note 64, above). This article also has a very valuable discussion of relic classifications which should be consulted. This work, cited by Kong-sprul under the title (Rgya-nag gsar-'gyur, 'new translation [from] Chinese') *Byang-chub Snying-po Rgyan-gyi Gzungs-kyi Cho-ga Zhib-mo*, is cited also in Sde-srid, '*Dzam-gling-rgyan-gcig*'. Studies of this text and the problems associated with it may be expected in the near future.

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BOOK REVIEWS

WILLIAM M. BRASHEAR, *A Mithraic Catechism from Egypt* <P. Berol. 21196>. (Tyche Supplementband) Wien: Verlag Adolf Holzhausens Nfg. 1992 (71 p.) ISBN 3-900518-07-6 (paper)

Another piece has been added to the puzzle of Mithraism. With the continuing inventorying of the Berlin papyri, excavated in Hermupolis in 1906, a small (7 × 9 cm.), lacunose fragment, written on both sides in Greek, was photographed and transcribed in the mid-seventies and dated from the 4th century A.D., but only identified in 1991 as Mithraic. Amongst language that appears to be from a "mystery" context, this Berlin papyrus (P. Berol. 21196) contains also the word *leonteion*, an uncommon word that is otherwise attested only in a Latin Mithraic inscription from Umbria. P. Berol. 21196, then, is "the first indisputably genuine Mithraic text from Greco-Roman Egypt" (16), which, on the basis of its question/answer format, Brashear identifies as a fragment from a manual of pre-initiation instruction (45-46).

Although Brashear correctly ranks the importance of P. Berol. 21196 with the graffiti in the Mithraea at Dura Europos and Santa Prisca in Rome, little conclusive can be based on such minuscule bits of text. Nevertheless, Brashear makes the most of his fragment, freely admitting, where appropriate, to informed conjecture. In addition to plates of the papyrus with a transcription and translation of its text, Brashear includes a word by word commentary, a hypothetical reconstruction of the question and answer sets, and discussions of the possible relation of this Berlin Mithraic catechism to what is known of Mithraic initiation, and to the Mithraic presence in Egypt.

Motivated by the appearance of the verb *zōnnumi*, 'gird', especially, 'gird up one's loins', twice in this small fragment, Brashear concludes with a discussion of the literary and iconographic evidence for belts in Mithraic initiation rites. Brashear notes the use of such garments in initiation ceremonies generally, but also as a Greco-Roman reference to the zodiacal band encompassing the heavens. This zodiacal band is familiar, of course, from Mithraic iconography, especially as a frame for the ubiquitous tauroctonous scene and, theriomorphized (presumably), as the serpent(s) that encircle the leontocephaline anthropomorphs, some of which have the signs of the zodiac sculpted between the enwrapped coils; and, at least two of these "Mithraic Leos are depicted wearing loincloths.

GLING-RAS-PA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE 'BRUG-PA SCHOOL

by Daniel Martin

Introduction---The Revival of Tibetan Buddhism and the Early bKa'-brgyud Tradition

Tibet in the eleventh century, while weakened in terms of political unity and military strength, was the scene of a great revival in Buddhist learning and spirituality. This was due mainly to the work of the great translators and saints (as well as their patrons) who renewed Tibet's close and fertile ties with India, the motherland of the Buddhist religion, which had first begun a few centuries earlier in the imperial times of Tibetan history. Some of the most notable Buddhists of this period were: Atiśa (958-1054 A.D.) and his disciple 'Brom-ston (1008-1064), the founders of the bKa'-gdams-pa school; Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055), the prolific translator, who had spent seventeen years in India and who founded a large number of temples and monasteries, some of which remain standing even now; 'Brog-mi (992-1072) and his disciple dKon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102) who inspired and founded the Sa-skyapa school; finally, and most importantly for the present study, is the translator Mar-pa (1012-1097) and his chief successor Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123). Mention should also be made of the rNying-ma gTer-ston (hidden text revealers of the old school) who began rediscovering ancient texts during this period.¹ The activities of these scholars and contemplatives were to inform and inspire all the succeeding phases in the religious development of Tibet until modern times.

Ironically, this new contact occurred at a time when Buddhism in India herself was soon to be practically annihilated with the advent of the Moslem conquerors. As the Islamic iconoclasts made their way across Northern India, beginning in the West in about 1000 A.D. and finally destroying the great Buddhist "University" of Nālandā in the East in 1197 A.D.,² Tibetan Buddhists had more and more to rely on the transmission and conservation of doctrines which had already been transplanted. This gave added importance to the various Tibetan sects, since no new impetus could be expected from the country of their origin.

The Buddhist teachings which Mar-pa received from his Indian teachers Nā-ro-pā and Maitrī-pā, the Six Doctrines of Nā-ro-pā³ and the Mahāmudrā⁴ were to become the basis for the

bKa'-brgyud school to which gLing-ras-pa, the subject of this paper belonged. Within the bKa'-brgyud tradition, three distinct life-styles may be discerned. Of the first type, Mar-pa was a married householder, while his widely renowned disciple Mi-la-ras-pa represents the second type, the yogin or homeless ascetic. Of Mi-la-ras-pa's two greatest disciples, Ras-chung-pa (1083-1161) was a yogin and sGam-po-pa belonged to the third, the ideal of the monastic life, disciplined by the rules of the Vinaya. The last two types predominated and the differing demands of their lives produced some small amount of conflict. But the bKa'-brgyud school throughout its history always made allowances for the spiritual nurturing of individuals in all stations in life.

Rag-chung-pa, while he did transmit many important doctrines,⁵ did so without the framework of an institutional structure. Therefore it is to sGam-po-pa, who is the last figure in the transmission to be included in the spiritual trees of all later branches of the bKa'-brgyud (excluding the Sangs-pa), that we must look to find a founder of monasteries and author of a systematic guide book for Buddhist doctrine.⁶ In sGam-po-pa the doctrines of another school, the bKa'-gdams-pa, were combined with the purely bKa'-brgyud doctrines and indeed most bKa'-brgyud teachers of this early period studied bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine at some point in their lives. This bKa'-gdams-pa influence may also account for the introduction of the monastic life which also began with sGam-po-pa.

The first important fork in the trunk of the spiritual tree occurred with two disciples of sGam-po-pa who were also of the monk type: Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (1110-1193), the founder of several large monasteries and of the important Karma-pa school; and Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170) from whom stem three other major bKa'-brgyud schools through three of his personal disciples. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1177) founded the 'Bri-gung-pa school which was to have some political importance. The sTag-lung-pa school, which broke away from the 'Bri-gung-pa, was founded by another disciple of Phag-mo-gru-pa named sTag-lung-thang-pa (1142-1210). The final of the three schools,⁷ the 'Brug-pa, is the one which directly concerns us here. While this school was of no little importance in Tibet proper, it later came to predominate in the border areas of Bhutan and Ladakh. The actual founding of the 'Brug-pa is a matter of some confusion. This 'problem' will be dealt with further in my conclusion. Here it should be enough to say that it originated with gTsang-pa rGya-ras-pa (1161-1211) and his guru, a disciple of Phag-mo-gru-pa, gLing-ras-pa (1128-1188).

The Life of gLing-ras-pa⁸

gLing-ras-pa was born in 1128 A.D., the youngest of four children, to rGyal-pa sKyab-be and his wife gZud-mo Dar-chung and was given the name Padma rDo-rje. He learned reading, writing and arithmetic while young and studied under a doctor named Ras-sman (Ra-sman) from age eight until age thirteen. When he was seventeen, he took the Upāsaka vows in the presence of his paternal uncle gLing (a bKa'-gdams-pa). Also he learned many tantric cycles such as the Kālacakra and Vajrabhairava cycles of the Rva school from one Rva 'Bum-seng.⁹ It was during this time that gLing-ras-pa destroyed a chief through sorcery because of some dispute over a matter of succession. This dabbling in black magic seems not to have been unusual in the early lives of bKa'-brgyud saints, Mi-la-ras-pa being the best known example. Success in black magic may even be viewed positively to the extent that it shows an equal potential for success in the cause of white magic (the Bodhisattva Path).

Shortly after he had taken his full monastic vows, he broke them. One day as he was on his begging rounds, he was seduced by a lady sMan-mo. They went on as a couple and studied together under Khyung-tshang-pa (1115-1176). They learned rituals of the Rva school, the Six Doctrines of Nā-ro-pā, and the oral transmission of Ras-chung-pa. gLing-ras-pa performed rites to atone for breaking his monk vows and he and sMan-mo both put on the cotton robes of the ascetics.

Because some people he talked to said that Khyung-tshang-pa had never met Ras-chung-pa¹⁰ he had some doubts. So he went to Lo-ro to see Ras-chung-pa in person. This was in 1162 A.D., the year following Ras-chung-pa's death. Still, he received the complete oral transmission from other personal disciples of Ras-chung-pa who stayed in Lo-ro, especially from the teacher Sum-pa.

Later gLing-ras-pa set out on a journey intending to meditate at Ngam-sod. While on the road he met a contemplative who told him about Phag-mo-gru-pa. At the mere mention of the name, gLing-ras-pa got goose flesh (out of faith) and immediately set out to see him.

"At their meeting gLing-ras-pa thought to himself, 'This is in reality a Buddha. These trees and flocks of birds are only his emanations.' His mind was contented and all ordinary understanding ceased. All obscuring things were quieted. He perceived the pure

actuality¹¹ of all Dharmas. All his doubts were instantaneously cut off. He did not even ask for a word of explanation. Later he said, 'When I received the Light of Knowledge through his mastery of Buddhist scripture, it was as if I were granted the Eye of Wisdom.'¹²

When Phag-mo-gru-pa had given him the Lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor teachings¹³ he made a vow to stay in seclusion in order to meditate on it, which was to last seven years, seven months and seven days. He freed himself after only five days and performed rituals of penance for breaking his vow. When Phag-mo-gru-pa asked him why he had broken his retreat, he answered:

"'Because you said I should meditate on the Primordial Significance (gNyug-ma'i Don), I meditated. Becoming empty of meditation and meditator, I was finished. I saw no sense in keeping a meditation retreat.' When he had related this and other realizations, the guru was pleased, 'Your realization is sublime like that of the great Saraha beyond the Ganges.' Having said this, he intoned a mantra."¹⁴

There was some controversy among the monk-disciples of Phag-mo-gru-pa who talked among themselves saying, "As a rule the guru doesn't like yogis, especially those with consorts. But he likes gLing-ras-pa very well." Finally, probably owing to this dissension among his monk-disciples, Phag-mo-gru-pa asked him to send sMan-mo away.

Of the five miracles told about gLing-ras-pa,¹⁵ the first occurred as he was reading the story in the Ratnakūta Sūtra where two monks were preaching to a group of women. There was another group of sixty monks who slandered the two monks. This turned out to be quite a serious offense, considering that the two monks happened to be Bodhisattvas. One among the sixty monks, who all had to spend an extended term in the Buddhist hells, was named Viryaprabha. gLing-ras-pa recognized himself to be a rebirth of Viryaprabha and he understood that the hardships of his present life, as well as his failure to keep his monk vows were due to the karmic consequences of the misdeed performed in this other incarnation.

The second miraculous event occurred while he was staying at a cave in the area of sNa-phu¹⁶ called bKra-sis-dge-gling:

"Because he offered his teacher (Phag-mo-gru-pa) a part of whatever he fixed to eat, it happened that one day a portion of vegetables appeared in the guru's (tea) cup. When some of the disciples wondered at this, (Phag-mo-gru-pa) said, 'That stupid gLing-ras-pa has offered me part of his stew!'"¹⁷

The third miracle:

"In a dream there came a blue woman who placed on his tongue what he understood to be the entire bKa'-'gyur in a single volume. In this manner the whole of the bKa'-'gyur was stored in his memory. Whatever anyone wanted (to know) in the bKa'-'gyur, he would tell them."¹⁸

The fourth miracle:

"In all the scriptures, both Sutra and Tantra, there was no significance he did not comprehend. He decided to write commentaries. So, when he made commentaries on the Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra and Nāmasaṅgīti (Tantras), there were those who criticized him.¹⁹ He went to Zor-ra, a minor valley of sNa-phu, and asked, 'What person is it that disagrees with me?' No one could answer. Then, as their hearts had become puffed up, he put bookbinding boards in front and behind him, bound himself up with bookbinding straps and flew back and forth in the sky. He sang a song which began, 'Am I not a volume of the Sacred Dharma?' When they had thus clearly seen the extent of his capabilities they overcame their pride and filled the whole earth with parasols of their reverent praises, calling him a Mahāsiddha."²⁰

The fifth miracle:

"While staying in the cave known as bKra-sis-dge-gling, a Dākiṇī came and said, 'gLing-ras-pa, do not stay here.' No sooner had he gotten outside, than the cave roof collapsed. Then he made a grass hut and, one day while

he was there, five Dākiṇīs came, each carrying a crown with its own special symbol. They placed the crowns on the head of the Mahāsiddha, appointing him thereby a representative of Vajradhara. This done, they disappeared."²¹

As with Mi-la-ras-pa and many other bKa -brgyud saints, the teachings of gLing-ras-pa's later life are expressed through the medium of extemporaneous poetry. These poems are patterned after the Indic 'Adamantine songs' (Vajradohā). The original biographies must have contained quite a few of these poems of which my short sources (with a few exceptions) only quote the first lines. I try to translate here the beginning of one said to be his "last will."²²

"May all beings become Buddhas by the Supreme Blessing!
May they be protected as promised²³
by the Dharmapālas and Dākiṇīs,
by the Gurus and the (Three) Precious!

The affliction called death is a kindness
as it shatters doubts and dissolves the compounds.
With the Yoga of Uncompounded Mental Reality²⁴
passing away is a great happiness.

My Mental Reality is the adamantine Buddha-mind.
It will abide without distinction in the minds
of all mental beings.
Examine the mind, not thinking, 'Where does it go?'
When you see the reality of mind, you are meeting
me.

My Physical Reality is the adamantine Buddha-body.
It will abide without distinction in the bodies
of all beings.
Examine the body, not thinking, 'After death there
is nothing.'
When you realize the nature of the Innate, you are
meeting me.

I will pervade all beings and abide in the slightest
sound.
(My) blessing will come to those who ask."²⁵

According to the Blue Annals (p. 664) he passed away on the twenty-eighth day of the first summer month in the year

1188 A.D. He died as a result of the "contraction of his teeth" brought about when two men who had broken their Tantric vows came into his presence. His disciple gTang-pa rGya-ras-pa looked after the funeral rites and later erected a stūpa as reliquary for the remains.

The Founding of the 'Brug-pa

It may be remarked that there are precious few things in the preceding biography to fit the modern critical historian's taste for "fact", meaning especially the social conditions which many like to believe are sufficient to explain the origins of all other historical phenomena. In concluding my considerations I will explore one particular occurrence which falls into the category of a historical 'problem'. There is some confusion concerning who the 'founder' of the 'Brug-pa branch of the bKa'-brgyud actually was. While there may be no straightforward answer to this question, the attempt may at least shed some light on the nature of the bKa'-brgyud order and also show how social factors as such may, in this case, be of only secondary importance.

The case for making gTsang-pa rGya-ras-pa the founder has much to support it. He founded several monasteries such as the kLong-rdol Monastery near Lha-sa. Of greatest importance is his founding of the monastery of 'Brug, also in the central province of dbUs, because this is the monastery which gave its name to the 'Brug-pa.

"(rGya-ras-pa) went to 'Brug. Nine dragons ('Brug), the emanations of nine Mahāsiddhas, flew in the heavens. Nine loud thunderclaps ('Brug-sgra) sounded. Because of this, the guru (rGya-ras-pa), the monastery and doctrinal tradition were given the name 'Brug."²⁶

If naming a tradition is the same as founding it, then rGya-ras-pa may certainly be the founder, but I don't think the question is so easily solved.

Another point favoring rGya-ras-pa is that, being recognized in the prophecy connected with his monastic ordination as an embodiment of the Indian master Nā-ro-pā, he is the first in the so-called 'Brug-chen incarnation series. rGya-ras-pa was also the first abbot of Ra-lung, but it was only much later that the fourteenth abbot of Ra-lung, Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor (1428-1476)²⁷ was discovered to be the second in the series.

This incarnation series has been the most important one in the later history of the 'Brug-pa sect. The fourth was the great Padma dKar-po (1527-1592) and the twelfth now resides in India.

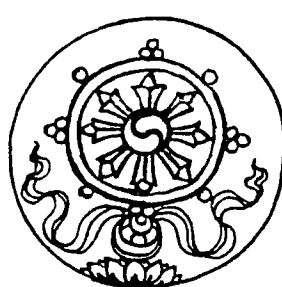
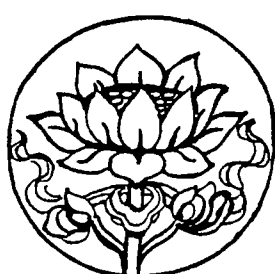
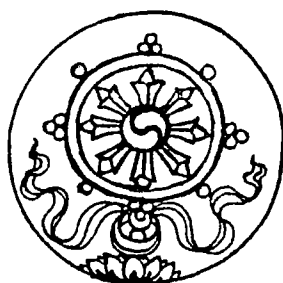
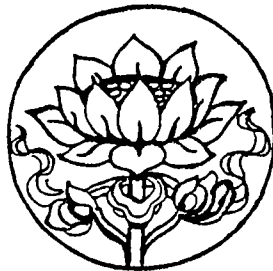
The most important criterion for determining foundership, however, seems to hinge on the founding of Ra-lung, which later 'Brug-pa adherents look back to as the most formative and influential center of their school. Waddell²⁸ is absolutely misleading (or misled). For instance he makes "Pag-sam Wang-po" (dPag-bsam-dbang-po) the founder of Ra-lung when actually he was the fifth 'Brug-chen (1593-1641). He also translates the name Ra-lung as "Valley of Horns", the "Horns" referring to the shape of the surrounding mountains. Das²⁹ gives the same interpretation. Tucci³⁰ gives a more likely if much less obvious explanation of the name. The story runs like this: A goat (ra-ma) strayed from its flock, and when the shepherds found it, it was spurring milk on a stone. When the milk dried, it formed the mantric syllables "Om aḥ hūm." gLing-ras-pa heard this and believed it to be an omen (lung-bstan). In accordance with normal Tibetan abbreviating tendencies, the phrase "Ra-ma Lung-bstan" (Goat-prophecy) was shortened to Ra-lung.³¹ After this he meditated in a cave.

Not only did gLing-ras-pa name the area of Ra-lung, but he also seems to have founded the monastery, even though my Tibetan sources do not say so directly. According to the Blue Annals, "rGya-ras-pa met gLing-ras-pa when the latter was residing at Ra-lung."³² and Padma dKar-po adds that this occurred in rGya-ras-pa's twenty-third year (1182 Or 1183).³³ Ra-lung, according to Snellgrove, was founded in 1180 A.D.³⁴ We should stop for a moment to consider what 'founding' may mean in this case. As stated earlier, gLing-ras-pa stayed in a cave (near or at Ra-lung?) after giving Ra-lung its name.³⁵ It seems that gLing-ras-pa would have made no active attempt to found a monastery, but the following possibility is not without precedents in the history of this period.³⁶ As word of his sanctity spread, followers (including rGya-ras-pa) came and erected make-shift shelters near his cave. While gLing-ras-pa was never called an abbot, the founding of Ra-lung and therefore of the 'Brug-pa school would then be directly due to this teacher and those contemplatives who chose to place themselves under his guidance.

At the same time, rGya-ras-pa is stated to be the founder of Ra-lung in two of my Tibetan sources. "As prophesized by gLing-ras-pa, he founded the headquarters of Ra-lung."³⁷ This may mean that he established a central structure for gLing-ras-pa's followers who were already there. So far my historical

problem, then, remains unsolved. It would require much more research to do full justice to this particular aspect. I do think the weight of the evidence leans to the side of gLing-ras-pa and the very nature of the bKa'-brgyud school tends to aid this conclusion.

The name bKa'-brgyud means "transmission" and such it may be applied to transmission lineages within any of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions. This transmission refers to the doctrine and practical instruction passed on from teacher to disciple. When a certain teacher has more than one disciple to carry on the transmission, it produces a branching in the spiritual tree with the effect that even those in the smallest twigs can trace their lineage of teachers directly back to the main trunk of their particular tradition. The point of making this analogy is to show that gLing-ras-pa stands at the beginning of a major branch. Whether or not gLing-ras-pa founded Ra-lung becomes irrelevant. I have discovered several places where the 'Brug-pa is referred to as the gLing-ras bKa'-brgyud and have found no corresponding expression for rGya-ras-pa.³⁸ The Blue Annals even states in passing that the 'Brug-pa school originated from gLing-ras-pa.³⁹ This argument by transmission should in itself be sufficient grounds for awarding him the title of 'founder'.



NOTES

1. The first well-known gTer-ston were Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (1124-1192?) and Gu-ru Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1212-1270). However, E. Smith (see preface to Kong-sprul's Encyclopedia, No. 15) mentions a gTer-ston by the name of Sangs-rgyas bLa-ma who was active in the latter half of the tenth century. Khetsun Sangpo included Sangs-rgyas bLa-ma in his Biographical Dictionary (vol. III, p. 165) as well as a few eleventh century sTer-ston (vol. III, pp. 238-9, 299ff). The significance of these earliest gTer-ston needs examining.
2. Conze, Buddhism, pp. 43, 216.
3. See Evan-wentz, Tibetan Yoga, pp. 155-250.
4. See Evan-wentz, Tibetan Yoga, pp. 101-153.
5. Besides the esoteric transmissions of Ras-chung-pa (the Ras-chung sNyan-brgyud), we have the esoteric tradition which, passing through rNog Chos-sku-rdo-rje, one of the four chief disciples of Mar-pa, survived into modern times. (See Smith, Kong-sprul, p. 60) The transmissions of rNgog and Ras-chung-pa, although they did not form distinct, organized schools, appear as more or less minor currents in the practises of the various bKa'-brgyud sects.
6. The Yid-bZin-nor-bu-Thar-pa-rin-po-che'i rGyan, see Guenther, Jewel Ornament.
7. These are sometimes called collectively the Phag-gru bKa'-brgyud, as likewise all the sects whose transmissions are traced back through Dvags-po Lha-rje (sGam-po-pa) are known as the Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud.
8. I used: Ye-ses-chos-'dar, mNyam-med Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud (A); Roerich, Blue Annals, (B); bKa'-brgyud qSer-'phreng Chen-mo, (C); Padma dKar-po, Chos-'byung (D). For the most part I found it unnecessary in my translation-retelling of the life to indicate which source I am using. They all tell basically the same story. They differ mainly in how much they choose to say about a certain subject. Otherwise, any conflicting reports are inconsequential. (B) and (D) were written respectively in 1476 and 1575 A. D. while (A) is modern and (C) is probably nineteenth century. There are at least two longer and older versions of the life. O-rgyan-pa (1230-1308) most likely wrote one version. rGyal-thang-pa, who like O-rgyan-pa, was a disciple of rGod-tshang-pa (who was in turn a disciple of rGya-ras-pa), wrote a fourty-six

leaf version. Much later Lha-btsun Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1473-1557) wrote or edited a sixty-one leaf account. (see Smith in preface to Life of the Saint of gTsang, p. 27). Most likely these are the sources of my shorter and later versions.

9. Roerich, (Blue Annals, p. 659) mistakes this Rva with Rva Lo-tsa-ba, the founder of the Rva school. Rva 'Bum-seng was fourth in the school's principle transmission lineage and seems to have been a contemporary of rLing-ras-pa whereas Rva Lo-tsa-ba belonged to the preceding century.
10. According to Blue Annals, p. 439, he was one of Ras-chung-pa's thirteen chief disciples.
11. Padma dKar-po (Chos-'byung, p. 568) uses the word Ngang-tshul instead of the gnas-lugs of the present text.
12. Ye-sés-chos-'dar, mNyam-med Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud, p. 73.
13. The Lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor is the doctrine of Sahaja (see index to S.B. Dasgupta, Introduction to Tantric Buddhism). In the Blue Annals (p. 460) it says of sGam-po-pa that he "composed a 'Graded Guide' (khrid-rim) called Lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor which was also called Dvags-po'i rTogs-chos." I was unable to find this work in the two gSung-'bum ('Collected Works') which I consulted, that is, unless rTogs-chos is to be identified with Tshogs-chos ('Miscellaneous Teachings') in which are to be found a few short works on the Lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor. For sGam-po-pa's transmission of these teachings to Phag-mo-gru-pa, see Blue Annals (p. 559).
14. Ye-sés-chos-'dar, mNyam-med Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud, p. 74.
15. I avoid passing judgement on the historicity of these stories if only to keep the 'middle path' between the credulity of wonder mongers and the skepticism of the rationalist who wouldn't accept anything 'supernatural' if it bit him on the nose.
16. His most common alias in sNa-phu-pa.
17. Ye-sés-chos-'dar, mNyam-med Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud, p. 75.
18. Ibid., p. 75.
19. According to the Blue Annals, p. 663, they accused him of making it all up out of his own head (evidently rather than elucidating the meanings which the texts intended).

20. Padma dKar-po, Chos-'byung, p. 570.
21. Padma dKar-po, Chos-'byung, p. 571.
22. Roerich, Blue Annals, p. 664.
23. Thugs-dam-bZin-du.
24. Sems-nyid or sems-kyi-de-kho-na-nyid.
25. bKa'-brgyud qSer-'phrenq Chen-mo, p. 406-407.
26. Ye-sés-chos-'dar, mNyam-med Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud, p. 12.
27. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, A Brief Account, p. 20, and Blue Annals, p. 672.
28. Waddell, Lhasa, p. 284, and Waddell, Tibetan Buddhism, p. 68.
29. Das, Journey, p. 129.
30. Tucci, To Lhasa and Beyond, p. 177.
31. Was he naming the area or the actual monastery (before the fact)?
32. Roerich, Blue Annals, p. 665.
33. Padma dKar-po, Chos-'Byung, p. 573.
34. Snellgrove, Cultural History, p. 137. Note that it was in rGya-ras-pa's thirty-third year that he founded the previously mentioned 'Brug Monastery, placing its founding circa 1192, four or five years after gLing-ras-pa's death.
35. sNa-phu, gLing-ras-pa's customary place of meditation, was near bSam-yas on the gTsang-po river and should not be confused with Ra-lung, which is far away, near the trading center of rGyal-rtse in gTsang province. Later he returned to sNa-phu and stayed at a monastery there. Blue Annals, p. 664.
36. Snellgrove, Cultural History, p. 136.
37. gLing-gi Lung-bstan ltar Ra-lung-gi gDan-sa bTabs. Ye-sés-chos-'dar, mNyam-med Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud, p. 97 and Padma dKar-po, Chos-'byung, p. 581.
38. Refer to footnote 7.
39. Roerich, Blue Annals, p. 564.

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THE HISTORY OF GANDEN, DREPUNG AND SERA

by Ven. Kyabje Ling Rinpoche
Senior Tutor of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Near Lhasa are the three main monasteries: Ganden, Drepung and Sera. We will describe the founding of Ganden Monastery.

In the Bull-Earth year of the Tibetan calendar (1409), when Tsongkhapa was 53 years old, he celebrated the festival of Mon-lam. During this ceremony, the assembled disciples seized the opportunity of praying to him to ask him to build a monastery which would become his principal residence. In order to found this, they offered Tsongkhapa various lands and old monasteries.

To select among these lands the most favorable, Tsongkhapa examined first of all his dreams. Then he performed a method of divination, using the flame of a butterlamp placed before a statue of Shakyamuni in the high temple of Lhasa. The result of these two divinations indicated a place named "Dokriwoche" as particularly favorable for the construction of the monastery. After that Tsongkhapa consulted a great yogi of Lhodrag, who was also his master. The latter foretold, that on the flank of the mountain Wangkor, just in front of the Tsuenmo mountains, a large number of monks would gather. Then addressing himself to Tsongkhapa, the yogi added, "Since your next rebirth will be in the Heaven Ganden, you should therefore call your monastery Ganden."

Thus, after the festival of Mon-lam, Tsongkhapa followed by some of his disciples went to Dokriwoche. In this place, the shape of the earth, the disposition of the mountains, and the vault of the firmament itself presented good omens for prosperity and for the development of the teachings and the practice of the Dharma. They could even see on the surrounding rocks natural images of the Buddha and his attributes, as well as mantras. Yet, as Tsongkhapa remarked, there was a lack of water. He put one of his fingers onto the rock, and out sprang pure water immediately. Not far from there Tsongkhapa found two images of Dharmarajas, and also a white conch. This conch has a story:

- Huang Wenbi 5.3.1.22, 5.4.3.3.
 Huntington, E. 1.7.
 Inokuchi, T. 5.4.1.45, 5.5.1.
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 Yuezhi 5.3.1.37.
 Zeymal, E. V. 5.3.1.27.
 Zhang Linhua 1.21.
 Zhao Lisheng 5.4.1.43.

Poisoned Dialogue: A Study of Tibetan Sources on the Last Year in the Life of Gshen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035 C. E.)

by
 DAN MARTIN
 (Jerusalem)

The period of Gshen-chen Klu-dga's teaching activities ranging from about 1028 until his death in 1035¹ is not very well covered in the earlier Bon histories, while his last years and the circumstances of his death are scarcely mentioned at all. An early 13th-century source, the anti-Bon polemic located in the *Textbook on the Single Intention* (*Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*), strongly implies that the Gshen-chen died an especially horrible death, "accompanied with various inauspicious signs," as retribution for his alleged scriptural deceptions.² As one would expect, the available Bon version of these events is quite different, even if it also views his untimely death as a kind of punishment.

The only source known to us which supplies a continuous narrative for the last year of the Gshen-chen's life is the 1917 history by Mkhas-grub Lung-rtogs-rgya-mtsho, principal (*slob-dpon*) of G.yung-drung-gling Monastery in Gtsang, a member of the 'Bru ('Gru) family, one of the most prominent families throughout Bon history from the 11th century until today. After briefly relating

1 This paper forms a sequel to another entitled "Unearthing Bon Treasures: A Study of Tibetan Sources on the Earlier Years in the Life of Gshen-chen Klu-dga'." For testimony on dates differing from those given here, see DPAL-TSHUL, *G.yung-drung Bon-gyi*, vol. 2, p. 247, where it is said that the Gshen-chen was born in a Fire Monkey year (996) and died in his forty-third year, a Tiger year (accordingly 1038).

2 The anti-Bon passage from the *Single Intention* has been translated in a paper in preparation.

information about the Gshen-chen's main disciples, Lung-rtogs-rgya-mtsho's narrative resumes with the Gshen-chen in his fortieth year, in 1035:

Then when the Gshen-chen reached his fortieth year, he left his profound text copies in the care of Rong-gu G.yung-drung-gtsug-phud³ of Sgro-ba Do⁴ and, carrying with him the six tantras of *Dbang-chen*, he went accompanied by his Newari (Bal-mi) attendant Lha-btsan⁵ to a place in Shangs where Khyung-byid-mu-thur⁶ was said to be staying, intending to exchange the six tantras for the *Zhang-zhung Gser Dzwa*. When they had been on the road for one day, a frightful white figure⁷ came to them and said, "Klu-dga', although you have been granted the great spiritual powers,⁸ all the Bon teachings have been scattered like chicken down. If even the slightest command of the Mother⁹ is not carried out, swift punishment is sure to follow."

The attendant argued that they should turn back, but the Gshen-chen did not listen to him. As for Mu-thur, he had extremely great pride in his magical powers. He said, "This Zhang-zhung Bon text of mine has had an unbroken bridge of transmission. The fog of its blessings has never lifted. That is why I

3 He is listed as one of the Gshen-chen's disciples belonging to a group called the 'Eight Pillars of Lower Nyang'.

4 There was a place in Yar-brog called Do, which might be intended here (the eleventh century Mar-pa Do-pa came from this place). The word *do* may mean "an island in a lake" (KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 350).

5 This proper name is otherwise unknown to me, except as the name of a 'treasure protector' (*gter bdag*). See, for example, *SFHB*, pp. 757.5, 760.5.

6 His story, as transmitter of the oral teachings from Zhang-zhung known as 'Fire Mountain' (Me-ri), is briefly told in *SFHB*, p. 704.5. See also DPAL-TSHUL, *G.yung-drung Bon-gyi*, vol. 2, pp. 331.6–332.2. Klu-dga's journey was quite a lengthy one from 'Brig-mtshams almost due north to the Shangs Valley, which contains a north tributary of the Brahmaputra River.

7 Although we would hesitate to assert this too strongly, it is possible that this white figure might be the spirit Pe-har, who often in stories about the 11th through 12th centuries appears in the form of a white figure, and frequently as a young monk, possibly going toward explaining the young monk who had a role in the story of the death of the Gshen-chen. See MARTIN, 'Star King'.

8 *Dngos-grub chen-po*, here referring to the excavated texts.

9 No doubt Srid-pa'i Rgyal-mo ('Queen of Existence') is intended here.

am able to launch the Red Dzwa¹⁰ in public. I will not trade it for a Bon text you extracted from under the ground.¹¹ However, if you want Zhang-zhung Bon texts, bring gold in order to view them." Since their minds did not reach any agreement in the matter, the teaching of the *Dzwa-ba'i Spur Sngags* declined and came to an end.

On the return journey, the Gshen stayed for one day at a trade fair.¹² While there, his presence was detected by Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug, who later asked him inside for rest and hospitality, and served him lunch. He said, "Oh my! You are that same great man who got Bon Treasures from 'Bri-'tshams Mtha'-dkar!"

He offered the Gshen-chen a full bowl of yoghurt to which he had added poison. Then that evening the Gshen-chen and his servant were departing together by way of the pass, when a young monk came running after them. The young monk brought two pieces of brown sugar. One he served to the lama. The other piece he ate himself and then went back the way he came. It is said that, at the high point of the pass, he had a nose bleed, and just as they were going down the pass the Lama got

10 A text called *Inner Tantra Subduing the Enemies: Red Gtso* (*Gtso Dmar Dgra 'Dul Nang-gi Rgyud*) is mentioned in *SFHB*, p. 621.2. *Gtso*, and, more frequently, *btso* or *tso* are different spellings for *dzwa*, all of which refer to magical proto-missiles which play a part in the story of Srong-btsan-sgam-po's conquest of Zhang-zhung, for example. Some texts devoted to them may be found in *DBAL-CHU'I LAS-TSHOGS*, including a cycle of *Zhang-zhung Dzwa Dmar*.

11 These statements seem to reflect, at some stage in Bon history, a strained dialogue between the proponents of excavated scriptures (which make up the great bulk of the Bon scriptures) and the proponents of unbroken transmissions from Zhang-zhung.

12 This is probably intended to refer to the trading center (*tshong-'dus*) of Mgr-mo, a monastery in Gtsang founded by Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug. He had travelled from the central Tibetan province of Dbus to Gtsang province in the company of a group of traders. It is worthy of note that one of Lo-ston's disciples founded a temple in 'Brig-mtshams, the site of much of the Gshen-chen's activity (MARTIN, 'Unearthing Bon Treasures').

Although this would require careful research and argument before it could be accepted as established, it is possible that local conflict at 'Brig-mtshams between the Bon followers of the Gshen-chen and the monastic Chos followers of Lo-ston could have led to the following 'historical' (?) account of the Gshen-chen's assassination by Lo-ston.

very ill and was unable to proceed. Then a Tangut Bonpo¹³ invited them in. When word reached Zhu-yas Legs-po at Sngo-chug (?) in Skyi-mkhar, he arrived swiftly.

While Legs-po wept, [the Gshen-chen] said, "I have you for the Lama's Representative. Even I myself did not achieve [this status]. Even though I had a prophecy that the 'Byong (?) Lo-ston would be my 'treasure demon' (*gter bdud*), I did not understand it."

When [Legs-po] later asked how many treasures were at 'Britshams Mtha'-dkar, the Gshen-chen replied, "The teachings of Everlasting Bon are as many as the hairs on the body of a piebald (*gro-bo*) horse. Of these, I have extracted no more than [a number equivalent to the hairs on the horse's] two ears. Now, without me, they will definitely not be extracted."

Another time, giving his hand to Legs-po, he said, "My son, even though the Bon teachings here in Tibet are like the rising sun, what we have is no more than a morning star. Nevertheless there will be great blessings. After this life I go to serve as royal Gshen priest of Ta-zig Phrom. Then I will go to the presence of Teacher Klu-sgrub Ye-shes-snying-po¹⁴ in Dga'-ldan Padmabkod-pa'i Gling. At that time we two, father and son, will meet again." So saying, he passed in meditation into the Realm of Bon Proper. At the same time, the earth quaked and a great light was seen. This then became known as 'Gshen-rgur's Great Earthquake'.¹⁵

Although ordered to keep the Southern Treasures secret for one [twelve] year cycle, he was unable to do this, and it is claimed that [his death] was retribution for proclaiming them to everyone after only eight years.¹⁶

13 This *might* be a reference to the Gshen-chen's first disciple Me-nyag Nagu. During this period, Me-nyag is the Tibetan name for the kingdom and nation of the Tanguts. In later centuries the same name would be given to groups of people who evidently descended from the Tanguts, or to the places in Tibet where those people settled.

14 For his story, see KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

15 Earthquakes and unusual lights are among the several signs of saintly death that have been quite well known in Tibetan history, at least since the 11th century, and undoubtedly find their literary inspiration in sūtra accounts of the death of the Buddha.

16 According to the Gshen-chen's first-person narrative, this should be eleven years.

Among the texts which had earlier been entrusted to Rong-gu, it has been said that a few were destroyed. The *gshegs-rdzong* [meritorious actions done on behalf of the deceased] and the empowerments and text authorizations for the two 'princes' [*rgyal-sras*, meaning the physical sons of the Gshen-chen] were done by Legs-po. Lady Dpal-sgron took the scripture boxes of the Gshen and gave them to Legs-po with the words, "If the time comes when my son here needs them, give them to him. Until then, you take them."

Legs-po made fresh 'son copies' (*bu-dpe*) without any additions or omissions. Then he arranged all the old personal copies of the Gshen in one place, arranging all of the 'son copies' he had made in another place. Later on, the prince Rin-chen-rgyalmtshan was given a choice, and because the 'son copies' were more beautifully done, he chose them. This is the source of the saying, "Its source is as excellent as the copies of Zhu" (Zhu *dpe khungs bzang*).

So, the Sprul-sku Gshen-chen Klu-dga' was first in the patriliney of Dmu-rgyal Gshen. His treasures were a great marvel among those of the hundred and eight emanated treasure revealers (*gter-ston*), in the midst of whose constellations he was the full moon. We have told how, 268 human years from the time Bon declined in Tibet, the Gshen extracted the Southern Treasures.¹⁷ If one checks the commentary on the *Dbang-chen* tantra¹⁸ and so forth, one will know that the Southern Treasures were placed beneath the ground in the time of Bon's suppression by Gri-gum-btsad-po.¹⁹

The most puzzling thing about this account of the Gshen-chen's last days is its absence in all the other accounts of his life available to us.²⁰ We cannot for this reason simply discount it. The author may have had access to older materials not now available such as the biography (*nam-thar*) of Gshen-chen Klu-dga' known to us only as a rumor. The next most puzzling thing is

17 Shar-rdza concurs with this chronology; see KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 117.

18 This is probably a reference to *KHRO*, where the story of Gri-gum-btsan-po is told at p. 58.5 and following.

19 Translated passage to be found in MKHAS-GRUB, *Bstan-'byung*, folios 69v.3–71v.2.

20 For these accounts, see MARTIN, 'Unearthing Bon Treasures'.

why Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug makes an appearance as the poisoner of the Gshen-chen; what were his motives? His identity is not in doubt. He is well enough known as one of the five (four according to our Bonpo sources) men of Gtsang province who went to northeastern Tibet to be ordained as monks by Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal.²¹ Soon after his ordination he returned to Gtsang and founded a hermitage near Zhwa-lu monastery in 973.²² Besides these few facts, we only know that he was asked by local rulers descended from the old Tibetan imperial line residing in Ru-lag to send them two monks capable of performing monastic ordinations.²³ In order to understand what is going on here, it may be useful to know a little about Bon history's account of Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal.

For this we turn to the so-called *Rgyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'Byung-gnas* ('Kingly Chronicle Bon Origins') for its version of the transmission lineage of the Vinaya vows:

During the reign of the Zhang-zhung King Mu-la-mu-sangs,²⁴ in the time of the suppression of monastic vows, Mu-zi Gsal-bzang completely cut-off his thoughts, and went into suspended animation.²⁵ Eight hundred years later, a horse keeper for the Tangut King Rab-rtse-'dus by the name of Sog-po Sprel-slog-can²⁶

21 See, for instance, PADMA-DKAR-PO, *Chos-'byung*, p. 340.3. The story of the earliest monks of the Later Spread is quite complex, and also quite interesting, but cannot be covered in this context.

22 KULJP, *Contributions*, p. 6.

23 ROERICH, *Blue Annals*, p. 205. Incidentally, Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug must not be confused with his near contemporary, a disciple of Klu-mes named Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug (976–1060) who founded the Rgyal Lha-khang in 1012 (PADMA-DKAR-PO, *Chos-'byung*, p. 342.3; ROERICH, *Blue Annals*, p. 87).

24 Following the Zhang-zhung glossaries, this Zhang-zhung language name ought to correspond to Tibetan Nam-mkha' Sangs-rgyas ('Sky Buddha').

25 'Suspended animation' here translates 'gog-pa (Sanskrit *nivodha*), 'trance of cessation'. Such trances are associated with 'hibernating' *arhats* who will be awakened only with the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya. See YAR-LUNG JO-BO, *Chos-'byung*, p. 21, for an example from Chinese Buddhist history, noting that the same word, 'gog-pa, is used there. One should bear in mind that the interpretation of 'gog-pa as a kind of suspended animation reflects critically-toned Mahāyāna rereadings of the Arhat ideal.

26 His name signifies that he was [in these pre-Mongol times] a Sogdian and that he wore a cloak made of monkey fur.

was tending horses by day in the mountains of Mdo-smad when he noticed a rock chamber formed by the joining of some rocks at their bases. The cave was light colored against the dark rocks. As soon as he reached the cave he saw a person sitting on a grass cushion wearing monastic clothes, but with very long hair. Just seeing this person awakened his karma; he was overcome by faith and folded his hands in reverence. "Oh Great Personage, please relax your contemplation," he said, but there was no reply.

The next day he returned and repeated the same words again, and this time there was some movement in his face. The third day, the person replied, "Aie! You who create interruptions in time! Are you human or non-human, or what?"

The horse keeper said, "I am one with an inferior²⁷ body, suffering thoughts, and am under the power of another."

"Well then, are you capable of the seeds of the teachings?"

"I want to do as you do."

So Mu-zi granted him the renunciate vows and gave him the name Khri-'bar-tshul-khrims. He ordained 'Dan-ma G.yag-slog-can²⁸ and named him Gtsug-phud-tshul-khrims. The latter ordained Shing-slog-can²⁹ and named him Gtsug-phud-tshul-khrims. He, in turn, ordained Bla-ma Mu-thur Dgongs-pa-gsal, whose ordination name was Shes-rab-tshul-khrims.³⁰ He ordained Gnyos A-rin. Prior to this, Chos had been suppressed in Tibet, and until the teachings spread later on, there was no Chos. Lha-lung Dpal-rdor³¹ asked the monk Gnyos who his ordinator was, and he replied, "It was Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal." The Tibetans discussed the matter, and then four men from Gtsang, three men from Dbus, seven altogether, went to meet the ordinator Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal to ask for the complete vows.

The Bla-chen said to them, "Generally there is no difference between Bon and Chos. My own lineage of discipline ('dul

27 I read *dman-pa* for *smam-pa*, a reading justified by *SFHB*, p. 697.7.

28 His proper name was Ldan-ma Rin-gzungs (*SFHB*, p. 698.2). His nickname is explained by his dressing in a yak-fur cloak.

29 His proper name was Grum G.yung-drung-'bar (*SFHB*, p. 698.2).

30 *SFHB*, p. 698.3, lists his names as Ya-zi Bon-ston, Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, and Bla[ma] Mu-thur Dgongs-pa-gsal.

31 This is, of course, Lha-lung Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje, the assassin of Glang-dar-ma.

brgyud) is Bon. Since this is the line of 'appropriate disengagements' (*so-so thar-pa*), you must act according to the rules and directives. You must promise to keep four signs of not forgetting your ordinator, so that your teachings will greatly flourish, and whichever teaching of the Buddha you propagate it will be fine." The four signs that show connection with Bon are, the blue 'pillar' (? *ka-ba*) of the skirt, the blue flaps, the blue thread used to sew the outer robe, and the blue center of the seating cushion.

Dgongs-pa-gsal was broadly learned in all the philosophical systems. So in the morning he would teach Chos. At midday he taught Bon. Later in the evening he taught tantra.³²

The four men of Gtsang were Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug, Shes-rab-seng-ge, 'A-zha Blo-gros, and Ye-shes-snying-po. The three men of Dbus were Klu-mes Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, Rag-shi Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas, and Rba Ye-shes-blo-gros...³³

Later on when Jo-bo Rje [Atiśa] came to Tibet, they abandoned the vows that they had previously gotten from Bon and said [to Atiśa], "Now we need to take our own Chos vows."

"Accept and bestow vows as you did before."

Then they asked, "Let us take vows for the good of others, and bestow words of protection."

"For that we have Bodhisattva vows. The vows we actually bestow [on monks] are Hearers' vows. Keep them as you did before."

Therefore, the Vinaya ('Dul-ba) vows also go back to Bon.³⁴

32 Dr. Michael Walter (Bloomington) suggested to me that this paragraph is a *cliché*, also found in stories about Padmasambhava, Vairocana and others.

33 I have omitted a few lines about the religious establishments of the seven monks. In *SFHB*, pp. 698.7ff, the names of the monks are listed as Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug, Tsong-ge Shes-rab-seng-ghe, 'A-zha Rgyal-ba-blo-gros, and 'Bre Ye-shes-snying-po – the four from Gtsang; and from Dbus – Slu-mes [= Klu-mes] Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, Rag-shi Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas, and Rba Ye-shes-blo-gros. Although most later histories mention five men each from Dbus and Gtsang, TSHAL-PA, *Deb-ther Dmar-po*, p. 41, for example, lists seven (or six, depending on the reading).

34 Translated passage found in the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'Byung-gnas* as found in *THREE SOURCES*, pp. 174.2–179.2. This translation may be profitably compared with a translation of Shar-rdza's retelling of the same events (with some curious additions and differences) in KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. 105–109. It is also interesting to compare the story of the

This general Bonpo explanation for the common origins of Bon and Chos monastic vows in the Later Spread³⁵ tells us something of the significance for Bonpos of the Gshen-chen's murder by one of the first monks ordained by Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal. Despite the uncertain historicity of both stories, they tell us something about the antagonistic relations between Bon and Chos, if not in the tenth and eleventh centuries, perhaps in later centuries when they were written down.

However, we cannot simply dismiss the idea that Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal³⁶ was a Bonpo, or perhaps even a simultaneous follower of both Bon and Chos. According to the 1283 religious history by Nel-pa Pandita, Mo-zu Gsal-'bar (here also called Mu-zu Dge-ba-gsal³⁷) was the son of a Bonpo, and received his copy of the '*Dul-ba 'Od-ldan* from a Bonpo.³⁸ The *Red Annals*³⁹ and other histories call him the son of a Bonpo as well. The late thirteenth-century history of Mkhas-pa Lde'u gives the place of Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal's birth as "the Range of Six Natural Peaks, Everlasting Crystal Rock Cave," well-known to Bonpos as the place where the Bon tantras were first revealed to 'Chi-med-gtsug-phud.⁴⁰ The same history says that his lay name was Ka-ra-'phan, that he studied Bon, and took the Bon name Mu-zu Gsal-'bar.⁴¹ Mkhas-pa Lde'u even supplies one of the first monks with the nickname Shing-

'obs-zhu in KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 109, with its parallel story in PADMA-DKAR-PO, *Chos-'byung*, p. 341.6 (also, ZHE-CHEN, *Chos-'byung*, p. 82.6).

35 Other Bon histories tell the same story with differences in the details. Spa-ston, however, denies that Mu-zi entered into suspended animation in the time of Dri-gum-btsan-po, arguing that this happened much later, after the suppression by Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (*SFHB*, p. 676.5ff), making the length of his trance about two hundred (*SFHB*, p. 697.2) rather than eight hundred years. For one author who argues for a 1,800 year period, see DPAL-TSHUL, *G.yung-drung Bon-gyi*, vol. 1, p. 546.6.

36 On Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal in Chos traditions, see especially WATSON, 'Introduction', and WATSON, 'Second Propagation'.

37 Dge-ba-gsal was the name given him at his ordination, later changed to Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal.

38 NE'U PANDITA, *Sngon-gyi Glam*, p. 30.6ff. LDE'U, *Chos-'byung*, p. 391, says that this same text, the '*Dul-ba 'Od-ldan*, was given to him by the monks from Central Tibet. This would refer to the Vinaya commentary by Śākyaprabha, the *Prabhāvatī*.

39 TSHAL-PA, *Deb-ther Dmar-po*, p. 41.

40 MARTIN, *Mandala Cosmogony*, p. 24.

41 LDE'U, *Chos-'byung*, p. 390. Note that the Lde'u history was composed by an adherent of the Rnying-ma-pa school.

glag-can, surely an identical name to that of Shing-slog-can, the ordinator of Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal in the Bon version.

Undoubtedly the effort to account for these complex interconnections between the Bon and Chos historical testimonies will produce many headaches for those future scholars concerned about finding historical truths behind or between them. It may well be that Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal, having been educated as a young man in Bon, retained an open attitude, and ordained persons regardless of their religious partisanship. Thus, it would not be so improbable that he could have served as source of monastic vows for both traditions. At the same time or, perhaps, on the other hand, both the Chos and Bon stories of Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal seem to have, in some part, formed and informed each other in an ongoing dialogue, a dialogue that may well be continued in our twentieth-century story of the Gshen-chen's death by poisoning. A closer scrutiny of the sources will certainly and in any case yield previously unsuspected perspectives on the religious realities of the times that would subsequently be called the period of the Phyi Dar, or 'Later Spreading' of monastic ordinations. One of our most important and difficult tasks will be to separate the historical information from the poison of polemical motivation that went into the creation of the historical narratives.

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tions of Tibet) "reproduced from a manuscript from the collection of A. W. Macdonald," T. Y. Tashigangpa (Leh 1971).

Postscript

Since submitting this article for publication two older sources for the idea that Gshen-chen Klu-dga' was poisoned by the monk Lo-ston have come to our attention. The first is an 'explanatory text' (*rnam-bshad*) by the Sman-ri Abbot Nyi-ma-bstan-'dzin (1813–1875) devoted to explaining – and justifying in light of possible objections – the dates proposed for Bon historical figures in his separate 'chronology' (*bstan-rtsis*) which has been published, translated and studied in Per Kvaerne, 'A Chronological Table of the Bon po: The Bstan rčis of Ņi ma bstan 'jin', *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 33 (1971), pp. 205–282. The 'explanatory text', which was composed in 1842, the same year as the 'chronology', was published under the title *Bstan-rtsis-kyi Rnam-bshad Mthong-ba'i Dga'-ston-nam Dogs Bsal Pan-tsa-li-ka'i Chun-po*, contained in: *Tibetan Žang Žung Dictionary*, The Bonpo Foundation, Lahore Press (Delhi 1965), pp. 41–61. On pp. 55–56 of this work, Nyi-ma-bstan-'dzin says,

There are those who say that Gshen-chen Klu-dga' appeared within the second sixty-year cycle (*rab-byung gnyis-pa*, i.e., between 1087 and 1146), but this is not the case, since it is contradicted [by the following account]. Among the ten monks (*ban-dhe*) of the 'other community' (*gzhan sde*) who, they say, took their vows from Bla-chen Mu-thur was one Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug. Since he was the Gshen's 'treasure demon' (*gter bdud*), he gave poison and Gshen-chen Klu-dga' passed into bliss. He himself, since he violated the commands of Ye-shes-dbal-mo, died after three days of a 'heart attack' (*snying gzer*).

Note that Ye-shes-dbal-mo is a treasure protector (*gter-bdag*) to whom several Bon ritual texts have been devoted (for example, Shar-rdza-Bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan, *Nam-mkha' Mdzod*, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre [Dolanji 1973], vol. 1, pp. 309–332). *Snying gzer*, which we have translated 'heart attack' is one of a

group of seven heart diseases known to Tibetan medicine, one which involves a sharp and biting pain in the chest. The assumption here is that the story of Gshen-chen's poisoning by Lo-ston is something wellknown, and so it should convince us that Gshen-chen lived during the time when the first monks of the Second Spread (Phyi Dar) were active, in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Indeed, even if Nyi-ma-bstan-'dzin does not mention the fact, an anti-Bon polemical passage in an early 13th-century work, the *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha*, agrees in dating Gshen-chen to the time of the Second Spread (see MARTIN, 'Unearthing Bon Treasures').

The second source, which despite its brevity is of even greater significance on account of its relative age, is the *Gter-gyis Kha-byang* by the late 14th-century teacher Sga-ston Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan. This general history of the 'treasures' (*gter-ma*) of Bon exists in the form of a 45-folio manuscript kept in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives at Gangchen Kyishong (Himachal Pradesh, India), accessions no. 17765. On folios 17 *verso* through 21 *recto* is a rather detailed account of the 'southern treasures' (*lho gter*) found by Gshen-chen. The photographic copy with which we must work is very difficult to read in places, in part due to the dark scoring lines in the original manuscript, and in part because of its shorthand cursive style. Nevertheless on folio 21 *recto*, lines 3–4, it states very simply and clearly: "Lo-btsun Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug murdered him with poison" (in 'strict' transcription, *lo btsun rdoer dbang phyugis dugis skrongso*).

Although both textual passages still date from a time quite distant from the events they portray, they do assure us that the story of Gshen-chen's poisoning goes much further back in Bon religion's historical consciousness than we might have otherwise suspected.

and honour given to a scholar who devoted his entire life for propagating and spreading the message of the Buddha in the lands of snow. He died in A.D. 1055, thus it appears that Nako monastery was constructed after that date. The survival of the reversed *ki-gu* in an inscription in the Lo-tsa-ba'i lha-khañ indicates that the monastery was constructed in a period when the practice of using the earlier method of reversed *ki-gu* was not altogether abandoned. Other palaeographic peculiarities of early Tibetan *dbu-can* script including *ya-btags*, so frequently repeated in the inscriptions of the gTsug-lag-khañ at Tabo, are altogether absent at Nako. The renovations, alterations and additions have been a permanent features of all western Himalayan monasteries: how could Nako monastery remain an exception to such phenomena? The exigent need of the hour is to preserve these valuable vanishing Buddhist art treasure both from natural and man-made ravages. Not because that they are the only surviving testimony of the flourishing art of the western Himalaya but are undeniably a distinct document of the ancient and early medieval art of the extinct Gu-ge kingdom.

On the Cultural Ecology of Sky Burial on the Himalayan Plateau

by DAN MARTIN

Introduction

Some years ago it was announced that a consortium of morticians and marketers had contracted with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the use of their Conestoga Two booster to launch space capsules, each containing over five thousand cremated bodily remains, into orbit. The first 'space burial' launching was scheduled for 1986 or early 1987 (Conestoga 1985: 20-21). This is not what we intend to discuss under the term 'sky burial', even if there are some intriguing similarities given the differences in technologies. By 'sky burial' we mean the deliberate, culturally countenanced, exposure of human corpses to carrion-birds. This practice has strictly speaking been known only in Tibet, among the Zoroastrians in Persia and in two Parsi communities of modern India (but there may be some arguments for north Asian and Native American practice, and the method has occurred, though less commonly, in Thailand and Korea, according to Rockhill 1895: 729). It is our present task to trace the history of sky burial as one of several methods of corpse disposal used in Tibet; secondly, to attempt to determine if the Tibetan custom originated in Persia through a comparative method. Thirdly, we will discuss the ecological causes and consequences of the practice. Finally, we will explore a possible cultural concomitant of sky burial on the level of religious ideas. Each of these four approaches to the subject, all of them fallible and subject to debate among contemporary theorists, have particular, even if partial, insights to offer, although they may not be conclusive in equal degree. We may hope that future studies on this subject will achieve a greater level of sophistication, especially in accounting for local variations in funerary practice on the Himalayan plateau (see Losel 1991, for an example of the kinds of studies of local practice that need to be done).

I. Tibetan Sky Burial in Historical Perspective

While Tibet's literarily verifiable history began in about 640 C.E., traditional legends of royalty seem to extend back to the first century B.C.E., and Chinese

archaeologists have recently pushed the earliest human habitation of Tibet as far as 10,000 years (Zhang 1981: 13; Yang 1987). The Italian Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci (1973: 50-56) has described many archaic grave sites, most of them hand-hewn from the rock and covered with stone slabs, some in stone shafts, and others in pottery jars. The Imperial Period (c. 640-842 C.E.) tombs of the Tibetan Emperors were huge burial mounds, still standing in the Chonggye ('Phyongs-rgyas) Valley, although already plundered at the beginning of the 10th century. These tombs, and funerary practices related to them, have been well studied (Hoffmann 1950; Tucci 1950; Lalou 1952; Richardson 1962; Haahr 1969; Tucci 1973: 61-64; Reb-gong 1987; Panglung 1988; Chu 1991) and do not so much concern us here, as they were limited to royalty. Indeed, we could find very few local Tibetan-language sources, starting from the 17th century, for general information on the ways Tibetans buried ordinary people. Funerals of Buddhist saints and scholars, starting from the 10th century, are often described. Saints were almost always cremated with great ceremony, but also occasionally embalmed (see Uebach 1981 for a study of a recent Tibetan work on embalming methods). This has remained standard practice, at least until 1959, in Tibet, but we are rather in the dark about the early history of ordinary burial practices.

A Tibetan astrological/astronomical work first published in 1683 gives the oldest local description we could uncover for burial customs in general, including those for ordinary people. In this work by the Tibetan Regent (the *Sde-srid* was political leader of Tibet) Sangye Gyamtso (Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho), we find a gradation of burial rites according to the social importance of the deceased. For the high cost funerals, starting with the most expensive, the order is as follows:

1. Religious teachers.
2. Kings and high nobles.
3. Ministers.
4. Wealthy persons.
5. Soldiers.
6. Fathers with many sons. (Sde-srid 1972: II 96).

There are some twelve grades of low cost and 'commission cost' funeral services for commoners listed. We find in the same place a hierarchy of burial methods. Kings should not be cremated, but placed in a mausoleum. Ministers may be cremated. Learned religious scholars should be cremated with sandalwood (which needed to be imported from India), and their remains placed in reliquaries called chortens (*chod-rien*). Ordinary monks should be cremated with fir wood. Their ashes should then be mixed with clay, made into clay memorial plaques called *tsha-tsha*, and placed in a chorten. Scribes may be cremated or exposed. Woodcarvers and tailors should be buried. For present purposes, the most interesting fact is that the only term employed in this texts for 'exposure' or 'sky burial' is *ris skyel*, which means, literally, 'to carry to the mountain'. In fact, we have never encountered a phrase in Tibetan

corresponding to 'sky burial', a term which perhaps entered into the western ethnographical literature through the medium of Chinese or Manchu interpreters.

This needs more study, of course. One Tibetan informant (Combe 1975: 93-94) claimed that a Chinese General Yo (who lived from 1686-1754) introduced the custom of exposing corpses to vultures, convincing Tibetans of its moral superiority to burial. We know from a travel diary kept by the Jesuit missionary Desideri between the years 1712 and 1727 that exposure to hungry animals was then the most usual form of corpse disposal, and he cites an earlier work (*China Illustrata* by Athanasius Kircher, published in 1667) to the same effect (Desideri 1971: 195; see also Wessels 1992: 263-64). Samuel Turner, in his travels to Tibet in the latter part of the 18th century, also reported that the common subjects were 'carried to lofty eminences, where, after having been disjoined, and the limbs divided, they are left a prey for ravens, kites and other carnivorous birds'. Less frequently, bodies were thrown into the rivers. 'Burial', he adds, '[...] is altogether unpracticed' (Turner 1800: 317, he is mistaken, since earth burial is the one type on which we have literary as well as abundant archaeological evidence). These testimonies make it extremely unlikely — indeed, the evidence from works of 1667 and 1685, among other evidence, make it impossible — that exposure was introduced into Tibet by a Chinese in the first half of the 18th century. There is a kind of poetic justice in the idea, in that Chinese always buried their dead (cremation has only recently been widely promoted in China) and sky burial they view as a deciding trait of Tibet's cultural otherness.

One nearly contemporaneous account of events that took place in 1792 refers to sky burial under the phrases *phung-po bya gtor*, 'scattering the body [to the] birds', and *bya khyir ster-ba*, 'to give to birds [and] dogs'. The Tibetan cabinet minister Rdo-ring Pandita had, during his life, expressed the opinion that scattering the body to birds was a virtuous act of generosity. Nevertheless, when he died in 1792, the Manchu generals could not accept this kind of burial for him, because, 'for Chinese customs, this cutting of the body and scattering it to the birds is as extremely improper as wife-burning is [to us Tibetans]'. Out of deference to the Manchu generals, who had fought on Tibet's behalf with the Gurkhas of Nepal, Rdo-ring Pandita was cremated, but with the offerings to the deceased made in the Chinese way (Rdo-ring 1987: 840-41).

In fact, immediately after Rdo-ring Pandita's death, the Manchu court in China did its best to do away with the Tibetan practice of sky burial, and an edict was issued by the imperial throne in 1793 which might have abolished the practice, that is if Tibetans had paid attention to it. Notices to the following effect were posted in Tibet:

In order to re-affirm the respect for the relationship between family members and to improve social customs, the carving up of the remains of the dead shall be strictly forbidden. Every human being is as much indebted to his parents for his upbringing as he is to the sky and the earth. So one should support one's parents and bury them in the earth after they have died [...]. It is a long established custom in Tangut [i.e., in Tibet] that after a person has died, his remains are carved up and fed to vultures

or dogs [...]. Sometimes the remains are even chopped up and mixed with barley flour as food for vultures or dogs. These are bestial practices. (Qu 1990: 157-58; a Tibetan-language version of the edict is found in Chab-spel 1991: 254-55).

Those who dared to disregard the edict and buried their parents in the traditional Tibetan way were threatened with death by 'slicing their bodies into small pieces' (Qu 1990: 158), and anyone who watched the sky burial or encouraged it would also be put to death. History has proven that Tibetans took little or no heed of these notices, and for quite cogent reasons — as we will see — even though a few fastidious public officials did make some effort to impose burial in public cemetery plots (Qu 1990).

Our oldest sources for sky burial have been saved for the last. The following is from the early 14th-century traveller Friar Odoric (1286-1331).

Suppose such an one's father to die, then the son will say, 'I desire to pay respect to my father's memory', and so he calls together all the priests and monks and players in the country round, and likewise all the neighbors and kinsfolk, and they carry the body into the country with great rejoicings. And they have a great table in readiness, upon which the priests cut off the head, and then this is presented to the son, and the son and all the company raise a chant and make many prayers for the dead. Then the priests cut the whole of the body to pieces, and when they have done so they go up again to the city with the whole company, praying for him as they go. After this the eagles and vultures come down from the mountains, and every one takes his morsel and carries it away. Then all the company shout aloud, saying, 'Behold! the man is a saint. For the angels of god come and carry him to paradise'. And in this way the son deems himself to be honored in no small degree, seeing that his father is borne off in this creditable manner by the angels. And so he takes his father's head and straightway cooks it and cuts it, and of the skull he maketh a goblet, from which he and all the family always drink devoutly to the memory of the deceased father. And they say that by eating in this way they show their great respect for their father. (Rockhill 1895: 728).

With sincere apologies to Tibetans who know that this is a false portrayal of their funeral practices, nevertheless it may be important, historically speaking, to separate the wheat from the chaff. The reference to cannibalism should certainly not be taken at face value. It is merely hearsay, as Rockhill (1895: 727-28) long ago pointed out. In 1253-55, William of Rubruck had, during his travels in Mongolia, received second hand information that in Tibet people were 'in the habit of eating their dead parents, so that for piety's sake they should not give their parents any other sepulchre than their own bowels' (Hodgen 1971: 94). Without giving any credence to any of the traveller's tales of cannibalism, these stories may represent, in however distorted a manner, an originally accurate account of sky burial that was changed in the retelling. The bowels, however, were undoubtedly the birds.

We should note that one modern Tibetan writer (Reb-gong 1987: 111) argues, in a spirit of evolutionistic rationalization, that the very first Tibetan emperors, who

formed a group called the Seven Thrones of the Sky (Gnam-gyi Khri Bdun), since by all accounts they did not leave any physical remains to be buried, must have been exposed to vultures on the high mountains. The traditional account tells us that these kings dissolved into space in 'rainbow bodies' ('ja'-lus) or ascended a 'sky-rope' (*dmu-thag*). This would seem to place sky burial back to the first centuries B.C.E. While the argument is plausible, we cannot immediately accept it in lieu of explicit evidence. More intriguing is the same author's statement about how subsequent emperors were given water burials, as well as his argument that 'fire burial' or cremation was introduced to Tibet only in the eleventh century by the visiting Indian teacher Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas (on whom more below). If the latter is true, then cremation would have been a direct Tibetan borrowing from India.

To sum up the historical evidence, we have to admit that we do not know when sky burial began in Tibet. Our earliest source is an inaccurate account from a European traveller of the 14th century. Because of the nature of the practice, archaeological finds are probably incapable of providing evidence. Early Tibetan works from the Imperial Period and the period from 1000 to 1500 C.E. have, so far as we have been able to discover, nothing to say on the practice, since they only describe the interments of saints and kings, not of common people. It is entirely possible that more research, especially in Tibetan language sources, will reveal a much earlier verifiable date for the custom.

II. In Comparative Perspective. Zoroastrian Parallels

The fact that sky burial as such is a cultural trait shared by Tibet and Zoroastrian Iran has sometimes been noticed (Modi 1914; Stein 1972: 202). There can be no doubt about the antiquity of the Iranian practice; Herodotus, Strabo, Cicero and many other classical sources have attested it (Louis Gray in Hastings 1961: IV 502; Duchesne-Guillemin 1973: 80-81). Some scholars have pointed to Tibeto-Iranian parallels in beliefs about the afterlife (Hoffmann 1973: 98-99; Tucci 1980: 195; but arguments for Iranian origins of Tibetan myths and practices have been judiciously criticized in Kværne 1987), and one Parsi scholar has already done, in some degree, what we propose to do, although approaching the subject from different interests and perspectives. (Modi [1914: 353, 368] believes that Tibetans and Iranians once lived side-by-side somewhere in Central Asia. The parallels in funerary practice are taken as evidence of this. Aspects of Tibetan practice objectionable from a Zoroastrian point of view are 'relics' of this early period, while peculiarly Zoroastrian practices are, to the contrary, seen as 'improvements'. Even with these assumptions, Modi's work is still the single most valuable article on the subject, and should be consulted directly. Less valuable, but notable for its drawings, is Horne 1872-73). We will assume that if the custom of sky burial was in fact borrowed from the Iranian world, then other characteristically Iranian funerary customs should have accompanied it. We prefer

to overlook abstractions and priestly rituals (on the latter, see especially Kvaerne 1985) and compare only the physical actions that transpire between death and interment, especially actions that relate directly to the handling of the corpse. We have compiled the following outline of Zoroastrian observances by comparing Korwal (1982: 76 ff.), Masani (1962: 99-103) and Duchesne-Guillemin (1973: 78-79).

0. A drink of consecrated Hôrn, or pomegranate juice, is administered to the person on the point of death (this custom not currently in use).
1. The corpse is washed and dressed in used, but clean, white clothes.
2. A sacred thread is tied around the body while a verse is recited.
3. The corpse is laid on a stone slab, on a circle of gravel, or in an excavated spot inside the house. This spot remains impure for nine days after the corpse is removed. Circles are traced in the ground around the corpse to 'isolate' it. One lamp fueled by clarified butter is lighted.
4. The hands are folded crosswise on the chest.
5. The corpse is shown to a dog with two 'eye-like spots' above its eyes. If any life remains in the body, it is believed that the dog will refuse to look at it.
6. A fire is lit and kept burning, with readings from scriptures, until the corpse is removed from the house.
7. Corpse removal must be done in daylight, on a sunny day.
8. The corpse is covered, leaving only the face exposed.
9. Corpse bearers, who must work in pairs, place the body on a bier which must be made of iron.
10. Mourners view the body.
11. The face is covered with a cloth.
12. The body is strapped to the bier with cloth strips. A second pair of corpse bearers takes over.
13. Those who accompany the funeral procession as well as the pallbearers must walk in pairs, holding a piece of cloth called *paiwand* between them.
14. Silence must be kept during the procession.
15. The procession arrives at the Tower of Silence (*Dakhma*). Before entering, the face is uncovered and the corpse is shown to the dog for the last time.
16. Entering the Tower, the first pair of pallbearers deposit the corpse inside. They tear off the clothes and deposit them in a deep well.
17. Any bones, etc., not devoured by the birds are later deposited in a deep pit designated for that specific purpose.

The Tibetan observances are now listed by comparing Norbu (1974: 46-50), Waddell (in Hastings 1961: IV 509-11), and Sangay (1984).

0. Water mixed with consecrated pellets is administered to the dying person.
1. The corpse is bathed, the orifices stopped up with butter.
2. The corpse is bound up in 'fetal position' and completely covered with cloth.
3. The corpse is placed on a platform of bricks in a corner of the house. A curtain is drawn around it.

4. A number of butter lamps (sometimes the number five is mentioned) are kept burning near the corpse.
5. Any food or drink consumed within the house must first be symbolically offered to the deceased.
6. The corpse is removed from the house at early dawn (pallbearers numbering one to four).
7. Usually, a box or square table inverted (with carrying poles attached) is used for a bier.
8. An 'initiation string' is tied around the neck of the corpse and a 'crown' placed on the head. (These are later returned to the family).
9. The bier is carried at the tail end of the funeral procession. A priest 'leads' the corpse with one end of a long white scarf (*kha-btags*) held in his left hand (the other end tied to the bier).
10. Brought to a level rock shelf in a high place set apart for the purpose, the corpse is stripped, the flesh sliced. After the flesh is devoured by the vultures, often the bones are pulverized and mixed with barley flour. This is then also consumed by the birds.

It is not sufficient simply to isolate those facets of the two systems of funeral practice that seem similar. It is necessary at least to eliminate as far as possible similarities that could be attributed to Indian influence on Tibet. Where Tibetans administer holy water and Persians consecrated Hôrn, Hindus give the 'five products of the cow'. In all three cultures, as also in Catholic Christianity, a consecrated or holy substance is placed in the mouth of the dying person. The burning of vigil lamps, the washing and clothing of the corpse, and the use of biers in the funeral procession are fairly universal in Indian, Iranian and Tibetan funerals. The specific instances in which the Hindu practices contrast with Tibeto-Persian parallels are the following:

1. Hindus lay the corpse after death directly on the ground inside the house. Tibetans and Persians take great care to place the corpse on a platform of stone, brick, etc., never directly on the ground. Tibetans and Persians also take great care to isolate the corpse, symbolically or otherwise.
2. The use of white cloths called *paiwand* in Parsi and *kha-btags* in Tibetan has no parallel, as far as we know, in Indian funeral processions. While usages and rationales differ, both have uses in their respective cultures which are distinct from their use in the funeral procession. *Paiwand* means 'connection' or 'bond' and is employed in a large number of ritual contexts to signify the bonds which bind the Parsis into a community. The *kha-btags*, in terms of its etymology, may mean 'tied mouth' and hence 'agreement', or 'woven surface'. *Kha-btags* are used by Tibetans in most social occasions, in personal visits, visits to temples, rituals, appointments with officials or high lamas, and so on. It always accompanies gifts and one is always presented to a departing friend or guest. (This resemblance of *paiwand* to *kha-btags* was noticed in Modi 1914: 337).

While it would be premature to draw from this data any definite conclusions, since there are yet other possible avenues for cultural influences, most notably China and North Asia, we may have succeeded in making it seem rather likely that the Tibetan practice resulted from contact with areas of Zoroastrian culture. This simply requires more study and thought.

III. A Case for Sky Burial as an Adaptive Response to Himalayan Habitat

The general assumptions, the ethnological generalizations, that lie behind the following considerations reflect those of Sahlins (in Manners & Kaplan 1980: 367-73): 1) That the relationship obtaining between socio-cultural systems and their natural environments is one of reciprocity. The two mutually condition and 'form' each other over time. Neither unilaterally determines the other. 2) That 'societies are typically set in fields of cultural influence as well as fields of natural influence' (*ibid.*: 368). and that often information available from outside any particular socio-cultural system defines the range of possible adaptive responses. This is not to deny possibilities for the internal development of adaptive responses. Indeed, this is presumed. The information, if exogenous in its origins, becomes quickly internalized and therefore tends to merge with indigenous ideas and practices which already, in some degree, fit with the newly introduced idea or practice. We would argue further that the adoption of exogenous ideas and practices depends in part precisely on the receiving culture's perception of those ideas as being *not too exotic*. Sky burial provides a good example of something that would likely prove too exotic for, say, Chinese or Americans to even consider adopting, and this regardless of the adaptive value of doing so.

Despite or because of the preceding considerations, it will be convenient for the sake of the following arguments to adopt, if only for temporary and heuristic purposes, the thesis that sky burial among Tibetans is a cultural fact which, disregarding any results of the preceding historical approaches, was determined by certain features of the natural ecology of the Tibetan plateau. These factors, which will be individually discussed, are the following. Each tends to factor out, although not entirely, other possible ways for disposing of corpses.

1. Shortage of arable land or, more generally, a dearth of land available for excavation (i.e. burial).
2. Shortage of fuel resources (lumber), or a dearth of fuel for any purpose (heating, construction, etc.), hence the high ecological cost of cremation.

Population is a very important third factor, since both shortages may be such only with reference to a subject that experiences those shortages. Thus, population is a key to the whole question. Did population pressures reach a point at which the widespread adoption of sky burial would have become a necessary adaptation? To

address this question properly, it would be desirable to have reliable demographic data for the entire period of Tibetan history (starting about 640 A.D., if we neglect archaeological finds). The available data is not only very limited, but also highly problematic for reasons that will become clear.

There have been a few articles dealing with Tibetan demography diachronically (Ekvall 1972; Petech 1980; Anderson 1981; Goldstein 1981a, 1981b; Clarke 1988). Of these studies, Anderson especially deals with political motivations behind the population controversy, the terms of which may be illustrated through an example Anderson draws from the New China News Agency stating that there were 'ten million Tibetans in the year 634, 8 million in 1737 and 1.19 million in 1959' (Anderson 1981: 7). These and other similar figures have been advanced as proof that the traditional culture was so oppressive, even suicidal, that it 'needed' liberation by the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the 1950's.

Ekvall (1972) follows this thesis that Tibetan population underwent decline through its history giving, however, no specific demographic data to support it. Consequently, he does not take a critical view of his (unnamed) sources for the idea that there was, actually, a decline. He only gives descriptions from his own on-the-spot observations in Eastern Tibet which, he believes, illustrate social and ecological reasons why there *should* have been a decline.

Goldstein has pointed out in two articles (1981a: 6 ff.; 1981b: 722 ff.) how dubious a procedure this is. Goldstein argues instead that there was probably a fairly steady increase of about 0.21 *per annum* (1981: 734). He supports this with his own small-scale (and short-term) demographic studies of Tibetan cultural groups on the edges of the Tibetan plateau (Ladakh and Nepal).

Perhaps the best way to comprehend this problem is to tabulate the various figures given by Anderson and Goldstein. Those which represent adjusted estimates by the respective authors (which they accept as probably correct) are asterisked (*) and the geographic area covered is noted if it represents only a part of the entire Tibetan plateau (the plateau roughly corresponds to the area of cultural/linguistic Tibet). A question mark (?) following the number means that the geographic area was not well specified.

Date of census or estimate	Anderson	Goldstein
7th century		6 million (?) (1981b: 722).
634 A.D.	10 million (?) (According to Chinese dynastic annals — 1981: 7).	
1268 (Mongol census)	223,000 (Central & W. Tibet). Petech (1980) agrees with this figure.	215,000 (Central Tibet excluding monks as well as E. & W. Tibetan populations). 1 million* (?) (1981b: 734).
1643	Tibetan government census taken for W. Tibet (no figures available).	

1663	Survey of monasteries by Tibetan government estimates 1800 monasteries with 100,000 monks and nuns.
1737	Manchu census: 852,162 (?) laypersons and 316,200 (?) monks (1981: 8).
1891	Over 2,000,000 (Rockhill calculated on amount of tea imported to Tibet from China! — 1981: 9). Elsewhere, Rockhill estimated 3,500,000* and 2,000,000 (area then governed from Lhasa).
1908	Over 6 million* (Manchu estimate for ethnic Tibetans).
1915	3,900,000 (area then governed from Lhasa).
1950	3 million* (area then governed from Lhasa — 1981b: 734).

We may add to this figures from (or based on) modern Chinese sources for the area known as the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) or by the Chinese name Xizang. This area excludes areas of high ethnic Tibetan population now contained within the provinces of Chinghai and of western Szechuan.

1957	1,270,000 (official estimate — <i>World Atlas</i> 1973: II, 93).
1965	1,400,000 (official estimate — <i>World Atlas</i> 1973: II, 93).
1974	1,400,000 (total according to official estimate — C.I.A. 1979: 15).
1975	1,600,000 (not including 200,000 Han Chinese — C.I.A. 1979: 15).
1976	1,700,000 (not including 125,000 Han Chinese residents — C.I.A. 1979: 15).
1983:	about 1,754,000 (Tibetan nationality only; Chinese, etc. excluded — Sun 1983: 144).

It seems the only reasonable conclusions that may be made from this chaotic body of data (estimates based on numbers of monks were not noted, or the picture would be even more complicated; see Anderson 1981: 10-12) are those of Goldstein. There can be no doubt that the 7th century estimates are grossly exaggerated. They are based on the reported size of the Tibetan army. As Goldstein notes (1981b: 722), one Tibetan chronicle speaks of an army of 14 million cavalymen. The inflated early figures may be dismissed as sheer hyperbole. The Mongol census of 1268, however, deserves serious consideration. It recorded (for tax purposes) a total of 36,031 households at a stated average of six household members, yielding a total of about 216,000. This figure only covers the area of Central Tibet (Dbus and Gtsang Provinces) and Goldstein plausibly speculates on this basis that the entire area of cultural Tibet must have contained a number 3 or 4 times higher, or about 1 million (1981b: 734). Keeping in mind that Goldstein, like other sources, does not very precisely define the geographic limits for his population figures, and that there may have been significant shifts in the areas of population density since that time, we may still agree with his

conclusion that a 1268 population of one million would require a rather low annual population increase of about 0.21 (1981b: 734). More serious reservations concern his choice of figures. Why did he not choose the 1908 or 1915 estimates? The number of 6 million is still commonly given by Tibetans as the total number of ethnic Tibetans now in the area of the Tibetan plateau. What figure are we then to believe?

There is a further mystery if we go from the figures given for the first half of the 20th century to the more recent figures from Chinese sources. Possibly the reduction of population from a minimal 3 million in the years 1900-1950 to the 1,270,000 given for 1957 is to be explained by the fact that large and more densely populated areas of Tibetan language and culture in the east were absorbed into surrounding Chinese provinces. But it is also possible that the radical drop reflects high mortality rates resulting from the Chinese invasion of Tibet which began in 1949, culminating in the unsuccessful revolt of March 1959, and followed by the excesses of the 'Cultural Revolution' in the mid-60's. Since today the Chinese are officially admitting the very high mortality rates during the Cultural Revolution, one wonders why it is not reflected in the Tibetan population figures. One gets the impression that the figures were simply adjusted upward every several years with some thought, but with little or no actual census-taking. Numbers of Han Chinese military, service and labor personnel are not normally included in these estimates even though their numbers could have been counted more easily. When given, we see that their number seems to have dropped by 75,000 in one year (!). In short, we may use Chinese estimates for Tibetan population, but only with the understanding that they surely have not been based on any real census for either the TAR or the much larger area of ethnic Tibet. For present purpose, it is only important to stress that previous claims that there was a steady decline in Tibetan population over the 1200 years preceding this century are not solidly based. We may, on the contrary, assume with Goldstein, that traditional Tibet, like premodern societies generally, had a high infant mortality rate which was compensated by a slightly higher rate of fertility resulting in a low average annual rate of population increase.

Since we have fairly well established that Tibetan population increased over time, we may make a case for the idea that population pressure produced shortages in the already very limited amounts of arable land and fuel resources. Some modern studies by the Academia Sinica and others have supplied the following figures. Of the 1,221,000 km² in the TAR, only 267,000 hectares (or 26,700 km²) were under cultivation in 1957. This represents only 0.2 percent of the total land area, and this percentage holds good also in the 1970's. This is the lowest percentage in all of the PRC (*World Atlas* 1973: II, 93 & 99). Only on land below 4,300 m in elevation is agriculture climatically possible and 88.43 percent of the land in the TAR is above that level (Sun 1983: 145). Other studies have estimated that 0.48 percent of the total area of the Tibetan plateau (a much larger area than the TAR) is cultivated (Li 1980 in Goldstein 1981a: 6). Goldstein has characterized the plateau

as environmentally encapsulated. By this he means only in terms of agriculture, *not* of pastoral nomadism, to quote his own words:

Encapsulation refers to a situation in which the potential for increased production of energy by agricultural exploitation of new areas and by internal intensification of production is virtually nil. (Goldstein 1981a: 6).

We may say that the most excavatable soil which could therefore serve most easily for burial purposes was at a premium in Tibet. This does not rule out other burial sites, however. To complete the picture, we must recognize that most of the remainder of available land outside the arable river valleys was rock. Much of the ground still remaining out of the 88.43 percent located at altitudes unsuitable for cultivation was frozen for much of the year. The number of frost-free days on the plateau ranges (depending on altitude) from 45 to 130 days per year (*World Atlas* 1973: II, 84).

For the scarcity of trees in Tibet, we have the 18th century testimony of Desideri. He says,

The mountains, with few exceptions, are so bare and stony that no trees or shrubs can grow. Only where there is a little cultivated land are there trees. (Desideri 1971: 121, and also 352).

Wood is used by some for cooking and heating, but as trees are scarce in Tibet, the dried dung of cows, sheep and horses is the usual fuel. (Desideri 1971: 183).

There are some good studies on forestation (Chang 1981; Keng 1958: 66-74) which we may simply summarize. Other than shrubs, the only common trees (and these were restricted to river valleys, at least in Central Tibet) were Juniper, Rhododendron, Siberian Elm and Poplars. All these trees are small and not suitable for sustained, high intensity heat production. Larger varieties of Fir trees existed, mainly on the southern edge of the plateau and in the relatively lower lands of the southeast; but these were in high demand for construction purposes and transporting lumber was both difficult and expensive. We may assume, even in the absence of clear documentation, that Central Tibet, like neighboring Nepal and Ladakh, suffered extensive deforestation.

In summary, it may be argued that land suitable for burial was scarce for a combination of reasons: 1) Agricultural land was too limited. 2) Most other land was rocky. 3) All land was frozen for the greater part of the year. Fuel suitable for cremation was likewise in low supply because: 1) The most available tree species did not make good firewood. 2) In the few places where good firewood could be found, it was in demand for building purposes. 3) Transportation of lumber was difficult and expensive. 4) Deforestation. These very basic observations were already made

by Waddell at the turn of the century. The 'Bogel' of his quotation is the George Bogle who led a British political mission in Shigatse in Central Tibet in 1774-75.

On a hill-top below the above hermitage was the local Golgotha, the place where the dead bodies are thrown to be devoured by dogs, vultures, crows and other carrion feeders. This revolting mode of disposing the dead is doubtless owing in part, as Bogel says, to the scarcity of wood for cremation, and to the difficulty of digging the frozen soil for graves. (Waddell 1929: 233; also, MacDonald 1991: 215-16).

Finally, before going on to discuss a possible ideological concomitant of sky burial, I should say something about its effect on Tibetan diet. Because not only vultures, but also crows and other birds devour human corpses in sky burials, Tibetans do not, as a rule, eat birds. Their distaste for bird flesh extends also to domesticated poultry, although eggs are eaten in moderation. The same holds for fish, since fish are believed to devour corpses disposed of by water burial (cf. MacDonald 1991: 151, 178). Except for an occasional shark's fin soup at the banquets of the more Sinified Lhasa nobles, Tibetans did and still do largely abstain from fish (Ekvall 1964: 75; Waddell 1929: 422). I doubt if this lack of fish and fowl in the diet had much effect. Yak meat (both wild and domesticated) and mutton were in abundant supply, as were dairy products, and protein deficiencies were the least of Tibetan dietary concerns.

IV. Ideological Correspondences: Sky Burial and the Visualization of Dismemberment (*Gcod*) as Related Cultural Phenomena

This last part of our study of sky burial takes the practice as part of a larger cultural pattern. As a piece of Tibetan culture, we will argue that it has a particular correlate on the symbolic and religious level (Sahlins in Manners 1980: 370). I find this correlate within a certain stream of Buddhist religious doctrine and ritual practice called *Gcod* (pronounced 'Chö'). (For recent works on *Gcod*, see Schnier 1957; Lauf 1971; Tuyl 1979; Facchini 1983; Gyatso 1985; Orofino 1987; Stott 1989; Savvas 1990). We will discuss the history and character of *Gcod* in very general terms, show how Tibetans themselves have perceived its linkage with sky burial, and, finally, suggest that *Gcod* may be (at least in part) understood as a symbolic extension of, or possibly a psychological adaptation to, the cultural fact of corpse dismemberment.

Gcod as a system of religious practice existed within all four of Tibet's main schools of Buddhism, the Nyingmapa, Kargyudpa, Sakyapa and Gelugpa, as well as in the Bon (Pön) school, a school believed to preserve facets of the ancient pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. An Indian teacher of the late-11th century named Phadampa Sangye (*Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas*) introduced a system of Buddhist teachings called *Zhi-byed*, 'Pacifying'. It is possible that Phadampa introduced the practices later to be known as *Gcod*, but it was probably his female follower named Macig Labdron (*Ma-gcig*

Lab Sgron, meaning 'Lady Lamp of *Lab*', *Lab* being a place name; her biography has been translated in Allione 1984: 150-87) who gave centrality to the metaphor of 'cutting' (the meaning of the word *Gcod*). In this way, the Indian practice of 'body donation' (*lus sbyin*) as a visualization intended to promote generosity and compassion in the life of the religious person, seems to have received a special Tibetan coloration. This can be seen as well in the shamanic-type paraphernalia of *Gcod*. The *Gcod* practitioner needed to be equipped with a human thigh-bone trumpet, a double drum made with the tops of two human skulls (this drum was played by rapidly shaking with a twisting motion so that the two clappers attached with leather thongs would hit the drumskins; similar instruments are well-known to North Asian and American ethnography), a bell and a specially made tent (Hoffmann 1973: 148-49; Dorje 1979: 69-74).

The actual rite of *Gcod*, typically done alone at sky burial sites or places believed to be haunted by hostile spirits, had four visionary phases. In the first, the 'white sharing', one imagines one's own body dissolved into a bowl of nectar then given in offering to the Buddha, etc. Then, in the 'multicolored sharing', the body is imagined to be transformed into all sorts of desirable objects as offerings to the protective deities. Thirdly, in the 'red sharing', the flesh and blood of one's body are imagined to be distributed among all the ghosts and other malevolent spirits of the universe. Finally, in the 'black sharing', all the sins and faults of all beings are imagined as a black ray entering the body, which is then sacrificed to the spirits as a kind of ransom offering (Hoffmann 1973: 149; Tucci 1980: 91).

David-Neel (1958: 157-64) has very vividly described her personal observation of a *Gcod* practitioner. After blowing the thigh-bone trumpet to invite the spirits to the feast, he shouted,

Come hungry ones and you that ungratified desires torment!
In this banquet offered by my compassion, my flesh will transform itself into
the very object of our craving.
Here, I give you fertile fields, green forests, flowery gardens, both white and
red food, clothes, healing medicines!... Eat! eat!... (David-Neel 1958: 160).

Non-Tibetans who read about these things may find it difficult to understand, but Tibetans generally perceive this apparently terrifying rite as a religious expression of sincere altruism, and respect it as such. This I know from my own observations and questioning of Tibetans in India. That Tibetans have noticed the parallelism of *Gcod* rites with the practice of sky burial is proved in a simile employed in a 14th century liturgy used in *Gcod* rites. This was translated by Evans-Wentz (1968: 301-34) in a kind of *king's English*. When the celebrant invites the hungry spirits to come and feast on his body, he or she says, 'As birds of prey (or vultures) flock round a dead body, come ye all here now' (*ibid.*: 313). There is also a reference to vultures consuming corpses in a *Gcod* work by Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Gelugpa school (Savvas 1990: 364).

The professional practitioners of *Gcod* moved about Tibet as mendicants, alone or in small groups, doing very little to directly benefit the larger society. They did at times act as exorcists and weathermakers, but their most concrete societal role connects them directly with sky burials. Whenever corpses of persons who died from contagious diseases such as cholera (or who were otherwise deemed dangerous to handle) needed to be disposed of, *Gcod* practitioners were called upon to perform the funerary rites and sky burial. It was believed that by virtue of their special calling, they had rendered themselves impervious to contamination (Allione 1984: 149; Tucci 1980: 92). Allione (1984: 246-47) translates an account of a group of *Gcod* practitioners asked by a widow to dispose of the corpse of her husband who had been killed in a feud. (His ghost was therefore considered dangerous). They gave the corpse to the vultures as they practiced their *Gcod* rites.

While the *Gcod* practice alone deserves an in-depth study, I believe even this superficial account could contribute to an understanding of sky burial. I believe that sky burial as a Tibetan cultural phenomenon explains why *Gcod*, among all Buddhist ritual systems, was unique to Tibet. A perceived connection between the two practices made them co-dependent (in some degree) within the culture as a whole. I believe that the general respect accorded to *Gcod* practitioners by the Tibetan people helped them to psychologically adjust to the eventuality of their own, and their close relations', ultimate death and dismemberment. Certainly, it had that effect for the individual *Gcod* practitioner. If so, it was surely no negligible contribution to a society where sky burial was a fact of life.

Tibetan culture has received its capacity to fascinate the remainder of the world largely from its apparently anomalous features, among which sky burial must surely be counted. I hope, by slowly approaching the subject from a variety of perspectives, showing ways in which the logic of environmental, historical and symbolic factors have played a part in its persistence and cultural coherence, that sky burial along with the whole of Tibetan culture will seem a little less strange. Clearly, given the importance of natural factors, of birds and trees, altitude and ice, it cannot be reduced to a simply 'cultural' phenomenon.

During a visit to Tibet in the summer of 1993, at Yerpa, a sacred and richly historical cave-hermitage area in a side valley up-river from Lhasa, I by chance encountered one of the sky burial sites called *dur-kebrod* (meaning 'cemetery') in ordinary speech. (Unlike a great many other travellers, I was not impelled by a 'morbid voyeurism' [Batchelor 1987: 65; also, Strauss 1992: 117] to seek out such places). A few large flat-topped stones formed a level platform. Except for a few wisps of hair in the nearby grass, there were no apparent signs of use. The impression I carried away with me was one of purity and serenity. It may not be too farfetched to speculate that, given an increased sense of ecological responsibility (even in the absence of Buddhist altruistic motivations), the world at large will learn to see the positive value of sky burial and perhaps eventually adapt it — assuming that the birds will cooperate.

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Ūrdhvatāṇḍavam in the Art of South India

by RAJU KALIDOS

The dance theme in art represents the cream of Indian cultural heritage. Dance as a performing art in itself is a fertile area to those interested in the field (Vatsyayan 1972; Gaston 1982). Its application in visual arts has resulted in a prolific output in the various parts of India in different media. Since the dawn of the early medieval period (6th century A.D.) in South India the dance motifs were applied in Hindu iconography. The monumental publication by the late C. Sivaramamurti, entitled *Naṭarāja in Art, Thought and Literature*, is an example of the unfathomable dimensions of research on the dance theme in iconography. Dance is a highly cultured and technically intricate art. Realising the significance of its mystic range, the ancient Indians made it a *sāstra* and codified the rules governing it. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa* are among the literary classics of the world. These texts visualise 108 *karanas* which are illustrated in sculptural form in many of the abodes of Tamil art, especially the Naṭarāja temple at Citamparam and the Kampahareśvara temple at Tirupuvanam. The *ānandatāṇḍavam* of Lord Śiva was immortalised by a school of Cōla bronze makers, adequately illustrated in a monumental work by the British art historian, Douglas Barrett, entitled *Early Chōla Bronzes*. Perhaps there is no famous museum in the world which in its catalogue fails to have an entry under the head, Naṭarāja. Credit goes to the Tamil artists because the four handed dancer, bearing the *damarū*, *agni*, *gaja hasta* and *abhaya mudrā* and lifting the left leg in *kuñcita* attitude, called Naṭarāja, is a typical Tamil contribution to the art heritage of the world.

Another significant contribution of ancient Tamil Nadu is *ūrdhvatāṇḍavam* (hereinafter UT). It purports to portray the dancing Lord with one of the legs in *ūrdhva* 'erect perpendicularly' attitude, otherwise called *lalāṭatilakam*. This theme is traceable in the sculptural art of Tamil Nadu since the Pallava period (early medieval) but in performing arts it seems to have existed even earlier because the Caṅkam and post-Caṅkam Tamil classics have references to it (*infra*). The Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram features a specimen on the subject in one of its *devakoṣṭhas* (Fig. 2). However, it was during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka period that the UT theme received a fresh impetus from both patrons and artists. Most temples of this period contain excellent pieces of UT in one of their pillared *maṇḍapas* or *gopurams*. The *tērs* or *rathas*

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Princeton

EAST AND WEST



I. IAO

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Note: This is a preliminary draft only, and the concluding part in particular is liable to be modified. Those Sanskrit diacritical marks that do not 'translate' well have been simply omitted. The bibliography has not yet been completed.—Dan Martin, Jerusalem, July

Introduction.

Phadampa Sangye (Pha Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas) has been a household name in Tibet for nearly nine hundred years. Still, certain aspects of the portrait of Phadampa that emerge while reading the earliest body of literature associated with his Peace-making (Zhi-byed) Movement, which we will call the *Peace-making Collection*, are not very evident in later accounts. One of these aspects, the attitudes Phadampa and his circle had on the spiritual potential of women, I have already written about in a forthcoming essay, although more remains to be said. Another lost aspect is the sense that Phadampa and the Tingri (Ding-ri) people were engaging in lively cross-cultural negotiations in which material items (including foods), geographical conceptions, customs, ethnicity and even, to some degree, race all played some part. Moreover, the *Peace-making Collection* has evidence that tends to undermine later simplistic and (even, I would say,) 'pious' views about Tibetans as passive receivers of Indian Buddhist culture, and of Indians as its active transmitters, basically unaffected by the encounter.

In this brief paper, we will focus on what roles, if any, race and ethnicity played in the Tibetan-Indian interface. In effect, we will consider the area of Tingri in the decades around the year 1100 as something like what would nowadays be termed a 'culture contact zone' (for recent examples of such studies in the general Tibetan realm, see Huber 1999: 128-152; Moran 1998; Nietupski 1999), although given the nature of our sources

and the types of information they were designed to supply we cannot hope to come to conclusions of great depth. After a few brief words about the main source, we will immediately look into the life of Phadampa as a South Indian native speaker of Telugu, concentrating on the significance laid by the Tingri group on his blackness. Then sources will be brought forward that might seem to indicate in some greater or lesser degree the stresses that so often emerge in cultural encounters. The question asked in the title may be partially and roughly answered in advance. While gender was an issue for the Tingri circle, as evidenced by texts and passages of significant length, race and ethnicity were not. Racial and ethnic differences did not merit much attention. They appear at the margins, as it were, of their interests. If I choose to focus on them in this paper, it isn't because I am uninterested in the *Peacemaking Collection* as a rich source of information of other kinds.

A Few Words on the Main Source:

Over 20 years ago, Barbara Nimri Aziz published a five-volume reproduction of a five-volume manuscript from Tingri which had been smuggled over the border into Nepal by Tibetan refugees. It was published with the title, *The Tradition of Pha Dampa Sangyas: A Treasured Collection of His Teachings Transmitted by Tug-sras Kunga*, by Kunsang Tobgey of Thimphu in 1979. One reason this manuscript is significant is that, until recently, it was an object of worship, a kind of holy relic, in the temple associated with Phadampa. For convenience, it will be called simply the *Peacemaking Collection* (or even more simply 'P' in bibliographical references).

Although there are many good reasons for arguing that this is the primary source for Phadampa and the early history of the movement that preserved his Peacemaking Tradition, its existence has scarcely been mentioned in contemporary academic literature. I would like to discuss briefly both

why it is important and why it hasn't yet been utilized for its historical content.

Reasons why it's important.

The manuscript itself may be securely dated to no later than the end of the 13th century. However, one may, with close study, determine that there are several layers of growth in the age of the sources combined in the manuscript. The following outline is rather rough, and one ought to be aware that on occasion somewhat later commentarial works have been placed immediately following the texts on which they comment (for instance, there is a commentary by Patsab in level A; these commentaries are ignored for present purposes):

A. The first level includes a few canonical Buddhist scriptures. The first text is the famous *Heart Sutra*, a short sutra belonging to the set of *Transcendent Insight sūtras*. It also includes all the Indian texts that Phadampa brought with him to Tingri and translated there, as well as commentaries on those texts. These include sūtras, tantras, Mahāmudrā works and the spiritual songs of Phadampa's fifty-four teachers, songs known as dohās. Overall (with the exception of a commentary by Patsab), these texts may be dated roughly prior to the year 1100, with most of them being older. Vol. 1, pp. 1-462 and vol. 2, pp. 1-137.

B. The second layer represents oral statements by Phadampa transcribed by his chief Tibetan interpreter named Kunga. We will call these 'responsa' texts, since they are nearly all in the format of questions and answers. With one exception, they must have been put down in writing before Phadampa's death in 1117. In fact, this group comes to an end with the last will and testament of Phadampa (in fact, final words of advice for the laypeople of Tingri, although not identical to what became his most popular work, the *Ding-ri Brgya-rtsa*) followed by the last will and testament of Kunga. Vol. 2, pp. 138-484; vol. 3, pp. 1-92. Parts A

and B together (with some minor exceptions that are clearly later) make up the original manuscript collection, no longer extant of course, redacted by Kunga, probably between the death of Phadampa in 1117 and Kunga's death 7 years later.

C. The 3rd layer is nicknamed *Phra-tig*, which might be translated 'Inset Dot'. It was put together from the words of Kunga by his disciple Patsab. Vol. 3, pp. 92-190.

D. Layer 4 is nicknamed *Dar-tshags*, which might be translated 'Cloth Sifter'. It was put together from the words of Patsab by his disciple Tenne. Vol. 3, pp. 191-496; vol. 4, pp. 1-301 (there are 3 subsections: 1. *Cloth Sifter*. 2. *Fine Cloth Sifter*. 3. *Miscellaneous Instructions*).

E. Historical section. Here there are two works. The first is put down by Kunga, and therefore actually belongs to the 2nd level. It is half *responsa* text, while the 2nd half is a collective biography of 24 women disciples of Phadampa. The second work is a very important untitled history of the Later Peacemaking Lineage by Zhigpo, one of the two Rog brothers. We know that the volume up to this point was redacted into a gold-lettered manuscript in about the year 1210 by Zhigpo himself in what was probably a four-volume version.

F. The entire fifth volume is made up a commentary, on one of the *responsa* texts in layer B, by a not-yet identified person Mikyö Dorje (Mibskyod-rdo-rje), who was the teacher of the unnamed person who actually made the physical manuscript. I believe it is Nyedo Thamchekhyenpa

(Snye-mdo Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa, 1217-1277), since other sources seem to identify him as the author.¹

Obstacles.

If the Peacemaking Collection is such an important source, why hasn't it been used by researchers so far? Firstly, it is has many bad spellings. These misspellings are actually not so difficult to read through, but it takes patience and perseverance.

Secondly and more importantly, it uses vocabulary that has long become obsolete. This is probably the real reason it hasn't been used. Although the amount of available genuinely 11th-12th Tibetan century literature has grown in recent years, it still amounts to a little more than about 50 volumes compared to well over 4000 volumes of later Tibetan literature that have been published in the last 50 years. Both the vocabulary and orthography share elements with the Dunhuang manuscripts. But in its vocabulary it has even more in common with late 11th-to-12th-century works of the Kadampa Tradition, and with the late 12th-century collected writings of the Kagyupa Tradition.

The main importance of the *Peacemaking Collection* is that it is the only full body of early Peacemaking literature that has survived. (We know that there were at least three other collections of Peacemaking literature transmitted through three other disciples of Phadampa, but we only know lists of titles, not the actual texts.) Some of the individual texts it

¹ This identity might perhaps be supported by reference to *Blue Annals* (p. 992), where it says that Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje was born in Snye-mo Mkha'-ru (the context is a Cutting transmission history). Snye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Bsod-nams-dpal (1217-1277) was a disciple of Rog Shes-rab-'od. Since Snye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa's main disciple was one of his physical sons Snye-mdo-ba Kun-dga'-don-grub (himself a teacher of the Third Karmapa), the latter seems to be the best candidate for final redactor of the complete *Collection*. However, it is possible that Mikyö Dorje is just a name for Zhigpo himself; this requires more study.

contains have been published elsewhere, which is sometimes useful in cases of difficult readings.

Level B, the *responsa* texts, will form the main core for our considerations. Being basically transcribed oral texts, a few words should be said about just how well they represent the original speech events. Some of the questions were asked by Kunga, but most were asked by other people while Kunga acted as an interpreter of sorts of Phadampa's Tibetan-language pronouncements (Kunga apparently didn't know any Indian language, and the *responsa* texts often emphasize that 'no translator intervened'; his services were required because he was the only one who could understand Phadampa's metaphors and other symbolic utterances). Within these texts, there are several points where we are made aware that notes were being taken, although they were most likely jotted down after the interview sessions were over. It is often remarked that Phadampa was rather laconic, even that he knew how to deploy significant silences, it is still quite probable that the staccato telegraphic character of the written versions in some part results from the circumstances of their transcription rather than the character of the original oral events. After all, Kunga would have written down only the most memorable statements, and his transcriptions are after all the finest hope we have of hearing Phadampa's true voice, the closest we may come to entering Phadampa's workshop.

The present goal, we should emphasize once more, is not to present a seamless fabric representing Phadampa's full range of discourse. To the contrary, it is only to locate, within passages that may have entirely different motives, the occasional stitches that indicate cultural confrontations and awareness of ethnic differences. But first, a few general words about Phadampa's life, which brings us to almost immediately contemplate the issue of whether or not his blackness was an issue for Tingri people, and if so, what kind of issue?

Phadampa was born in South India in "Beta — the district of Beder, whose ancient capital, Kundapur, is about sixty kilometres from Amarāvati" (Lo Bue 1997: 249). Following this, Phadampa would have been a native of present-day Andhra, and a speaker of Telugu. His birthplace, which Phadampa himself calls Carasingh (Tsa-ra-sin-nga), must have been located on the coast, because his father was a sea captain. While his mother belonged to an incense-making sub-caste, both mother and father were Brahmins. Modern legends, as told to pilgrims at Tingri, tell a very improbable story that, while his father was absent for three years on a voyage, his mother, age 88, conceived him miraculously on Vulture Peak (located in Bihar state, several hundred miles from home). When he was born, he immediately left his footprint in a stone that was later kept and shown to pilgrims at Tingri. The legends also say that the local village people, seeing that she had given birth to a child without a father, threw both mother and child into the river Ganges (surely the river ought to be rather the Krishna!), but they were miraculously saved. As a child, the legends continue, he drank a red dye made from poisonous berries, which didn't harm him, although it did turn his skin black (Aziz 1979: 28).

It is instructive to contrast this modern legend with the story told in the 13th-century *Peace-making History*. Here the mother is ashamed that she has conceived a child without a father, so she takes a medicine to induce abortion. The medicine has no effect except to turn his body black with a reddish cast. There is no story of his making a footprint in the rock, but he is born with a complete set of 40 teeth. Both the modern legends and 13th century text have him singing the same verse of praise to his mother as soon as he is born. (For a story that accounts for Phadampa's blackness in a very different way, see the passage translated in Edou 1996: 33-34.)

He started his travels, after his father died, at age 15, by going to obtain novice ordination at the great monastic university of Vikramasīla in northern Bihar (a monastery founded in around the beginning of the 9th century by Haribhadra, a specialist in the *Transcendent Insights* sutras). He travelled all over India, even as far as Kashmir and beyond Kashmir to Urgan (the Swat Valley) in what is now northern Pakistan. His teachers are usually numbered at 54, both male and female, although three men are sometimes singled out. Their names are Mañjuśrīvādaśimha, Brahmin Aryadeva, and Virūpa.

Phadampa Sangye would seem to be his Tibetan name, but it is in fact, in origins, an epithet or title meaning 'Father Holy Man Buddha'. The *Peace-making Collection* never uses this exact title, but sometimes refers to him as Holy Man Buddha, and more rarely as 'second Buddha'. Most commonly, Atsara (a borrowing from Sanskrit Acarya) is used, even by Phadampa to refer to himself. We also find 'Black Atsara' and 'Indian Holy Man' or simply 'Holy Man' quite frequently. These names occur in various combinations that sometimes include Nag-chung or Na[g]-gu, both diminutives of the word 'black'. None of these are proper names, and none of these names have anything to do with names he would have been known by in India. To make this very complicated naming story simple, it is unknown what secular name he had as a child, but age 15, when he first took novice vows, he was probably given the name Kamalāsī or Kamalāsīla. Let me quote a 12th-century text, which conveniently lists his four names for us (Peace-making Collection: IV 91.6): "Kamalāśhīla, Karunasiddhi, Ajitanātha and, in Tibet, Gyagar Nagchung ('Little Black Indian')." In Tibet, he was known by a number of other epithets, among which Phadampa Sangyas has, since the 12th century, achieved the status of a proper name. While earlier sources, including late-12th-century Kagyudpa ones, continue to use names that emphasize his blackness, these names became rare as time went on.

For about nine hundred years Phadampa's has been a household name in Tibet, on a par with his contemporary Milarepa. The latter is, however, much better known outside Tibet. I would argue that his very celebrity was in part to blame for a tendency to tell the most outrageously impossible stories about him. But this is not to deny that Phadampa was himself an outrageous person who told impossible stories about himself, although we must come immediately to his defense by asserting that quite a few of these stories had a symbolic sense (or, more generally, had deeper intentions) that would have been recognized by many of his listeners. To give one easy example, many later Tibetan sources say he was over 500 (517, 570, or 572) years old when he died (Dge-ye, Blue Annals, p. 36). Probable reasons for this are easy to see. His maternal uncle was a teacher named Aryadeva, and there was a general tendency to identify this Aryadeva with the much earlier and much more famous figure by that name. Then, what are we to make of the following statement contained in the 15th century history, the *Blue Annals* (p. 733)? When Phadampa first came to Tingri, he was asked how old he was. He replied, "My age is 99,990." But then the author of the *Blue Annals* immediately adds, "Such symbolic utterances (*dgongs-pa-can-gyi gsung*) made by saints should not be considered as lies." So far I have located only one statement about Phadampa's exact age in the *Peace-making Collection* (for him to give a straight answer to such an idle question would have been completely out of character), and this is in one of the later levels where he is given the age 721 (*Peace-making Collection*: IV 251), while in the history it contains there is a story how, as a young man in India, after he did alchemical practices, he received a prophecy that he would be able to live for five hundred years (*Peace-making Collection*: IV 342).

None of the crucial dates for his biography are known with complete certainty, and while there is nearly universal consensus that he died in Tingri in the year 1117, even this is not completely certain. Most later histories say he visited Tibet five times, although we can say with some certainty, following statements made by his disciple Kunga (P: II 211;

Rdza-sprul 1972: 22 agrees) that he in fact entered Tibet only three times. We may say, provisionally, following the *Blue Annals* (pp. 72-73), that he first stayed in Tibet for a period of unknown duration shortly after 1064. He then went back to India, returning to Tibet for a stay of about five years. He then left Tibet to spend eleven-years in China. In about 1091 he returned to Tibet and wandered some years before he settled down, probably in the year 1097 (Chos-kyi-seng-ge *et al.* 1992: 61), in Tingri where he lived out the remaining 20 years of his life. Just how old he was when he died in 1117 is another question. I believe it cannot be answered.

Ethnicity at the Margins.

There is no Tibetan word that precisely corresponds to the English 'ethnicity', but there is a broader term *mirig* (*mi-rigs*) which might be glossed 'type of human'. As such it may be employed for what we would call race, caste, ethnicity, and nationality. Still, it may be used in any case where a particular type of human is in question, regardless of the criteria behind the classification. The word is not often used in the *Peace-making Collection*, and when it is, it is more often with reference to the caste situation in Phadampa's native land (P: II 211; IV 333-4). However, one text, in which Phadampa typically refers to himself as Atsara, reads (P: III 52): "The Atsara has viewed the nationalities of two-thirds of Jambu Island." That Phadampa was familiar with a great number of nationalities could also find support in the statement (P: II: 153) that he knew 55 different languages and scripts. A 13th-century commentary (P: V 15) reiterates how he travelled over two-thirds of the world and knew many different languages, but adds that he pronounced his precepts in culturally appropriate translations (*don gyur*) that did not suffer from the 'fuzzy approximations' (*ol spyod*) of translators.

There remains much more to be said about Tibetans' view of Phadampa as a 'man of the world' with extremely broad experience later on, but we

should strongly emphasize not only that Phadampa spoke directly to his disciples in Tibetan, that he could and did make his own literary translations (even if subsequently edited to some degree), but also that these were quite rare skills among South Asian Buddhist teachers in Tibet. During the 11th-12th centuries I can only point to two others. One was the Newar Asu (A-su), who settled down with his Tibetan wife in Phenyul ('Phan-yul). The other was the Orissan Vairocana vajra, who made his own translations of the songs of the Mahāsiddhas (see Schaeffer 2000: 129; Schaeffer 2000a). Besides their Tibetan language abilities these three also had in common that they were all teachers of Mahāmudrā, the Great Seal.

We might find it ironic that advocates of the ultimacist perspective of the Great Seal would be more sensitive to the problem of direct communication in conventional language, I do not believe this would display a very refined understanding of Great Seal, and will not go further into this here. What I would like to do now is to look at the various ethnicities on the horizons of the *Peace-making* texts, in particular the *responsa* texts among them, beginning with the more 'exotic' peoples, then Indians, and finally, Tibetans themselves. We start with the two most rare nationalities, the Tanguts and the Hor (Uighur?) people.

Tanguts.

There is no reference to Tanguts contemporary with Phadampa apart from a few occurrences as an ethnic label attached to the names of his disciples. In the early 12th century one Peace-maker (Zhi-byed-pa) by the name of Shongompa (Shong-sgom-pa) went to serve as priest under the patronage of the Tangut King at Menyag Ga (Me-nyag 'Ga') and died in his court (P: IV 397.4; Chos-kyi-seng-ge *et al.*: 208).

The Hor are only mentioned twice that I know of, once in a statement by Phadampa in a *responsa* text, "In that time [i.e., at the time of death] even [all] the doctors of India, Tibet and Hor (Rgya Bod Hor *gsun*) will not be able to help." (P: II 453.6) The other (later) occurrence is in a list of words in different languages for 'fire'. In Hor, the word for 'fire' is *ki-ra* (P: V 36).

Chinese.

References to China and the Chinese are of course much more abundant. There ought to be expected since Phadampa, by all accounts, had spent 12 years in China not many years before he settled in Tingri (his Chinese sojourn will not be recounted here). When Chinese people are mentioned, it is almost always in the role of crafts persons. One passage (P: I 435) attempts to make a parable for how it is that teachers can induct people according to their levels into one or another of the three Vehicles. It says that we ought to consider for example the Chinese cloth dyeing women; how, in a single vessel they can place many different colors and still achieve the desired results. In another passage (P: II 163-4), a Khampa offered Phadampa a bolt of brocade. Phadampa, opening up the wool to reveal a rainbow of colors, said: "If you sit next to the weaver you will know how it is done. If you try explaining it to a Tibetan, they cannot know how... If one wants to learn how this is woven, the experience of the Chinese woman (Rgya-mo) is the master." This of course serves as a parable for absorbing meditative knowhow by sitting next to the teacher and that this can promote understanding better than words. The *Peace-making History* (P: IV 350) recounts Phadampa's experience of seeing a Chinese crafts person, an illusionist, turning metal powder into gold. All these examples promote an image of Chinese as consummate crafts persons. I would suggest, too, that, there being no indication of the presence of any Chinese at Tingri, Phadampa was speaking to

Tibetans' main experience with Chinese, as consumers of Chinese luxury goods. Unlike Chinese, we do find indications of the presence in, or close proximity to, Tingri of Indians and Mon people.

Monpas.

The Monpas are—apart from Indians of course—the foreign people most frequently mentioned in the *Peacemaking Collection*. Originally derived from a Chinese term, in Tibet 'Mon' generally refers to the southern

territories of peoples who might approach but have not attained the level of civilization of Tibetans, who have only to some degree become

assimilated (this means that, as a Tibetan-language ethnonym, Monpa may be applied to a wide variety of peoples ranging from Ladakh to Assam).

In the *Peacemaking History* (P: IV 350), Tingri itself is described as an assortment of felt tents and houses lying on the border between Mon and Tibet. Taken together, we find in the references to Mon and Monpas

primarily associations with poison and wild animals. One commentary on a Mahāmudrā text feels the need to explain that leeches (*pad-pa*) exist in the swampy areas in all parts of Mon and India (P: I 432). The same

commentary (P: I 435) gives the bears of Mon as an example of

insatiability, saying how they will even leave their offspring after getting the taste for honey. Still earlier in that text (P: I 428) we are informed

that there are households in Mon, Khams and so forth that prepare poison food and give it to some of those who arrive at their doors. Once

Phadampa made a threatening gesture at Badzrakrota's dog, which

immediately rolled over and died. Phadampa said the words *so-ti so-ti*,

and the dog got up and wagged its tail. Badzrakrota imagined that the

words must be mantras, but Phadampa said, "That's just the way Mon

people call their dogs" (P: IV 159; Chos-kyi-seng-ge *et al.*: 97).

A very interesting phrase that includes the ethnonym Monpa occurs a few times. It has an apparently straightforward meaning, 'a Monpa chief of the border' (*mtha'i Mon-pa rgad-po cig*). Once toward the end of his life,

Phadampa told his disciple Kunga about a bad dream he had in which the sun had set in the center of the sky. Phadampa says the dream means that something bad will happen to a Monpa chief of the border, so they must perform a ritual. The ritual that Phadampa goes on to perform is, however, an esoteric empowerment, in which he entrusts his lineage to Kunga. The Sun that went down in the center of the sky is, of course, Phadampa who would die soon thereafter. "Kunga," he says, "although the sun has set, the moon [he means Kunga] will rise." (P: II 321) The meaning of "a Monpa chief of the border" may not be self-evident, but it, like the sun, also refers to Phadampa himself. There are three other occurrences of this phrase (all in direct or indirect quotations of Phadampa's spoken word) that I have located (P: IV 148, 240 [here reading *nag-po*, 'black', in place of *rgad-po*, 'chief'], 355). One implication of his calling himself 'chief' is that his followers are themselves, also, somehow Monpas. It is clear that, probably in the later years of his life, Phadampa called himself 'a Monpa chief of the border,' but perhaps even more surprisingly, he was, at the same time, calling himself a Khotanese.

Khotanese (Li-yul-ba).

I could locate only one place in the *Peacemaking Collection* where Khotan (Li-yul) as such, rather than 'Khotanese' (Li-yul-ba), is mentioned. Once Phadampa said, "All these people of Phungkarba (Phung-k[h]ar-ba) are the Atsara's patrons. These people come with offerings of butter rinds (?). Even if I haven't helped these people they are good friends." "Why is that?" asked the disciple. "This village of Phungkarba included four neighborhoods. After they were built, four large armies came from Khotan, destroyed the neighborhoods, killed the people and carried away their wealth. They were defeated and reduced to ashes. The Atsara was concealed in his cave and they didn't notice him. No dwellings, no life, no wealth, no desires" (P: III 34).

In all other instances, 'Khotanese' is something Phadampa calls himself, and less often, is called by others. In the first recorded instance (P: II 455.7), the woman teacher Gyanné (Ston-ma Rgyan-ne) says, "This way of utilizing *dharma*s of *sangśāra* and *nirvāna* as expedients [on the Path to Enlightenment] through reverse psychology (*gya-log*) is recognized by a Khotanese."

The most interesting context is in Phadampa's last will and testament. This work ought to correspond to the most popular work ascribed to him, the *Tingri Advice*, or *Tingri Gyatsa* (*Ding-ri Brgya-rtsa*), but in fact the latter work is not to be found in the Peacemaking Collection, and the two works have only a little in common apart from the (mostly) two-line verse form, with the last line always ending with the words "Tingri people" (*Ding-ri-ba*). This discussion requires an independent study, and no more will be said about it now. Here is the heavily symbolic passage which opens Phadampa's last will and testament (P: III 81, with parallel in IV 357):

The lord of a thousand troops disappears without a trace.
Gyagom must do the religious practice [funeral] on the mountain.
On the evening of the moonless sky make a prayer.
A dream-like phenomenon dawns,
And the sky-like Khotanese
Does his religious practices in his natural place.
This illusory body is greatly to be abandoned,
And when the moon in its third day of waxing dawns it will be good,
Since it will transform (turn) in the direction of Shracu Kunga.
Do you understand these symbols, Tingri people?

All the other examples are from the section called the *Fine Cloth Sifter*, which was written down by Tenne (Rten-ne) on the basis of Patsab's words, but still enshrining the sayings of Phadampa. The first (P: IV 145), we may roughly translate:

The key to succeeding in compassionate activities is secrecy alone, because secrets unkept produce obstacles. Tibetan mouths have no locks and they are ready to say what they think on the spur of the moment. They carry what they know in their mouths and the commerce in which they engage with their lips is shameful. The

Atsara succeeds through secrecy. A Khotanese knows to rely on friends who can help; he keeps to the roots of nondiscrimination (*mi-dmyigs*) towards the objects he confronts.

If this example is rather obscure, the second (P: IV 170) is still more so, in fact, so difficult to explicate that I will leave it aside for now. It recommends understanding the dramatic arts (*lad-mo*) of the Khotanese.

The third example (P: IV 195): "A Khotanese person, even though benefits to others occur, doesn't make them happen. A Gurmowa person, even though not thinking to benefit others, does help them." Here the place-name Gurmō ('Gur-mo, generally Mgur-mo) refers to the most well-known trading market in Tsang province, and it was here that the first monks who returned from northeastern Tibet to Tsang at the end of the tenth century settled.

The fourth example (P: IV 197) is the only one in which we are told explicitly (in Patsab's oral commentary, evidently) to whom the words 'a Khotanese' refer:

The words [of Phadampa], 'Examine how the potencies of the medicine manifest [in the body of the sick person]' means that one most inspect whether discordant factors are elevated to the Path or not. The words, 'Observe whether the sickness grants comfort or not' means to check whether oppositions and accidents turn out to be of assistance or not. 'There is a Khotanese physician' refers to Dampa [Phadampa] himself. When you entrust the disease to the intermediary, the untoward circumstances transform into friends.

We will return to the question of what these examples mean shortly, but first a brief discussion about the Tingri people's view of Indians, the attitudes Phadampa had toward Tibetans, and the question of Phadampa's personal ethnic hybridity.

Tingri views on Indians, Phadampa's views on Tibetans, and Phadampa as a Tibetanized Indian.

Although divided from them by the people they called Monpas, Tingri people were certainly familiar with Indians in the form of the travelling

mendicants they called Atsaras. On one occasion an unnamed Atsara visited Phadampa (P: II 222), and afterward Kunga asks him:

"Did you recognize that Atsara who came yesterday?" "No, I didn't, but he is certainly a pundit who knows a lot of Dharma. There was no reason for him to come. He came to beg gold." "Did you give him any?" "Since I have a lot of gold I gave him some, but I didn't recognize him." "Where do you keep your gold?" Phadampa lifts up a handful and says, "Here it is. You have no desire for it, so what do you do with it? I don't want it, and it's an inconvenience..."

Phadampa also refers to himself most often as Atsara, but also as 'Atsara beggar' (*A-tsa-ra sprang-po*), and the Atsara in the role of beggar was probably Tingri people's most common personal experience of Indians. In another passage (P: V 266) a generalization is made about the other Atsaras, "Among the other Atsaras there are very few for whom it occurs that [gold is] unnecessary. Focused on this desire, they seek wealth in Tibet." In a very clear sense, Phadampa is self-consciously, if perhaps rather ironically, placing himself within a stereotype of the local 'Indian', very much as he did when he called himself a Khotanese or a Monpa chief.

But Phadampa's relationship with the ethnicity that surrounded him was rather ambivalent, as might only be expected. There are many passages where he expresses negative opinions about Tingri people or Tibetans as a whole, generally framed in terms of their lack of spiritual potential. The two shortcomings that he most often singles out for comment are their servility (or lack of independence) and lack of courage. Some of these critical comments can be quite subtle, as for instance (P: II 181), when someone asked him, "To what does the word 'Buddha' refer?" he replied, "In our country it refers to the purity of the very mind. I don't have any idea what it refers to in Tibet." At other times his comments could have a very rough edge. Once Phadampa asked his disciple (P: II 226), "What are these people doing?" "They are showing their faith in you, oh Dampa." "Tibetan men have faith in their mouths. Tibetan women have faith in their buttocks." The question very often came up, 'Why aren't

there many Tibetan siddhas? One of Phadampa's typical answers (P: II 221): "They don't take charge of themselves, but prefer to be slaves of others. What is known as the 'eye', necessary for looking at things, they will pluck out and eat in their mouths. They do a quick bit of farming, but it's all used up in the harvest tax (*thun-shas*). " Dozens of other examples could be given, but most surprising, at least at first, are the places where Phadampa calls Tibetans, to their faces, 'monkey children' (*spre'u-yi phru-gu*; P: II 252, 258) and 'flat noses' (*sna-leb-pa*; P: II 252, 257). Although one certainly ought to think twice before judging the intentions of a Mahāsiddha, it is still difficult to escape the conclusion that these were, and were in some manner intended to be, ethnic slurs.

But along with his negativities about Tibetans, we can also make very

good arguments that the degree of Phadampa's enculturation into Tibetan culture was considerable. He was quite aware of the political and social facts about Tingri and Western Tibet. We have just seen a reference to the 'harvest taxes' that eat up the profits from the harvests. There are dozens of mentionings of the Western Tibetan king Ritse-Idé, which mostly express a mild disapproval of government and rulers from a spiritual perspective (he advocates neither allegiance nor rebellion). A few times he uses the idea of *pha-tshan*, which means a patrilineal alliance which could band together for purposes of defending clan interests, as in the following example. His disciple Kunga would often ask what they would do when he died, and once even asked if they should form a group.

Phadampa's response was, "The lion doesn't need the pack. The universal monarch doesn't need a patriarchal protection group" (P: II 221). Many more passages could be cited to demonstrate that he not only used Tibetan language for his everyday communication purposes, but that he was able to make use of culturally embedded Tibetan concepts, even in ritual contexts. In one place (P: V 215-6), we find Phadampa doing a Tibetan ritual for the *tsan* (*btsan*) for the purpose of exorcising a woman disciple who had been possessed by spirits that prevented her enlightenment. He made use of ritual items whose Indian analogues are

doubtful at best or nonexistent, and invoked *tsan* spirits including Gesar (Ge-sar), Nyanchen Thangla (Gnyan-chen Thang-la) and other local Tibetan deities. These sources might even give rise to questions about whether or not Phadampa was transmitting the 'pure Indian Dharma', since so much of what he said was tempered to the worldviews of his Tingri audience. In short, the scene at Tingri shared much of the same intercultural dynamic as the transmission of 'pure Tibetan Buddhism' in Dharma centers in Europe or America.

There are so many ways that we could characterize Phadampa as a cultural hybrid. Was he a Telugu? By birth, yes. By the education and acculturations he underwent since age 15, no. Was he an Indian? Yes, of course, but here again because of his considerable Tibetan acculturation which went beyond simple linguistic competence, no. His contemporary Tibetan followers in Tingri seem to have seen him primarily as a man of the world with experiences going far beyond their own horizons (and, significantly, they hardly ever asked him how things were in India). This is emphasized in passages in which his disciples ask him to tell about the 'wonders of the world', a topic I hope to go into elsewhere, since Phadampa's enigmatic responses require considerable explication.

To answer the question implied in the title: No, Phadampa and his circle did not make an issue of ethnicity or ethnic stereotypes, certainly not to the degree they made an issue of their opposition to women's typical household roles. It is true that there are things that look very much like ethnic stereotypes and even ethnic slurs, but I could find no discussion about how these might have been considered problematic (except by implication in passages on the generally problematic nature of labels and classifications from Mahāmudrā perspective). There are no texts (and even no passages) devoted to ethnicity as there are about women, so we are forced to scrounge about in the margins of passages about unrelated matters. But it is a quite different question if we ask: Did ethnicity matter to them? The examples we have given show that it did make quite

a bit of difference. The Tingri people's ethnic neighbors, the Khotanese and the Monpas, were primarily seen as threats, their more faraway neighbors, the Chinese, were better known for their export products, while Indians on the local scene were seen as little more than beggars. Phadampa's ethnicity and race certainly mattered, but not in a negative way, rather they were part of his attraction. The texts of the Peacemaking Collection accept Phadampa's Indian ethnicity, his Atsara-hood, his blackness and his role as spiritual teacher as a single package worthy of reverence. One interesting passage (P: V 205) states that everyone who met him underwent remarkable behavioral transformations. Some cried, others laughed, some were frightened, some were driven insane, had samādhis, felt strong faith or renunciation, had great faith or exceptional realizations.

Ethnography, to exist as such, must presume that some kind of ethnic encounter has been, and is, taking place, and that some differences or contrasts between the ethnicities has been perceived as being of interest. Although Phadampa did not employ any of the systematic methodologies that are often used to define anthropological fieldwork, he was surely following ethnographic impulses in the following story (P: II 293):

Majo Chosel (Ma-jo Chos-gsal) asks, "If it is true, as they say, that all dharms are emptiness, how is it that into emptiness causes of delusion and causes of liberation come about?" Phadampa says, "Gendun Kyi (Dge-'dun-skyid), come bring your flint." He lights a fire with the flint and tends it a bit, but it starts to die out. "This poor ill-omened fire," he says, "It arose through conditions and it dies through conditions. It's so amazing we cannot follow up on the reasons for this happening. We can't comprehend how this cold flint could be cause for a warm fire. In our India we don't have such things (as flints)." The woman understood the intentions behind Phadampa's symbolic mode of expression and her delusions dissolved.

There are no flints in India, but still they may come in very useful in communicating Buddhist truths to those who happen to have them. Of course, not only were there things in Tibet unknown in India, there were also things in India unknown in Tibet, as in this example (P: IV 160),

which is told to demonstrate Phadampa's mastery of the supernatural

'swift feet' (*rkaṅg-mgyogs*):

Je Tripa (Rje Khri-pa) asks Phadampa, "I would like you to make my tormas this evening." Phadampa says, "I will bring with me some different kinds of foods." Phadampa arrived carrying a lot of things that don't exist in Tibet, like grape wine, ladu (*la-du*), gola (*go-la*) and so forth. He said, "I've brought these just now from Kashmir."

Given what we have already said about Phadampa's level of cultural

competence, as an actor within the Tibetan sphere, and as an ethnic

hybrid, these things do add up together to create a distinctively different picture than the usual one of a Tibetan student of Indian language sitting at the feet of an Indian pundit to create systematic and uncompromisingly literalistic translations. This usual picture has a very prominent place in our general views about how Indian Buddhist culture was transmitted into Tibet. The fact that Phadampa could make translations into Tibetan on his own already threatens this picture. Phadampa could even find a few negative and even derisive words to say about the Tibetan translators (*lo-tstshā-ba*, with many spelling variants). In one place (P: II 332), he says, "Translators! They are constantly studying the tedium (*na-ya*, a word not in any dictionaries which I have encountered only in P) of words, and so have no opportunity to do the spiritual practices." Another thing he says (P: V 223) is quite sharply humorous, although the humor may not be very evident in the English translation. It is essential to understand that the

names of translators (for examples, Rwa Lo-tstshā-ba, Bro Lo-tstshā-ba, Mar-pa Lo-tstshā-ba) are always formed by placing the clan name in front of the [Indic] Tibetan word for 'translator' (*lo-tstshā-ba*):

Dampa is said to have been displeased with translators in general. He is reported as saying, "Dog [clan] Translator! Fox [clan] Translator! Meditative equipoise and post-meditation do not exist for Tibetan translators." (*dam pa de spyir lo tsha ba la myi myes pa yin skad / khyi lo tsha ba / wa lo tsha ba / msnyam [sic] bzhaḡ rjes thob bod kyi lo tsha ba la myed gsung skad*; compare also P: III 155).

In the case of the Telugu Phadampa and the Tibetans of Tingri, the

borderland implied in the term 'culture contact zone' was not located

between their bodies, but in their minds, with Phadampa taking the greater responsibility for adjusting what he said to his Tibetan audience. In other words, the cultural encounter had taken place and was continuing to take place in Phadampa's mind in a way that is very closely analogous to those contemporary Tibetan Buddhist teachers in Europe and America who have mastered not only the English language, but also the psychoanalytical jargon favored by their followers. When Phadampa performs his exorcism invoking the Tibetan *tsan* deities, I'm somewhat reminded of a video in which I saw a Tibetan monk, a recent refugee from Tibet, striking a so-called 'Tibetan singing bowl' (those who might believe in their 'Tibetanness' are advised to read Helffer 1994: 327-329) on the chest of his 'Yinji' (*dbyin-ji*, a modern Tibetan ethnonym derived via Portuguese and Indian languages from 'English', although mostly used generically to mean 'Westerner/Anglo') client in order to free up the energies of the chakras to promote healing. Regardless of whether the exorcism or the healing were successful or not, it is difficult to ignore the glare of cultural perplexity evoked by this sort of cross-cultural mirroring, which is surely not strictly a postmodern phenomenon.

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Part 8: Contents of the Four-volume Collected Works (Bka'-'bum) from a Private Collection in Lhasa.

This four-volume set in *dbu-med* script was acquired privately, in the form of a photographic copy, in Lhasa in 1996. It is written in a very fine hand, with only a very few difficult-to-read spots due to the photocopying process. One problem with the script is that the signs for 'e' and 'o' are virtually indistinguishable in places, but experience readers of cursive manuscripts will have few difficulties (abbreviated forms of writing are nearly absent). The texts of the *dkar-chags* which accompany the individual volumes are supplied in an appendix to this Part 8.

Volume 1 (KA)

A) Gsol-'debs dang Bstod-pa'i Skor.

- 1) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gsol-'debs Chen-mo, also known as Gra-thang-ma) [I 1v.1-1v.4].

B: dus gsum-gyi bla-ma rje-btsun dam-pa bka'-drin-can [1v.1].

E: bdag dang sems-can thams-cad-la byin-gyis brlab-par mdzad-du gsol [1v.4].

Note: Not located in Samdo A.

- 2) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gnad-du Skyol-ba'i Rdo-rje) [I 1v.5].

B: <N> dpag-med gong-nas 'gro-mams ma lus-la [1v.5].

C: Chos-'khor Gra-thang-gi Gtsug-lag-khang-du / Shâkya'i Dge-slong
Brtson-'grus-'bar-gyi don-du sbyar-ba'o // gnad du skyol-ba'i rdo-
rje'o / ithi [2v.1-2].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 11.

- 3) T: Gnyis-med Thugs-rje-ma (*dkar-chag*: Gsol-'debs Pho-nya Myur Mgyogs, also known as Gnyis-med Thugs-rje-ma) [I 2v.2].

B: <N> gnyis-med thugs-rje smon-lam rnam-dag-pa'i [2v.2].

E: yid-ches-shing gsol-ba rus-pa'i gting-nas btab-na byin-rlabs mi 'jug mi
srid-pa'i man-ngag // ithi [4r.1-2].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 1.

- 4) T: Bka'-brgyud-kyi Gsol-'debs [I 4r.2].

B: <P> bde-ba chen-po'i ngang shed-nas [4r.2].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis bka'-rgyud-la gsol-ba btab-pa'o [4v.4].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 2.

- 5) T: Lhan-skyes Brgyud-pa'i Gsol-'debs (*dkar-chag*: also known as Dwags-po Brgyud-pa'i Gsol-'debs) [I 5r.2].
 B: <N> Ma-hâ-ku-ma-râ-shrî-ye / thar-pa chen-po'i grong-khyer-na [5r.2-3].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi gsol-ba btab-pa'i tshig [5r.7].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 4.
- 6) T: Sbyor Drug Brgyud-pa'i Gsol-'debs [I 5r.7].
 B: <P> ho / ji-bzhin ye-shes gzugs mtshan mi mnga' yang [5r.7].
 E: bdag sogs skal-ldan-mams-la byin-gyis rlobs [6r.6].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 5.
- 7) T: Lam Gsum Brgyud-pa'i Gsol-'debs [I 6r.6-7].
 B: <P> chos-nyid don-la chags sdang mi mnga' yang [6r.7].
 E: gzhan don 'bad-med lhun-grub 'grub-par shog / na-mo ârya gu-ru [7v.3].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 6.
- 8) T: Phag-mo Ra-lugs Brgyud-pa'i Gsol-'debs [I 7v.3].
 B: gnas mchog chos-kyi dbyings-kyi pho-brang de-ru [7v.3].
 E: sprang-po'i mos-gus-la rgyun-chad med-do [8r.1].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 7.
- 9) T: Rtsa-ba'i Bla-ma Drug-la Gsol-ba Btab-pa [I 8r.2].
 B: <P> gsang-sngags sdong-po sde-snod kun-gyi bdag [8r.2].
 C: Shâkya'i Dge-slong Sna-nam Brtson-'grus-grags-pas / Tshal Yang-dgon Gsar-ma'i nang-du bkod-pa rdzogs-so [8v.3-4].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 8.
- 10) T: Bsil-ba Tshal-ma [I 8v.4].
 B: <P> ho / Bsilo-ba Tshal-gyi dur-khrod-na [8v.4].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis rtsa-ba'i bla-ma brgyud-pa dang bcas-pa-rnams-la gsol-ba bsdus-te btab-pa / Stod-lung Mtshur-gyi Lha-lung-du bris / ithi [9v.5-6].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 10.
- 11) Dwags-po-ba-la Bstod-pa (*dkar-chag*: Dwags-po Sgom-pa-la Bstod-pa) [I 9v.6].
 B: chos-kyi mig-can skob-dpon rin-po-che [9v.6].
 C: Sna-nam-gyis Sib-dpon Dwags-po-la bstod-pa [10r.4].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 13.
- 12) T: Dpal-gyi Bstod-pa U-dum-wa-ra [I 10r.4-5].
 B: <P> e-ma-ho / 'di-ltar skyes-bu ya-mtshan-can [10r.5].
 C: Dpal Rgwa Lo-la Sna-nam-gyis bstod-pa u-dum-'bar-ba zhes bya-ba'o [11r.4].
 Note: Compare Part 5: A) 14.
- 13) T: Dpal-la Bstod-pa Gnyis-pa [I 11r.4-5].

B: <P> <P> Dpal-chen Nâ-len-tra'i grong-khyer-du [11r.5].
C: Dpal-chen Rgwa Lo-la Sna-nam Sgom-pa Zhang-gis bstod-pa'o [11v.7].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 15.

14) T: Dpal-la Bstod-pa Gsum-pa [I 11v.7].

B: <P> pha-cig grub-thob Dpal-ldan Rgwa Lo-la [12r.7].

C: Shâkya'i Zhang-sgom Brtson-'grus-grags-pas bstod-pa'o [12r.7].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 16.

15) T: Dpal-la Bstod-pa Bzhi-pa [I 12r.7].

B: <P> pha-cig grub-thob Dpal-ldan Rgwa Lo-la [12r.7].

E: thugs-rjes gzhan don rdzogs mdzad rje-btsun Dpal-la 'dud [13r.7].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 17.

16) T: Dpal-la Smre Gsol-ba (*dkar-chag*: also known as Myang-'das Chung-ba) [I 13r.7].

B: <P> kye-ma sems-can gang-zhig rtsod-pa'i mes [13r.7].

C: Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo-la Zhang-gi Sprang-pos smre gsol-ba'o [14r.6].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 18.

17) T: Dpal-la Yan-lag Bdun-gyi Sgo-nas Bstod-pa [I 14r.6].

B: <P> sdom-pa gsum-gyis rab brgyan-pa [14r.7].

C: Dpal-chen Dga' Lo'i yon-tan rjes-su 'brangs-te Sprang-ban Zhang-gis smon-lam btab-pa'o [15r.3].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 19.

18) T: Rtsa-ba'i Bla-ma Bzhi'i Gsol-'debs [I 15r.3].

B: bdag gsol-ba cig dur-khrod Bsil-ba'i Tshal-du 'debs [15r.3-4].

C: rtsa-ba'i bla-ma bzhi-la Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas gsol-ba btab-pa [15v.1-2].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 9.

19) T: Rje-la Rigs Gsum Mgon-po'i Sgo-nas Bstod-pa [I 15v.2].

B: <P> skal-ldan-rnams-la byin-gyis rlobs [15v.2].

E: gzhan don gzugs skur bsgyur-du gsol [15v.5].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 20.

20) T: Yang Rje-la Bstod-pa (*dkar-chag*: Rje-pa-la Bstod-pa) [I 15v.5].

B: <P> bdag 'dra blo dman sdig-can 'dis [15v.6].

E: da-dung byin-gyis brlab-tu gsol [17r.1].

Note: Compare Part 5: A) 21.

21) T: Rje-btsun Rin-po-che Sku-mched-la Bstod-pa [I 17r.1].

B: <P> bskal-pa dpag-tu med-pa'i gong-rol-nas [17r.1-2].

C: bla-ma rje-btsun Yer-pa sku-mched-la gdung-ba'i sems-kyis bstod-pa 'di / Shâkya'i Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas shing mo lug-gi lo-la / Ta-mo-ra Tshal-sgang-gi Dgon-pa rmang 'bre-ba'i dus-su bkod-pa'o [17v.1-2]

4

E: mdor-na rtogs-pa dang byin-rlabs skal-ba dang ldan-pa thams-cad-a
'god shes-pa 'di gcig-pus kyang chog-pa yin-no [35r.3].

6) T: Bla-ma Dwag[s]-po Sgom-pa'i Rnam-thar [I 35r.3].

B: de-lta-bu'i bla-ma rin-po-che mi'i seng-ge sprul-pa'i sku bka'-drin-can
de'i sku'i dbon-po-la thugs-kyi sras-su gyur-pa ni [35r.3-4].

C: byin-rlabs-kyi brgyud-pa 'di-nyid-kyi nam-par thar-pa / gong-ma gong-
mas gsungs-pa'i phyogs zur mtshon tsam re smos-pa / Shākya'i
Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas / rang-gi dran-pa slong-ba'i ched-
du phyogs tsam gcig bkod-pa / ithi [38r.2].

Note: This colophon actually belongs to the whole collection of biographies
up to this point.

7) T: Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo'i Rnam-thar [I 38r.2].

B: <P> byang-chub sems 'byongs snyan-pas 'dzam-gling khyab [38r.2-3].

E: bdag dang mtha'-yas-pa'i sems-can thams-cad skyes-bu dam-pa khyed-
nyid-kyi thugs-rjes 'dzin-par gyur-cig [49r.5].

8) T: Bla-ma Gshen-pa'i Rnam-thar [I 49r.5-6].

B: <N> gang-zhig nyi-ma'i dkyil-'khor 'od-zer du-ma rab 'phro-bas
[49r.6].

C: rin-po-che Bshen-pa'i nam-thar zur-tsam / Shākya'i Dge-slong Rdo-rje-
'dzin-pa Biryā-girtis 'Ching-bu Rdza-ra'i Yang-dben-du bkod-pa'o /
bla-ma-mams dang mjal lugs dang / phyi nang sgro 'dogs bcad lugs
dang / sa lam drod rtags skye lugs-mams / nam-thar chen-mo'i
nang-du gzigs / ithi [55r.1-2].

Note: The colophon mentions the existence of a more detailed biography.

9) T: Rje Yer-pa-ba'i Rnam-thar [I 55r.3].

B: bskal-pa dpag-tu med-pa'i gong-rol-nas [55r.3].

C: Rje-btsun Rin-po-che Yer-pa-ba'i nam-thar zur-tsam gcig smos-pa'o
[66v.6].

10) T: Bla-ma Bai-ro'i Rnam-thar [I 66v.6].

B: <P> Bla-ma Rnal-'byor-pa Chen-po Bai-ro-tsa-na zhes bya-ba [66v.6-
7].

E: [part illeg.] brtul-zugs spyod-pa'i mal-'byor-gyi dbang-phyug chen-po
Shrī Bai-ro-tsa-na-la / Shākya'i Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas
sgro bkur med-par bsngags-pa'o [69v.1-2].

11) T: Brgyud-pa Sna-tshogs [I 69v.2].

B: <P> bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rim-pa ni [69v.2-3].

E: tshul-khrims gtsang-na ci bsam thams-cad grub / ithi [73r.6].

12) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Bla-ma Sna-tshogs) [I 73r.6].

B: <P> da-lta rtsa-ba'i bla-ma dran tshad-mams / go-rim med-par mtshan-
nas smos-pa ni [73r.6-7].

E: 'brel phran-tshegs byas-pa yan-chad smos-pa'o / ithi [75v.6].

13) T: Nyid-kyi Rnam-thar Grub-pa-ma [I 75v.6].

B: <P> ma-nor bde-legs lam mchog nges ston-pa'i [75v.6-7].

C: Sgrags-kyi Khung-bug Rdzong-du Dge-slong Shes-rab-grub-pa'i ngo
ma zlog-nas smras-pa / phan sems-kyis smras-pa yin [...] zhe-'dod
thams-cad spangs [88v.2-5].

C) Bslab-bya Lag-len-gyi Skor.

- 1) T: Bya-byed Thams-cad-kyi Sngon-'gro'i Lag-len [I 88v.5-6].
B: <N> rang-gi snying-kha'i sa-bon-gyi 'od-kyis phyogs bcu dus gsum-
gyi bla-ma-mams dang yi-dam dkyil-'khor-gyi lha-tshogs...
[88v.5].
C: bya-byed-kyi sngon-'gro'i lag-len dor-te phur bkod-pa'o [91r.1].
- 2) T: Spyran-'dren Chen-mo [I 91r.1-2].
B: <P> <P> bla-ma rje-btsun-pa-mams spyran drang-ba ni [91r.2].
E: mandal dang mchod-pa-la sogs-pa 'bul-ba'o [95v.3-4].
- 3) T: Jo-chung [I 95v.4].
B: <N> Dpal Rdo-rje-mal-'byor-ma'i sgrub-thabs snying-po [95v.4].
E: Rje-btsun-ma'i byin-rlabs-kyi bdag-nyid / ithi [96r.6].
- 4) T: Lhan-chung [I 96r.6].
B: <P> mdun-gyi nam-mkha'-la bla-ma-mams dang sangs-rgyas dang
hyang-chub-sems-dpa' thams-cad dang dkyil-'khor-gyi lha-tshogs
dpag-tu med-pa bsam-la [96r.6-7].
E: yi-ge brgya-pa 'don-no [97r.1].
- 5) T: Ting-chung [I 97r.1].
B: <P> bag-chags-la sogs-pa'i dri-ma dag-par bya-ba'i phyir ting-nge-'dzin-
gyi dbang rang-gis rang-la bkur-ba'i cho-ga ni [97r.1-2].
E: dbang-po tha-ma'i lam / ithi [98v.3].
- 6) T: Lhan-skyes Dbang-po Rab 'Bring Gsum-gyi Mngon-rtogs [I
98v.3].
B: <P> Bcom-ldan-'das Dpal Lhan-cig Skyes-pa'i man-ngag dbang-po
'bring-gi ting-nge-'dzin mi [98v.3-4].
C: Bcom-ldan-'das Dpal Lhan-cig Skyes-pa'i man-ngag / Sprang-ban
Zhang-gis ngag-'don-du dril-ba'o / ithi [102r.3-4].
- 7) T: Byin-rlabs Dus-kyi Gtor-ma [I 102r.4].
B: <N> dbang dang byin-brlabs dang mchod-pa-la sogs-pa'i dus-su / gtor-
ma la byin-rlabs yas brlab [102.4-5].
C: gtor-ma'i byed lugs / ithi [103v.3].
- 8) T: Rnal-'byor-ma'i Nag-po Tshogs Tshog-gi Lag-len-gyi Rjes-su
'Brengs-pa (*dkar-chag*: Nag-po Tshogs Sog-gi Lag-len)
[103v.4].
B: bla-ma lha tshogs mchod-'os-rnams-la gus btud-nas / tshogs mchod
pra-khrid gsung-sgras-la brten ci nus bri [103v.4].

C: Slob-dpon Nag-po-pas mdzad-pa'i gzhung-la Rje-btsun Yer-pa-bas
phyag-len mdzad-pa'i rim-pa-la brten-nas Sprang-ban Zhang-gis
cung-zad gsal-bar byas-pa bris-pa'o [107r.3-4].

- 9) T: De'i Lhan-thabs Gsal-byed Khams-ston Blo-gros-rdo-rje'i
Ngor Bkod-pa [107r.4].
B: <P> Jo-mo'i byin-briabs dang dkyil-'khor gzhan-gyi dbang-bskur dang
tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo'i dus-su sgrub-pa'i mandal dang [107r.4-5].
C: sgrub-pa-po'i lam mchog dam-pa'i gsal-byed grub-thob gong-ma-
mams-kyi phyag-len phyin-ci-ma-log-pa / slob-ma dam-pa Khams-
pa Ston-pa Blo-gros-rdo-rje'i ngor / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Sgrags-
kyi G.yu-brag-tu bkod-pa'o / rdzogs-so [109v.1-2].
- 10) T: Gsang-sngags Lag-len [I 109v.2].
B: <P> tshul-bzhin don-grub rje-btsun mchog-mams dang [109v.2-3].
C: gsang-sngags-la zhugs sgrub-pa byed-par 'dod-pa-dag-gis / lam-du
blang-ba'i rim-pa / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Stod-lung Mtshur-gyi
Lha-lung-du Brag-ral-du bsdebs-pa / ithi [119r.7-119v.1].
- 11) T: Bdag-nyid Chen-po'i Tshogs Gsog Dpal Nâ-ro-pa'i Rjes-su
'Brengs-pa (*dkar-chag*: also called Phyag-len Thugs-kyi
Nying-khu) [I 119v.1].
B: shin-tu mi gnas 'dod-chags bral [119v.1-2].
C: chos-skor-gyi tur [?] bkod-pa / ithi [121v.7].
- 12) T: Bdag-nyid Chen-po'i Tshogs Gsog Rnal-'byor Dbang-phyug
Mi-la'i Rjes-su 'Brengs-pa [I 121v.7].
B: 'di Bla-ma Mi-la'i lugs lags [121v.7].
C: Mi-la'i bzhed-pa bdag-nyid chen-po'i tshogs gsog-go / ithi [122r.7].
- 13) T: Bdag-nyid Chen-po'i Tshogs Gsog Ra-lugs Bkod-pa [I
122r.7-v.1].
B: <P> 'khor-ba thogs-ma med-pa-nas da-lta yan-chad-kyi na-tsha dang
sdug-bsngal [... 122v.1].
E: tha-ma 'gags-pa med-pa phyag-rgya-chen-por bzhag-pa de-nyid ye-
shes-kyi tshogs-so / rdzogs-so / ithi [123v.1].
- 14) T: Bla-ma Lam-khyer Bdun-gyi Dang-po [I 123v.1].
B: <N> Rdo-rje-'chang dang mi gnyis-pa'i [123v.1-2].
E: rkyen ngan grogs-su 'char-ba'i le'u'o / ithi [129v.7].
Note: Contains seven numbered sections.
- 15) T: Thun Bzhi'i Nyams-len [I 129v.7].
B: <P> bsgrub-pa-po brgyud-pa zam ma chad-pa-mams-kyi lag-len ni
[129v.7-130r.1].
C: Bla-ma Rin-po-che Zhang-gi mdzad-pa thun bzhi'i gdams-pa ma nor-ba
[131r.2].
- 16) T: Rgyun-du Bya-ba'i Chos-spyod Spy'i'i Lag-len Dpal 'Dus
Nya-ga Che-ba [I 131r.2-3].

B: <P> spyir mnam-pa thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i go-'phang thob-par byed-
pa-la thabs dang shes-rab zung-du 'brel dgos [131r.3].
E: bla-ma-mams-kyi snying-gtam yin / ithi [138r.6].

17) T: Dpal 'Dus Nya-ga Chung-ba [I 138r.6].

B: spyir pha-rol-tu phyin-pa'i theg-pa-mams-su ni sangs-rgyas dang
byang-chub-sems-dpas zhes-par grags-la [138r.6-7].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi lag-len ma-mo dpal 'dus nya-ga zhes bya-ba byin-
gyis brlabs pa'i sa phyogs Lha-sa sde bzhi'i yul Dor-te Sgo-phu'i
Mchoor-nag-tu slob-ma skal-ldan-gyi don-du bkod-pa // ithi [fol.
142r.4-5].

18) T: Gnäs-brtan Mgon-po'i Don-du Mdžad-pa'i Zas-kyi Rnal-
'byor [I 142r.5-6].

B: om sva-sti / spyir theg-pa kun-la zas-kyi rnal-'byor yod-do [142r.6].

E: sngon-du skyabs-'gro sems-bskyed dang / spyod tshe sgyu-ma'i 'du-ses
dang [144r.1-2].

19) T: Dags-po 'Dul-'dzin-gyis Zhus-pa'i Gtor-ma'i Lag-len [I
144r.2].

B: <P> grub-thob 'phrin-las thogs-med mnga' brnyes-pa'i [144r.2-3].

C: Zhang-gi Sprang-ban-gyis / gtor-ma'i lag-len bkod... [152v.2-3].

20) T: Lag-tu Blang-ba'i Rim-pa Ji-ltar Bstan-nas Skye-med-du
Gtan-la 'Bebs-par Byed-pa Sna-tshogs Chos-sku [I 152v.3-4].

B: <P> bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-'gro-la'o // thogs-med byin-rlabs gser-'gyur
rtsi [152v.4].

C: sna-tshogs chos-sku zhes bya-ba Sprang-ban Zhang-gis phag lo'i ston
zla 'bring-po-la / Mon-pa Gdong-du dbu btsugs-nas chos-skor chen-
po Bsam-yas-kyi 'khor-sa chen-mor tshes bco lnga'i nyi-ma snga-
dro-la tshar-bar bkod-pa'o // ithi [158r.6-7].

Note: The colophon gives a Pig year date (1179?) for the composition
begun at Mon-pa Gdong, and finished at Bsam-yas.

21) T: Ro Bsreg Thabs [I 158v.1].

B: bla-ma lhar bcas phyag-'tshal-nas / tha-mal dang ni dbang thob-pa'i
[158v.1].

C: ro bsregs-kyi cho-ga shin-tu mdor-bsdus-pa / slob-dpon Dgyes-pa-rdo-
rjes mdžad-pa'i ro bsreg rgyal-po'i rjes-su 'brengs-te / bla-ma'i
gsung-la brten-nas bkod-pa / ithi [159v.7-160r.1].

Note: A note added after the colophon (160r.1) comments on the method
of Jo-bo A-phyä (i.e., Abhāyakaragupta).

22) T: Gshin Bsngo [I 160r.2].

B: gshin bsngo-ba ni [160r.2].

E: zhes lan gsum-gyi rjes-la sangs-rgyas rkang-gnyis gtso de bden-pa'i
mchog-la sogs-pa'i smon-lam gdab-bo // ithi [160v.7-161r.1].

23) T: Bsngo-ba Yon-bshad Bsdus-pa [I 161r.1].

B: <N> bsngo-ba 'di-la dge-ba'i rtsa-ba thams-cad-la bsngo-ba [161r.1-2].

C: Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo'i gsung-sgros-la / bla-ma gzhan-gyi gsung-sgros-kyi sham-bu btags-nas / lung-nas phyung-ba'i smon-lam ci nus-su btab-pa / kho-bo-rang-gi lag-len byed tshod-ma yi-ger bkod-pa / ithi [162v.6-7].

24) T: Bsngo-ba Yon-bshad Bsdus-pa (*dkar-chag*: Shin-tu Bsdus-pa) [I 162v.7].

B: Dpal-chen Rgwa Lo'i bsngo-ba shin-tu bsdus-pa byed-na [162v.7].

E: Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo'i gsung-sgros-ma 'chugs-pa rdzogs-so // bsngo-ba lags-so [163r.2].

25) T: Rab-gnas Mdo-lugs Bsdus-pa [I 163r.3].

B: <P> rab-tu gnas-pa'i cho-ga-la mchod-pa dang gtor-ma 'byor-tshad-du bshams [163r.3].

C: rab-tu gnas-pa bsdus-pa rdzogs-s.ho [165v.7].

26) T: Dgon-gnas Bkra-shis-par Byed-pa'i Man-ngag [I 165v.7].

B: <P> dgon-gnas dang / khang-bzang dang / phal-pa'i khyim bkra-shis shing [165v.7-166r.1].

C: dgon-gnas dang khang-bzang-la sogs-pa bkra-shis-par bya-ba'i man-ngag rdo-rje hûm-mdzad-la sogs-pa rdzogs.ho // ithi [166v.2].

27) T: Sems-bskyed-kyi mam-bzhag Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo-las thob-pa Pandi-ta A-bhya dang Rtsa-mi'i Bzhed-pa Thun-mong-ma-yin-pa [I 166v.3].

B: <P> Dge-slong Rig-pa'i-'byung-gnas thugs-dam zhal-gzigs dbus-'gyur Ma-ga-dhar ni ljon-shing-dag [166v.3-4].

C: byang-chub-tu sems bskyed-pa'i mam-par bzhag-pa zur-tsam-cig smos-pa / Dpal-chen Rgwa Lo'i zhal-gyis gdams-pa yi-ger bkod-pa-ste / yul-gyi shod-kyi nga 'dam (?) Byang-pyi'i 'Brong-bur bris-pa'o // ithi [174r.7-174v.1].

28) T: Sems-bskyed-kyi Dngos-gzhi'i Cho-ga [I 174v.1].

B: rigs-kyi bu'am rigs-kyi bu-mo gang-la-la-dag bla-na-med-pa'i byang-chub-tu sems bskyed-par 'dod-pas [174v.1-2].

C: sems bskyed-pa'i dngos-gzhi cho-ga / Bsod-snyoms-pa Chen-po Rtsa-mi Lo-tsha Sangs-rgyas-grags-pas bsgyur-nas / Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Los Rgya-gar-yul-nas Bod-yul-du spyang-drangs-pa lags-so // ithi [176r.2-3].

29) T: Skyabs-'gro Sems-bskyed Shin-tu Bsdus-pa [I 176r.3].

B: sangs-rgyas chos dang tshogs-kyi mchog ces-pa [176r.3].

E: de-ltar mi byed-na sde-snod gsum blo-la 'don yang 'gro sa ngan-song-las mi rnyed gsungs // ithi [176v.6].

30) T: Bsnyen-gnas-kyi Cho-ga [I 176v.6].

B: <P> spyir 'jig-rten 'di dang phyi-ma-la sogs-pas [176v.6-7].

C: bsnyen-gnas-kyi cho-ga rdzogs.ho [178r.4].

D) Theg-pa Che Chung-gi Grub-mtha'i Skor.

- 1) Chos Spy'i Stong-thun Gleng-gzhi Chen-mo Rgyas-pa Bsdus-pa Gnyis [I 178r.4-5].

B: <P> sphyir rgyu sems-can-la 'bras-bu sangs-rgyas bsgrub-par byed-pa-la dam-pa rin-po-che'i chos byed dgos [178r.5].

C: bka' dang bstan-bcos mtha'-dag dang bla-ma'i man-ngag thams-cad-kyi gleng-gzhi / chos thams-cad-kyi bshag-ral / theg-pa thams-cad-kyi man-ngag / lag len thams-cad-kyi bcud / Sprang-ban Zhang-gi Khams-ston Blo-gros-rdo-rje'i ngor / Sgrags-kyi G.yu-brag-tu bkod-pa'o [185r.3-4] ... de-lta-bu'i lta-ba nam-par dag-pa'i don gdams-ngag phyin-ci-ma-log-pa 'di-na mar-la zhes-pa so-so'i gzhung thog-tu bab-pa'o // ithi [185v.2-3].

- 2) T: Gzhi Lam 'Bras-bu dang bcas-pa Gtan-la 'Bebs-pa Grub-mtha' Tshig Gsum [I 185v.3].

B: nam-par rtog-pa mi mnga'-ba'i [185v.3].

C: Dge-slong Ghi-rti-sing-has dbu mdzad-pa snod-ldan 'ga' zung-gi don-du / Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas yi-ger bkod-pa rdzogs.ho [211r.2].

Note: There are some chapter divisions.

- 3) Rje Sgom Byang-chub-snying-po'i Don-du Mdzad-pa'i Tshoms-kyi Rim-pa [I 211r.2].

B: <P> gang-dag dpag-med dus-nas theg-mchog rgyud sbyangs-shing [211r.2-3].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-chung-gis / 'Ja'-sgom Byang-shying-gi ched-du / ngas 'dam ral gsum-gyi dbus / pri zhal gnyis kyi so mtshams / Bya-mkhar-gyi brag rtse'i spyil-por bris pa tshoms-kyi rimpa rdzogso ... [scribal colophon in smaller letters:] zhus dag-par bdog / bsam-pa dag-pas dge-la ra-sprod-zhing / yi-ge'i gzugs-la rmongs-pa zad-pa-yis / G.yu-brag Zhang-gi bka'-'bum rin-chen 'di / bris-pa'i dge-bas 'gro kun khyab-par shog / sangs-rgyas-par shog / mangga-lam / zhus dag [227r.4-7].

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- 4) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Grub-tha'i Skor-gyi Bden Gnyis Zung-'brel).

B: <P> gang-zag thub-dbang sras bcas ma-lus rtsa-ba 'gro kun nges [2v.2].

C: bden gnyis zung-du 'brel-ba zhes bya-ba Sprang-ban Zhang-gis rang-gi dran-pa gso-ba'i ched-du / thun-mong dang khyad-par-gyi gzhung thams-cad dang mi 'gal-bar byas-ste / rtog-par bya-ba dang / lag-tu blang-bar bya-ba'i nam-grangs che-long / zur mtshon tsam-du tshul chung dgon-par yon-bdag 'Bum-stag-gis bteg-pa'i dus-su dbu btsugs-nas dmigs chung dgon-par yon-bdag dur-pa (?) -rnams-kyis btegs-pa'i dus-su tshar-bar bkod-pa rdzogs-s.ho // su mkhas kyang bsre bsad mi mdzad-par zhu / spre'u lo'i nya drug zla-ba'i tshes bco-lnga'i nyin-mo tshar-ba lags-so // iti [49r.5-7].

Note: A Monkey year date of completion of the composition is given in the colophon.

- 4) T: Bden Gnyis Zung-'brel-gyi Sa-bcad [II 49r.7-49v.1].
B: om swa-sti / bden gnyis zung-du 'brel-ba 'di-la gsung-ste [49v.1].
C: bden-pa gnyis zung-du 'brel-ba'i bsdus-don rtsom-pa-po-nyid-kyis bkod-pa'o // rdzogs s.ho [53r.4-5].
- 5) T: Grub-mtha'i Skyon Sel [II 53r.5].
B: <P> gang-du'ang grub dang gnas-pa med [53r.5].
C: rang blo'i skyon sel zhes bya-ba / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis bkod-pa'o [59v.2-3].
- 6) T: Grub-mtha'i Skyon Sel-gyi Sa-bcad [II 59v.3].
B: <P> Sprang-ban Zhang-gis bkod-pa'i blo'i skyon sel 'di-la don gsum-te [59v.3].
E: thal-'gur 'dod thog bsal-ba'o [61r.7-61v.1].
- 7) T: Rnal-'byor Lam-rim [II 61v.1].
B: <P> blo dman-rnams-la phan-bya'i phyir [61v.1].
C: Bya-mkhar Spod-chung Dman-po zhes bya-ba / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis log-pa'i lam 'ga'-zhig dor-ba'i ched-du / Bya-mkhar 'Be-nag-brag-tu snying-rje 'ba'-zhig-gis kun-nas bslangs-nas shes rung ma shes rung bkod-pa'o // bla-ma Bsam-grub zhes bya-ba / las rgyu 'bras-la smod-cing tshe snga phyi mi 'dod-pas / rmongs-pa phal-cher dge-ba-las zlog-nas / mi dge-ba 'ba'-zhig-la bkod-pa ma bzod-de / shin-tu brtse-ba'i sgo-nas bkod-pa'o [69v.5].
- 8) T: Sa-bcad [II 69v.5].
B: <N> mi nag dge-ba-la bskul-cing [69v.5].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi dga'-la / re'i yi-ge tshigs-bcad dang / tshigs lhug pa dang / 'dres ma 'phra len-gyi tshig-la sogs-pa / tsab-ra tsub-ra mang-po / bris-nas 'dog / la-la sngon chos dang dge-sbyor prag-prig-gi dus / la-la de-bas drag-pa'i dus-su bris / dge-la re yin / sdig-pa mi bsags-par zhu [72r.3-4].
Note: The colophon of the version in the Samdo A differs.
- 9) T: Rnal-'byor Lam-gyi Rim-pa Nyi-ma Snang-ba [II 72r.4].
B: <P> e-ma theg-pa ma-lus mdor-bsdus kun-gyi mchog [72r.5].
C: rnal-'byor lam-gyi rim-pa nyi-ma snang-ba zhes bya-ba / Bsam-yas Phu'i Brag-sngon-du Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas nye-bar sbyar-ba'o [88v.7-89r.1].
- 10) T: Lam Mchog Bdud-rtsi'i Chu-rgyun [II 89r.1].
B: <P> bu snying thag-pa-nas soms dang / sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa yun-ring-du gnas-pa yang dka' [89r.1-2].
C: lam mchog bdud-rtsi'i chu-rgyun zhes bya-ba / las dang-po-pa-nas brtsams-te 'bras-bu rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas-kyi bar-gyi lam ma nor-bar bkod-pa / chu pho spre'u yi lo dbyar zla tha chung tshes gsum gyi nyin par G.yu-brag-gis gzim-spyil-du bkod-pa'o [89v.7-90r.1].

Note: The colophon says this work was composed in G.yu-brag in the year Water Monkey (1152).

- 11) T: Phan-byed Rab-gsal Nor-bu'i Phreng-ba [II 90r.1].
B: <P> gang-dag skyon-bral lam-gyi yon-tan rab rgyas mchog-tu rgya-che nyi-ma zla-ba'i 'od [90r.1-2].
C: Brtson-'grus-grags-pas nye-bar sbyar-ba'o / sems-can thams-cad-kyi don-du gyur-cig [99v.1].
- 12) T: Dus Gsum-gyi Sangs-rgyas Thams-cad-kyi Dgongs-pa'i Nying-phugs Chen-mo Zab-pa dang Rgya-che-ba'i Don Gtan-la 'Bebs-par Byed-pa Phan-byed Nyi-ma'i Snying-po [II 99v.2].
B: <P> khyed-mams-kyi sku dang gsung dang thugs dang yon-tan dang phrin-las phul-du phyin-pas bdag dang sems-can thams-cad... [99v.2-3].
C: dgongs-pa thams-cad-kyi spyi mdzod chen-mo'i phugs-kyi nying-phug rgyal-po chen-po zhes bya-ba / G.yo-ru'i 'khrug-pa chen-po'i lo-la / Bzang-yul Mon-ba-gdong-du dbu btsugs / ya snar gzhung bskyangs / Gra-thang-du tshar-bar byas-pa rdzogs-so [197r.2-4].
- 13) T: Khams-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug-gis Zhus-pa'i Zung-'jug-gi Don Phyin-ci-ma-log-pa [II 197r.4].
B: <P> bdag sogs rmongs-pa'i mun sel-ba'i [197r.4].
C: khyad-par-du 'phags-pa zhes bya-ba / slob-ma dam-pas bskul-nas / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Sgrags-kyi G.yu-brag-tu bkod-pa / zung-du 'jug-pa'i don phyin-ci-ma-log-pa rdzogs-so [199v.5].
Note: The *dkar-chag* reads Blo-gros-rdo-rje in place of the Rdo-rje-dbang-phyug of the title. This text has 14 chapters.
- 14) T: Phrang-po Btsad-po'i Don-du Gsungs-pa'i Gdams-pa Dgos-pa Kun Tshang [II 99v.6].
B: <P> Lho Bal rig-pa'i 'byung-gnas thub-pa-yis / zhabs-kyis bcags-pa'i gnas mchog byang-gi phyogs [99v.6-7].
C: Zhang Rin-po-ches Rje Rgyal Btsan-po-la gdams-pa Kun Tshang Thugs-kyi Gnyen-po zhes bya-ba / rgyal-po nyid-kyi pho-brang yang-rtse'i sreng-du dbu btsugs-nas / Sgrags-kyi Ngar-phugs-su gzhung bskyangs-te / Tshal-gyi Yang-dgon-du tshar-bar bkod-pa'o / iti [236r.6-7].
Note: Since this work was finished at Tshal Yang-dgon (founded in 1175) and it was started at the Hen year, the date should be 1177 or 1189.
- 15) T: Byang-chub-sems-kyi Lag-len [II 236r.7].
B: <P> byang-chub-sems ni rin-chen-gyi / gdams-ngag lag-len cung-zad bri [236r.7-236v.1].
C: byang-chub-kyi sems bco-brgyad-pa zhes bya-ba rdzogs s.ho [237r.7].
- 16) T: Zung Gsum Ya drug-gi Gdams-pa [II 237v.1].
B: <P> gzhi-la rig dang ma-rig gnyis / lam-la yengs dang ma-yengs gnyis [237v.1].
C: dgongs-pa bskang-ba'i gleng langs zhes bya-ba / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis 'Phrad-po Khra-do'i Snye-'tsher-du dbu btsugs-te / le'u gnyis-pa

yan-chad tshar-nas / Sgrags-kyi Ngar-phug-tu gzhung bskrangs /
Bsgrags-kyi Phu-chung-gi Lam-'bras Phug-tu tshar-bar byas-nas
bkod-pa / yos-bu lo dbyar zla tha-chung-gi tshes nyi-shu-gcig-gi
dgongs-mo tshar-bar bkod-pa yin-no / iti [253r.6-253v.1].

Note: Has 5 chapters with chapter headings. A Hare year is given for date of completion of composition (perhaps 1183).

17) T: Chos Brgyad Spong-ba'i Yig-chung [II 253v.1].

B: nor-bu lta-bu'i rje-btsun-mams-la 'dud / mdo rgyud bstan-bcos man-
ngag kun shes kyang [253v.1].

C: chos brgyad spong-ba'i yig-chung 'di / kun-gyis gzigs-la nyams-su long
/ iti [255r.2].

18) T: 'Dul-ba'i Lde-mig [II 255r.2].

B: <P> so-so thar-pa'i blo-gros nges-pa zhes bya-ba [255r.3].

C: 'dul-ba thams-cad-kyi lde-ig / dge-slong chos-kyi spyen-lan Zhang-gis
/ thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i lung gzhung dam-pa dang / bla-ma'i
gdams-ngag-la brten-te mdzad-pa rdezogs-s.ho // sems-can-gyi don-
du phan thogs-par gyur-cig / sarba mangga-lam [257r.4-6].

Note: Notice the illustrations on fol. 257. On the left is a bird-beaked
protective deity, while on the right is one with a lion's head.

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E) Nyams-len Sgom Khrid-kyi Skor.

1) None (*dkar-chag*: Khrid-kyi Lung Sbyar zhes bya-ba Chos dang
Chos-nyid Gtan-la 'Bebs-par Byed-pa) [III 1v].

B: <P> gdams-pa 'di'i lugs-kyis gsum-ste [1v.1].

E: mkhan-po rang-yang bshad-pa shog-lag sgoms dang zer-nas mkhan-
pos sgom-pa-pas phyis dgra-bcom-pa thob-pa lta-bu gsung [5v.7].

2) Slob-dpon Shâk-yes Sku-mched-la Gsungs-pa'i Khrid-yig Gsal-
ba'i Sgron-me [III 6r.1].

B: <P> rang-ngam gzhan-la sgom la-la [ma-mo?] chen-mo'i khrid lugs ni
[6r.1].

C: dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen dam-pa'i ngo-la / khrid llugs shin-tu gsal-bar
bgyis-pa lags-so [8v.5].

3) Slob-dpon Shak-yes-la Gsungs-pa'i Khrid-yig Bsdus-pa [III 8v.5-
6].

B: <P> 'jig-rten-gyi nam-rtog-la sogs-pa'i nyon-mongs-pa spong-ba dang
[8v.6].

E: de gang-la-yang mi gnas-pa'i mya-ngan-las-'das-pa thob-par 'gyur-ro
[9v.7].

4) T: Ral-sgom-gyi Don-du Sbyar-ba'i Khrid-yig Snying-po'i Don
Gtan-la 'Bebs-pa [III 10r.1].

B: gang-gi drin-gyis bde chen-po [10r.1].

- 5) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po Dbu Snyung-ma zhes bya-ba Thun-mong-ma-yin-pa'i Snying-gtam [III 14v.3].
B: <P> dus gsum sangs-rgyas thams-cad-kyi dgongs-pa [14v.3-4].
E: bu de-las bdog re gsung-nas dbu bsnyung bzhes-so / iti [15r.4].
- 6) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po Mtshon-par Byed-pa'i Man-ngag [III 15r.4].
B: <P> mi gang dpag-med bsod-nams tshogs bsags-pa'i [15r.4-5].
C: phyag-rgya-chen-po'i man-ngag Dge-slong Ri-khrod-pa'i don-du mdzad-pa [17v.2-3].
- 7) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po'i Man-ngag Mthar-thug Don-gyi Snying-po Mdor-bsdus-pa zhes bya-ba Nyams-len Ji-lta-bar Bstan-pa [III 17v.3].
B: <P> gang-zhig tshig don ma-lus snying-po byin-rlabs dang [17v.3-4].
C: phyag-rgya-chen-po mtshon-par byed-pa'i yi-ge / ban-chung bdag-gi zin-bris-su sdebs-pa / iti / phyag-rgya-chen-po'i mtshang 'bru [21v.4].
- 8) T: Stag-sgom-la Gsungs-pa'i Gnad-kyi Man-ngag [III 21v.4-5].
B: om swa-sti / kun khyab chos-dbyings nam-mkha'-la [21v.5].
C: pha-spad gnyiis-kyi snying-gtam yin [22v.2-3].
- 9) T: Gtsang-pa Jo-btsun Sku-mched-lla Gsungs-pa Gnad-kyi Man-ngag Gnyis-las Dang-po [III 22v.3].
B: <P> snying-nas rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas thob-par 'dod-na [22v.3-4].
C: Gtsang-gi Las-stod Stag-ris-su / ston-pa sku-mched mnam gnyis-kyis / yab rgan don-du bskul gyur-pas / gnad mchog bris-te bkur-ba yin / gnad-kyi man-ngag Bzang-yul Yar-snang 'khrugs-pa'i dus-su bkod-pa / iti [24r.5-6].
Note: Las-stod in the colophon should be read La-stod. This was composed during the time of conflicts in Bzang-yul Yar-sna. So was the following text.
- 10) T: Gnad-kyi Man-ngag Gnyis-pa [III 24r.6].
B: bka'-drin-can-la skyabs-su mchi / rdzogs sangs-rgyas-kyi lam-gyi rkang [24r.6-7].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying-gtam yin / Gtsang-gi La-stod Stag-ris-su / ston-pa sku-mched mnam gnyis-kyis / yab rgan don-du bskul gyur-pas / gnad mchog bris-te bskur-ba yin / gnad-kyi man-ngag Bzang-yul Yar-snar 'khrug-pa'i dus-su bkod-pa [25r.7-25v.1].
- 11) T: Gnad-kyi Man-ngag Thun-mong-ma-yin-pa [III 25v.1].
B: <N> chos thams-cad-kyi rtsa-ba skyabs-'gro yin-pas [25v.1].
C: mthar-thug-gi man-ngag thun-mong-ma-yin-pa / mi-la ma ston-cig [26r.1].

- 12) T: Gra-phu'i Sa-ston Khri-dga'-la Gsungs-pa'i Ting-nge-'dzin
Gsum-pa-las Dang-po [III 26r.1].
B: om swa-sti / 'khor-ba thog-ma med-pa'i dus-nas [26r.1-2].
C: ting-nge-'dzin phyi-ma / Slob-dpon Zhang-gis Bla-ma Sa-ston Khri-
dga'-la Grwa-thang-nas bskur-ba yin-no // dang-po ka lo / de nas
kha lo / de nas ga lo . iti [27r.4].
Note: There are three texts. The first ends on fol. 26v.1. The second ends
on 26v.7.
- 13) T: Gnas-brtan Grags-seng-la Gsungs-pa'i Khrid [III 27r.5].
B: <N> bla-ma dam-pa-la blo lings-kyis bkal-nas [27r.5].
C: sde-snod dang rgyud-sde thams-cad-kyi babs chen-mo / byin-rlabs-kyi
gnad-yi brgyud-pas 'chugs-pa med-pa yin / Grags-pa-seng-ge-ma
[27v.2].
- 14) T: Dngos-po'i Gnas-lugs Gtan-la 'Bebs-par Byed-pa zhes bya-
ba'i Gsung-sgras [III 27v.2-3].
B: <N> spyir dngos-po'i gnas-lugs zhes kyang bya [27v.3].
C: Shākya'i Dge-slong Ri-khrod-pas / gzhan-gyi gsol btab brjed-byang 'di
bris pas / 'gro-ba-mams-la phan-thogs 'gyur-bas / bla-ma-mams-
kyis bzod-par mdzad-par zhu / ithi [29r.1-2].
- 15) T: Dge-bshes Mkha'-ru-bar Gsungs-pa'i Snying-gtam [III
29r.2].
B: tshe 'di'i bya bzhas / phugs-su che thabs dang [29r.2].
C: ngan-bu'i snying-gtam yin sprugs [?] pa de-las med lags-so / dge-bshes-
pa nyid-kyi thugs-kyis mi sbas-par zhu'o / iti [29v.6].
- 16) T: Bla-ma Pha-ta zhes bya-ba'i Don-du Bkod-pa'i Phyag-rgya-
chen-po Chig-chod-ma [III 29v.6-7].
B: <P> mthar-thug phyag-rgya-chen-po zhes bya-ba ni [29v.7].
C: phyag-rgya-chen-po'i gdams-ngag chig-chod-ma / Sprang-ban Zhang-
gis Sgrags-kyi ri-khrod dpal rdzong G.yu-brag-tu Bla-ma Pa-ti'i
don-du bkod-pa rdzogs-so [30v.5].
- 17) T: Sgom Ma-mo Chen-mo'i Ngo-sprod Snying-gtam-ma [III
20v.5].
B: <N> bla-ma grub-thob byin-brlabs-kyi brgyud-pa-can-mams-kyi
gdams-ngag-gi bcud phyung-nas [30v.5-6].
E: gzhan-la spel-du mi rung-ngo / gsang thub-par gyis-shig / iti [31r.6].
- 18) T: Bsam-yas-kyi Yon-bdag-mo 'Bum-skyid-la Gsungs-pa'i
Khrid [III 31r.6-7].
B: spros-pa nyer zhi don dam byang-chub thugs [31r.7].
C: Chos-bskor Brag-dmar Bsam-yas-su gsungs-pa / iti / yi-ger bkod-pa-la
nyes-pa yod srid-na bzod-par gsol-lo [31v.6-7].
- 19) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po Thog-babs dang / Thog-babs-kyi Brda'-
yi rtsa-ba rgyab-rten dang bcas-pa / Ral-nag Ston-pa'i Don-du
Mdzad-pa [III 31v.7].

- B: <P> rje-btsun-mams-kyi gang smras-pa / skal-ldan-mams-kyi snying-la zhugs [31v.7-32r.1].
- C: snying-po bskor-gyi man-ngag Ban-chung Zhang-gis Ral-nag Bsgom-pa'i phyir bkod-pa / iti [34r.1].
- 20) T: Thog-babs-kyi Rtsa-ba [III 34r.1].
- B: gang rab rin-chen snod-du bcud mchog blug / rdo-rje-'dzin sras Blo-gros-rin-chen dang / de'i gcung 'Gos Ri-khrod-dbang-phyug sogs [34r.1-2].
- C: brda'i rtsa-ba rdzogs-so [40v.1-2].
- Note: A lineage of the Snying-po Bskor is given at fol. 34r.2-4. These teachings are based on the Lta-ba Rin-chen Phreng-ba and other texts of A-wa-dhu-ti-pa, and the treasure of Dohâs of Sa-ra-ha.
- 21) T: Brda'i Rgyab-rten-no [III 40v.2].
- B: rtogs-dan ye-shes mngon-sum ster-mdzad 'dud / phyag-rgya-chen-po'i bzhag-thabs-la gsum-ste [40v.2].
- C: de gnyis brda'i kha 'thor-ro / de-tshos brdai chos ma lus-pa rdzogs.ho [42r.7].
- 22) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po Don Gsum-gyis Gtan-la 'Beb-pa [III 42r.7].
- B: spyir phyag-rgya-chen-po-la don gsum yod-de [42v.1].
- C: gsum-pa ni dngul-las sku-la sogs byas-pa dang 'dra'o [42v.5].
- 23) T: Zhal-gdams Gsum-pa'i Dang-po [III 42v.5].
- B: <N> rang sems rig-pa'i ngo-bo 'di ye-nas chos-sku yin-pa-la [42v.5].
- E: hril-gyis dril-bas de-las med-kyis gsung / iti [43r.6].
- Note: Contains three numbered parts.
- 24) T: Dge-bshes Sha-mi-dang / Dge-bshes Gra-pa dang / Gtsang-pa Jo-btsun-la sogs-pas Zhus-pa'i Nyams-myong-gi Gleng-langs Ring-mo [III 43r.6-7].
- B: <N> [illeg.]song-ba kho-na 'dra-ba sha-stag byung [43r.7].
- C: Zhang-gi Sprang-ban-gyis / rang-gi myong tshod-mams / bu-bas lhag-pa-yi / slob-ma'i don-du bkod ... Sprang-ban Zhang-gi gleng-langs ring-mo zhes bya-ba / Sgrags-kyi Khum-phug-rdzong-du khyi'i lo-la Dge-slong Shes-rab-grub-pa'i ngo ma zlog-nas yi-ge sum-cha gnyis lhag tsam der bris / phyis-kyi gleng-langs lhag-ma-mams Dbu-ru Skyid-shod-kyi tshal sgang-du Dge-bshes 'Dul-ba-'dzin-pa Sha-mi dang / Dge-bshes Gra-pa dang / Dge-bshes Rtsang-po Jo-btsun sku-mched gnyis-kyi ngor bris-pa'o / iti ... [47r.2-6].
- Note: The colophon gives a date for the Sher-grub-ma autobiography as being written in a Dog year.
- 25) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po Lam-khyer [III 47r.6].
- B: <P> bdag ni gza'-gtad med-pa-yi / tshul-du 'gro-ba'i 'gro lugs ni [47r.6-7].
- E: myur-du rdo-rje-'dzin gyur-cig [mchan: Cha'o-lung-du mdzad] / iti [51r.6].

- 26) T: Mal Dbu-dkar-ba-la Gsungs-pa'i Man-ngag Gnyis-pa [III 51r.6].
 B: <N> bka'-gdams-kyi bdag-med-pa-la sogs-pa thams-cad ma grub ang snyam-pa-la sogs don spyi-la [51r.6-7].
 E: snying-nas 'gel-bar zhu'o / thugs blo bsres-pa lags-so / iti [53v.3-4].
 Note: Contains two numbered parts.
- 27) T: Gnäs-brtan Rga-'dra-ba-la Gsungs-pa'i Khrid-yig Rim-pa Gsum-pa'i Dang-po [53v.4].
 B: <P> dus gsum-gyi sangs-rgyas thams-cad-kyi dgongs-pa phyin-ci-ma-log-pa yang-dag-pa'i ye-shes so-so rang-gis rig-cing nang-nas 'char-bar bya-ba'i man-ngag ni [54v.4-5].
 C: dpal lhan-cig-skyes-pa'i man-ngag cig-tu dril-ba snying-po'i snying-po / rtgs-ldan-nas rtogs-ldan-du brgyud-pa zam ma chad-pa'i gdams-ngag-go ces gsum-po 'di gling chung-ma'o / iti [55v.6]
 Note: Contains three numbered sections.
- 28) T: Sku Gsum Ngo-sprod Che-ba [III 55v.6].
 B: dmigs-med bde-chen cir yang snang-ba'i dbyings [55v.6-7].
 C: bdag 'dra rmongs-pa'i gdul-bya gang yin-la / sku gsum-gyi ngo-sprod Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Byang-phyi 'Brong-bu Spyi-khongs-su byas-pa / iti [59r.2-3].
- 29) T: Sku Gsum Ngo-sprod Chung-ba [III 59r.3].
 B: <P> 'bras-bu sku gsum ngo-sprod ni [59r.3].
 C: man-ngag-gi sku gsum / rje-btsun-gyi zhal-gyi gdams-ngag / Sprang-ban Zhang-gi yi-ger bkod-pa'o / iti [53r.7].
- 30) T: Pha-rol-tu Phyin-pa'i Don Phyin-ci-ma-log-pa'i Man-ngag [III 59v.1]. ~~GA~~ 67A
 B: yum chen-mo shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa'i mnga'-bdag [59v.1].
 C: skal-med-mams-kyis mthong-na byin-rlabs nyams-te cha-bas gzhan-la ma ston mdzod / iti [60r.1-2].
- 31) T: Dwags-po'i Chos Bzhi'i Ngo-sprod [III 60r.2].
 B: <P> bla-ma rin-po-che'i zhal-nas sde-snod gsum dang rgyud-sde bzhi-la sogs-pa'i bstan-bcos bla-ma'i man-ngag dbang-po mtho dman ... [60r.2-3].
 C: Zhang Rin-po-ches che-long tsam gcig yi-ger bkod-pa'o / iti [62v.5].
- 32) T: Rnal-'byor Rnam-pa Bzhi'i Rnam-bzhag Khams-pa Mgon-ston-gyi Don-du Mdžad-pa [III 62v.6]. ~~GA~~ 147
 B: <P> rnal-'byor rnam bzhi'i 'char lugs ni [62v.6-7].
 C: rnal-'byor rnam-pa bzhi'i sa-mtshams 'di Khams-pa Ston-pa Mgon-ston-gyis zhus-nas Sprang-ban Zhang-gis rang-gis bsgoms-pa'i nyams thog-nas phye-ba / Skyi-shod-kyi Tsha-rgang-du dbu btsugs-nas / zhal-gyi ri'u gdong-du stag-gi lo'i ston zla 'bring-po'i tshes bzhi'i nyin-mo tshar-bar bkod-pa / bsre slad su byed kyang mkha'-'gros chad-pa chod / iti [66v.3-4].
 Note: Contains four separate, unnumbered sections. The colophon gives a Tiger year for completing the composition.

- 33) T: Rnal-'byor Bzhi'i Dbye-ba [III 66v.4]. 6A
 B: <P> byin-gyis brlabs-pa chen-po mdzad-du gsol-lo / bsgom-bya dang
 bsgom-byed dang bral-ba'i go-ba skyes-pa yang bsgom med-de
 [66v.4-5].
 C: ces-pa ma bcos gnyug-ma'i ngang-la bzhaḡ / rnal-'byor bzhi'i dbye-ba
 [68r.2].
- 34) T: Rnal-'byor Bzhi'i Nyams 'Char Tshod [III 68r.2]. 6A 157
 B: <N> shes-pa skol-du 'dod-pa dang mi 'dod-pa gnyis yod-de [68r.2-3].
 E: sgrub-la nan-tan gtsor byas-na / de'i lag-na byang-chub 'dug / ces-so / iti
 [68v.1].
- 35) T: Rnal-'byor Bzhi'i Gnas-lugs [III 68v.1].
 B: <N> sangs-rgyas-kyis nyon-mongs-pa brgyad-khri-bzhi-stong-gi
 gnyen-por chos-kyi sgo-mo brgyad-khri-bzhi-stong gsungs-pa
 [68v.2].
 E: blo'i byed-pa-las 'das-pas khyad de tsam gcig yod-do / iti [70v.3-4].
- 36) T: Rnal-'byor Bzhi'i Ngo-sprod Chung-ba [III 70v.4]. 6A 163
 B: <P> sde-snod rgyud-sde thams-cad-kyi yang-snying [70v.4].
 C: nyams rnal-'byor nam-pa bzhi rdzogsho [71r.5].
- 37) T: Shor-sa Bzhi'i Ngos-'dzin [III 71r.5].
 B: <N> yang bla-ma gcig-gis gdams-ngag bstan-nas bsgom-pa'i dus-su
 bsgom-pa nyams-myong dang 'brelba bya-ba yin-pas nyams bag
 tsam mi 'byung mi srid-de gcig 'byung-ngo [71r.6].
 E: de-ltar ma rtogs-na gnyen-por 'chor-ba yin-no / iti [72v.2].
- 38) T: Shor-sa Bzhi'i Ngos-'dzin Chung-ngu [III 72v.2].
 B: <P> gnad-kyi man-ngag 'di med-pa'i stong-nyid ni shor-sa nam-pa
 bzhi shor-ba-ste [72v.3].
 C: shor-sa bzhi ngo-sprod-pa rdzogs.ho [73r.4].
- 39) T: Gol-sa Bzhi'i Ngos-'dzin [III 73r.4].
 B: <P> ting-nge-'dzin 'di gol-sa nam-pa bzhi ma gol-ba gcig yin [73r.5].
 C: gol-sa bzhi / iti [74r.3].
- 40) T: Chos Drug [III 74r.3].
 B: <P> Rje-btsun Na-ro Pan-chen-gyi gdams-ngag lte-ba sprul-pa'i 'khor-
 lo-la brten-nas gtum-mo lam-du 'khyer-ba 'di [74r.3-4].
 C: des Zhang Rin-po-che-la / des zhal-gyi gdams-pa yi-ger bkod-pa'o / iti
 [97r.5].
 Note: Contains a number of separate sections, a few with brief titles. These
 are precepts received from Yer-pa-ba, who in turn received them
 from a disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa by the name of Gling-kha-ba. The
 lineage is found at the end of the text.
- 41) T: Na-tsha Bogs-su 'Don-pa'i Gzer-re Dang-po (*dkar-chag*:
 Gzer Nga) [III 97r.5].

B: <N> 'di-la bzhi-ste / zug 'byung-ba'i rgyu / zug-gi dbye-ba dang [97r.5-6].

E: dgun ma 'khyags-pa 'tshal-lo / zhal-gdams lags-so / [smaller letters:] zhal-shes gzhan-rnams gdams-ngag po-ti'i gseb-na / snyan-rgyud ma dang ldan-du bdog-go / iti [113r.3].

Note: There are a number of separate sections, many of them with titles. These also are precepts received from Yer-pa-ba. On fol. 107v.6 is an interesting correspondence between the Rnying-ma expression *a-la-la-ho* and a Bon expression *g.yang-khu-ye*.

F) Chos Nyams-len-du Dril-ba Nges-don Kho-na Gtso-bor Ston-pa'i Skor.

1) Mi-rtag-pa Bsgom-pa'i Chig-lab Ring-mo [III 113r.4].

B: <P> kham ssum 'khor-ba sdug-bsngal-gyi rgya-mtsho chen-po 'dir dus thog-ma med-pa-na 'khyams-pa 'di [113r.4].

C: rang-nyid chig-lab shor-ba yin / snying-nas min-na chad-pa chod / chig-lab ring-mo zhes bya-ba Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che'i zhal-gdams rdzogs-so [120v.6-7].

2) Dge-bshes Jo-sras Dar-ma-sengges Zhus-pa'i Lam 'Bras-bu dang bcas-pa'i Mchid-tshig Lhug-pa [III 120v.7].

B: <P> byin-gyis brlab-pa chen-po mdzad-du gsol-lo / e-ma mar-gyi bcud-ldan 'o-ma'i rgya-mtsho legs-par bsrubs-pa'i nang [120v.7-121r.1].

C: mchid-tshig lhug-pa zhes bya-ba / Dge-bshes Jo-sras Dar-ma-seng-ge'i gsung ma bcag-par Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Sgrags-kyi Chos-phu'i Rgod-po-brag-tu bkod-pa rdzogs.ho [133v.5-6].

E: smon-lam-mo / lam mthar-thug / iti [134r.4].

Note: The last part, from 133v.6 to 134r.4, is the *sa-bcad*, or 'outline' of the text that precedes.

3) T: None (or rather misplaced, above, the title in *dkar-chag* is Lam-mchog Mthar-thug) [III 134r.5].

B: <P> dus gsum rgyal-ba ma lus thams-cad-kyi / thugs-rje'i phrin-las mchog gyur dbang-bskur-ba'i [134r.5-6].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi rtogs tshod 'di / Spangs-su Thul-gyi Brag-sngon-du / nye-gnas Mar-pas bskul-nas bris / phyi mi-la ma bstan sdig-pa sog bka' dang bstan-bcos-rnams dang bla-ma dam-pa-rnams-kyi dgongs-pa dang rang-gi rtogs-tshod glengs-pa yin / iti [154v.4-5].

4) T: Gces-pa Bsdus-pa zhes bya-ba G.yu-brag-tu Mdzad-pa [III 154v.6].

B: <P> <P> bsgrub-pa gsha'-mar nyams-su len-pa'i sgom chen-pa gcig-gis 'di-ltar byed 'tshal [154r.6-7].

C: gces-pa bsdus-pa zhes bya-ba G.yu-brag-gi spyil-po'i gzims-mal-nas spod-pa rdzogs.ho [156r.5].

5) T: Chos Lag-len-du Dril-ba zhes bya-ba Chos-phur Mdzad-pa [III 156r.5-6]. GA 344

B: <P> skye-bo rmongs-pa khyim-thabs 'damyi (?) du bying [156r.6].

C: chos lag-len-du dril-ba Chos-phu'i Rgad-po-brag-tu bkod-pa'o / iti [158r.2-3].

- 6) T: Yid-ches-pa'i Gnas Bcu-gsum Bstan-pa [III 158r.3].
B: <N> gnad thams-cad gsal-ba 'debs-pa-la tshang gsung-ba de med-par yid-ches [*reading uncertain*, 158r.3-4].
E: lha-bzo'i ras-kyi gzhi tshon-la sogs-pa'i dpe dpag-tu med-pa rin-po-che nyid gsung-ngo / iti [159v.1].
- 7) T: Mon Mtsho-sna'i Gnas-brtan Spungs-pa-la Gsungs-pa'i Snying-gtam [III 159v.2].
B: <P> gnas-brtan yul-du skor gcig bzhud-pa-la / gdams-ngag tshig gsum-po 'di bskur-ba lags [159v.2-3].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying-gtam Gnas-brtan Dpungs-pa-la gnam-ba 'Tshal-gyi Yang-dgon-du spod-pa / iti [159v.6-7].
- 8) T: Gnas-brtan Sgom-chen-la Gdams-pa Nya-ga 'Gag 'Dus [III 159v.7].
B: <P> snying-nas sangs-rgyas thob 'dod-na / 'gag-tu dril-ba 'di-las med [159v.7-160r.1].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Gnas-brtan Sgom-chen-la gdams-pa Chos-phu'i Rgad-po-brag-du'o / iti [161r.4].
- 9) T: Bdud-rtsi Bum 'Phreng [III 161r.4].
B: <P> gang-zhig ye-shes spyang mnga'-ba'i [161r.5].
C: Zhang-sgom rang-gis rang-la gdams-pa bdud-rtsi bum-pa'i phreng-ba zhes bya-ba / Gong-dkar-mo'i Brag-phug-tu bkod-pa rdzogswo [165v.3-4].
Note: We may know from the Rgyal-blon-ma biography that this work was composed in about 1152.
- 10) T: 'Phra-mo Gcod-pa'i Gleng-glans (*dkar-chag*: Phra-mo Gcod-pa'i Glengs-langs) [III 165v.4].
B: thugs-rje bar-chad med-par don rdzogs mdzad [165v.4-5].
C: 'phra-mo gcod-pa'i gleng-las Sprang-ban Zhang-gis 'Phrang-po Spang-lung-du bkod-pa / iti [168r.2-3].
Note: Contains account of a vision of hell which he had in a narrow defile between Sgrags and 'Phrang-po.
- 11) T: Brda' Bzhi Don Bzhi'i Gdams-pa [III 168r.3].
B: <P> brda' bzhi don bzhi'i gdams-ngag 'di-la 'di-ltar gsungs-te [168r.3-4].
E: de-la dge-ba nam-par dag-pa zhes nga mi smra'o zhes-so [170v.3].
- 12) T: Phyag-rgya-chen-po Brda' Don Rtsa 'Grel [III 170v.3].
B: lce spyang wa dang stag-mo so btang rdza [170v.3].
C: Dge-slong Ri-khrod-pa'i mchid-tshig-gi bshad-pa lags / iti [172v.5].
- 13) T: Yon-tan Rtsal Chog (*dkar-chag*: Yon-tan Rtsal Mchog) [III 172v.6].

B: phyogs dus kun-na nges bzhugs-pa'i [172v.6].

C: yon-tan rtsal mchog zhes bya-ba Sprang-ban Zhang-gis phag-gi lo-la
Chos-skor Gra-thang-du dbu btsugs-nas Bzang-yul Mon-pa-gdong-
du ston zla ra-ba'i nyi-shu-gnyis-kyi snga-dro tshar-bar bkod-pa'o /
iti [179v.4-5].

Note: The colophon gives a Pig year as date of composition (probably 1167).

- 14) T: 'Brong-gu Lkug-par Gsungs-pa'i Man-ngag Lhug-pa [III 179v.5].

B: <P> sngon skal bag tsam bad-pas khye srin chung mnos kyang
[179v.5-6].

C: ngan lam-pa'i Sprang-ban Zhang-ston-gyis rang-nyid-kyi gnyen-por
rang-nyid-la smras-pa / Sri'i 'Brong-bu Lkug-par bris-pa / iti / sam-
pa-thâ ghu-hye [195r.7].

Note: To judge from the place of composition, this should date from the 1150's.

- 15) T: 'Khor 'Das-kyi Rtsa-ba Gcod-pa'i Man-ngag [III 195v.1].

B: <P> kye-ma Zhang-gi Sprang-ban 'di / thog-ma med-pa'i 'khor-ba-las
[195v.1].

C: rtsa-ba gcod-pa zhes bya-ba / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Lha-sa sde bzhi'i
nang / Dor-te-phu'i Mtshar-nag-tu Yon-bdag Phyug-po Jo-btsun
snang-bas btegs-pa'i dus-su sems-la shar-nas bkod-do / iti [197v.1-
2].

- 16) T: Lam 'Bras Dril-ba'i Nyams-len [III 197v.3].

B: kho-bos nang-par snga-mor gnyid cig log / gnyid de sad-
nas 'di-'dra'i dran-pa bung [197v.3].

C: lam 'bras dril-ba'i Brtson-'grus-grags-pa'i nyams / iti [198r.1].

- 17) Sgom-chen Dar-ma-seng-ge'i Zhus-lan [III 198r.2].

B: <N> theg-pa chen-po'i gang-zag-cig-gis / 'khor-ba tha-mar byas-pa'i
dbang-du byas-na [198r.2].

E: de'i rgyu bdag-med rtogs-pa'i thabs-sam man-ngag gang byung byung
che-ba lags gsung / iti [198r.6].

- 18) T: Sgom-chen Dar-ma-seng-ge-la gsungs-pa'i 'Chug-med Gnad-
kyi Gdams-pa [III 198r.7].

B: bka'-drin-can-la skyabs-su mchi / rdzogs sangs-rgyas-kyi lam-gyi rkang
[198r.7].

C: yon-tan phun-tshogs 'chug-pa med / Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying-gtam
yin / Dar-ma-seng-ge'i sems-la chongs / iti [199r.7].

- 19) T: Gnas-brtan Mgon-po-la Springs-pa [III 199r.7].

B: om swa-sti / slob-dpon-gyis Gnas-brtan Mgon-po-la springs-pa
[199r.7-199v.1].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Gnas-brtan Mgon-po-la / iti [199v.4].

- 20) T: Gnas-brtan Mgon-po-la Gsungs-pa Kun Tshang Nor-bu Rin-chen [III 199v.4].
 B: <N> Gnas-brtan Mgon-pos zhus-pa'i man-ngag / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis lag-len-gyi 'thil bkod-pa [199v.4-5].
 C: Grib-kyi Lug-rur phag lo'i dgun zla ra-ba'i tshes bcu-bzhi'i nyin-par bkod-pa / iti [206r.3].
 Note: Pig year given as date of composition.
- 21) T: Thun-mong-ma-yin-pa'i Nyams Thams-cad Mkhyen-pa [III 206r.4].
 B: bde-chen skad-cig ster mdzad de-la 'dud [206r.4].
 C: thams-cad mkhyen-pa zhes bya-ba / Re'u-rtse'i gtsug-lag-khang-du bsdebs-pa / iti [208r.4].
- 22) T: Chags Sdang Rtsad Gcod [III 208r.4].
 B: <P> bla-ma byin-brlabs-can gcig-nas gcig-tu brgyud-pa'i gdams-ngag / chags sdang rtsad-nas gcod-pa'i ti-ka [III 208r.4].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi gdams-ngag nying-khu chags sdang rtsad gcod zhes bya-ba / rin-po-che nga-la bdog-go / iti [208v.6].
- 23) T: Bla-ma Dngos Byon-pa'i Gleng-glangs (*dkar-chag*: Bla-ma Dngos-su Byon-pa'i Gleng-langs) [III 208v.6].
 B: <P> bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-'gro-la'o / yos-bu'i rmal-po'i zla-ba-la [208v.7].
 C: bla-ma dngos-su byon-pa'i gleng-langs / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Tshal-gyi Yang-dgon-du shar-nas 'Phrang-po'i Spang-lung-du yi-ger bkod-pa / iti [211r.5-6].
 Note: Contains a typical liberal statement about how Buddhas can appear in many forms to meet the aspirations of living beings; they may even appear as women or as Bon[pos] [210v.1].
- 24) T: Sgrub-rgyud Lam Mchog 'Phreng-ba [III 211r.6].
 B: <P> deng-sang rtsod-dus snyigs-ma 'dir [211r.6].
 C: sgrub-rgyud lam mchog 'phreng-ba 'di / Khams-pa gcig-gis bskul byas-nas / Sprang-po Thul-gyi Brag-sngon-du / slob-ma'i 'dod chos bkod-pa yin / iti [218v.1-2].
 Note: Mention of Rje-btsun Ba-ri Lo-tsâ and Dam-pa Rgya-gar Nag-chung on 212v.2. Autobiographical materials about his experiences with his teachers. Contains much textual material in common with the more famous Lam Mchog Mthar-thug (which was composed in the same place as the present text, which therefore must also date from about the same time), of which it may be a prototype (?).
- 25) T: Gsum Cig-tu Dril-bai Man-ngag [III 218v.2].
 B: dur-khrod chen-por dngos-grub brnyes / dpal-ldan Rgwa Lo'i zhal na-re [218v.2].
 C: gsum gcig-tu dri-ba'i gdams-ngag rdzogs-s.ho [218v.7-219r.1].
- 26) T: Snying-gtam Nyi-shu-pa [III 219r.1].
 B: e-ma sems-nyid rin-po-che / rang-byung ye-shes chen-po 'di [219r.1-2].

- C: mdo rgyud dpang-por bzhag-nas ni / Su-ka-badzra smra-bar byed / snying-gtam nyi-shu-pa zhes bya-ba / iti [220r.1-2].
- 27) T: 'Od-gsal Nor-bu'i Phreng-ba [III 220r.2].
 B: Rdo-rje-'chang-nas da-lta'i bar / brgyud-pa byin-brlabs ma yal-ba [220r.2].
 C: sems-nyid 'od-gsal nor-bu 'od-kyi phreng-ba zhes bya-ba rdzogs-so [222r.5-6].
- 28) T: Yid-ches Gleng-glangs [III 222r.6].
 B: dur-khrod chen-po Bsil-ba'i Tshal / 'jigs-su rung-ba bskal-pa-yi [222r.6].
 C: Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo'i dgongs-pa-la Dbus-pa Sna-mam Stong-chung-gis shin-tu yid-ches-pa'i sgo-nas bkod-pa / yid-ches gleng-glangs zhes bya-ba Sgrags-kyi Ngar-phug-tu bkod-pa / iti / yos-bu'i lo'i dbyar zla tha-chung-kyi tshes bcu-dgu'i nyin-par tshar-ba yin-no [227r.2-3].
 Note: The colophon gives a Hare year date of completion (probably 1159).
- 29) T: Man-ngag Snying-po Gsal-ba [III 227r.3]. 6A 490
 B: <P> dus gsum-gyi sangs-rgyas thams-cad-kyi dgongs-pa mthar-thug-pa [227r.3-4].
 C: zab-pa dang rgya-che-ba-la 'dus-pa'i don Shākya'i Dge-slong Sna-mam Brtson-'grus-grags-pas skal-ba dang ldan-pa'i slob-ma dbang-po yang rab-kyi don-du Tshal-rgang-gi Yang-dgon GSar-pa'i nang-du bkod-pa / man-ngag-gi snying-po gsal-ba zhes bya-ba / iti [230r.2-3].
- 30) T: 'Chi-ba Grog-su 'Khyer-ba'i Snying-gtam [III 230r.3]. 6A 496
 B: <N> sku-nas sgres-nas gda'-tse-na / zug zer 'phra-mo zhi-bar re [230r.3].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying-gtam lags bshes-gnyen-pa'i thugs-la zhog / iti [230v.3-4].
- 31) T: Bdud-kyi Mda' Nyi-shu-rtsa-lnga-pa [III 230v.4]. 6A 498
 B: om swa-sti / bsod-nams-kyi las-'phro mthong-ba do-nub bya sang-nub bya snyam-nas [230v.4].
 C: bdud-kyi mda' nyi-shu-rtsa-lnga-po 'di-la zhugs-par byed-pa gal-che'o / iti [231r.5].
- 32) T: Snying-rje'i Gtam Blo-bteg (*dkar-chag*: Blo-brdeg) [III 231r.5]. 6A 499
 B: <P> 'brug-gi lo-nas bsgoms-pas lo sum-bcu-so-lnga lon-pa yan-chod-du nyams-myong 'phel 'grib la zad-pa med [231r.5].
 C: nga-rang-gis myong tshod phyogs-cig tsam bris-pa 'di-la snying-rje'i gtam blo rgyag zhes gdags / stag-gi lo-la Yer-par dbu-rtse'i shug-pa lhon-du phyin-tsa-na ston zla ra-ba'i tshes bco-lnga'i nyin-par spos-ka'i 'og ngan-pa'i deng-rtse byang-ngos-su gtor-ma'i byin-brlabs-kyi dus-su blo-la shar-nas / Tshal-du tshes bcu-bdun-gyi nyin-par dbu btsugs-nas Sgrags-kyi Ngar-phug-tu ston zla 'bring-po'i tshes bzhi'i snga-dro-la 'phro bcad-nas bzhag-pa'o / phyi mi-la mi bstan / shin-tu

sdig-pa sogs-par 'gyur-bas / bka'-rgyas bsha'-mar btab-bo / iti
[235r.5-7].

Note: Contains autobiographical references. The Dragon year mentioned in the beginning has to be his 26th year, when he met Rgwa Lo and began meditating (corresponding to the year 1148). He says that from then until his 35th year (i.e., 1157), he had all kinds of meditational experiences. Date of beginning of composition at Yer-pa given as a Tiger year (probably the year 1158).

33) T: Yon-tan Ngom-pa [III 235r.7]. 6A 508

B: <P> Rje-btsun Yer-pa-ba-la phyag-'tshal-lo / byang-chub-sems dpa'
'Ol-ka-ba-la phyag-'tshal-lo ... [235r.7-235v.1].

C: Ban-chung Zhang-gi yon-tan ngom-pa'i le'u Dmig-chung Dgon-par
bkod / ... yid-bzhin nor-bu gsol btab-ci 'dod 'byung / iti [237r.5-6].

34) T: Brtsad-po Khri-rtse-la Gsungs-pa'i Mchid-tshig [III 237r.6].

B: <P> bsod-nams tshogs chen snga-mar bsags-pa-las / bka'-drin-can-gyi
dbon-sras phun-sum-tshogs [237r.6]. 6A 512

C: Brag-dmar Bsam-yas-kyi Rgyal-po Khri-rtse-la / Zhang Ldom-bu-bas
zhus-pa'i mchid-tshig phrong (i.e., pho-brang)-gi yang-thog-tu
bkod-pa'o / iti [238v.5-6].

35) T: Gru-gu-sgang-pa'i Gnas-brtan Seng-ge-grags-la Bka'-phrin
Brdzangs-pa [III 238v.6]. 6A 516

B: om swa-sti / slob-dpon-gyis dge-'dun Drug-gu-sgang-pa'i Gnas-brtan
Seng-ge-grags-la bka'-phrin brdzangs-pa / bstan-pa'i gzhi-mo sa-
gzhi lta-bu ni / dge-'dun btsun-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang 'di lags [238v.6-
7].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Chu-shul Gru-gu-rgang-gi Gnas-brtan Sengge-
grags-la Sgrags-kyi Ngar-phug-nas bskur-ba / iti [240r.4-5].

36) T: Rig-pa dang Rkang-par Ldan-pa zhes bya-ba Gsum-ston

Rdo-rje-snying-pos Zhus-pa [III 240r.5]. 6A 519

B: <P> chos-rnams ma-lus ngo-bo-nyid med-pas / rkyen-gyis rten-'brel
gang-ltar sgrigs-par snang [240r.5-6].

C: rig-pa dang rkang-par ldan-pa zhes bya-ba / Bsam-yas Phu'i Brag-
sngon-du Bsam-gtan-seng-ge spun-gyis pha-ma rgan-rgon-gyi gson
dge'i dus-su bteg-nas bkod-pa [244r.6-7].

37) T: Lha-rje Srabs-sman Grags-seng-la Gsungs-pa'i Drin-lan Sob-
pa'i Snying-gtam [III 244r.7]. 6A 528

B: dam-pa drin-can-rnams-la skyabs-su mchi / bsnyon-pa chos dred-po-la
rnams kyang ni [reading uncertain, 244r.7-244v.1].

C: Zhang-gi Sprang-ban-gyis / gzhung-phur sku 'khrungs-pa'i / Lha-rje
Srabs-sman zhes / dpon-chen dam-pa des / bdag-gi nad gsos-pas /
drin-lan bsab-pa'i phyir / snying-gtam mthar-thug 'di / bkra-shis
'Tshal-sgang-du / yi-ger bkod-pa lags / spre'u lo sa ri'i / nyi-shu
bdun-la tshar / gar dgar mi bstan zhu / bka'-rgya btab-pa lags / bkra
shis [250r.3-4]. End of volume.

Note: This piece was written for a doctor who cured him of an illness,
composition completed in a Monkey year (probably 1188).

38) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gling-gi Jo-mo-la Gsungs-pa'i Mya-ngan Gsal-ba) [IV 1v]. NGA

B: <P> byin-gyis brlabs-pa chen-po mdzad-du gsol / thugs-rjes thugs-rjer brgyud-pa-yi [1v.1-2].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi ting-'dzin-lags / Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas dri-med bya-ba / Lha-sa Dor-sde'i Sgo-phur'i Mchor-nag-tu bkod-pa / iti [16r.7-16v.1].

39) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Dor-te 'Chor-nag-tu Gsung Dum-bu Brgyad) [IV 16v.1].

B: <P> Sprang-ban Zhang-la byin-brlabs zhugs / g.yo-ba med-pa'i ting-'dzin myed [16v.1-2].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas mtha'-yas zhes bya-ba Lha-sa Sde-bzhi'i Dor-sde Sgo-phur bkod-pa / iti [17r.4].

B: <P> Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying rum-du [17r.4-5].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi chol-gtam thor-bu-ba / Lha-sa Sde-bzhi'i Dor-sde Sgo-phur bkod-pa / iti [17v.3].

B: <P> dpag-med bskal-par tshogs bshags-shing [17v.3-4].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas ngos-'dzin-pa zhes bya-ba Lha-sa Dorsde Sgo-phur bkod-pa'o / iti [18r.2].

B: <P> rtogs-lan don-gyi rgyud-pa-yi [18r.2-3].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas nyams-su myong ba zhes bya-ba / byin-gyis brlabs-pa'i sa-phyogs Lha-sa Sde-bzhi'i Dor-sde Sgo-phur bkod-pa / iti [18v.7].

B: <P> bla-ma rje-btsun bka'-drin che [18v.7-19r.1].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas-kyi rgyal-po kun tshang-nam-mkha' zhes bya-ba Lha-sa Sde-bzhi'i Dor-sde Sgo-phur 'Chor-nag-tu bkod-pa'o / iti [22r.5].

40) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Bdud Ngos-'dzin-pa'i Man-ngag Byar-phyi 'Brong-bur Gsungs-pa) [22r.5].

B: <P> bdag-rang Zhang-gi Sprang-ban 'di / nyams-myong kha-la bzod yul med [22r.5-6].

C: bdud ngos-'dzin-pa'i man-ngag che long-du byas-pa / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Skyid-shod nga 'dam Byad-phyi'i 'Brong-bur sdebs-pa'o [26v.3].

Note: This last section contains five numbered parts.

41) T: None (*dkar-chag*: 'Brong-bu Cal-col Chung-ba) [IV 26v.3].

B: <P> bskal-pa grangs-med bsam-yas-su [26v.3-4].

E: Not found.

42) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Snying-gtam Bu-brgyad-ma).

B: Not found.

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying-gtam bu-la gsongs-shig bu / snying-gtam bu-brgyad-ma / iti [28Br.4].

- 43) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gnyen-po Lhan-thabs) [IV 28Br.4].
 B: <P> kun-mkhyen 'dod-pa'i gang-zag-rnams [28Br.4].
 C: gnyen-po lhan-thabs zhes bya-ba / iti [29v.1].
- 44) T: None (*dkar-chag*: 'Khor-lo Bde-mchog-ma) [IV 29v.1].
 B: gang-gi drin-gyis bde-chen skad-cig-ma [29v.1].
 C: 'khor-lo bde-mchog ces bya / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Ri'u-rtsa'i Gtsug-lag-khang-du bsdebs-pa / iti [31r.4-5].
- 45) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Phun-sum-tshogs-pa Sna-tshogs Nor-bu'i Phung-po) [IV 31r.5].
 B: om swa-sti / phyogs-ris med-cing mtha' dang bral [31r.5].
 C: phun-sum-tshogs-pa sna-tshogs nor-bu'i phung-po zhes bya-ba / mig dang ldan-pa'i skyes-bu Sna-nam Brtson-'grus-grags-pas Pra-mo-ra'i Mtshal-sgang-du / lug-gi lo-la rmang bri-ba'i dus-su bkod-pa des / shin-tu bkra-shis-par gyur-cig / iti [32v.7-33r.2].
 Note: Composed in a Sheep year, which must certainly be the year of the founding of Tshal Monastery, 1175.
- 46) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gsang-phu-ma) [IV 33r.1].
 B: bde-chen spros-bral brtsol-med chos-kyi sku [33r.1].
 E: bsgom chen-pa bsgom byung-gi shes-rab skyed-pa gcig-gis rab-gnas bya dgos-par 'dug gsungs / iti [35r.3].
- 47) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Blo-zlog Gros-'debs) [IV 35r.4].
 B: <P> byin-gyis brlabs-pa chen-po mdzad-du gsol-lo / kye-ma khams gsum 'khor-ba'i mun-khung-nas [35r.4-5].
 C: Zhang-bsgom G.yu-brag-la bsgom-pa'i dus-su / spyir sems-can thams-cad-kyi byed-spyod dang / dgos-su rang-gi grwa-pa'i byed-spyod-la yang ma mgu-nas / bstan-bcos blo-zlog gros-'debs zhes bya-ba / spre'u lo'i dbyar zla 'bring-po'i nyi-shu-lnga'i nyin-par / G.yu-brag Gzims-spyil-du bkod-pa [36r.4-6].
- 48) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Skyo-shas Blo-brdeg) [IV 36r.6].
 B: <N> ser-sna mi mnga' sbyin-gtong-can [36r.6].
 C: skyo-shas blo-brdeg ces bya-ba Zhang Rin-po-ches mdzad-pa'o / iti [39r.2-3].
- 49) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gnas-skabs dang Mthar-thug-gi Don Phyin-ci-ma-log-par Gtan-la 'Bebs-par Byed-pa zhes bya Brtsams-chos Sa Log Gnam Log) [39r.3].
 B: <P> Zhang-gi Sprang-ban gzhi rtsa 'khrugs / sa log gnam log gzhi rtsa 'khrugs [39r.3-4].
 E: nga dang nga-yir 'dzin-pa'i thsogs / ma tshor rang-gis mched gyur-nas [113v.5].
 Note: The colophon seems to be missing in this example. There are several numbered chapters.

G) Gsung-sgros Thor-bu'i Tshogs.

- 1) None (*dkar-chag*: Shog-dril Chen-mo Dum-pa Lnga) [IV 113v.5].
 B: <P> om swa-sti / Bla-ma Zhang-gi Chig-chod-du bka' rtsal-pa / nga rgas / tshe lhag-ma yud tsam-pa 'di-la spyod-pa yin / nga shi-ba'i ro dang khyad med [113v.5-7].
 C: zhes Zhang Rin-po-che gsungs / gzim-chung-gi sgo'i ya-them-la bzhugs-so [125r.5-6].
- 2) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gnyen-po Yig-chung) [IV 125r.6].
 B: <P> bdag-gi bla-ma Stod-lungs Phu'i Sngogs-chung Ston-pa dang / Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Lo dang [125r.6].
 C: gnyen-po'i yig-chung 'di / bu-tsha Dpal-mgon-gyis bsku-nas bris-pa lags / phyi-nas Ban-rde Rje'u-sgom-gyi phyir cung-zad mang-bar byas-pa'o / Sna-nam Ban-dhe Brtson-'grus-grags-pa nye-bar sbyar-ba'o / rdzogs-s.ho [133r.2-3].
- 3) None (*dkar-chag*: Gnyen-po Brten-pa'i Man-ngag Sgom-chen Gsar-pa-la Gdams-pa) [IV 133r.3].
 B: nam-mkha' lta-bur phyogs-ris mi mnga' yang / nyi zer lta-bur thugs-rje kun-la khyab [133r.3-4].
 C: Sprang-po Ban-chung-gis bsgom-chen gsar-pa-rnams-la gdams-pa'o / iti [134r.7].
- 4) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Dge-bshes Lhun-po dang / Dol-pa Ston-pa'i Zhus-lan) [IV 134r.7].
 B: Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che-la skyabs-su mchi'o ... gzhi bsdu sgyu-lus-kyi phung-po-la / mi bzad nad-kyis drag btab-nas [134r.7-134v.1].
 C: Bla-ma Rin-po-che dang / Dge-bshes Lhun-po'i zhus-lan-no / ithi [135r.4].
- 5) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Dwags-po Bsgom-pa-la Gsung-gi Zin-bris Lnga-pa) [IV 135r.4].
 B: <P> Bsgom-chen-pa-rnams-la chos zur-tsam cig bsnyan-du gsol-na [135r.4-5].
 C: Slob-dpon Dwags-po Sgom-tshul-gyi gsung-bsgros / Zhang Rin-po-ches zin-bris-su mdzad-pa / gsung bgros lnga-pa / iti [137v.7-138r.1].
- 6) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Dwags-po Bsgom-pa-la Zhus-pa'i Zhus-lan) [IV 138r.1].
 B: <P> rin-po-che-la zhus-pa / sems dang sems-kyi 'od gnyis mi gda'-na zhus-pas lan gsungs-pa [138r.1-2].
 C: Slob-dpon Dwags-po Bsgom-pa-la / Zhang Rin-po-ches zhus-pa'i zhus-lan / ithi [140r.3].
- 7) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Myang-gol-ba'i Zhus-lan; *Samdo A*: Nyang-khol-ba'i Zhus-lan) [IV 140r.3].
 B: thugs-rje'i lcags-kyus skal-ldan snying-nas 'dren [140r.3-4].
 C: Rnal-'byor-gyi Dbang-phyug Chen-po Zhang Rin-po-che-la / Sprang-po Nyang-khol-bas / ma bde-ba'i 'gag cung-zad tsad tsam zhus-pa lan

- 8) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gsung-sgros Rin-chen Rgya-mtsho) [IV 141v.4].
 B: <P> skabs gcig-tu rin-po-che'i zhal-nas / sangs-rgyas-mams chos-kyi sku 'ba'-zhig yin [IV 141v.4-5].
 C: Rje Rin-po-che'i gsung-sgros rin-po-che'i dum-bu lta-bu tshogs res kyang 'gag mang-po khrom-pa'i bka' gsal / gang-zag-gi rigs dang gnas-skabs sbyar-cing gsungs-pa'i gdams-ngag / lar zhal-nas gsungs-pa thams-cad gdams-ngag-tu byon-pas bri-bas ga-na lang-na yang gal-che che 'ga' dbang-bskur-gyis dus dang / spreng-chos kyi dus dang / tshogs-chos chen-mo'i dus dang / gtor-ma gtong-ba'i dus dang / spyan-sngar de-ltar bsdad-pa'i dus mams dran-pas zin tshad-mams / bla-ma'i byin-brlabs-kyi cha cung-zad phog-pa'i Dge-slong Shākya-ye-shes-kyis phyogs-gcig-tu bsdebs-pa rdzogs-s.ho [163v.7].
- 9) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Slob-dpon Shag-yes-kyi Gsung Zin-bris Mdzad-pa Dum-pa Brgyad-pa [IV 163v.7].
 B: <N> slob-dpon rin-po-che'i zhal-nas / ser-na byas-pa'i yon-tan khyad-par-can mi skye-ba yin-pas [163v.7-164r.1].
 E: gnangs skyabs-'gro sems-bskyed chen-mo rgyas-pa bgyi'o zhes gsung / ithi [170v.1].
 B: tshogs bsags-pa gal-che bya-ba rtag-tu gsungs-pa [170v.2].
 E: phyug-po 'byor-pa-can-gyis che-ba byin-pa-nas dka'-ba byin-pa de tsug 'bad-par bya'o / ithi [170v.2-3].
 Note: Contains a number of separate parts.
- 10) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Dkon-gnyer Hral-mo'i Zin-bris) [IV 170v.3].
 B: mchog gsum rin-chen dbang-gi rgyal [170v.3].
 E: sku gsum nor-bus gdul-bya'i mun sel shog / rdzogs-s.ho [176v.3].
- 11) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Dge-tshul Bla-ma-ye-shes-kyi Zin-bris Dum-bu Gsum-pa) [IV 176v.3].
 B: yon-tan nyi-ma'i dkyil-'khor mtha'-yas-pa [176v.3-4].
 C: Zhang Rin-po-che'i gsung-sgros / Shākya'i Dge-tshul Bla-ma-ye-shes-kyis bkod-pa / ithi [179v.2].
 B: <P> slob-dpon rin-po-che dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen dus gsum-gyi sangs-rgyas thams-cad-kyi byin-gyis brlabs-pa [179v.2-3].
 C: yon-bdag rgad-po zhig-la gsung-pa bdag-gi rjed rdor bris-pa'o [180r.3].
 B: bla-ma rin-po-che'i zhal-nas / chos thams-cad byang-chub-kyi sems snying-rje kho-nas lam-du slong dgos-pa yin [180r.3].
 C: bsgrub-pa nyams-len-mams-kyi gegs sel / rdo-rje'i tshig-rkang lhad med-par dran-pa gso-ba'i ched-du / Shākya'i Dge-tshul Bla-ma-ye-shes-kyis gsal-byed yi-ger bstan-pa / iti [185r.4]. Note short appended text beginning: dmigs-yul snang-ba 'di.
 Note: Contains several unnumbered parts.
- 12) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Brag-nag-pa'i Zin-bris) [IV 185r.5].

B: <P> bla-ma rin-po-che'i zhal-nas / rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas bsgrub-par byed-pa-la rang-la zhe-'dod med-pa'i snying-rje chen-po... [185r.5-6].

C: Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che'i gsung-sgras zur tsam / Dge-slong Bsod-nams-grags-pas rang-nyid-kyi dran-pa bso-ba'i phyed-du bkod-pa'o / ithi [189r.3].

H) Mgur-gyi Tshogs.

- 1) None (*dkar-chag*: Bsam-yas Brag-sngon-du Gsungs-pa'i Mgur Bco-lnga) [VI 189r.3].

B: <P> kwa snying-nas soms mdzod dang [189r.3-4].

C: brtson-'grus-kyi lcag phran zhes bya-ba Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Bsam-yas Phu'i Brag-sngon-du bkod-pa / iti [198r.3-4]. NGA 438

Note: There are 15 untitled parts, each with a separate colophon.

- 2) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gsang-sngags Lag-len-gyi Gur Bcu-dgu Zhal-brda'i Yi-ge Gcig dang Nyi-shu) [IV 198r.4].

B: <P> bu skal-ldan bdag-la byin-gyis brlob [198r.4].

E: 'di-mams-la ma gus-pa byas-na nga dang bral-ba yin-no [206v.2].

Note: There are supposed to be 20 separate parts included here.

- 3) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Phya-bo-lung-pa-ma Brgyad) [IV 206v.2].

B: <P> om om om om bkra-shis legs / blta bsgom spyod-pa dam-tshig mchog [206v.2-3].

C: phya'o-lung-du bkod-pa'o [210r.6].

Note: There are supposed to be 8 parts included.

- 4) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Mon-gdong-ma Bcu-bzhi) [IV 210r.6].

B: <P> Zhang-gi Sprang-ban sradd ma langs [210r.6-7].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi kha-nas thon tshad glu sgro Mon-pa-gdong-du bkod-pa rdzogs-so / des Mon-pa-gdong bcu-bzhi-pa'o [216r.7-216v.1].

- 5) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Bsam-yas Rgod-po-ma Lnga) [IV 216v.1].

B: rkyag-pa ngas rkyag-pa ngas rkyag-pa ngas [216v.1].

C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis yul chos dgog-po spong-ba'i glu-chung / Bsam-yas Phur Dge-slong Shes-rab-grub-pas bteg-pa'i dus-su blo-la shar-ba dum-bu lnga bzhugs.ho [218v.1].

- 6) T: Ka-dgu-mar Gsungs-pa'i Mgur (*dkar-chag*: Yang-dgon Ka-dgu-mar Gsungs-pa) [IV 218v.2]. NGA 498

B: <N> 'gro-ba'i mgon-po Zhang G.yu-brag-pa des Tshal-gyi Yang-dgon Ka-dgu-ma'i nang-du srod-la jo-mo'i byin-brlabs mdzad-de [218v.2].

C: Tshal Yang-dgon Ka-dgu-mar bzhengs-pa'i mgur [218v.7].

- 7) None (*dkar-chag*: Rang-sems Gtan-la Dbab-pa) [IV 218v.7].

B: <N> e-ma Zhang-gi Sprang-ban bdag / rang-gi sems-la tshur bltas-pas [218v.7-219r.1]. NGA 499

- C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi rang-sems gtan-la dbab-pa'o / iti [220r.3].
- 8) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Phyag-khri-mchog-gis Zhus-pa'i Khrel-'dod [IV 220r.3]. *NbA 501*)
 B: skyes-mchog du-mas rjes-su bzung gyur gyur kyang / thog-med dus-nas rang-gis rang bsags-pa'i [220r.3-4].
 C: Bla-ma Zhang-la brang mnga'i Phyag-khri-mchog-gis / Chos-skor Gra-thang-du shin-tu brnyas bcos-kyi sgo-nas bstod-pa / shi ngan ro ngan zhes bya-ba'o / iti [221v.5].
- 9) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Rgya-rong-gi Gnas-brtan Dar-bsod-la Gsungs-pa Gnyis) [IV 221v.5]. *NbA 505*
 B: <N> 'das dang ma-'das rtog-pa-yi / bar-na da-lta skad-cig-ma [221v.5-6].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi chig-chod chen-mo / Lha-sa'i Rgya-grong-gi Gnas-brtan Dar-ma-bsod-nams-la Ngar-phug-tu gsungs-pa'o / iti [222r.5].
- 10) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Zhu-linga-ma) [IV 222r.5]. *NbA 506*
 B: <P> rgyun chad med-par byin-gyis brlabs / rmi-lam sgyu-ma'i tshod tsam-du [222r.5-6].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi'o [222v.4].
- 11) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Seng-ge Rgyal-po'i Sgrub-thabs) [IV 222v.4]. *NbA 507*
 B: <P> bdag ban-chung Rgya-gar Rdo-rje'i-gdam drung cig lags [222v.4-5].
 C: Sengge Rgyal-po'i bsgrub-thabs Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas mdzad-pa'o [223r.5-6].
- 12) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Byang-phyi 'Brong-bur Gsungs-pa'i Skure'i Phreng-ba Dum-bu Bzhi) [IV 223r.6]. *NbA 508*
 B: <P> bdag-rang Zhang-gi Sprang-ban 'dis / bka'-rgyud nam-pa sna-tshogs bsten [223r.6].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi long gtam 'di / Byang-phyi 'Brong-bur sdebs-pa'o [231v.3].
 Note: Contains several parts.
- 13) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Grub-thob Dbu-se dang Mjal Dus Gsungs-pa Yon-tan-sengge'i Brad-khang-du Gsungs-pa'i Mgur Bde-chen Spros-bral-ma) [IV 231v.3]. *NbA 526*
 B: <N> bla-ma rin-po-che Dbus-se dang mjal-du byon-pa'i tshe mgur bzhengs-pa [231v.3-4].
 E: bdag-cag de-na 'dug-pa thams-cad-la / byin-brlabs khyad-par-can bzhugs-so / iti [232r.1].
- 14) T: Yon-tan-seng-ge'i Brang-khang-du Rtog-med Spros-bral-gyi Rjes-la Mgur Gsungs-pa [IV 232r.1-2]. *NbA 526*
 B: <N> bde-chen spros-bral zag-med 'dus-ma-byas [232r.2].
 E: zhes gsungs-so / ngo-mtshar cher skyes-so [232r.6].

- 15) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Blo Bde Bzhi'am Skyid-pa Bdun-gyi Mgur) [IV 232r.6]. *NBA 527*
 B: <N> ri-khrod dgon-par 'grim tsam-na / thang dkar rgod-po'i nyams shig shar [232r.6].
 C: blo bde bzhi dang skyid-pa bdun / sprang-po'i blo-la shar-nas blangs / Zhang G.yu-brag-pa'i skabs-su bab-pa'i tshig / iti [232v.4].
- 16) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Mi-rtag-pa-la Bskul-ba'i Glu) [IV 232v.4]. *NBA 528*
 B: <P> mi na-re mi tshe mi tshe zer [232v.4].
 E: lings-kyis bzhang-nas mi gtong ri ang [233v.4].
- 17) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Skyo-ba Bskyed-pa'i Glu 'di-la Ang-bzhi-ma yang zer) [IV 233v.4]. *NBA 530*
 B: <N> Sprang-ban Zhang-gi nyams dbyangs 'di [233v.4].
 E: 'di-ru bri-yis ga-na lang [234r.7].
- 18) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gegs-sel Brgyad-ma) [IV 234r.7].
 B: <N> gnas mi med khyi med-kyi lung stong-du [234r.7].
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi glu-chung [234v.6]. *NBA 532*
 Note: Between this and the preceeding text, the *dkar-chag* lists the two titles Lam-'khyer Dbyangs Che Chung Gnyis, and Cis Kyang Dgos-med-pa.
- 19) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Rang-la Gros-'debs-ma) [IV 234v.6]. *NBA 533*
 B: <P> rang-la rang-gis gros gcig 'debs [234v.6-7]. *NBA 533*
 E: cig-pu ri-khrod 'grims dang skye / gros-'debs 'tshang 'bru dang bcas-pa [235r.6].
- 20) T: None: (*dkar-chag*: Don-gyi Bshags-pa) [IV 235r.6]. *NBA 534.3*
 B: <N> don-gyi bshags-pa / dus gsum bde-gshegs-rnams-kyi spyang-lam-du [235r.6-7].
 E: thugs-rje'i spyang thag-chad-pa mthol-lo bshags / ithi [235v.3].
- 21) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Ral-mda'-ma) [IV 235v.3]. *NBA 535.1*
 B: bdag-rang Zhang-gi Sprang-ban 'dis / dal-'byor gru 'di myed myed-nas [235v.3].
 E: mal-'byor-gyi shes-pa gar bder zhog [236r.5].
- 22) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Zhal-po-ma) [IV 236r.5].
 B: <P> khyi khyi-gu'i lo ma thul-ba [236r.5]. *NBA 536.3*
 E: grub-thob gcig yod-pa mi ma tshor [236v.1-2].
- 23) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Gu-rub Re-bo-skyid-kyis Zhus-pa'i Khrel-'dod-ma) [IV 236v.2]. *NBA 537.1*
 B: <N> Bla-ma Zhang-ston-gyis / Bla-ma Zhang-ston rang-nyid-la / shin-tu ngo-mtshar-ba'i sgo-nas bstod-pa [236v.2].
 C: Ngan-lam Byang-phyai yon-bdag Gu-rub Re-bo-skyid-kyis / Bla-ma Zhang-ston-la / khyed-rang nyid-kyis khyed-rang nyid-la bstod-pa

gcig zhu byas-pas / Bla-ma Zhang-ston-gyis rang-nyid-la bsams-
pas shin-tu ngo-mtshar skyes-te / stod-pa mdzad-pa'o / 'di ni kun-la
spel-lo / nyon-cig ltos zhig / rang-la rang-gis khrel gda'-ba / Rje Rin-
po-che Zhang-la Gu-rub Re-bo-skyid-kyis zhus-pa / ithi [238v.4-6].

- 24) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Rang-gi Ye-shes-ma) [IV 238v.6]. N6A 542.1
B: e-ma-ho / rang-rig ye-shes 'od-gsal 'di [238v.6].
E: la-la yengs-na don grub-pas thabs-kyi mchog-ma yengs-pa'o [239r.4].
- 25) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Brdos-par 'Khrug-pa'i Dus-su Gsungs-pa)
[IV 239r.4]. N6A 542.5
B: <P> bu Sprang-ban bdag-la byin-gyis rlobs / tshe snga phyi med-par
tshogs bsags-pas / da-lta 'gro-ba'i dpal-du shar [239r.4-5].
E: sems-can ma rungs 'dul dka'-rnams / nged pha-spad gnyis-kyis 'dul-bar
shog [239v.4-5].
- 26) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Sgam-po Rab-gnas-ma) [IV 239v.5].
B: Dwags-lha Sgam-po'i Ri-bo-nas / byin-brlabs 'od-zer lcags-kyu-yis
[239v.5]. N6A 544.1
E: khu-dbon-tshos byin-gyis brlabs-pa-yis / bkra-shis phun-tshogs de tsug
lags [240r.5].
- 27) T: None (*dkar-chag*: G.yu-brag Yid-chad-ma) [IV 240r.5].
B: bdag-rang Sprang-long Zhang-ston 'di / pha drin-zhing bu rol cig med
[240r.5]. N6A 545.1
C: yid-chad-kyi le'u 'o [240v.4].
- 28) T: None (*dkar-chag*: G.yu-brag Spro-bskyed-ma) [IV 240v.4].
B: bdag-rang dge-sbyong bsod-snyoms-pas [240v.4]. N6A 546.1
C: Zhang-ston spro-ba bskyed-pa'i le'u [241r.1].
- 29) T: None (*dkar-chag*: G.ya'-lung-gi Gdeng-chen Bcu-drug) [IV
241r.1]. N6A 546.4
B: <P> sprang-ban gcig-po ri-khrod 'grim tsam-na / bde-chen bcu-drug ni
dgos 'dra [241r.1-2].
E: ri-khrod 'grims-pa 'di nyams-re-dga' / Zhang-gi glu-chung [241v.1].
- 30) T: None (*dkar-chag*: G.ya'-lung Zhang-so-ma) [IV 241v.1].
B: <P> bdag-rang dge-sbyor mal-'byor-pa [241v.1-2]. N6A 547.5
E: nyon-mongs mi spong phal-pa snying-re-rje [241v.7].
- 31) T: None (*dkar-chag*: G.ya'-gong Gang-gong-ma) [IV 241v.7].
B: G.ya'-gong gangs gong 'grims-pa'i dus tsam-na [241v.7]. N6A 548.5
E: Shes-rab mig-gis snang-ba nang rgyas gdab [242r.5].
- 32) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Bye-ma-can-du Gsungs-pa Gnyis) [IV
242r.5]. N6A 549.4
B: bla-ma yi-dam mkha-'gro-rnams / spyi-gtsug brgyan-du bzhugs-nas
kyang [242r.5-6].
E: phyir sdig-pa'i las-ka byed ma myong [246r.7].

- 33) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Snang Sems Gnyis-med-du Ston-pa'i Glu) [IV 246r.7]. *NBA 558.6*
 B: <P> bdag-rang mal-'byor Zhang-bsgom 'di [246r.7-246v.1].
 C: ston zla tha-chung zla-ba gcig Lha-lung nags-kyi spyi-bo-la bsgoms-pas nyams-myong shar-ba yi-ger bkod-pa'o [247r.1].
- 34) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Khrel-rgad Ring-mo) [IV 247r.1].
 B: <P> e-ma ya cha 'di-'dra-la / Zhang-gi Sprang-ban rgad-mo shor [247r.1-2]. *NBA 560.1*
 C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi khrel-rgod Bya-mkhar mda' chog tu bkod-pa'o [247v.1].
- 35) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Smre-gsol) [IV 247v.1]. *NBA 561.2*
 B: yang mchog mda' bsnun dgongs-pa 'di [247v.1-2].
 E: skal-ldan gdung-ba'i smre-bsngags gsol [247v.4].
- 36) T: None (*dkar-chag*: 'Be-nag Brag-ma Gsum Bka'-rgya dang bcas-pa) [IV 247v.5]. *NBA 561.5*
 B: <P> Zhang-gi Sprang-ban smyon-pa 'dis [247v.5].
 E: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis bka'-rgya btab-pa'o [249r.6].
 Note: Has several parts.
- 37) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Zhal-brda Gdams-ngag-ma) [IV 249r.7].
 B: <P> ngan-'gro'i-srid-pa skyob-pa'i phyir [249r.7].
 C: ban-chung bdag-gis gdams-ngag smras-pa lags-so [249v.6].
- 38) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Sku-gshegs Gting Dge-bshes Brag-nag-pa-la Gsung-pa'i 'Chi-med Chos-sku, Gsung Nam-mkha'-ma yang zer) [IV 249v.6].
 B: Dge-bshes Brag-nag-pas / slog-dpon dug-gis grongs-pa'i gtam ngan / kha-mchu dang / las-ka kun thos-nas yid ma bde-nas [249v.6-7].
 E: ces skyar-gyin skyar-gyi gsung-ngo [250r.6].
 Note: This work tells of rumors about Zhang being killed with poison.
- 39) T: None (*dkar-chag*: 'Cham Chung Gsum) [IV 250r.6].
 B: <P> gnas chen-po zhi-gi rtsa-nas 'ong [250r.6-7]. *NBA 565.6*
 E: sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa dar-ro gyis [251r.5].
- 40) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Snang-ba Zil-gnon) [IV 251r.5].
 B: mchod-gnas byang-chub chen-po 'di [251r.5].
 C: zhes Gung-thang-gi lcag-ri smang bre-ba'i dus-su Mar-bsgom-gyi ram-bu btags-nas gsung-pa yin skad [251v.1-2].
- 41) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Bla-ma Dpal-la Shis-par Brjod-pa Gnyis) [IV 251v.2].
 B: <P> bkra-shis mchog-ldan Dpal Rgwa Lo zhes grags-pa'i [251v.2].
 C: Dpal Chen-po Rgwa Los mdzad-pa'i yon-tan dang / bsngags-pa'i sgo-nas shis-pa brjod-pa / Sna-nam Zhang-bsgom-gyis bkod-pa tshigs-su bcad-pa bcu-gsum-pa rdzogs-s. ho [253r.2-3].

Note: Contains two parts.

42) T: None (*dkar-chag*: Tshal-sgang Rang Bre-ba'i Dus-su
Md zad-pa'i Bkra-shis Gnyis) [IV 253r.3]

B: <P> bde-legs thams-cad-kyi 'byung-gnas / rin-po-che lta-bu'i dam-pa
skyes-mchog-rnams-la phyag-'tshah-lo [253r.3].

C: Shākya'i Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas / lug-gi lo-la Mtshal rmang
bre-ba'i dus-su bkod-pa'o [253v.3].

Scribal dedication:

skye med Zhang-bsgom gsung-rab-rnams /
bzhengs-pa'i dge-ba rgya chen des /
mkha' mnyam sems-can thams-cad-kyis /
skye-med gnas-lugs rtogs-par shog /
'bral med nyams-su myong-bar shog /

[smaller letters:]

'di bris lhag-bsam dge-ba'i mthus /
mkha' mnyam sems-can grol-bar shog / bkra-shis [254r.2-4].

Note: Unfortunately, the scribe gives no clue as to his or her identity or time period.

Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po's
Collected Works
(Bka'-'bum)

The only reference-work I know of which gives information about Phag-mo-gru-pa's works is Materials For a History of Tibetan Literature, no. 13406: phag mo gru pa'i bka' 'bum pod bzhi. (misspelled phag mo grub pa). This just tells us that his works were contained in four volumes. Only one volume of texts from the Bka'-'bum has been published in India. It's table of contents is reproduced here.

The Collected Works (Gsun 'bum) of Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po, "repro. from rare mss. from India, Nepal, and Bhutan, (Gangtok 1976). Vol. 1 [KA] (later vols. never published, evidently.

0. dpal phag mo gru pa'i bka' 'bum po ti KA PA'i kar chag. 1-3.
1. dpal phag mo gru pa'i mam thar rin po che'i phreng ba dpal chen chos kyi ye shes kyi mdzad pa (fol. 29, the last fol., missing). 5-62.
2. (mam thar mi zad pa rgya mtsho'i gter). 12 fols. missing.
3. dpal phag mo gru pa'i skyes rabs chen mo. 63-74.
4. bla ma gtsang gzher rin chen rgyal mtshan la lung bstan pa dang skyes rabs. 75-86. fol. 6 missing.
5. mtshon cha gsang pa'i mdzod sgo dbye ba'i skyes rabs. fol. 1 missing. 87-92.
6. dpal phag mo gru pas sku lus kyi bkod pa bcu gnyis mdzad pa. 93-126.
7. dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i chos bzhi. 127-142.
8. rin po che'i them skas ces pa'i bstan bcos. 143-262.
9. bstan bcos rin po che'i 'phrul skas. 263-320.
10. bstan bcos rin chen rgyan 'dra. 321-342.
11. rin chen sgron me. 343-394.
12. bstan bcos rin po che'i bang mdzod (includes: rin chen gsal ba). 395-407.
13. gces bsdus rin chen phreng ba. 409-416.
14. gces bsdus rin chen phreng ba. 417-453.
15. rin chen brtse ba'i sgron me. 455-480.
16. bstan bcos rin po che gser gyi ske rags. 481-499.
17. rin po che'i ske rags. 500-545.
18. rin po che bai dūrya'i them skas ces bya ba bstan bcos rin chen them skas kyi zhal gdams lhan thabs. 547-574.

19. ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur sgrung brgyud dang bcas pa. 575-578.
20. (bde mchog drug bcu rtsa gnyis kyi bstod pa). 11 fols. missing.
21. phag mo'i sgrub thabs lag mchod dang bcas pa. 579-602.
22. ku ru kulle'i man ngag phag mo gru pas mdzad pa. fol. 2 is missing. 603-606.
23. dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i bde mchog nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud don gsal bar byed pa bdud rtsi'i them skas. fol. 18 missing. 607-644.
24. rab gnas dpe mdzod ma. 645-672.
25. khro phu ba'i dge bshes rgyal tshas zhus pa rab gnas tshig don. fol. 7 is missing. 673-686.
26. rab gnas gsang sngags lugs dang mdo lugs ma. 687-700.
27. rab gnas sa bcu ma jo rje la bstod pa. 701-722.
28. dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i bkra shis. fol. 2 missing. 723-728.
29. rigs lnga phar phyin lta sgom spyod 'bras kyi bkra shis. 729-731.

* * *

Following is a preliminary catalog-listing of the works contained in what I call the "Golden Manuscript" of the Bka'-'bum of Phag-mo-gru-pa. This is because the original (which I never personally saw) was done with gold letters on dark colored paper. The photocopy from which I work, privately acquired in Lhasa, is a reduction of the original made by pasting together a 'master xerox', and then further reducing that down to the 14-inch size that we have. Still, the very ends of some sides, coming at the edge of the xerox machine, have become blurred or simply nonexistent (this sometimes means that one letter is missing at the end of each line). Only the first two volumes are accompanied with indices (dkar-chag). First given is the title as it is given in the dkar chag, then in round brackets the title as it actually appears in the body of the text. There is no dkar chag for vols. 3 and 4, and there are frequently no proper titles given. At end of vol. 4, we can see that this Golden Manuscript certainly dates to the year 1507. The constructor of the ms. is named as Shākya'i dge slong Kun dga' rin chen chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. This is definitely the full monastic name [See 'Bri gung Gdan rabs Gser phreng, p. 165] of 'Bri gung Chos rje Kun dga' rin chen (1475-1527), son of Rin chen chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1446-

1484) and abbot of 'Bri gung Monastery from 1494-1527.

Golden Manuscript

[KA]

Dkar chag: [1r] dpal phag mo gru pa'i bka' 'bum
po ti bzhi bzhugs pa'i dang po / KA dum pa'i
nang na yod pa la /

Cover title [1r]: gar gyi nyams dgu me dpung
'bar ba'i dbu / magha lam.

0. A COLLECTION OF VERSES OF PRAISE. The text is without title, and begins: <P> gar gyi nyams dgu me dpung 'bar ba'i nang // rin chen rus pa'i brgyan gyis rab tu mdzes // thugs rje chen pos 'gro la dus drug gzigs // bde gshegs rdo rje 'chang la phyag 'tshal bstod...

1. DPAL PHAG MO GRU PA'I RNAM THAR GZI BRJID 'BAR BA [There is no title, but it begins on 8v, and continues on the following folio marked '2'. Colophon on fol. 27v4: chos rje rin po che'i mam thar yon tan rin po che'i phreng ba / gzi brjid 'bar ba'i sgron ma zhes bya ba / dge slong dpal chen chos kyi ye shes kyis gzhan la phan pa'i don du yi ger bkod pa'o // rdzogs so...].

2. MTSION CHA GSANG BA'I MDZOD SGO DBYE BA. Opening the door to the treasury of secret weapons. About his prior rebirths.✓

3. SKU LUS KYI BKOD PA BCU GNYIS [29v.6, beginning is difficult reading]. About 12 prior rebirths.

4. RNAM THAR RIN PO CHE MI ZA RGYA TSHO'I GTER [mi zad rgya mtsho'i gter] [45r.3?]. Colophon: bdag cag dman pa'i gdul bya 'ga' zhig la tshu rol mthong ba'i ngor mthun snang gi mam par thar pa cung zad bris pa // nyams len rin po che mi zad pa rgyan gyi gter zhes bya ba rdzogs so // magha lam [54v.6].

5. SKYE RABS RNAM GSUM.

6. SANGS RGYAS KYI BSTAN PA LA RIM GYIS 'JUG PA'I TSHUL [begins fol. 64r.2: sangs rgyas bstan la rim gyis 'jug pa'i tshul // lung dang bla ma'i gsung bzhin bri bar bya. Colophon on fol. 113v.4: sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la rim gyis 'jug pa'i tshul dpal ldan phag mo gru pas mdzad pa rdzogs so...].

[1] gang zag dang dad pa'i le'u [65v.3]

[2] bla ma'i mtshan nyid bstan pa'i le'u [69v.5].

[3] dal 'byor myed dka'i le'u [72v.4].

[5] 'khor ba'i nyes dmigs bsgom pa'i le'u [78v.3].

[6] skyabs su 'gro ba'i le'u [82r.4].

[7] byams pa dang snying rje bsgom pa'i le'u [91v.6].

[9] sems bskyed pa'i le'u [107r.6].

[10] 'bras bu sku gsum bstan pa'i le'u [113v.2].

7. SEMS SKYED MU TIG PHRENG CHEN

[113v.5]. On refuge and thought generation [includes stories demonstrating their benefits]. Colophon: gsal byed mu tig phreng ba rdzogs s.ho [146v.6].

8. YANG MU TIG PHRENG CHUNG. No title given, starts on 147r.1. Colophon: dpang skong phyag brgya pa'i nang nas // don dam pa'i sems bskyed blang ba'i cho ga gsungs pa rdzogs.ho [150v.1]. Title: Phag mo grub pa'i mu tig phreng ba [150v.1]. Colophon: dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i mu tig phreng chung lags so [153r.4].

9. BSTAN BCOS MU STEG GI PHRENG BA. Title: bstan chos mu tig phreng ba [153r.5].

10. SDOM PA NYI SHU PA'I 'GREL PA. Colophon: byangn chub sems dpa'i sdom pa nyi shu pa cung zad tsam bshad pa dpa phag mo gru pas mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho [168r.3-4].

11. BYANG CHUB SEMS DPA'I SPYOD PA LA 'JUG PA [168r.4].

Chap. 1. dang ba'i dad pa bskyed pa'i le'u ste dang po [171r.2].

Chap. 2. mi dge ba'i skyon bstan pa'i le'u ste gnyis pa [171r.4].

Chap. 3. dge ba bcu bshad thabs kyi le'u ste gsum pa'o [172r.2].

Chap. 4. pha rol tu phyin pa drug gi spyad thabs bstan pa'i le'u ste bzhi pa [173r.1]

Chap. 5: chos spyod bcu spyad pa'i le'u ste lnga pa'o [173v.4].

Chap. 6. byed pa po rang yin pa'i le'u ste drug pa'o [174r.3].

Chap. 7. yid ches pa'i dad pa nyams su myong ba zhal ta dang bcas pa'i le'u ste bdun pa'o [174v.5-6].

Chap. 8. yid ches 'bral ba med kyi le'u ste brgyad pa [175r.6].

Chap. 9. rang gdul byar bstan pa'i le'u ste dgu pa'o [176r.3].

Chap. 10. 'dod pa'i sman sbyor 'gal lam gyi le'u ste bcu pa'o [177r.3].

Chap. 14. snang ba grogs su bsgyur ba'i le'u ste bcu bzhi pa [180r.3].

- Chap. 16. sgrib pa gnyis spangs pa'i le'u ste bcu drug pa'o [181r.5].
- Chap. 18. ye shes rang snang gi le'u ste bcwa brgyad pa [183r.3].
- Chap. 20. snang srid 'khrul par bstan pa'i le'u ste nyi shu pa [184v.2].
- Chap. 30: btsal du med pa'i dgongs pa bstan pa'i le'u ste sum bcu pa'o [190v.3].
12. BSTAN BCOS BLO GROS 'JUG SA BCAD [193r.6: na mo ratna gu ru / phyag rgya chen po nyams kyi man ngag bstan bcos blo gros la 'jug pa 'di bshad na...].
 13. BSTAN BCOS BLO GROS 'JUG PA [194v.4].
 14. DE'I STOD 'GROL [206v.5].
 15. RAB GNAS DPE MDZAD MA [210v.3].
 16. RAB GNAS SA BCU MA [222r.6].
 17. RAB GNAS TSHIG DON BSDUS PA.
 18. RAB GNAS SNGAGS LUGS DANG MDO LUGS [236v.4] sogs rab gnas kyi yig chung lnga.
 19. BSTAN BCOS MAR ME'I PHRENG BA [242r.4].
 20. BSTAN BCOS NOR BU'I RGYAL PO.
 21. DAM PA BRGYAD KI BSTAN BCOS [250v.2].
 22. SENG GE DPAL GYI DON DU MDZAD PA'I BSTAN BCOS [252v.3].
 23. BSTAN BCOS KHAM S GSUM DBYER MED [255v.4].
 24. ZUNG GSUM YA DRUG [258v.3].
 25. RTSWA LTUNG GI RNAM BSHAD DON GSAL SGRON ME [259r.2].
 26. CHOS SPYI DANG MTHUN PA'I ZHAL GDAMS [268r.3].
 27. BSTAN BCOS 'KHOR BA RTSAD BCOD.
 28. BAR DO ZHUS LAN.
 29. 'CHI BA BRTAG PA DANG BLU BA'I THABS [273r.5].
 30. YAB SRAS KYI TSHE SGRUB.
 31. BSTAN BCOS GNAS LUGS RGYA MTSHO [288r.2: bstan bcos gnas lugs brjod pa].
 32. RGYAN MDZES PA GSER GYI COD PAN.
 33. BSTAN BCOS GNAS LUGS BRJOD PA.
 34. GCES BSDUS RIN CHEN PHRENG BA NAS BSDUS PA BDE GSHEGS CHEN PO NAS MDZAD PA [289v.5: gces bsdus rin chen phreng ba bsdus pa bde gshegs chen pos mdzad pa].
 35. RANG LA BRJED BSKUL.
 36. RDO RJE'I MGUR GSUM [292v.1].
 37. CHAD GSOL TSHUL [294r.2: chang gsol tshul dang bde bdun ma'i 'gur ma].
 38. GSOL 'DEBS RGYU GZER ZHI BA MA.
 39. NYE GNAS LA GDAMS PA.
 40. BDE GSHEGS SGAM PO PA'I BSTOD PA CHEN PO BCU GCIG [297r.6].
 41. DUS MCHOD CHEN PO BZHI'I NGOS 'DZIN MDO LUGS DANG JO BO LUGS [303r.1].
 42. CHOS BZHI DANG NYES PA RAB ZAD KYI 'GREL PA.
 43. GTOR MA'I DE NYID.
 44. YIG BRGYA PA'I GZUNGS CHOG.
 45. PHAG MO'I LAG MCHOD.
 46. U SHNI SHA'I SRUNG 'KHOR.
 47. KA PA LA'I BRTAG THABS.
 48. GEGS SEL ZHA SDAM MA.
 49. RNAL 'BYOR ZAS BDUN BSTAN PA'I MAN NGAG [323r.6: mal 'byor pa zas bdun dud bsten pa'i man ngag].
 50. ZHABS RJES BZHENG S PA'I BSTAN BCOS.
 51. BKA' RGYUD KYI BKRA SHIS [336v.5: dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i bkra shis].
 52. YANG BKRA SHIS GCIG RIGS LINGA PHAR PHYIN DRUG LTA SGOM SPYOD GSUM GYI BKRA SHIS.
 53. zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa bzhi pa dpal chos ki grags pa ye shes dpal bzang po [1453-1524/5] 'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa'i SMON LAM DON THAMS CAD GRUB PA zhes bya ba. "dpal phag mo grub pa nyid kyis dus kun tu rjes su 'dzin pa dang / de nyid kyi dag pa'i zhing mngon par dga' ba zhes bya bar skye ba 'dzin pa'i ched du smon lam sbyar ba mams bzhugs."

Golden Manuscript
[KHA]

[fol. 1r, which is photocopied on the back side of fol. 333] dpal phag mo gru pa'i bka' 'bum po ti gnyis pa KHA dum pa'i nang na bzhugs pa la /

Note: This volume contains primarily Lhan cig skyes sbyor teachings, completion stage practices, but also Mahāmudrā meditation, etc.

1. CHOS DRUG GI THABS LAM BAR DO DMAR KHRID.
2. THABS LAM LHUG PA MA [14r.1, ends 16v.3].
3. THABS LAM TSHIGS BCAD MA'I LHAN THABS RIN CHEN GTER MDZOD [16v.3].
4. RTSA RLUNG RGYU 'BRAS MA.
5. CIG CHAR RIM GYI NGO SPROD.
6. LUS DAG MA DAG GI RNAM DBYE.
7. THABS LAM TSHIGS BCAD MA'I NGO SPROD.
8. LINGA LDAN SHOG KHRA MA [47].
9. BLA MA'I RNAL 'BYOR TSHIGS BCAD MA.
10. LHAN CIG SKYES SBYOR [48v.3].
11. PHYAG RGYA CHEN PO'I NGO SPROD.

12. LHAN CIG SKYES SBYOR GO CHA GNYIS MA DANG RKYEN BZHI MA. Colophon:
13. RNAL 'BYOR BZHI CHEN MO 'BRING PA. Colophon: rnal 'byor bzhi chen mo rdzogs pa yin [78r.4] New title: Rnal 'byor bzhi 'bring po [78r.5].
14. RNAL 'BYOR BZHI TSHIGS BCAD MA NYANG SGOM GYIS ZHUS PA [83v.2].
15. YANG TSHIGS BCAD MA CHUNG BA [95v.6: rnal 'byor bzhi tshigs bcad ma chung ba].
16. SUM SGOM RIN CHEN RGYAL MTSHAN GYI CHED DU MDZAD PA'I RNAL 'BYOR BZHI.
17. LHA RJE RIN PO CHE LA PHAG MO GRU PAS ZHUS PA'I RNAL 'BYOR BZHI DANG ZHAL GDAMS. Colophon: zhus lan gsung sgros ma nor ba yi ger bkod pa'o // rje sgam po pa dang / rin po che phag mo gru pa gnyis kyis zhus lan yang dag pa'o // ring srel za ma tog kha bye ba dang 'dra'o // bha wantu [104v.5]. New text, no title, begins: dus gsum sangs rgyas ngo bo nyid // rtogs ldan rin po che la 'dud / rje rin po che sgam po pa la / bla ma rin po kham pas gsal 'gag thams cad dril nas zhus pa... [104v.6]. Colophon: phyag rgya chen po'i zhus lan [108v.1].
18. PHYAG RGYA CHEN PO SNYING PO'I DON.
19. PHYAG RGYA CHEN PO'I ZHUS LAN NGO BO'I GDAR ZHU LAN NYA GA 'GAG DRIL.
20. YANG ZHU LAN YID BZHIN GYI NOR BU [108v.1, zhus lan yid bzhin nor bu]. Begins: <P> bla ma rin po che la bdag gis 'khor 'das gnyis kyis rtsad gcod cing chos nyid ngo bo sprod pa cig zhu byas pas... [108v.1-2].
21. YANG ZHU LAN NYI SHU PA. Colophon: bla ma rin po che phag mo gru pa dang / lha rje rin po che gnyis kyis zhus lan // rdzogs s.ho / mam gha lam [112v.5].
22. PHYAG CHEN GNYUG MA'I CHIG CHOD [112v.5].
23. DON SPYI ZIL GNON [115v.3].
24. SNANG BA RANG SEMS KYI NGO SPROD [rang ba rang sems kyis ngo sprod, 117r.5].
25. SEMS DNGOS PO'I GNAS LUGS MDO RGYUD NA LUNG DRANGS PA.
26. RAS CHUNG PA'I BSAM GTAN THUN 'JOG [127r.2: bla ma ras chung pa'i bsam gtan thun 'jog; ends fol. 133r.5].
27. ZHI BYED RMANG LAM MA.
28. RI CHOS BDUD RTSI BUM PA RIN PO CHE'I THEM SKAS [ends fol. 142r.2].
29. RIN PO CHE'I 'KHRUL SKAS. No title given, begins: nmam rtog ser sprin zhe sdang gog 'phro tshig rtsub 'brug sgra chem chem sgrogs... [142r.2].
- (4) gang zag gi rigs nmams bstan pa yi // le'u bzhi pa dag ni bstan pa yin [148v.1].
- (6) bla ma'i mtshan nyid bstan pa'i / le'u drug pa bstan pa yin [153v.1].
- (6) thar lam rin chen 'phrul skas las / lam gyi gtso bo gsum la tshigs su bcad pa'i tshoms te drug pa'o [204r.6].
- (7) gnas lugs bstan pa'i tshoms te bdun pa'o [207r.1].
- (8) 'jog tshul bstan pa'i tshoms te brgyad pa'o [208v.3].
- (9) lam gyi skyon bsal ba dang nyams kyi ro myang ba'i tshoms te dgu pa'o [209v.4].
- (10) nyams myong skyong ba'i rim pa rnal 'byor gsum bstan pa'i tshoms te bcu pa'o [213r.4].
- (11) rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa dang nyams shugs rdol gyi tshigs su bcad pa'i tshoms te bcu cig pa'o [214v.4].
- (12) 'bras bu skye ba'i rim pa'i tshoms te // bcu gnyis pa'o [216v.5].
- Colophon: bla ma rin po che phag mo gru pas nye bar sbyar ba // thar lam rin po che'i 'phrul skas zhes bya ba / 'phrul skas mthong na kho bo dang mjal ba dang khyad med gsung // khyung gi rgyal mtshan kun la yod na ngo mtshar chung // marga lam [216v.5-6].
30. RIN CHEN RGYAN 'DRA [216v.6]. Begins: <P> dam pa nmams kyis rjes 'breng nas // sems can blo'i mun sel zhing // dad ldan 'sgro 'dogs gcod pa'i phyir // gdam ngag rin chen rgyan 'dra bri [216v.6-217r.1].
31. RIN CHEN SGRON ME [225r.4]. Colophon: bla ma dam pa'i gdam ngag // rang gi nyams su myong ba'i man ngag / rin chen sgron me zhes bya ba rdzogs swo [247r.6].
32. RIN CHEN BRTSE BA'I SGRON ME [247r.6]. Begins: <P> bdag 'dra nâ ro'i mal 'byor pas / bu slob nmams la byams pa'i yid / brtse ba'i sems kyis brtsams nas ni / rin chen brtse ba'i sgron me 'di / phyi rabs don du bri bar bya [247r.6-v.1]. Colophon: dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i byams pa chen po brtse ba'i sgron me rin po che'i phreng ba ces bya ba 'di yongs su rdzogs s.ho / shu bham [257r.2-3].
33. BSTAN BCOS RIN PO CHE'I BANG MDZOD [257r.3: bstan chos rin po che'i bang mdzod]. Begins: sngon bsags pa rab tu gyur pa'i // 'gro ba'i tshogs ni ma lus pa [257r.3]. Colophon: bstan chos rin po che'i

- bang mdzod ces bya ba rdzogs s.ho [260r.2].
34. RIN CHEN GSAL BA [260r.2]. Begins: <P> bu zang zing nor dang gnyen 'brel dang // khyim dang 'jig rten bya bzhag la [260r.2]. Colophon: rje phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i rin chen gsal ba zhes bya ba rdzogs s.ho [261v.5-6].
- 34a. [261v.6]. No title given, begins: rje phag mo gru pa'i zhabs la 'dud // mkha' mnyam sems can don ched du // rin chen chos kyi tshogs gsungs pa // 'di ni rin chen gsal ba yin [261v.6-262r.1]. Ends: rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas thob par shog [262r.2]
35. RIN CHEN GSER GYI SKA RAG [269v.6: rin chen gser gyi ska rags]. Colophon: bstan bcos rin po che gser gyi ske rags zhes bya ba / shākya'i dge slong rdo rje rgyal pos sbyar ba rdzogs s.ho [269v.6].
36. RIN PO CHE'I SKA RAGS [269v.6]. Colophon: rin po che'i ska rags 'di // dge ba'i bshes gnyen rgyal tsha yis // rang yul du 'gro ba'i dus tsa na / shākya'i dge slong rdo rje rgyal la // yang dang yang du gsol ttab nas // kun la phan pa'i don du zhus // dge ba byang chub chen por bsngo // rin po che'i ska rags zhes bya ba rdzogs s.ho [287v.2-3].
37. RIN PO CHE BAI DURYA'I THEM SKAS / ZHES PA RIN CHEN THEM SKAS KYI GDAM NGAG [287v.3]. Colophon: de tshos rlung gi man ngag dgu // nyams rtags bcas pa ma lus rdzogs s.ho [291r.4]. Beginning: bde gsal mi rtogs gnas lugs la [291r.4]. Colophon: rje btsun nā ro pa'i bka' rgya gnad kyi gdams pa // dbang bzhi gsum gyi gnad // bstan bcos rin chen them skas kyi gdams ngag / rin po che bai dūrya'i them skas zhes bya ba // slob ma bzang po bkra shis dpal gyi don du // shākya'i dge slong rdo rje rgyal gyis dben gnas phag mo grur sbyar ba rdzogs s.ho // iti [298v.1-2].
38. GSANG SNGAGS LAM RIM THEM SKAS [298v.2]. Colophon: gsang sngags lam rim them skas ces bya ba // tshigs bcad bzhi bcu rtsa dgu bzhugs ... rje rin po che thugs rje can gyis thugs brtse ba'i slad nas mdzad pa rdzogs.ho [300r.3-5].
39. KU SA LI'I TSHOGS SÖG [300r.5: ku su lu'i tshogs sogs]. Colophon: ku su lu'i tshogs sog go [301r.3].
40. TING NGE 'DZIN GYI DBANG BSKUR [301r.4]. No title given, begins: <P> bla ma dge ba'i bshes gnyen rin po che'i zhal nas // bsgom chen pa mams la ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur 'di gal che bar 'dug pas kho bos bstan gsung [301r.4-5].
41. PHYAG RGYA CHEN PO PA RNAMS LA GDAMS PA [302r.4]. No title given, begins: mchog dang thun mong dngos grub kyi // 'bro ba ma lus smin mdzad pa'i // bde chen gnyis med rin chen la // gus pa mchog gis gtud byas nas // phyag rgya chen po'i gdam ngag ni // cung zad yi ger gsal bar bya [302r.4-5]. Colophon: dpal chos kyi rje 'gro mgon phag mo gru pa'i phyag rgya chen po'o [302v.6]. Begins: tshul bzhin sgrub pa'i gang zag mams // bla ma grub thob mi tshol bar [302v.6-307r.1]. Colophon: rje grub thob rin po ches māl 'byor pa mams la gdams pa [303r.5].
42. GLING RAS KYI ZHU LAN LE TSHO KHRIGS DMIGS SKOR ZHAL GDAMS [begins 303r.5? ends 329r.1]. Begins: <N> mam dag spros bral nam mkha' yangs pa'i mdzod [303r.5]. Colophon: bde bar gshegs pa rin po che la // gling ras pa kham su 'gro ba'i dus su zhus pa'i gdams pa'o [303v.4].
43. GRUB THOB KYI ZHAL GDAMS BO LA ZUNG ZHES PA.
44. MANDAL YIG BRGYA'I BZLAS PA [332r.6]. "zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa bzhi pa dpal chos kyi grags pa ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal snga mdzad pa'i SMON LAM DON THAMS CAD GRUB PA zhes bya ba / dpal phag mo gru pa nyid kyi dus kun du rjes su 'dzin pa dang / de nyid kyi dag pa'i zhing mngon par dga' ba zhes bya bar skye ba 'dzin pa'i ched du smon lam sbyar ba mams bzhugs.ho..."

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1. An untitled collection of Phag-mo-gru-pa's *Tshogs-chos*. Colophon: bla ma rin po che kham pa yi // gsung gi 'od zer tshogs chos mams // bla ma'i mtha' cn bdag gis bris / nyes 'khrul mchis nas bzod par gsol... [52v.4]. It is divided into 'Dharma Sessions' (*chos thun*), numbered at their endings as follows:

1. 6v.4.
2. 9v.1.
3. 12v.3.
4. 16v.1.
5. 20v.2.
7. 25v.5.
8. 28v.4.
9. 31v.6.
12. 39v.1.

13. 41v.2.
16. 50v.2.
17. 52v.3.
2. Dpal Phag mo gru pa'i tshogs chos ma rig gnyis mun sel ba rin po che mi sgron ma [52v.5]. The colophon title is: Tshogs chos ma rig pa'i mun pa sel ba [101r.1]. This is a new series of 'Dharma Sessions' numbered at their endings as follows:
1. 55v.5.
 4. 59r.4.
 5. 60v.2.
 6. 61v.3.
 7. 62r.3.
 8. 63r.2.
 11. 65r.5.
 13. 70v.3.
 14. 70v.6.
 15. 72r.2.
 16. 75r.1.
 17. 77r.4.
 18. 79v.1.
 21. 84r.5.
 22. 85r.5.
 23. 86r.1.
 25. 89v.4.
 26. 91r.2.
 27. 92v.1.
 28. 94v.4.
 29. 95v.3.
 30. 99r.2.
3. New title: Dpal phag mo grub pa'i tshogs chos rin po che'i gter mdzod [101r.2]. Colophon title: Tshogs chos rin po che'i gter mdzod [117r.1]. This part has 12 sessions. Divided into 'Dharma Sessions' numbered:
1. 101v.5.
 2. 103v.3.
 3. 104v.1.
 7. 108v.4.
4. Tshogs chos zab yang rgya mtsho [117r.2]. The colophon is located at 140r.5-6: chos rje 'kham pa rin po che'i gsung / brjed dogs yi ger mdo tsam bdag gis bris // 'di las byung ba'i bsod nams gang thob des // 'gro kun theg chen chos la longs spyod shog // zab mo yi ger bris dang bla ma yi // gsung sgros ma zin log par bris gyur na // bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro'i tshogs // chos skyong bsrungs ma'i tshogs la bzod par gsol // dpal ldan phag mo gru pa'i tshogs chos zin bris yongs su rdzogs s.ho.
5. Tshogs chos gces bsodus rin chen phreng ba [140r.6]. The colophon seems to be at 164r.2: dam pa rin po che'i gdam ngag ltung
6. No title given. There are many unnumbered part, but notice the no. '13' at 182v.1. Colophon at 189v.5: dpal ldan phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i tshogs chos gces bsodus phreng ba'o.
7. No title given. Colophon at 192v.6: rje rin po che dpal ldan phag mo gru pa'i tshogs chos chen mo rdzogs s.ho. Followed by an interesting lineage: 'di'i brgyud pa ni / sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ngo bo 'gro mgon / skyu ra / 2 rje sp[ya]n snga / 3 rgyal ba / 4 bcu gnyis pa / 5 dbang bsod / 6 grags she ba / 7 tshul rgyal ba / 8 grags byang ba¹ / 9 slob dpon shes don pa / 10 gnam gang rin po che / 11 nges bdag la'o / 12 mangga lam / bhawan tu [note that the numbers belong to the names that precede them]. The same lineage is located at 215v.6 and 299v.5.
8. Tshogs chos chen mo (193r.1). This is divided into a number of 'sections' (*dum bu*), numbered as follows. The colophon is at 215v.4: dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs gnyis su med pa'i ye shes kyi ngo bor gyur pa / rje 'gro ba'i mgon po dpal ldan phag mo grub pa'i rdo rje'i gsung mams bris pa'i dge bas 'gro mams chos rje'i gdul byar gyur par shog.
1. 196v.5.
 2. 198v.5.
 4. 205r.1.
 5. 207r.5.
 6. 209r.4.
 7. 210v.4.
 9. 213r.3.
 10. 214r.3.
 11. 215r.4.
 12. 215v.4.
9. Mdo lung rin chen dpungs pa (215v.5). The colophon is at 236v.5: mdo lung rin spungs pa zhes bya ba / dpal ldan phag mo grub pas bsgribs lagso //... rad na'i ming can yi ge pa yis bris
10. No title. This text begins at fol. 236v. Colophon is at 239r.4: dpal ldan phag mo gru pa de / snyigs dus sems can mgon du byon // bsgrub brgyud bstan pa rgyas par mdzad 'gro mams smin grol bde la bkod // de sogs dge ba rgya chen dang / phyag dpe mthong ba don ldan 'dis // rab 'byams mtha'

¹(Tshe-bzhi) (Gsar-ma-ba) GRAGS PA BYANG CHUB Also called Spyian-snga and Tshes-bzhi. (1356-1386). Became abbot of 'Bri-khung at age 16. BA 585-596. p

- klas gyur pa yi // 'gro drug mam mkhyen
thob pa dang / bdag kyang de sogs 'dren
byed shog.
11. Text on initiation, begins 239r.6, with
comments on taking refuge. Colophon at
240r.4: dbang gi zhus lan // par phu ba dge
slong blo gros seng ges sbyar ba rdzogs
s.ho.
 12. Colophon at 241r.6: bla ma rin po che phag
mo grub pa 'das nas // zhus pa dang / lan du
sbyar ba / par phu ba dge slong blo gros
seng ges brtsams pa // rdzogs.ho // bsgom
pa ye shes 'bum gyi sems la chongs //
mangga lam.
 13. Colophon at 242r.4: rmi lam sprul sku'i
zhus lan / i ti.
 14. Begins: rin po che phag mo gru pa mya
ngan 'da' kar rtsa na bzhugs pa mams kyis
[242r.5]. Ends with no colophon at 242v.2.
 15. Untitled song, begins: <N> rje btsun phag
mo gru pas / slob ma 'jig rten pa'i 'khri ba
ma chod cing / mi chos kyi mam gzhag sog
'jog la sogs pa'i g.yeng ba can cig gis mkhar
rtsigs pa la... [242v.2-3]. Ends at 243r.5.
 16. Untitled song. Colophon at 243v.4: rje phag
mo gru pa'i thugs nyams kyi mgur lags
skad.
 17. Untitled song. Ends at 244r.2.
 18. Ends at 244r.6.
 19. Begins: ngo mtshar rmad kyi chos [244r.6].
Ends at 244v.6.
 20. Ends at 245r.1.
 21. Colophon at 247r.1: shâkya'i dge slong rdo
rje rgyal gyis nye bar sbyar ba'o.
 22. Ends at 247v.6.
 23. Begins: <N> gol sa thams cad gcod mdzad
cing [248r.1]. Colophon: bla ma mnyam med
rin po che // gdams pa khyad 'phags phyag rgya
che // bshes gnyen myang la gdams pa 'dis //
sems can kun gyis thob par shog [250r.6-v.1].
 24. Brief texts on subject of 'Pho ba. Begins
250v.1. Colophon [252v.4]: nyag ston shes rab
'od la gdams pa lagso.
 25. No title, begins 252v.4. Colophon: bla ma
rin po che la kho bos zhus pa yin gsung [253v.3].
 26. Text on turnoffs in Mahāmudrā meditation
begins at 253v.3. Colophon: rje rin po che
phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'o [254v.2].
 27. No title. Colophon: rje phag mo gru pas
gsungs pa'o [255v.5].
 28. Colophon: tshig don cung zhig gsal bar
bsdebs ... [258v.1].
 29. Untitled letter. Colophon, 260 r.6: rin po
che phag mo grub pas / dge ba'i bshes gnyen
chos kyi blo gros la bskur ba'i gdam ngag
bzhed bskul lam phrin yi ge tshul du mdzad.
 30. Begins: 260v.1. Colophon, 263r.2: 'dod 'jo
rin po che yi bstan chos // rdzogs s.ho // rin
po che phag mo gru pas mdzad pa / mangga
lam.
 31. Begins, 263r.4. Colophon, 265r.5: chos rje
rin po che phag mo gru pas // lha sa ba dar
ma skyabs kyi don du mdzad pa'o...
 32. No title. Begins, 265r.5. Colophon, 270r.6:
bla ma rin po che phag mo gru pas thugs la
bcags pa'i mched rmog chen po la mdo
khams su bsring pa'i yi ge.
 33. No title. Begins, 270v.1. Colophon: bla ma
'khams pa rin po ches dge bshes rta nag pa la
gdam ngag 'phrin du rdzangs pa lags so
[273v.1].
 34. No title. Begins, 273v.2. Colophon: dbang
gzhon la bskur ba'o [273v.5].
 35. No title. Begins, 273v.5. Colophon: dbu
sgom la bskur ba'o [274r.2].
 36. No title. Begins, 274r.2. Colophon: dar ma
mchog la bskur ba [274r.5].
 37. No title. Begins, 274r.5. Colophon: dbu
sgom la'o [274v.2].
 38. No title. Begins, 274v.2. Colophon: ko
ston la spring pa [275r.2].
 39. No title. Begins, 275r.2. Colophon: dge
bshes jo sras la spring pa [275v.3].
 40. No title. Begins, 275v.3. Colophon: bla ma
rin po che phag mo gru pas / bla ma skyabs
se dang / jo bo rdzong lcam la gdam ngag
rdzangs pa'o [276r.2].
 41. No title. Begins, 276r.2. Colophon: kun
bzangs la springs pa [277r.3].
 42. No title. Begins, 277r.3. Colophon: rje rin
po che sku yal gyi gdam ngag yon bdag shes
rab mkhar la bskur ba 'di dang // chos 'dis
phan thogs par gyur cig [278r.1-2].
 43. No title. Begins, 278r.2. Ends, 278r.4.
 44. No title. Begins, 278r.4. Colophon: rig pa
nyid 'di yin par nges dpal phag mo gru pas
ga zi byang seng la gdams pa rdzogs.ho
[278v.1].
 45. No title. Begins, 278v.1. Colophon: rin po
che mtha' rtsa bas // mdzad pa'o [279v.6].
 46. Begins, 279v.6: bsgres khar kho'i tshig 'di
gsan par zhu. Ends, 283v.5.
 47. No title. Begins, 283v.5. Colophon: gdams
ngag byin rlabs kyi gter mdzod // rje rin po
che la mal 'byor pa gnyis med rdo rjes zhus
pa // rdzogs.ho / rlangs seng ge rgyal mtshan
gyis zhus lan no // bha wantu [294r.2-3].
 48. No title. Begins, 294r.3. Colophon: bstan
chos bdud rtsi'i thigs pa ces bya ba rje phag

- mo gru pas // lha btsun ma ral pa'i don du mdzad pa rdzogs.ho [296v.5].
49. No title. Begins, 296v.5. Colophon: rtogs ldan gros 'debs rin po che'i spring yig // rdzogs.ho [297v.3].
50. No title. Begins, 297v.4. Colophon: 299v.4: 'gro mgon bka' 'bum gyi brgyud pa ni / sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ngo bo 'gro mgon rin po che / 1 skyu ra 2 / rje spyen snga 3 / rgyal ba 4 / bcu gnyis pa 5 / slob dpon dbang bsod / 6 grags she ba / 7 / tshul rgyal ba 8 / grags byang pa / 9 / slob dpon shes rab don grub 10 / gnam gang rin po che 11 / des bdag â nan la'o² [299v.4-6].
51. No title. Begins, 299v.6. Colophon: bzhen bskul rin chen 'bar ba zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos phag mo gru pas khar sgang ba'i dge bshes chos kyi bla ma la gdams pa rdzogs.ho [303v.3].
52. No title. Begins 303v.3-4: <P> cig car ba'i sman chen de. Colophon: bla ma rin po che phag mo gru pas // grogs po 'cham pa rdzogs cen pa la gdams pa'o [305v.2-3].
53. No title. Begins, 305v.3: thugs rje nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor du. Ends, 306v.5: rol bye tshul byang la springs pa bsag yin na mkha' 'gro spangs.
54. No title. Begins, 306v.5: sbyangs stobs 'bras bu kha ba can du smin. Colophon: dge ba'i bshes gnyen ngog lo tsâ bas mi rtag lus la thugs skyo nas sku gshegs khar bka' stsal pa dang // de'i 'grel pa bla ma rin po che khams pas mdzad pa [307r.1-2].
55. No title. Begins, 307r.2. Colophon: rin po ches sgam por gdugs phul dus mdzad pa [307r.3-4].
56. No title. Begins, 307r.4. Colophon: dam pa'i zhu ba nyi shu pa // dge slong rdo rje rgyal po yis // bshes gnyen phyas pa chos seng la // gdams pa zab mos zhu ba phul [308r.4].
57. Title: Dpal phag mo gru pa'i bstan bcos me tog phreng ba [308r.5]. Colophon: spring yig me tog phreng ba 'di // bsgrub pa mchog la gzhol ba dang // sems kyi dgon par gnas pa yi // skal ldan mams la ku re yin [309r.3-4].
58. Title: Dge bshes chos blo la snying gtam du bstan pa'i gdams ngag [309r.4]. Begins, <N> phyag rgya chen po dmar khrid bsgom pa la [309r.4]. Colophon: dge ba'i bshes gnyen chos blo la gdam ngag rin po che 'di nyams su blangs pas phan par gyur cig [309v.4-5].
59. Title: Rin chen sna bdun ma [309v.5]. Colophon: bla ma ras pa la gdams pa'o [310v.5].
60. Title: Grogs la skul 'debs ma [310v.5]. Colophon: grogs bskul debs ma mtha' rtsa bas mdzad pa [311v.1].
61. Title: Nyag ston Shes rab 'od la gdams pa gsum [311v.2]. Ends, 311v.4.
62. No title. Begins, 311v.5, <N> snang ba sems su shes pa 'di. Colophon: ces mtha' rtsa bas gsungs // mangga lam [312r.5-6].
63. No title. Begins, 312r.6: <N> lta ba nyams pai sgom chen de. Ends, 312v.2, 'di mams sgom chen gyi gol sa yin.
64. No title. Begins, 312v.2: bla ma rin po che la 'dud // 'dir gol sa gsum dang shor sa bzhi'i yin lugs bstan nas. Colophon: Nyag ston shes rab 'od la gdams pa / rdzogs so [313r.6].
65. Title: mal 'byor bzhi'i zing ris chung ngu (zin ris chung ngu) [313r.6]. Colophon: de re re la gsum gsum du byed pa de bla ma rin po ches gsungs pa'o [314r.6].
66. Title: mal 'byor bzhi'i zin ris chung ngu [313r.6]. Colophon: bde bar gshegs pa phag mo gru pas gsungs // mangga lam [314v.6-315r.1].
67. Title: Rtsi bar ba'i sgom chen mams la gsungs pa'i gdam ngag [315r.1]. Ends, rang bzos rang phung gzhan bslus 'byung [315v.2].
68. 'Di rtsa bar ba'i sgom chen pa 7 la gsungs pa sgrol ru [rgyu?] man par rje sgam po pa'i bka' 'bum ni // rgyu yin te bka' 'bum bzhugs so dang zhus dag byed dgos [315v.2]. Ends: de bas kyang tha mal ba'i shes pa dag'o // mangga lam [316r.2].
69. Begins: <N> snyigs ma'i dus su bzod pa'i go bgos nas [316r.3]. Colophon: skye bu dam pas bskul byas pas // bla ma'i gdam ngag yig bkod // dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i gdams pa gsal byed me long // mangga lam [318r.2-3].
70. Dge bshes 'dul ba 'dzin pa la springs pa'i gdams ngag [318r.3]. Colophon: chos rje rin po ches / dge ba'i bshes gnyen 'dul ba 'dzin pa la springs pa // rdzogs.ho [318v.6].
71. Phyag rgya chen po gnas lugs ma [318v.6]. Ending, nam mkha' ji ltar mthong ste don de rab tu rtag par gyis ces pa dang 'dra baso // mangga lam [319v.2].
72. Lam mthar thug nas 'bras bu thob pa [319v.2]. Colophon: bla ma dam pa'i gsung

²This must be Kun dga' rin chen, the sponsor of the present bka' 'bum manuscript.

- sgros yi ger bkod pa mi thad yang // skyes
bu dam pa bskur gsung pas // yi ger bkod pa
... [321r.3-4].
73. Bdud rtsi gsum gyi gdams ngag [321r.4].
Colophon: phyag rgya chen po rdo rje tshig
gsum gyi man ngag 'di bandhe rdo rje rgyal
pos mos gus can gyi slob ma mams kyid don
du sbyar ba'o // bdud rtsi tshig gsum gyi
gdam ngag // mangga lam [321v.5-6].
74. Dag bya gsum dag par byed pa [321v.6].
Ending: nyon mongs pa dang nam par rtog
pas mi rdzi b la zer gsung / mangga lam
[322r.6].
75. Sa le lha ston la gdams pa [322r.6].
Colophon: sa le lha ston la gdams pa'o //
mangga lam [322v.5].
76. Dge bshes rgya shes la gdams pa [322v.5].
Colophon: dge bshes rgya shes la gdams
pa'o // mangga lam [323r.5].
77. Thar pa rgyal mtshan la gdams pa [323r.5].
Colophon: thar pa rgyal mtshan la gdams
pa'o // bha wantu [323v.1-2].
78. Stag bsgom la gdams pa [323v.2].
Colophon: stag bsgom la gdams pa'o
[323v.6].
79. 'Di yang stag bsom la'o [323v.6]. Ending:
ston thog bar dor 'ong bar nges // bha wantu
[324v.1].
80. Bye sgom la gdams pa [324v.1]. Colophon:
bye sgom thung la gdams pa'o [324v.3-4].
81. 'Bu ra rin chen rgyal gdams pa [324v.4].
Colophon: 'bru ra rin rgyal la gdams pa
mangga lam [324v.5-6].
82. 'Bu ra rin rgyal la'o [324v.6]. Ending:
g.yengs pa med par sgrub par zhu / tshar
ba'o // mangga lam [325r.1].
83. 'Gyug ge la gdams pa [325r.1]. Colophon:
'gyug ge la'o [325r.2].
84. 'Od dpal la gdams pa [325r.2]. Colophon:
'od dpal la'o [325r.3].
85. Bye sgom thung la gdams pa [325r.3].
Ending: brtson 'grus bskyed la thugs dam
zhu // ithi [325r.6].
86. Yig brten dang pham ma'i tshig bcad
[325r.6]. Ending: yig rten du dar phyam
cig 'bul zhing mchis su la yang mi gnang par
gsol bar zhu // mangga lam [326r.6-v.1].
87. Yang grogs ngan spangs pa'i tshig bcad
[326v.1]. Ending: grogs re ba ma che de
ltar yin // mangga lam [327r.5].
88. Rgyu 'bras gtso bor bston gyi gdams pa
[327r.4]. Colophon: bla ma rin po che
mtha' rtsa bas mdzad pa / mangga lam
[327v.6].
89. Ga zi dge 'dun skyabs la skur ba [327v.6].
Colophon: bla ma khams pa rin po ches //
ga zi sgom chen dge 'dun skyabs la bskur
ba'i gdams lags so [329r.4].
90. Begins: li khri lta bu'i spyod pa des [329r.4].
Colophon: stag bsgom la gdams pa bskur
ba // mangga lam [329v.6].
91. Begins: <N> sgrub pa phn sum tshogs
shing [329v.6]. Colophon: 'di yang bstag
bsgom la gdams pa'o // mangga lam
[330r.2].
92. Begins, 330r.2. Colophon: dge bshes gra pa
la'o // mangga lam [331v.2].
93. Begins: <N> lta ba dang rtogs pa gnyis 'dra
ste nor ra re [331v.2-3]. Colophon: 'di yang
dge bshes grangs la gdams pa'o // mangga
lam [332r.3].
94. Begins: om svasti / dus gsum sangs rgyas
bla ma la [332r.4]. Colophon: 'di yang dge
bshes rmog la gdams pa'o // mangga lam
[333v.1].
95. Begins: om swa sti / rang gzhan gyi don
phun sum tshogs pa... [333v.1]. Colophon:
dge bshes dbas chen po la'o // mangga lam
[334v.3].
96. Begins: om swa sti / skyon dag yon tan
rdzogs byed cing [334v.3]. Colophon: 'di
tre bo dge bshes dkon mchog dpal la bskur
ba'o // mangga lam [336r.6].
97. Begins: thog ma med pa'i sngon rol nas
[336r.6]. Colophon: bstan bcos sems la
gros 'debs ces bya'o [337v.2].
98. Begins: <N> ngan bu'i bla ma rje btsun de
[337v.2-3]. Colophon: chos rje rin po che
dpal phag mo grub pas se 'dog mchod ston
la gdams pa'o // mangga lam [338v.3].
99. 'Di yang stag bsgom gdam pa [338v.3].
Colophon: 'di yang stag sgom la gdams pa'o
[338v.6].
100. Lag sde yi bstan bcos ma rig mun sel
[338v.6]. Colophon: lag bde'i bstan cos
mun sel sgron me zhes bya ba dge slong
badzra râ tsas mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho //
shubham [342r.5].
101. Begins: Om swa sti // dus gsum gyi sangs
rgyas kyi sku gsung thugs kyi phrin las gar
gyi nyams dgus 'gro ba mams dad par byed
[342r.5-6]. Colophon: bstan chos gser
phreng zhes bya ba / bla ma 'khams pa rin
po ches // dge bshes 'bar ba'i rgyal mtshan la
springs pa'o [345r.4]. The volume ends
with the Pratītyasamutpāda in Sanskrit.

1. No title, begins 1v. C: Rje Sa skya pa'i zhal gdams zab mo btsun pa Rdo rje rgyal pos bris pa'o // yi ge 'di zhal gyi gdams pa yin pas / gar su tho dod la ma spel cig / bla ma'i bka' lung dang 'gal ba dang Rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad 'ong bas dam par bya'o // mangga lam [194r.3-4].

Note: This is a long and rambling 'commentary' on Hevajra according to the Lam 'bras teachings. It doesn't have any title.

2. Lam 'bras kyi gegs sel zhal gdams [194.4]. B: <P> spyir ting nge 'dzin la gegs dang bar chad bsam gyi mi khyab pa gcig gsungs kyang [194r.4-5]. C: a li ka li las sna tshogs pa la 'jug pa zhes bya ba / Bla ma Chen po Sa skya pa dang / Bla ma Phag mo grub pa gnyis kyi zhus lan rdzogs s.ho / mangga lam [203r.1].
3. Begins, 203r.1. Colophon: gtum mo'i zhal gdams dmar khrid 'di / rin po che yi thugs dam yin // dmar khrid yi ger bkod pa las // mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad mi 'byung 'tshal // la ba pa yi nying khu 'di // gzhan la yod na ngo mtshar chung // shin tu gsang ba'o [205r.3].
4. Begins: <P> gnyis pa gnyid dang rmigs pa yin [205r.3-4]. Colophon: rmi lam sbyang pa'i gdams ngag // i ti [207r.5].
5. Begins: <P> sgyu lus sbyang pa'i gdams ngag ni [207r.5-6]. Colophon: 'pho ba'i gdams ngag dmar khrid 'di // kun la yod pa'i chos ma yin // rje'i zhal gdams i ti [209r.6].
6. Begins: <P> slob dpon chen po la ba pa'i // bar do mam pa gsum yin te [209r.6]. Colophon: la ba pa'i thabs lam rdo rje'i tshig gsum zhes bya ba bla ma rin po che mtha' rtsa bas dge ba'i bshes gnyen nyang bshan grong pa'i don du mdzad pa rdzogs so // de nyid dbyongs par gyur cig / zab rgya rgya [211v.3-4].
7. Begins: <N> <N> rtsod ldan brgya ba'i dus su ni [211v.4]. Colophon: las rgya'i zhal gyi gdams pa 'di / yi ger bkod par i rigs kyang / lung thob gsung sgros ma nor bris / rang la zhe 'dod ma mchis pas / mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad mi mdzad zhu / la ba pa'i gdams pa nying khu / i ti / rab tu gsang par bya / rgya rgya [217v.4-5].
8. Bde mchog lha drug bcu rtsa gnyis kyi stod pa [217v.5]. Second title: dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i bstod pa mam dag yid bzhi nor bu klags pas grub pa [217v.6]. Colophon: dpal 'khor lo bde mchog gi bstod pa don

thams cad grub pa'i mi dpogs nor bu rin po che zhes bya ba / klags pas grub pa dge slong rdo rje rgyal po yis tshig don 'brel pa snyen dngags kyi tshigs su bcad pas bstod pa / shu lo ka brgya sum bcu so lnga pa ces bya ba rdzogs so // mangga lam [225v.6].

9. Phag mo'i bsgrub thabs lag mchod dang bcas pa [226r.1]. Colophon: Jo mo'i gtor ma rdzogs so // ghuhya [228v.2]. Colophon: bla ma rin po che khams pas yon bdag yangs rings kyi don du dus bzhi'i mchod pa bya thabs brtsams // tshe 'dir mchog la reg par shog // mangga lam [230r.6-v.1]. Colophon: bla ma khams pa rin po ches / yon bdag ring mo'i don du mdzad pa rdzogs so [234r.1-2; note the added lineage in small letters, which ends with Kun dga' rin chen, "A nanta"]. Title: tshogs kyi 'khor lo bsdu pa ni [234r.2]. Ends, 234v.3.
10. An untitled explanatory work on Cakrasamvara [begins, 234v.3]. nam mkha' dang mnyam 'khor lo sdom pa yi / rgyud don mam bshad nyams su blang pa'i tshul / dri med bla ma'i zhal gdams bshad par bya [234v.4-5].
11. Title not found. Colophon: dpal mgon po'i stong thun chung ba rdzogs so // mangga lam [251v.3].
12. Begins: <P> dpal nag po chen po'i bsgrub thabs 'di la spyi don mam pa lnga ste [251v.4]. Colophon: slob dpon klu grub kyis mdzad pa'i / las tshogs mams dang / 'di rang gi bsnyen bsgrub gsum gyi gdam ngag logs na gda'o // 'dir mangs kyis dogs pas mgo smos tsam las ma bkod do // 'di bris dge bas bstan pa rgyas gyur cig / 'bal 'khrul gyur na nag pos bzod par bzhes / dpal nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs khog dbub [phag] mo gru pas bkod pa'o // mangga lam [259v.1-3].
13. Dpal nag po phyag bzhi pa'i sgrub thabs [259v.3, note the Sanskrit title also given]. Colophon: dpal nag po chen po phyag bzhi pa'i bsgrub pa'i thabs / slob dpon chen po 'phags pa klu grub kyi rjes su 'brengs te / slob dpon arya de bas mdzad pa / rdzogs swo // de nyid kyi steng nas dpal phag mo gru pas / bsgrub thabs 'di mdzod / mang ga lam [260v.2-3].
14. No title, begins: <P> dpal nag po chen po bsgrub par 'dod pa'i rten gyi gang zag dbang bskur ba thob cing dam tshig dang ldan pa [260v.3]. Colophon: de ltar bsnyen pa la mtshan ma 'byung na sum dbang du bskyar zhing / mtshan ma byung nas las la sbyar ro

- // dpal nag po chen po bya rog gdong can gyi bsnyen pa'i man ngag / rje phag mo grub pa la / dpal mgon pos rjes su gnang pa'o // shubham [262v.4-5].
15. No title: <P> dkor du dbul dang gter du sba / bsnyen pa'i rdzas dang gsum pa 'di / nag po chen po'i dam rdzas so [262v.5-6]. Colophon: 'di tsho bla ma'i zhal gyi gdams pa / kho bo rang gi myong rtogs 'ba' zhig lagso / mangga lam [276v.3].
16. Dge bshes rmogs mdo khams su springs pa nag po chen po'i bsgrub thabs [276v.3]. Colophon: dpal ldan phag mo gru pas dpal ldan bya rog ming can gyi bsnyen pa'i man ngag mdzad pa / rdzogs so [279r.1-2].
17. Dpal mgon po'i gdams pa la sbyor gyi gnad [279r.2]. Colophon: dpal nag po chen po bya rog can gyis gsad pa'i man ngag / bla ma dpal chen pos ji ltar gsungs pa kho na ltar / dge slong badzra rā dza bdag gi lha dang bla ma chos skyong la / gus pa'i mdun pas gsol ba btab nas / dge ba'i bshes gnyen sbas mi chen pos bskul bas / bstan pa la bsams nas yi ger bkod pa lags pas / thugs rtsis cher mdzad par zhu'o // 'gro mams gnod pa'i sems zhi nas / sangs rgyas bstan la rab dad de / dkon mchog gsum ni mchod pa dang / mthar thug mnam sangs rgyas thob shog / mangga lam [283v.3-5].
18. Sku rags ma'i gsad bsgrub gyi zab don bsdus pa'i man ngag [293v.5]. Begins with a lineage: dpal nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs / dpal phag mo gru pa'i sku rags ma 'di yi brgyu pa ni / bde bar gshegs pa yan chad spyi dang 'dra la / bde bar gshegs pas chos rdo rje rin po che // rgyal ba rin po che / des bla ma wa la ba la gnang ... [ending in] bdag nā tha ku ma ra [284r.2]. Colophon: mgon po'i zhal gdams gsang ba'i man ngag / yi ger bkod pa bzod par gsol / bka' rgya yod / gsang rgya / sa ma ya thā / sa ma ya thā / 'di yi brgyud pa ni // 'phags pa klu grub snying po / des rdo rje dril bu pa / des kha phyen byang chub bzang po la / des rdo rje gdan pa / des a bhya ka ra / des rtsa mi lo tstsha ba la / des dpal rgwa lo tstsha la / des dpal phag mo gru pa a / des chos rje la / des klu lung brag pa la / des slob dpon mal gro ba la / des slob dpon rdo rje dpal la / des slob dpon sngags pa la / des slob dpon mgon po ghon nu ba la gnang ba lags so / des sing ha dhwa dza la / des dag la'o / mangga lam [300v.2-5].
19. No title, begins: <P> dpal ye shes mgon po lcam dral du bsgrub pa'i thabs 'di la gsum ste [300v.5]. Colophon: 'di bram ze nyi ma la po dur khrod pa la gnang / des dpal rgwa lo la gnang / des dpal phag mo gru pa la / des rje rin po che 'bri khung pa / des slob dpon mal gro ba las / des slob dpon rdo rje dpal / des slob dpon nā tha ku ma ra la gnang ba'o // shu bhamastu barba dza ga tam [305r.1-2].
20. No title, begins: om swa sti / dang po bsgrub pa po mtshan nyid dang ldan pas / lha bzo mtshan nyid ldan pa gcig la rten ji lta ba bzhin 'bri bcug la [305r.3]. Colophon: mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas grags pa'i zhal snga nas kyi brgyud pa / dpal nag po chen po'i drag sngags kyi them yig / srogs gi spu gri zhes bya ba / rje phag mo gru pas mdzad pa rdzogso ... [310v.3-4].
21. An appendix to the preceeding, begins, 310v.4. Colophon: dgra bsad chung pa 'di yi ge ris su med na'ang mchod gtor gyi gsol ba btab nas / bla mas snang ba byin te bka' mi nub pa'i don du snyan rgyud yi ger bkod pa'o / slob dpon nā tha ku ma ras yi ger mdzad pa'o // mangga lam [311r.1-2].
22. No title, begins: <P> thog mar mdos byin gyis brlab ces pa ni [311r.2]. Ends, ces brjod la mdos la spyang drang ngo // ces gsung ngo / shu bham [311v.1].
23. No title, begins: <P> nag po chen po'i thun bsgrub kyi man ngag la [311v.1]. Colophon: kun la med de gser bas dkon // rdzogs so [312r.2].
24. No title, begins: <N> nag po chen po'i zor gyi man ngag ni [312r.2-3]. Colophon: dpal nag po chen po'i zor las kyi man ngag // rdzogs so [313v.2].
25. A continuation of the preceding, begins: 'di'i bya thabs la gza' dang sbrag pa gal che [313v.2]. Ends: khang khyim thams cad brlag par byas par bsam mo / iti [313v.3].
26. Begins: be bum gsum mar gsungs pa'i bsrung 'khor bsgom pa'i zhal gdams ni [313v.4-5]. Colophon: las sbyor 'di gnyan par gzahag la mi spel bar rang gi sems la bcad gsung nas / thugs rtsis shin tu che ba yin gsung / ye shes mgon pos dpal chen po rga lo la gnang / des bla ma spyang la / des dam pa 'gar la / des ri khrod chos bzang la / des dge ba'i bshes nā tha ku ma ra la'o / mangga lam [315r.4-5].
27. Begins: <N> dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kun [315r.5-6]. Has several chapter divisions. Colophon: de'i man ngag sgrub thabs su bsngo bas pa'o // [slob dpon] nag po spu gri bsnol ma yis // mngon rtogs le'u bdun bris pa'i bsod nams dri med gang thob

pas / 'gro mams bdud las rgyal gyur nas /
 sku gsung don la gnas par shog // dpal phag
 mo gru pas bkra shis dpal la [nye gnas stag
 lung thang] / rim par brgyud nas des zhe
 sdang rdo rje la gnang / des dags po [slob
 dpon] la gnang // slob dpon zur khang pa la
 gnang [dpon ston rgyal] ngo //

6. dpal nag po chen po spu gri
 bsnol ma'i sgrub thabs las /
 nyams len mtshan ma'i le'u
 ste drug pa'o [328v.5].

28. Phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i hûm skyes ma
 [330v.1]. Colophon: bya rog ming can
 phyag bzhi ba'i bstod pa rdzogs s.ho
 [331r.1].
29. Smon lam thams cad grub pa [331r.1]. This
 is an aspiration prayer by the patron of this
 particular manuscript. Colophon: zhes pa'i
 smon lam don thams cad grub pa ni / 'gro
 drug sems can mams kyi don phyir du / 'gro
 ba'i mgon po mchog gi bka' 'bum dang /
 dpal ldan bla ma gzhan dag gi gsung rab
 mang po bzhangs nas / de'i dge ba smon lam
 du byed pa'i ched du bskul ba'i ngor /
 shâkya'i dge slong kun dga' rin chen chos
 kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos / me mo
 yos kyi lo hor zla bzhi ba'i yar ngo la / pho
 brang 'tshe'u khar bris pa'o // // // magha
 lam / dge'o / bkr shis so / zhal gros // [ends
 with Ye dharma, 332r.2-5].

* * *

D Martin, 9/96

Six Main 'Layers' of the Peacemaking Collection (shorter listing)

D. Martin, March 2003

A. Scriptures, Mahāmudrā works and songs. This first layer includes a few canonical Buddhist scriptures. The first text is the famous Heart Sūtra. It also includes all the Indian texts that Phadampa brought with him to Tingri and translated there, as well as commentaries on those texts. These include, in addition to the Heart Sūtra, tantras, Mahāmudrā works and the spiritual songs (*dohā*) of Phadampa's 54 Indian teachers. Overall, these texts may be dated roughly prior to the year 1100, with most of them being older (some very much older). However, a few texts with the special word for 'commentary' used in this tradition, *bshad-'bum* by Patsab are appended. Vol. 1, pp. 1-462 (the entire volume) and vol. 2, pp. 1-137.

B. The Kunga responsa texts. The second layer represents oral statements by Phadampa transcribed by his chief Tibetan interpreter named Kunga. We may call these 'responsa' texts, since they are nearly all in the format of questions and answers. With one exception, they must have been put down in writing by the time of Phadampa's death in 1117. In fact, this group comes to an end with the last will and testament of Phadampa (final words of advice for his disciples in Tingri, which one expects to correspond to the *Ding-ri Brgya-rtsa*, historically his most popular work, but they have little in common), with the last will of Kunga appended to it. Vol. 2, pp. 138-484, vol. 3, pp. 1-92. Parts A and B together make up the original manuscript collection, no longer extant, in the main part redacted by Kunga (minus the *bshad-'bum* commentaries by Patsab in vol. 3, pp. 1-92, and minus the last will of Kunga, of course), probably between the death of Phadampa in 1117 and Kunga's death 7 years later. The Kunga texts (3 notebooks filled with the 'Scattered Pronouncements' of Phadampa then entitled *Bka' Cho-lu*) underwent a major redaction by Patsab, who was the first to divide them into sections with titles (titles using tree-part metaphors).

C. Inset Dots. The 3rd layer is named *Phra-tig*, which might be translated *'Inset Dot[s]'*. It was put together from the words of Kunga by his disciple Patsab. Vol. 3, pp. 92-205.

D. Cloth Sifter. Layer 4 is named *Dar-tshags*, which might be translated *'Cloth Sifter'*. It was put together from the words of Patsab by his disciple Tenne. Vol. 3, pp. 206-496; vol. 4, pp. 1-301. It has 3 subsections: 1. *Cloth Sifter*. 2. *Fine Cloth Sifter*. 3. *Miscellaneous Instructions*. Two commentarial texts by Mikyö Dorje (the author of the commentarial work [*bshad-'bum*] in vol. 5), are added in here (at the end of the first subsection, the *Cloth Sifter*, at vol. 4, pp. 1-78).

E. Historical section. Here there are two works. The first is put down by Kunga, and therefore actually belongs to layer B. It is half responsa text, but the 2nd half is a collective biography of 24 women (Jomo or Majo) disciples of Phadampa. Vol. 4, pp. 302-323. The second work is a very important untitled history of the Later Peacemaking Lineage by Zhigpo Rinchen Sherab (1171-1245). Vol. 4, pp. 324-432.

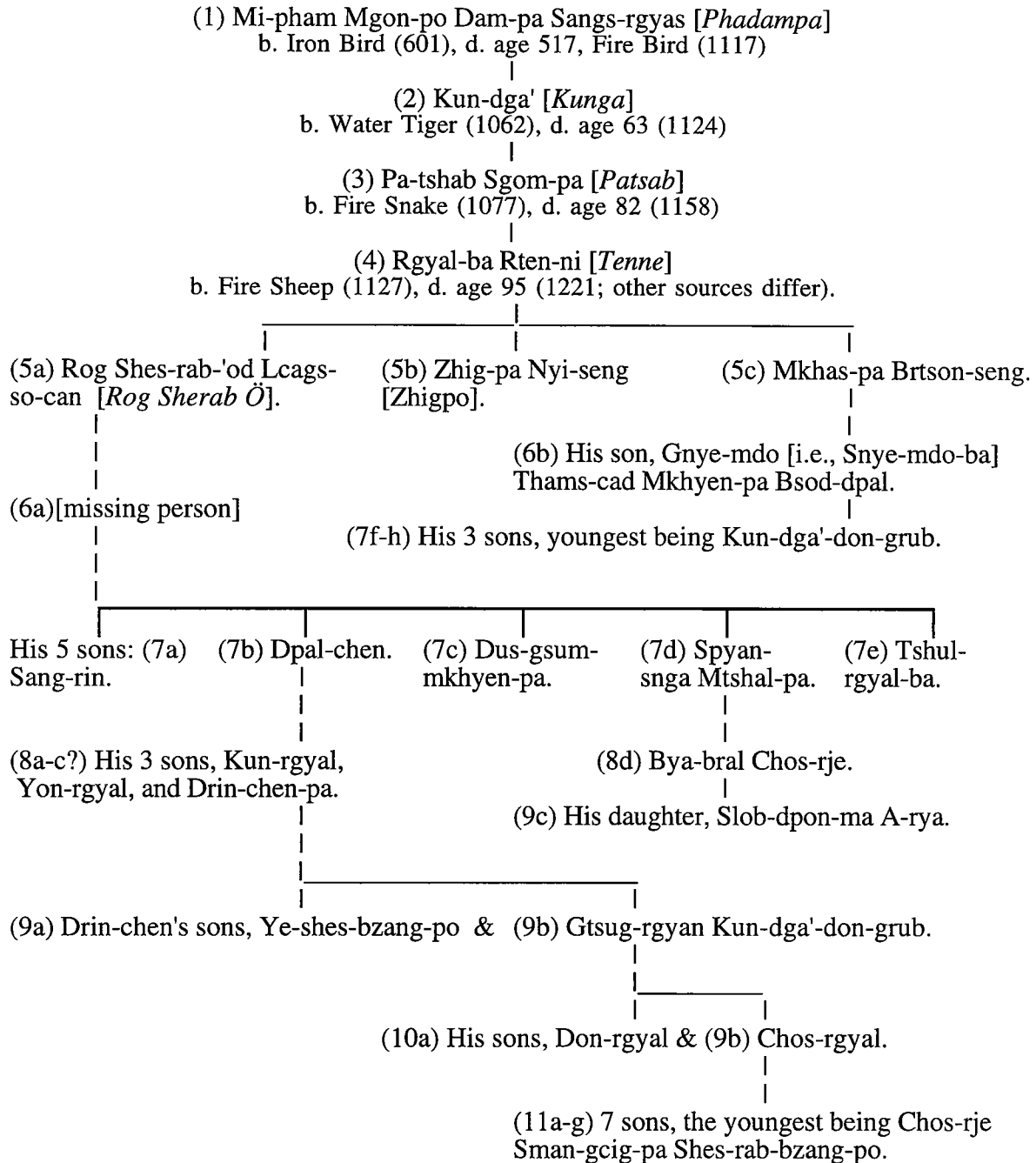
F. A commentary (*bshad-'bum*), on one of the responsa texts in layer B, by a difficult to identify person Pal Mikyö Dorje. This single title fills all of volume 5, pp. 1-527.

The Generations of the Early 'Later' Zhijé Transmission Lineage

(based on the history by Dge-ye-ba Tshul-khrims-seng-ge, composed in 1474 CE)

simple version

D. Martin, March 2003



The Generations of the Early 'Later' Zhijé Transmission Lineage

(based on the Dge-ye-ba history, but with added information)

Note: 'BA' means *Blue Annals*. 'PC' means Peacemaking Collection.

detailed version, D. Martin, March 2003

(1) Mi-pham Mgon-po Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas.

b. Iron Bird (601), d. age 517, Fire Bird (1117).

(2) Kun-dga'.

In PC, often called Byang-chub-sems-dpa' (Bodhisattva) Kun-dga'.

b. at Tsha-gung in Tingri area, Water Tiger (1062), d. age 63 (1124). [BA 920: Met Phadampa in Iron Dragon, 1100.]

(3) Pa-tshab Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-'bar.

b. in the lowlands of 'Phan-yul, Fire Snake (1077), d. age 82 (1158) Kun-dga' bestowed on him hidden precepts in the years 1117-1121; BA 923. In 1121, returned to Central Tibet & practiced meditation 13 or 15 years; BA 929. In PC, often called Bla-ma Sku-drin-can.

(4) Rgyal-ba Rten-ne.

b. in lowlands of the Yarlung valley, Fire Sheep (1127), d. age 95 (1221; other sources differ; BA says d. age 91, 1217).

In PC, often called Bla-ma Grub-thob Chen-po.

(5a) Rog Shes-rab-'od Lcags-so-can. Aka Rgya-mon. BA dates: 1166-1244. Son of Rog Bkra-shis-grags-pa. He only started teaching after Rten-ne's death. Age 16, he broke off a tooth, hence the nickname 'Iron Tooth.' He taught at Sum-bcu mon. from 1233 onward (BA 948). Sometimes called Bde-gshegs or Bde-gshegs-chen-po in PC.

(5b) Zhig-po Nyi-seng, aka Nyi-ma-seng-ge, Rin-chen-shes-rab, younger brother of 5a. BA dates 1171-1245. Met Rten-ne in 1196 (BA 950).ⁱ Author of the Zhi-byed History.

(5c) Mkhas-pa Brtson-seng, aka Smra-ba'i-seng-ge, 1186-1247, installed at Snye-mdo in 1207.ⁱⁱ In most sources, he is the 3rd & youngest brother of Rog Shes-rab-'od.

(6a) Sangs-rgyas-ras-pa, aka Rin-chen-smon-lam, 1203-1280 (BA 975). He visited Sikkim and N. India.

(6b) Eldest of his 3 sons, Gnye-mdo [Snye-mdo-ba] Thams-cad Mkhien-pa Bsod-[nams-] dpal. BA dates 1216-1277. Installed at Snye-mdo in 1229. One of his works is preserved in the *Gdams-ngag Mdzod*.

(6c) 'Khrul-zhig Dar-ma-seng-ge, aka O-rgyan-ras-pa (1223-1303), son of 5a. Sent to Snye-mdo in 1229. Zhig-po is his actual transmission teacher. Among his students were prominent 'Bri-gung-pas and the Nyingmapa teacher Me-long-rdo-rje.

(7f) The eldest of 3 sons was Snye-mdo Kun-dga'-bzang-po (BA dates 1258-1316). (7g) Kun-dga'-mgon-po (BA dates 1265-1320). (7h) The youngest was Kun-mkhyen Kun-dga'-don-grub (BA dates 1268-1328). Karma-pa III obtained Kālacakra teachings from him at Snye-mdo (BA 490, 1050) in about 1301.

(7a) His son, Sang-rgyas-rin-chen, BA dates 1245-1302. Appointed abbot of the hermitage in 1266.

(7b) Spyan-snga Dpal-chen. BA dates 1249-1325. Appointed abbot of Rtse-sgang in 1269.

(7c) Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, BA dates 1252-1322. Made an abbot in 1303.

(7d) Spyan-snga Mtshal-pa, =Shākya-rgyal-mtshan, BA dates 1258-1330. Appointed to the hermitage in 1271.

(7e) Tshul-rgyal-ba, =Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, BA dates 1269-1343.

(8a-c) His sons, Kun-rgyal (BA dates 1269-1303), Yon-rgyal (=Yon-tan-rgyal-mtshan, 1270-1323), and Drin-chen-pa (1273-1335).

(8d) Bya-bral Chos-rje, =Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, BA dates 1299-1374.

(9c) His daughter, Slob-dpon-ma A-rya.

(9a) Drin-chen-pa's 2 sons, Ye-shes-bzang-po; BA dates 1300-1341.

(9b) Gtsug-rgyan Kun-dga'-don-grub; BA: Kun-dga'-lhun-grub, 1313-1384.

(10a) His 2 sons, Don-rgyal (=Don-grub-rgyal-mtshan, 1337-1378)

(10b) Chos-rgyal[-ba] (1340-1409).

(11a-g) His 7 sons, the youngest being Chos-rje Sman-gcig-pa Shes-rab-bzang-po (BA, b. 1386). [The 7 sons are listed in BA 970.] Teacher of 'Gos Lo-tā-ba (1392-1481), the author of the *Blue Annals*, and probably of Dge-ye-ba as well.

ⁱ According to BA 953, in about 1207-1210, he prepared a manuscript of the teachings of the lineage written in gold, the size of the Avatamsaka Sūtra. In 1210, he visited Tingri Langkor, taking this manuscript with him.

ⁱⁱ Snye-mdo monastery was offered to Rog Shes-rab-'od in his 40th year (1205), and he entrusted it to Smra-ba'i-seng-ge (BA 948) in 1207, along with the books (*phyag-dpe*) and Dharma conch. I think "the hermitage" (*ri-khrod*) means Grwa Hermitage, the Grwa-nang Valley.

Six Main 'Layers' of the Peacemaking Collection (longer listing)

D. Martin, March 2003

All page references are to the reprint addition (details follow), but I made much use of the microfilm (filmed from the 4-volume manuscript in the possession of 'Khrul-zhig Rin-po-che, Solu) from the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.

The Tradition of Pha Dampa Sangyas: A Treasured Collection of His Teachings Transmitted by Thugs-sras Kun-dga', "reproduced from a unique collection of mss. preserved with 'Khrul-zhig Rinpoche of Tsa-rong Monastery in Ding-ri, edited with an English introduction to the tradition by B[arbara] Nimri Aziz," Kunsang Tobgey (Thimphu 1979), in 5 volumes.

The original title for the entire collection ought to be (the reprint corrected according to the catalogue card for the microfilm version): *Dam-chos Snying-po Zhi-byed-las / Rgyud Phyi Snyan-rgyud Zab-khyad-ma bzhuks* ('Among the [Transmissions] of Peacemaking, which is the Heart of the Holy Dharma, this is the Esoteric Transmission of the Later Transmission, [the manuscript nicknamed] Profound Exceptional'). On a second (?) line of the title page is a mark of ownership: Glang-skor Gzim-chung Phyag-dpe, 'Belonging to the Library of the Residence at Tingri Langkor.'

- A. Scriptures and works of Indian origin (with closely related Tibetan-authored initiation texts and commentaries). Has two main parts (although A2 is only an appendix):
- [A1] This part includes all the Indian texts that Phadampa brought with him to Tingri and translated there, as well as commentaries on those texts, probably all by Patsab (see A2). Vol. 1, pp 1-462 (entire volume) and vol. 2, pp. 1-137.
 - [A1a] Heart Sūtra. Vol. 1, pp. 2-5.
 - [A1b] The tantra entitled *Ā-li Kā-li Gsang-ba Bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-pa Chu-klung Chen-po'i Rgyud* (*Inconceivable Secret of the Vowels and Consonants, Great Deluge Tantra*) and associated texts. Vol. 1, pp. 6-190.
 - [A1b1] *Ā-li Kā-li Gsang-ba Bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-pa Chu-klung Chen-po'i Rgyud* (*Inconceivable Secret of the Vowels and Consonants, Great Deluge Tantra*). Vol. 1, pp. 6-114.
 - [A1b2] *Ā-li Kā-li Rin-po-che Dbang-gi 'Khor-lo* (*Vowels and Consonants, Precious Wheel of Initiation*). Vol. 1, pp. 115-190. Judging from the several embedded lineage accounts, this must have been authored by Zhigpo for the sake of an unnamed disciple. These texts are quite repetitive.
 - [A1c] Prajñāpāramitā associated texts (but like A1b2, combined with tantric methods). No clear author statement found, but these may be by Patsab (?). Vol. 1, pp. 190-212.
 - [A1d] A large number of titles, primarily Mahāmudrā works and the *dohā* songs of (and brief narratives about) Phadampa's fifty-four Indian teachers (in large part also found in the Tanjur), with some small visionary teachings included. Some of these are translated by Zha-ma Translator together with Phadampa, some by Phadampa alone. Vol. 1, pp. 213-416.
 - [A1d1] *Bka'-babs Chen-po Bzhi* [Four Great Word Descents]. Vol. 1, pp. 213-264.
 - [A1d1/A] *Mchog-gi Brgyud-pa; Bde-bar Gshegs-pa Bcu-gnyis-kyi Bka' Yi-dam-gyi Lhas Gsungs-pa* (or, *Phyag-rgya Chen-po Brda'i Brgyud-pa*). Vol. 1, pp. 213-234. The Supreme Transmission; the first of the Four Word Descents, with 12 texts (titles not listed here) recording words of twelve forms of Buddha.
 - [A1d1/B] *Thun-mong-gi Brgyud-pa; Tshig Rgyud Rnam Gsum*. The Common Transmission. Three collections of teachings by Phadampa's fifty-four male and female Mahāsiddha/ā teachers:
 - [A1d1/B1] *Dri-med Dngul Sgong* [*Stainless Silver Sphere*]. Vol. 1, pp. 235-242.
 - [A1d1/B2] *Dri-med Gser Sgong* [*Stainless Golden Sphere*]. Vol. 1, pp. 242-247.
 - [A1d1/B3] *Dri-med Shel Sgong* [*Stainless Crystal Sphere*]. Vol. 1, pp. 248-255.
 - [A1d1/C] *Ngo-mtshar-gyi Brgyud-pa*. The Amazing Transmission, recording words of 36 (six groups of six) teachers of Phadampa. Vol. 1, pp. 255-264. A commentary by Patsab appears in vol. 2.
 - [A1d1/D] *Khyad-par-gyi Kyes Chos Brgyad*. Eight Teachings of Very Special Beings:

- [A1d1/D1] Vol. 1, pp. 265-294. Two texts are contained here, the *Brda' Chen-mo*, and the *Brda'-lan*.
- [A1d1/D2] *Brda' Brul-tsho Bdun-pa* (or, *Mkha'-'gro-ma Rdo-rje Gsang-ba'i Glu*). Vol.
- [A1d1/D3] *Mkha'-'gro Brda'i Mgur-chung*. Vol. 1, pp. 301-309.
- [A1d1/D4] *Brda' Bam-po Lnga-pa* (or, *Mkha' 'gro-ma Brda'i Mgur*). Vol. 1, pp. 309-316. This brings to an end the subgroup of texts called *Brda' Skor Rnam-pa Bzhi* [*The Four Symbolic Cycle Texts*].
- [????/??] *Thugs-kyi Gsang-ba Glur Blangs-pa* [or, *Thig-le Dag-pa'i 'Phreng-ba*]. An account of 80 male and female Siddha/âs. This brings the subgroup of texts called *Don Skor Chen-mo* to an end. Vol. 1, pp. 317-330.
- [A1d1/D5] *Grub-thob Lnga-bcu'i Rtogs-brjod* (or, *Thig-le 'Od-kyi 'Phreng-ba*). This account of 50 Siddha/âs, together with the following, marked as belonging to the *Don Skor 'Bring-po*. Vol. 1, pp. 331-340.
- [A1d1/D6] *Grub-thob Bzhi-bcu'i Rtogs-brjod* (or, *Thig-le Gser-gyi 'Phreng-ba*). Account of 40 Siddha/âs. Vol. 1, pp. 341-350.
- [A1d1/D7] *Mkha'-'gro-ma Sum-bcu-rtsa-lnga'i Mgur*. Songs of 35 .Dâkinîs. Vol. 1, pp. 351-358.
- [A1d1/D8] *Mkha'-'gro-ma'i 'Byam Glu*. Vol. 1, pp. 359-367.
- [A1d2] *Snyan-brgyud Rnam Bzhi* [*Four Oral Transmissions*]. Vol. 1, pp. 369-416.
- [A1d2/A] *Mchog-gi Snyan-brgyud; Mkha'-'gro-ma Dbang Bzhi'i Gdams-pa* (or, *Rin-po-che Dbang-gi 'Khor-lo Gsal-ba*). Vol. 1, pp. 370-376, but on pp. 377-383 would seem to be a transcription of words of Kunga? Needs more work.
- [A1d2/B] *Thun-mong-gi Snyan-brgyud; Do-ha Rdo-rje Gsang Mgur*. Song by Saraha. Vol. 1, pp. 383-404.
- [A1d2/C] *Sa-ra-ha'i Brda' Bran Rnam-pa Bdun*. Despite the title, there seem to be 18 dohâs contained here. Vol. 1, pp. 405-410.
- [A1d2/D] *Mkha'-'gro-ma Thams-cad-kyi Gsang-ba Man-ngag-gi Rgyud*. A four-chapter tantra text. Vol. 1, pp. 411-416.
- Overall, these texts may be dated roughly prior to the year 1100, with most of them being older (some very much older). P. 264 has perhaps the only date in this layer of the PC, a Pig year date when the immediately preceding texts were 'set down on white paper' (probably referring to the date the Tibetan translation [and not the Indian original] was 'set down', a comment in vol. 2, p. 135, says the Pig year is a Water Pig year, for which 1083 CE is the latest possible date, although this is still quite problematic). Vol. 1, pp. 1-462 (the entire volume). Note: There is an important colophon, at p. 416, which among other things supplies a very general outline to the layers B through E.
- [A2] Several commentarial texts. Vol. 1, pp. 417-462 and vol. 2, pp. 1-137.
- [A2a] *Mchog Brgyud-kyi Brda' 'Grol* (or, *Brda'-lan*). Vol. 1, pp. 417-462.
- [A2b] *Dri-med Shel-sgong-gi Bshad-'bum*, or *Rin-chen Zla-ba'i Thigs-pa*). A commentary on A1d1/B3.
- [A2c] *Ngo-mtshar Brgyud-pa'i Bshad-'bum*. A commentary on A1d1/C. There are indications that all three of these texts were all set down by Patsab (1077-1158), and therefore rightly belong to Layer C (but A2a has no colophon information). Vol. 2, pp. 1-137.

B. *Responsa (Zhu-lan)*. This second layer represents oral statements by Phadampa transcribed by his chief Tibetan interpreter named Kunga. We may call these 'responsa' texts, since they are nearly all in the format of questions and answers. With one exception, they must have been put down in writing before Phadampa's death in 1117. Vol. 2, pp. 138-484, vol. 3, pp. 1-92.

- [B1] *Phyag-rgya-chen-po Brda'i Skor Gsum*, or, *Brda'i Zhus-lan Skor Gsum*. Vol. 2, pp. 138-178.
- [B1a] *Sku'i Rnam-dag Brdar Bstan-pa*. Vol. 2, pp. 138-152.
- [B1b] *Gsung-gi Brjod-bya Brdar Bstan-pa*. Vol. 2, pp. 153-164 (pages entirely out of order in the reprint edition).
- [B1c] *Thugs-kyi Dgongs-nyams Brdar Bstan-pa*. Vol. 2, pp. 165-177.
- [B2] *Don-gyi Zhu-lan Drug*, in 6 parts. Vol. 2, pp. 179-358.
- [B2a] *Thugs-kyi Me-long*. Vol. 2, pp. 179-209.
- [B2b] *Gsung-gi Me-long*. Vol. 2, pp. 211-232.
- [B2c] *Sku'i Me-long*. Vol. 2, pp. 233-270.

- [B2d] *Yon-tan-gyi Zhu-lan*. Vol. 2, pp. 271-314.
 [B2e] *Gnad-kyi Zhu-lan*. Vol. 2, pp. 315-336.
 [B2f] *Phrin-las-kyi Zhu-lan*. Vol. 2, pp. 337-358.
- [B3] (*Bshu-gu'i Chos-sde Drug-las*, *Gnyis-pa 'Khrig-ma Sdong-po'i Chos-sde*) *Pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa'i Don Rgyud Skor Gsum*, *Shes-rab Snying-po'i Don 'Grel dang Bzhi*. Four brief Prajñāpāramitā-related texts put in letters by Kunga. Vol. 2, pp. 359-379.
- [B4] *Brul-tsho'i Skor* (*Bshu-gu'i Chos-sde Drug-las*, *Gsum-pa Gyes-pa Yal-ga'i Chos-sde*, *Brul-tsho Nyi-shu-rtsa-bzhi-pa*). Vol. 2, pp. 380-393.
- [B5] *Bshu-gu'i Chos-sde Drug-las*, *Bzhi-pa Mdzes-pa'i Me-tog* [remainder illeg.]. Vol. 2, pp. 394-422.
- [B6] *Dkar-po Dung-gi Cho-lu*. Vol. 2, pp. 423-439.
- [B7] *Dmug-po Mchong-gi Skor*. (Phadampa's words of advice for individual women.) Vol. 2, pp. 440-460.
- [B8] *Gser Sa-le-sbaram*. Vol. 2, pp. 461-464.
- [B9] *Bai-du-rya G.yu'i Chu-mig*. Vol. 2, pp. 464-469.
- [B10] *Mtshon-dpe Chen-mo*. Vol. 2, pp. 470-484.
- [B11] *Dri-med Bshu-gu'i Chos-sde Drug-las*, *Lnga-pa Rlubs-pa Lo-'dab-kyi Chos-skor*. Contains 15 titles, as follows (there are supposed to be 16; for the 16th, see E1). Vol. 3, pp. 1-92.
- [B11a] *Long-gtam Thug-chol-gyi Skor* (*Dri-med Bshu-gu'i Chos-sde Drug-las*, *Lnga-pa Rlubs-pa Lo-'dab-kyi Chos-skor*, *xx-brgyud-du Bzhugs-pa-las*, *Dang-po Long-gtam Thug-chol-gyi Skor*). Vol. 3, pp. 1-14.
- [B11b] *Snying-gtam Me-btsa'i Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 14-16.
- [B11c] *Zhus-pa Lan-gyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 16-32.
- [B11d] *Thabs-lam Gnad-du Bkros-pa'i Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 32-36.
- [B11e] *Btso-ma G.ya' dang Bral-ba'i Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 36-39.
- [B11f] *Long-gtam Khro-lu'i Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 40-45.
- [B11g] *'Phra-gcod A-ti Bdun-pa'i Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 45-51.
- [B11h] *'Phra-gcod Thugs-kyi Dgongs-nyams-kyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 52-61.
- [B11i] *Snying-gtam Bzhi-pa'i Skor*. Vol. 3, p. 61-64.
- [B11j] *Brtse-sems Zhal-ta'i Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 65-71.
- [B11k] *Gya-log Gnad-kyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 72-73.
- [B11l] *Shugs-kyi Dgongs-nyams-kyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 73-75.
- [B11m] *Bsam-gtan Spungs-pa*, *Sems-'dzin-gyi-skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 75-81.
- [B11n] *Zhal-chems-kyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 81-84.
- [B11o] *Bla-ma Byang-chub-sems-dpa'i Zhal-chems-kyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 84-92.

Note: Parts A and B together (or each separately?) likely would have made up a very early stage of the manuscript collection, no longer extant, which would have been collected and in large part authored by Kunga (minus the initiation texts by Zhigpo and the *bshad-'bum* commentaries by Patsab, of course), probably between the death of Phadampa in 1117 and Kunga's death 7 years later.

C. *Inset Dots* (*Phra-t[h]ig*). In 5 parts. It was put together from the words of Kunga by his disciple Patsab. Vol. 3, pp. 92-205.

- [C1] *First Inset Dot*. *Shes-rab Snying-po'i Bshad-'bum*. An analytical commentary on the Heart Sūtra, evidently by Kunga. Vol. 3, pp. 92-122.
- [C2] *Second Inset Dot*. *Mtha'-sel-gyi Spyad-pa*. An 8-part text on Prajñāpāramitā. Vol. 3, pp. 123-146. In the preambles to this and the following text we find two lineage accounts ending with 'ego', an unnamed disciple of Zhig-po.
- [C3] *Third Inset Dot*. *Gnad-gags-kyi Bshad-pa*. Vol. 3, pp. 147-165.
- [C4] *Fourth Inset Dot*. *Lag-khrid-kyi Bshad-pa*. Vol. 3, pp. 166-190.
- [C5] *Fifth Inset Dot*. *Mdzad-pa Bcu-gnyis-kyi Lo-rgyus*. A life of Shākyamuni Buddha. Vol. 3, pp. 191-205.

D. *Cloth Sifter* (*Dar-tshags*). It was put together from the words of Patsab by his disciple Tenne. Vol. 3, pp. 206-496; & vol. 4, pp. 1-301. It should have three main parts:

- [D1] *Cloth Sifter* (*Dar-tshags*). It is supposed to have 8 parts (but not so many titles were located so far). Vol. 3, p. 206 through vol. 4, p. 78.
- [D1a] *Dar-tshags Rnam-pa Brgyad-las*, *Bdud-rtsi Zhu-ma'i Skor*. Is supposed to have 108 chapters. Vol. 3, pp. 206-242.

- [D1b] *Dar-tshags Rnam-pa Brgyad-las, Bdud-rtsi Yang-zhun-gyi Skor*. Vol. 3, pp. 303-350.
- [D1c] *Dar-tshags Gser-gyi Spyian-can*. Vol. 3, pp. 351-382.
- [D1d] *Dar-tshags Dngul-gyi Spyian-can*. Vol. 3, pp. 383-436.
- [D1e] *Dar-tshags G.yu'i Spyian-can* (also known as '*Phrul-gyi Me-long*'). Vol. 3, pp. 437-496.
- [D1f] *Dar-tshags De-nyid Brgya-rtsa* (also known as '*Phrul-gyi Spyian-can*'). Vol. 4, pp. 1-32. This title was 'arranged' (*bkod-pa*) by Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje. There are some very brief appended texts on pp. 33-34.
- [D1g] *Sbur-ma 'Dra* ('Like Chaff?' — in colophon, *Dar-tshags 'Phra-yig-can*). Record of Patsab's precepts given to Tenne. Also by Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje. Vol. 4, pp. 33-78.
- [D2] *Fine Cloth Sifter (Zhib-mo Dar-tshags*, a cycle said to have 8 parts). Vol. 4, pp. 78 [last line]-248.
- [D2a] *Mya-ngan-'das Chung*. This is a poetic oration by Tenne at the funeral of Patsab in 1158. Vol. 4, pp. 79-87. Brief appended text on p. 88.
- [D2b] *Gyes-pa Yal-ga'i Chos-sde-las, Bru-tsho Nyi-shu-rtsa-bzhi'i Bshad-'dus, Bla-ma Rje-btsun-gyis mdzad-pa*. This seems to be a commentary (*bshad-'bum*) on the Brul-tsho text (B4) listed above (and the just given title indicates that it was authored by Tenne). Vol. 4, pp. 89-248.
- [D3] *Miscellaneous Instructions (Zhal-gdams Thu-ru'i Skor)*. Vol. 4, pp. 249-301.
- [D3a] *Zhal-gdams Thu-ru'i Skor* (?). This text is full of Nyingma terminology. Vol. 4, pp. 249-286.
- [D3b] *Zhal-gdams Pad-mo'i Phreng-ba*. A medical text. Vol. 4, pp. 287-291.
- [D3c] *Bla-ma Sku-drin-can-gyi Gsung-sgras Lam Lnga Chos-kyi 'Khor-lo*. There are two brief texts here, both devoted to the five Paths of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The title indicates that it preserves the words of Patsab. Vol. 4, pp. 293-301.

E. Historical section. Here there are two works:

- [E1] *Jo-mo Nyi-shu-rtsa-bzhi'i Zhu-lan Lo-rgyus dang bcas-pa*. This was put down by Kunga, and therefore actually belongs to Layer B (more precisely, according to an added note on its last page, it belongs to B10). The first half is a responsa text, while the second half is a collective biography of twenty-four women (Jo-mo, or Ma-jo) disciples of Phadampa. Vol. 4, pp. 302-323.
- [E2] Untitled *gtam-rgyud*. This is a very important history of the Later Peacemaking Lineage by Zhig-po Rin-chen-shes-rab (1171-1245). Vol. 4, pp. 324-432. The topic outline near the beginning shows that this work was originally supposed to cover five topics, of which the *gtam-rgyud* is the only one that exists in any detail (the other four topics are rushed through on pp. 431-2), suggesting that it could be an unfinished work.

F. *Zhu-lan Thugs-kyi Me-long-gi Bshad-'bum Chen-mo* / Bla-ma Rje-btsun-gyis yi-ger bkod-pa'o (*The Great Commentary on the Responsa Text 'Heart Mirror,'* put into letters by Lama Jetsun). Vol. 5, pp. 1-527.

Note: The entire fifth volume is made up an extremely detailed commentary (*bshad-'bum*) on one of the *responsa* texts in Layer B (B2a), by a difficult to identify person Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (referred to on the title page as Bla-ma Rje-btsun). Identifying this Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (full 'title' and name as it is consistently given in all but one of the signed works is: *gsang-sngags 'dzin-pa'i rnal-'byor-pa* Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje) would be a key to dating the manuscript as a whole. Since other shorter works by this Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje are included at the end of Layer D1, might it be that this one was left for the end because of its relative length? (Other commentarial works are in fact placed in proximity to the works on which they comment.) Zhigpo's colophon in vol. 1 would suggest that this particular *bshad-'bum* text was considered to be in a class by itself.

The Highland Vinaya Lineage:

A Study of a Twelfth-Century Monastic Historical Source, the 'Transmission Document' by Zhing-mo-che-ba.*

Dan Martin

In the course of compiling a bibliography of Tibetan writings belonging to historical genres,¹ a passage was located in the chronological study by Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho which, according to the author, was written by an early member of the Highland Vinaya (Stod 'Dul) lineage named Zhing-mo-che-ba Byang-chub-seng-ge. At the time, there were very few readily available clues about the identity and dating of the author, and even after further research very little information about him could be found. There was also a question whether this work actually belongs to one of the historical genres. If it is just a 'document', as implied in the descriptive 'title' given it by Mang-thos, it might not even belong in a listing of generically 'historical' works. Therefore it was omitted from the published bibliography.

But then, even if this work might not be marked by any of the typical genre-terms, it should nevertheless have been included since it is a quite early work with clear relevance for the history of *vinaya* lineages, with important information and views on the teaching and translation of some of the main *vinaya* texts. There were of course other *vinaya* historical narratives of earlier or comparable age available in the past, like those of Klu-mes Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, Klu-mes' disciple Ba-shi Gnas-brtan, Khu-ston Brtson-'grus-g.yung-drung (1011-1075) and Dbon Bi-ci,² but they are available to us now only in the form of brief citations and/or paraphrases in later histories (even though they could be preserved intact somewhere). By putting together two long and overlapping citations of Zhing-mo-che-ba's work, we have hope of achieving what very well could be a complete narrative which, among other matters to be discussed here, may be shown to belong to the twelfth century.³

One might wonder that there has been so little serious critical research into the historical narratives on the late-tenth to twelfth-century spread of monastic vows. Some years ago, the study of the Lowland Vinaya had a very promising start with two articles and a master's thesis by Craig Watson. Another quite noteworthy and informative contribution on the Lowland Vinaya is to be found embedded in Leonard van der Kuijp's article on the early abbots of Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog. For general Western Tibetan history, the recent book by Roberto Vitali must serve as our basic guide, and if there are minor disagreements with one or two points buried in his footnotes these have to be kept in perspective, since this is simply the best study on the subject there is.⁴

The Highland Vinaya is one of those evidently tangential topics given brief coverage in most of the Tibetan Dharma histories. It would appear that one of the main motives for their interest is the strong probability that monastic ordinations had taken place already in Western Tibet some years prior to the return of the ordained men of Central Tibet from their ordinations in Amdo. Since most of the history writers believe in, or rather assume, the centrality of the

central Tibetan provinces, they find the greatest historical significance in the reappearance of ordained monks there, and so, the larger parts of their narratives are devoted to the Lowland Vinaya. Still, as an interesting side question they do look into the possibility that ordinations had already occurred in Western Tibet some years before. In fact, this conclusion seems entirely warranted in the biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po, where we find that he was ordained as a novice already in his thirteenth year, in 970.⁵ But even given that this ordination took place in that year, he was ordained by one Legs-pa-bzang-po, who is otherwise completely unknown,⁶ and is not included in any of the Tibetan records of *vinaya* lineages. Thus it seems that Rin-chen-bzang-po's ordination was a 'dead end' as far as the later *vinaya* transmissions are concerned, despite his significance for the Tibetan historians by virtue of being the first post-imperial-period figure to renounce the householder's life, thereby initiating the period of the Second Spread (Phyi Dar).⁷

At the same time, the date of first entry of the monks of the Lowland Tradition into Central Tibet is itself far from decided; in fact this was a conundrum for traditional historians, as it remains for us today. The authors of *Blue Annals* and *New Red Annals*, although they list a number of widely differing opinions, base themselves on a statement of 'Brom-ston-pa⁸ and so tend toward the conclusion that this event occurred in the year 978. In order to avoid going into all the chronological complexities we should agree to settle for this date for the time being.

In fact, when we speak of a Highland Vinaya lineage, we may be speaking in general terms, to mean *any* monastic vows taken in Western Tibet in the days of the Phyi Dar (including the self-ordinations undertaken by Western Tibetan royalty), or we may be speaking more specifically about the ordination lineage from Dharmapâla which continued into following centuries. This Highland Vinaya lineage was, by Zhing-mo-che-ba's own account, introduced later than the Lowland Vinaya. For the remainder of this paper we will employ the term Highland Vinaya in its stricter sense, to mean the specific lineage, and in order to better understand the positive information in Zhing-mo-che-ba's work and to arrive at a reasonably secure date for its author, we will need to have a closer look at this lineage.

The dating of Dharmapâla's entry into Western Tibet cannot be established with any real certainty, but to base ourselves on the Zhing-mo-che-ba account, it would have to have been after the initial foundations of Tho-ling in 996, although the consecration of the completed temple took place only in 1028.⁹ He was invited by Lha Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, but the latter's dates are not very securely established. Vitali (*Kingdoms*, p. 183) suggests the dates 947 through 1024. If this is so, Dharmapâla could have come to Tibet any time between 997 and 1024. A late tradition, again found only in Padma-dkar-po's and Ngor-pa's histories, supplies a story about how Dharmapâla was on pilgrimage to the holy sites of the Kathmandu Valley where he suffered terribly from a fever, and was told that the sight of the snow mountains would cure him. Ye-shes-'od then learned of his presence and invited him to Western Tibet.¹⁰ About Dharmapâla's activities in Tho-ling we are told very nearly nothing, and there is hardly any indication of the

length of his stay. Zhing-mo-che-ba does tell us that he brought at least one Indian *vinaya* manuscript with him, and also makes it appear that Dharmapâla's ordination of the Three Pâlas, Sadhûpâla, Guṇapâla and Prajñâpâla, took place after his arrival in Tho-ling. Even with their Indian names, they might therefore, and for all we know, have been Tibetans. Of the later sources, only Bu-ston's history has Prajñâpâla accompanying Dharmapâla on his entry into Western Tibet,¹¹ but his brief paragraph otherwise seems nothing more than a severely condensed paraphrase of Zhing-mo-che-ba's work.

Of the Three Pâlas, it was Prajñâpâla who ordained Zhang-zhung-pa Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab. In the 'Transmission Document' proper there is no explicit testimony that Zhang-zhung-pa had any personal contact with Dharmapâla, although it is said that he learned the practices of Dharmapâla. We wouldn't have any sure way of dating Zhang-zhung-pa's *floruit* if it were not for Zhing-mo-che-ba's account. In it we may know that Zhang-zhung-pa, well after his ordination, and after a period of *vinaya* study in Nepal, gave *vinaya* explanations to Byang-chub-'od who began rule of Western Tibet in 1037, and that he received *vinaya* teachings from Atiśa himself. This evidence means that Zhang-zhung-pa was still active well into the decade of the 1040's, and there is further evidence (in a footnote, below) that he might have been working in the later 1050's. The *Mnga'-ris Rgyal-rabs* is alone in placing him at the famous Dharma conference of 1076. Despite the doubts expressed in a footnote by Vitali,¹² it seems that he could have attended. Dharmapâla, as far as we know could have arrived in Tho-ling as late as the early 1020's, and one monastic generation intervened between him and Zhang-zhung-pa.

Nowhere in his work (in the form in which we have it) does Zhing-mo-che-ba state his own name, or explicitly state his relationship to the lineage he describes. He does name two disciples of Zhang-zhung-pa, but in an allusive manner, as the two teachers with names ending in Blo-gros and Shes-rab. The first, even if he might be identifiable, is nonetheless obscure. The second is definitely Dpal-'byor-shes-rab (his name appears again, although adjusted to fit the metre), better known because of his translations of *vinaya* texts.

The few brief 'external' references to Zhing-mo-che-ba which we have traced are rather frustrating in the sense that they do not supply us with any definite chronological coordinates. He surfaces briefly in the biography of Zhang-ston Dgra-'jigs as found in the biographies of the fasting rite teachers, and in the same passage as mirrored in a few later historical sources,¹³ where Zhing-mo-che-ba requests that Zhang-ston begin performing ordinations. The early Tibetan members of the fasting rite lineage are otherwise rather obscure, and no dates are given for them in the collective biographies.¹⁴ There is a rather more promising passage in the Sde-dge Bka'-'gyur catalog mirroring an earlier passage in a work of Padma-dkar-po (located thanks to a tip from E. Gene Smith),¹⁵ which tells us that Zhing-mo-che-ba Byang-chub-seng-ge searched all over Central Tibet for texts of the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*, in order to add in sections that were missing in some manuscripts, but present in others. Putting the scant clues provided by these passages together with some brief lineage accounts of the Highland Vinaya, we

may still arrive at the dissatisfyingly vague conclusion that Zhing-mo-che-ba's work must date to the twelfth century.

If we then look at some internal evidence, Zhing-mo-che-ba devotes the first third of his work to a treatment of the Lowland Vinaya lineage, and more specifically an educational lineage beginning with Gzus Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan that passed down to Rgya 'Dul-'dzin Dbang-phyug-tshul-khrims-'bar. Rgya 'Dul-'dzin's dates are known from the *Blue Annals* to be 1047-1131. Orphaned as a child, he was left at a monastery. The monks however found his appearance repulsive, so they turned him out, saying he was so ugly he might cause harm to the local inhabitants and their crops. He found another monastery, and by the age of thirty-six he was considered an expert in *vinaya* study. In the last years of his life, he gave talks on *vinaya* subjects five times a day. His presence in Zhing-mo-che-ba's work would appear to place its composition somewhere in the first half of the twelfth century.

Zhing-mo-che-ba's work may be simply divided into three parts. The first part, on the *vinaya* teaching transmission of the Lowland Vinaya is found only in the chronological study by Mang-thos. The second part, on the origins of the Highland Vinaya transmission, is in both Mang-thos and the *Blue Annals*. The third part, on Zhang-zhung-pa and the *vinaya* translations done by him and his disciples is found only in the *Blue Annals*. Although the whole work is in verse form, it strikes one immediately that part one is told in a spare and unadorned style, and includes a few coldly dismissive words. Part two and the beginning of part three are, on the contrary, full of glowing adjectives and metaphorical adornments. In short, it exhibits a structure very familiar to many of us in later Tibetan sectarian polemic, first disparaging the opposing school and then heaping the highest praise on ones own. But we cannot summarily dismiss his work as a 'simple' polemic, unless we are able to establish for certain that there was no truth to his characterizations. A close study makes plain that Zhing-mo-che-ba was not so much interested in *vinaya* ordination lineages *per se*, but rather in the traditions of explaining the main *vinaya* texts. If we just look at the colophons of *vinaya* texts in the Kanjur and Tanjur, we may see that their *most* active Tibetan translators in Phyi Dar times were in fact Zhang-zhung-pa and his disciple Dpal-'byor-shes-rab,¹⁶ and this is borne out as well in the last part of Zhing-mo-che-ba's work. Dpal-'byor-shes-rab in particular was personally familiar with the *vinaya* explanations of the Lowland Vinaya, since he is also listed among the main *vinaya* disciples of Rgya 'Dul-'dzin. It seems therefore quite certain that Zhing-mo-che-ba, as a student of Dpal-'byor-shes-rab, would have been well aware of differences between the two schools in their *vinaya* exegeses. It also seems he could have preferred, even *perhaps* with some justice, the 'short transmission' of *vinaya* education that Zhang-zhung-pa received from his Nepalese teachers to the 'long transmission' of the Lowland Vinaya, since the Lowland Vinaya tradition of learning could have suffered from disruption and diminishment during the post-imperial times. For the moment it seems we may do little more than raise the question.

There are a number of grey areas and even dark spots in our knowledge of the Highland Vinaya, and some apparently contradictory testimonies in the sources.

One particular problem emerges when closely comparing the *vinaya* lineages traced in the Dharma histories. Although some of them do supply the same basic lineage as found in Zhing-mo-che-ba's text (and in fact often seem to be based on it), still other Dharma histories, starting already with that by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, give a quite different ordination lineage, one which includes not only Dharmapāla and Zhang-zhung-pa, but Gzus Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan as well, the very person whose school is so severely discredited by Zhing-mo-che-ba.¹⁷ Dpa'-bo Rin-po-che¹⁸ could even state very plainly, although without supplying any evidence, that since the time of Gzus Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan the teaching lineages of the Highland and Lowland Vinayas had joined in a single stream. Zhing-mo-che-ba's account by itself would seem to supply strong arguments against that statement.

This text, rather fortuitously passed down to us in two pieces that could be joined together, reveals to us that *vinaya* studies in those days could be taken seriously enough to provoke polemics, that there were schools of specialists in *vinaya* studies that became aware of their exegetical differences. At the same time it may help in explaining why the Dharma histories continued down through the centuries to speak of a split between Highland and Lowland Vinaya even long after the Highland Vinaya had diminished in numbers.¹⁹ The main point of this study is just that, in its reconstituted form, this is probably the earliest somehow 'complete' historical narrative of the *vinaya* renaissance that we have. For this reason alone, it would deserve the close attention of students of Tibetan and *vinaya* history. As the author of the *Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston* said, in the middle of the sixteenth century, after summarizing Zhing-mo-che-ba's work, "While the Highland Vinaya was renowned for being very pure [and correct], it is feared that its ordination lineage is one that has meanwhile been dispersed and broken off."²⁰

An edition of the Tibetan text, followed by an annotated translation, is presented below:

* * *

Tibetan Text Edition.

In two places we find direct quotations from a work by Zhing-mo-che Byang-chub-seng-ge. The first quotation is in Mang-thos, *Bstan-rtsis*. Here, an at least partial (perhaps merely descriptive) title is given: *Brgyud-rim-gyi Yi-ge*, and the author is called a disciple of Zhang-zhung-pa Rgyal-she (i.e., Rgyal-ba-shes-rab). An English translation of the second quotation is found in *Blue Annals*, p. 84-87, which may be compared with the English translation given below.

Source: Mang-thos, *Bstan-rtsis*, pp. 78-80:

stod 'dul ni | lo chen dang bla ma ye shes 'od kyi sku tshe'i smad la | rgya gar
shar phyogs kyi paṇḍi ta dharmā pā la spyān drangs 'dul ba'i bstan pa spel ba
las | mkhan bu pā la nam gsum ste | sa dhū pā la | gu ṇa pā la | pradznyiā pā
la'o | pradznyiā pā la'i mkhan bu zhang zhung pa rgyal ba shes rab ste | des

dharmâ pâ la nyams len dang / bram ze 'dul 'dzin pre ta ka ra la phyag len
bslabs pas sgrub brgyud kyi bla ma nam pa gnyis |

shrî dznyan dha ra dang | shrî su bhudhi shanti la gzhung gi bshad pa gtso bor
gsan pas bshad brgyud kyi bla ma gnyis so |

de ltar 'dul ba la brgyud pa gnyis yod pas stod 'dul ba nam ni | rgya gar nas
bshad sgrub kyi brgyud pa bar ma chad pas phyag len dang bshad pa [p. 79]
sogs khungs btsun la | smad 'dul ba nam ni | gzus dang bla ma nam gsum
dang rgya 'dul la sogs pas bshad pa mang dag mdzad kyang | rang bzo ma
gtogs brgyud pa med pas khungs thub med do zhes zur za bar mdzad de | zhang
zhung pa rgyal she'i slob ma zhing mo che pa byang chub seng ges mdzad pa'i
brgyud rim gyi yi ge las |

bslab pa gsum las tshul khrims kyi | |
bslab pa ston pa 'dul ba yin | |
sde snod brgyud pa gnyis yin te | |
phyogs snga ma dang phyi ma'o | |
dang po bod kyi brgyud pa ste | |
dge slong rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyis | |
slob dpon med phyir gzhung nam la | |
lta rtog byas nas bshad pa mdzad | |
de la slob pa nam pa bzhi | |
dge slong tshul khrims 'byung gnas dang | |
tshul khrims byang chub dbus kyi'o | |
dge slong grags pa rgyal mtshan dang | |
shes rab 'od ni gtsang gi'o | |
de slob tshul khrims bla ma ste | |
tshul khrims 'byung gnas slob ma ni | |
dge slong rin chen bla ma'o | |
de gnyis slob ma che ba'i mchog | |
dge bshes dbang phyug tshul khrims yin | |
de yis blo yis brtag byas nas | |
dgag dgos rgyu mtshan mang po byas | |
tshul khrims bla mas yan lag dang | |
spyi don bsdu don bam po gsum | |
blo yis brtags nas yi ger bkod | |
de dag slob ma che ba ni | |
ye shes rgyan gyis mgo bsgre byas | |
slob dpon sun dbyung blo yis rtog | |
rgya gar brgyud pa med pa yin | |
de ni phyogs snga 'god pa'o | |

[Words of Mang-thos:] zhes smad 'dul la phyogs snga brjod nas dgag pa mang
dag mdzad rjes rang lugs 'jog pa na |

phyi ma mnga' ris 'dul 'dzin la ||
 rgya gar brgyud pa yod par bzhed ||
 de yang sgrub pa'i brgyud dang ni ||
 bshad pa'i brgyud dang mam pa gnyis || [80]
 sgrub pa'i brgyud pa 'di lta ste ||
 lha rgyal bla ma ye shes 'od ||
 'jam dpal sprul par rab grags pa ||
 de ni rtsa rgyud chen po las ||
 lung bstan thob pa tho ling gi ||
 dpe med lhun grub gtsug lag khang ||
 bzhengs nas rgya gar shar phyogs nas ||
 mkhas btsun snyan pa'i 'brug sgra can ||
 grags pa rgyal mtshan mthon po yis ||
 kun la gsal bar gyur pa yi ||
 dharma pâ la zhes bya ba ||
 ye shes 'od kyis spyen drangs nas ||
 thugs rje nyi mas rgyud skul nas ||
 bstan pa rin chen gnas bya'i phyir ||
 mkhan po mdzad nas sgrub brgyud spel ||
 de yi mkhan bu'i gtso bo gsum ||
 dge slong sa dhu pâ la dang ||
 jo bo gu ṇa pâ la dang ||
 dge slong pradnya pâ la'o ||
 pradnya pâ la'i mkhan bu ni ||
 zhang zhung yul gyi 'dul ba 'dzin ||
 dge slong rgyal ba'i shes rab ste ||
 tshul khriṃs g.yag gi rnga ma dang ||
 mig gi 'bras bu bzhiṇ du bsrungs ||
 yon tan rang bzhiṇ thams cad kyi ||
 rgyur gyur 'dul ba'i sde snod las ||
 mang du thos shing nges byas pa ||
 snyan pas nam mkha' sa steng khyab ||
 thugs rje'i sprin las chos char phab ||
 rab byung tha ma'i rgyud spangs nas ||
 bstan pa rin chen rgyas mdzad pa ||

[Closing words added by Mang-thos:] zhes
sogs bshad pa ltaṛ yin no ||

[End of Mang-thos account; *Blue Annals* continues:]

zhing mo che pa byang chub seng ges ||
 phyi ma mnga' ris 'dul 'dzin la ||
 rgya gar brgyud pa yod par bzhed ||
 de yang sgrub pa'i brgyud pa ni ||
 bshad pa'i brgyud dang mam pa gnyis ||
 sgrub pa'i brgyud pa 'di lta ste ||
 lha rgyal bla ma ye shes 'od ||
 'jam dpal sprul par grags pa ni ||
 de ni rtsa rgyud chen po las ||
 lung bstan thob pa tho ling gi ||
 dpe med lhun grub gtsug lag khang ||
 bzhengs nas rgya gar shar phyogs nas ||
 mkhas btsun snyan pa'i 'brug sgra can ||
 grags pa'i rgyal mtshan mthon po yis ||
 kun la gsal bar gyur pa yi ||
 dharma pâ la zhes bya ba ||
 ye shes 'od kyis spyen drangs nas ||
 thugs rje nyi mas rgyud bskul te ||
 bstan pa rin chen gnas bya'i phyir ||
 mkhan po mdzad nas sgrub brgyud spel ||
 de yi mkhan bu'i gtso bo gsum ||
 dge slong sâ dhu pâ la dang ||
 jo bo gu ṇa pâ la dang ||
 dge slong pradnya pâ la'o ||
 pradnya pâ la'i mkhan bu ni ||
 zhang zhung yul gyi 'dul ba 'dzin ||
 [missing]
 tshul khriṃs g.yag gi rnga ma dang ||
 mig gi 'bras bu bzhiṇ du bsrung ||
 yon tan rin chen thams cad kyi ||
 rgyur gyur 'dul ba'i sde snod la || [p. 77]
 mang du thos shing nges byas pas ||
 snyan pas nam mkha' sa stengs khyab ||
 thugs rje'i sprin las chos char phab ||
 rab byung tha ba'i rgyud spangs nas ||
 bstan pa rin chen rgyas mdzad pa ||

mtshan nas shin tu brjod dka' ba'i ||
 dge slong rgyal ba'i shes rab ste ||
 sgra skad tshig la legs bslabs pas ||

paṇḍi ta ni mang du bsten | |
 de yi yon tan dpag med pas | |
 rjes su dran na mchi ma bku | |
 ba spu ldang zhing dang ba skye | |
 skyes mchog de dang phrad par smon | |
 de yis dharma pâ la yi | | |
 nyams len bslabs nas phyi nas ni | |
 ne pa la yi yul gnas pa | |
 tshul khirms shin tu gces mdzad pa | |
 mkhas par rab grags bram ze yi | |
 'dul 'dzin pre ta ka ra la | |
 'dul ba'i phyag len thams cad bslabs | |
 sgrub brgyud bla ma rnam pa gnyis | |
 bshad pa'i brgyud pa mam pa gnyis | |
 'dzam gling grags pas khyab gyur pa | |
 mkhas pa mang las brgyud pa can | |
 dznyâ na shrî zhes grags pa las | |
 so so thar dang de yi 'grel | |
 'dul ba bsdus pa zhes bya ba | |
 dge slong rgyal ba'i shes rab kyis | |
 de la zhus nas 'gyur yang bcos | |
 gzhan yang dge slong de yis ni | |
 sum brgya pa dang de yi 'grel | |
 'od ldan zhes bya'i gzhung de ni | |
 kha che'i mkhas pa paṇḍi ta | |
 shrî su bhû ti shânti la | |
 dge slong dge blos bsgyur nas ni | |
 ma dag chad pa thams cad bcos | |
 yul dbus dpe dang bstun byas te | |
 thugs rjes rgyud brlan lha yi sras | |
 byang chub 'od kyi ngor bshad mdzad | |
 slob ma la phan zhes bya ba'i | |
 'grel pa des bsgyur de yis gsan | |
 de ming kha che paṇ chen grags | |
 dge tshul mams kyi kâ ri kâ | |
 sa manta shrî dznyâ na la | |
 zhus shing 'gyur yang legs bcos nas | |
 rgya gar kha che bal po yi | |
 rgya dpe gsum dang bstun byas nas | |
 dge slong rgyal shes bshad pa mdzad | |
 dge tshul gyi ni lo dri yang | |
 rgya dang bal po'i yul nas ni | |
 [78] spyang drangs tho ling byon pa na | |
 dharma pâ la'i rgya dpe gzigs | |
 kha che'i mkhan po na ra ya | |
 de ba la [de thal?] ni de zhus nas | |
 bsgyur zhing bshad pa dag kyang mdzad | |
 dge slong gi ni lo dri ba | |
 dge slong byang chub 'byung gnas kyis | |

zhus nas rgya gar shar phyogs kyi | |
 mkhas btsun grub thob grags khyab pa | |
 mtshan nas shin tu brjod dka' ba | |
 dī paṃ ka ra shrī dznyā na | |
 dge slong tshul khrims rgyal bas bsgyur | |
 de dag nams la zhang zhung gi | |
 'dul 'dzin chen pos zhus pa yin | |
 de la slob dpon blo gros dang | |
 shes rab mtha' can gnyis kyis zhus | |
 dge slong gi ni kâ ri kâ | |
 ne pa la yi paṇḍi ta | |
 lung dang rtogs pa'i bdag nyid can | |
 mkhas pa dza ya â kar las | |
 dge slong pradznyâ kīrttis bsgyur | |
 de la dpal gyi 'byor pas gsan | |
 dge 'dul bslab pa'i gzhi mdo ni | |
 kha che'i mkhas pa paṇḍi ta | |
 pa ra he ta zhes bya dang | |
 gdung rabs mang por brgyud pa yi | |
 ma hâ dza na zhes bya ba'i | |
 mkhas pa gnyis la tho ling du | |
 sgra skad byang ba'i lo tsâ ba | |
 dge slong gzhon nu mchog gis ni | |
 bsgyur nas de yi bshad pa mdzad | |
 de la slob dpon dpal gyi 'byor | |
 shes rab dag gis gsan pa yin | |

[Added words by author of *Blue Annals*:] zhes gsungs te | 'di ltar na
 dharma pâ la dang | pre ta ka lag len gyi brgyud par snang zhing | su
 bhû ti shrī shânti la sogs pa nams bshad pa'i brgyud pa'o | | 'dul ba
 'dzin pa'i lo rgyus kyi skabs so | | |

* * *

English translation.

[Introductory words by Mang-thos prefacing the citation:] The Highland Vinaya: In the latter halves of the lives of Lo-chen [Rin-chen-bzang-po] and Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od the eastern Indian pundit Dharmapâla was invited and furthered the *vinaya* teachings. His ordinands were Sadhupâla, Guṇapâla and Prajñâpâla. Prajñâpâla's ordinand was Zhang-zhung-pa Rgyal-ba-shes-rab. He studied the practical applications with Dharmapâla and the procedures with the brahmin Vinaya Holder Pretakara, these two teachers being the *bla-mas* of the accomplishment transmission. He studied primarily the textual explanations with Śrī Jñānadhara and Śrī Subhûtiśânti. Hence there were two *vinaya* transmissions [that flowed into the Highland Vinaya]. The disciple of Zhang-zhung-pa Rgyal-she, Zhing-mo-che-pa Byang-chub-seng-ge, composed the *Transmission Document* (*Brgyud-rim-gyi Yi-ge*). It puts things rather sarcastically in saying that, while the

followers of the Highland Transmission have unbroken lineages from India of both explanation and accomplishment transmissions and so have pure sources for their teaching and practice, the followers of the Lowland Transmission have no lineage except a mentally fabricated one, that even though there were many explanations by Gzus,²¹ the Three Lamas (*bla-ma mam gsum*),²² Rgya 'Dul[-'dzin] and others, they had no reliable source. It says:

Of the three learnings,²³ it is the *vinaya* that teaches the learning of moral discipline.
[The *vinaya*] basket has two transmissions — the earlier and the later divisions.
The first of these is a Tibetan transmission.
The Bhikṣu Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, since he did not have an [Indian] âcarya, looked at and thought about the texts, and then explained them.²⁴
He had four students — the Bhikṣus Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas and Tshul-khrims-byang-chub were of Dbus province, while the Bhikṣus Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Shes-rab-'od were of Gtsang province.
The student of the latter was Tshul-khrims-bla-ma,²⁵ and the student of Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas was Bhikṣu Rin-chen-bla-ma.
The best among the better students of those two was Dge-bshes Dbang-phyug-tshul-khrims.²⁶
He gained some general conceptual understanding which caused much reason for objection.
Tshul-khrims-bla-ma wrote out, based on his general conceptualizations, three volumes — the *Limbs*, the *General Treatment* and the *Summary*.²⁷
Their better student, Ye-shes-rgyan,²⁸ did likewise.
[They are marked by] their repudiation of [Indian] âcaryas, their general conceptualizations and their lack of Indian transmission.
That was the record of the earlier division.

Thus, calling the Lowland Vinaya the 'earlier division', after many objections, he puts forward his own tradition [as follows]:

The later [transmission], the *vinaya* holders of Mnga'-ris, are claimed to have an Indian transmission.
It has two aspects, the accomplishment transmission and the explanation transmission.
The accomplishment transmission is as follows:
The divine royal Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od was known to be an emanation of Mañjuśrī, since he was so prophesied in the *Great Root Tantra*.²⁹

After he built the Dpe-med-lhun-grub Gtsug-lag-khang,³⁰
he invited Dharmapâla, an eastern Indian,³¹
who had become known to all
through the high banner of his renown,
the thunder of his reputation for learning, and his pure conduct.
When Ye-shes-'od invited him,
he was moved by the sun of his compassion.
To ensure the endurance of the precious teachings
he served as ordinator, advancing the accomplishment transmission.

The three chief among his ordinands were
Bhikṣu Sâdhupâla,
the Elder Guṇapâla and
Bhikṣu Prajñâpâla.
The ordinand of Prajñâpâla was
the *vinaya* holder of Zhang-zhung country
Bhikṣu Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab.
He protected the moral disciplines like
the yak its tail, like the iris of the eye.
He learned much about the *vinaya* basket,
the main cause of all esteemed qualities,
and gained certainty in his learning.
Because of this his fame pervaded earth and sky,
and the Dharma fell down like rain from his compassion cloud.
Departing from the tradition of rigid/fallow renunciation,
he made the jewel-like teachings spread.

He whose name is difficult to release from the lips,
the Bhikṣu Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab,
well learned in words, speech and grammar,
studied with many pundits.
His good qualities were so far beyond belief
just thinking about him brings tears to the eyes,
gives you gooseflesh, arouses veneration.
May we meet with this great personage [in a future life].
After he had learned the practices of Dharmapâla,
he later on studied all the *vinaya* procedures
with a resident of Nepal,
a brahmin well known for his learning
who held dearly to the moral disciplines,
the Vinaya Holder Pretakara.

He came to be known throughout Jambu Island,
with transmissions from many of the learned of his day,
including two teachers in the accomplishment transmission
and two teachers in the explanation transmission.

The one known as Jñânaśrī³² was requested
by Bhikṣu Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab to teach

the *Pratimokṣa* and its commentary
known as the *Vinaya Summary* ('*Dul-ba Bsdus-pa*),
which they then translated and proofed.

Besides this, the Bhikṣu
corrected all the imperfections and mistakes
in the translation by the Kashmir scholar pundit
Śrī Subhūtiśānti
and the Bhikṣu Dge-blo³³
of the *Three Hundreds* (*Sum-brgya-pa*) and
its commentary the *Light Possessed* ('*Od-ldan*).
Referring to a manuscript from Magadha
he explained it in the presence of Byang-chub-'od,³⁴
the divine prince whose mind was moist with compassion.
The latter also heard him explain the same's translation
of the commentary called *Help for Students* (*Slob-ma-la Phan*).³⁵

He requested from and translated with
Samantaśrījñāna
the *Verses of Novices* (*Dge-tshul-mams-kyi Kâ-ri-kâ*)
of one known by the name Kashmir's Great Pundit (Kha-che Paṇ-chen).³⁶
After proofing it, then comparing it with three Indic manuscripts
from India, Kashmir and Nepal,
he, Bhikṣu Rgyal-she, gave teachings on it.

When he arrived in Tho-ling bringing with him
Indian and Nepalese copies of the
Questions of First Year Novices (*Dge-tshul-gyi ni Lo Dri*),³⁷
he viewed the Indic manuscript of Dharmapāla,
worked with the Kashmiri Ordinator Narayadeva,
then translated and made correct teachings based on it.

At the request of Bhikṣu Byang-chub-'byung-gnas,
the Bhikṣu Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba translated
Questions of First Year Bhikṣus (*Dge-slong-gi ni Lo Dri-ba*)³⁸
with the widely known, learned and disciplined accomplished master (*grub-thob*) of
eastern India
whose name is with difficulty allowed through the lips,
Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna.
From them the Great Vinaya Holder
of Zhang-zhung requested teachings.
From the latter the two teachers with names ending in Blo-gros and Shes-rab
requested teachings.

The *Bhikṣu Verses* (*Dge-slong-gi ni Kâ-ri-kâ*)
were translated by Bhikṣu Prajñākīrti
with the Nepalese pundit —
a personage of spiritual authority and realization —
the scholar Jayākara.

Dpal-gyi-'byor-pa learned it from him.³⁹

*The Basic Sûtra of Novices' Vinaya Advice (Dge 'Dul Bslab-pa'i Gzhi Mdo)*⁴⁰
was translated and explained
by the translator, learned in languages,
Bhikṣu Gzhon-nu-mchog
at Tho-ling with the two scholars—
Paraheta,⁴¹ the Kashmiri scholar pundit, and
Mahâjana,⁴² who had many lineages from his ancestors.

From him the teacher Dpal-gyi-'byor-shes-rab⁴³
learned it properly.

So it says. It would appear that Dharmapâla and Pretaka passed on the
practice transmission, while Subhûtiśrîśânti and the rest passed on the
explanation transmission.

This was the section on the history of *vinaya* holders.

* Dedicated to my brother, Stephen Jay Martin. Thanks are due primarily to Leonard van der Kuijp and E. Gene Smith for influencing the direction of this paper, and for supplying important literary sources that would not have been available otherwise, as well as to Helmut Eimer and David Germano for useful suggestions. One important point should be made at the outset. In studying the Tibetan *vinaya* lineages, it is sometimes important to distinguish 'ordination lineages' (*mkhan brgyud*) from 'educational lineages' (*bshad brgyud*). Only the ordination lineage involves the transmission of monastic vows (all the *vinaya* lineages mentioned herein are ordination lineages, it may be assumed, unless otherwise specified, but note also that the text of Zhing-mo-che-ba prefers to use the words *sgrub brgyud*, 'accomplishment transmission,' an expression with a history of its own, although in this context it refers mainly to the traditional *vinaya* practices). An educational lineage is a tradition of explaining the main *vinaya* scriptures and commentaries.

¹Martin, *Tibetan Histories*.

²These are listed in what at present seems to have been their chronological order. To these we might add still another unavailable work by Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus-seng-ge (see Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, no. 15), since Bu-ston does refer to a monastic narrative by him in his own Dharma history. There is also a brief mid- or late-twelfth-century history (not listed in Martin, *Tibetan Histories*) of the educational lineage of the Lowland Vinaya composed by a member of the same lineage named Thub-pa-shes-rab, who might tentatively date to *circa* 1200, which survives because it was embedded in the text of the *Rgya Bod Yig-tshang* (pp. 469-472).

³Apart from the passages from Mang-thos and *Blue Annals* reproduced below, we

should also note that the *Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston* (pp. 481-482) passage on the Highland Vinaya explicitly acknowledges itself as being a prose summary of the verses of Zhing-mo-che-ba. The author of the *Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston* evidently had a complete set of the verses in front of him even at such a late date.

⁴Watson, *Abridged Biography*; Watson, 'Introduction'; Watson, 'Second Propagation.' Van der Kuijp, 'Monastery.' Vitali, *Kingdoms* (note Luciano Petech's review, 'A Regional Chronicle of Gu ge pu hrang,' *Tibet Journal* 22, no. 3 [Autumn 1997] 106-111, with a response by Vitali in same issue, pp. 135-140).

⁵It is perhaps worth noting that Mang-thos (*Bstan-rtsis*, p. 75) very clearly gives 970 as the year of Rin-chen-bzang-po's birth. Mang-thos also mentions his ordination by Ye-shes-bzang-po at age 13 (at pp. 73-4) and here he argues that Ye-shes-bzang-po could be identified with Jñānaśrībhaddra, a teacher of Zhang-zhung-pa, commenting that the name Ye-shes-bzang-po was the source not only of the *bzang-po* in Rin-chen-bzang-po's name, but also the *ye-shes* in the name of Ye-shes-'od. There is certainly some sense in this argument, but for further elucidation it would be necessary to go into the history of monastic name-changing practices. There is a tradition according to which the final elements of the names of Sarvāstivādin monks ought to be chosen from the four words *dpal*, 'od, *grags-pa* and *bzang-po*, while at the same time the ordinand generally receives part of the name of the ordinator, and the names of Rin-chen-bzang-po and Ye-shes-'od both seem to conform to both of these patterns, if both were in fact ordained by Ye-shes-bzang-po. For more on name-changing practices, see Buxton, *Las*, p. 844.

⁶See the biography as contained in Snellgrove & Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage*, vol. 2, pp. 83-116, at p. 86 (for a history of the various available editions, see Gangnegi, 'Critical'). The biography tells us only that Rin-chen-bzang-po studied and memorized the *Three Hundreds* by Śākyaprabha under this Legs-pa-bzang-po, and that from him he received the name Rin-chen-bzang-po. In Tucci's study (*Rin-chen-bzan-po*, p. 28), instead of Legs-pa-bzang-po, the name is given as Ye-shes-bzang-po, and this latter name is in fact given in *Blue Annals* (p. 68), and Ngor-pa, *Chos-'byung* (p. 263), among other places (it does seem somewhat more likely that the original name was Ye-shes-bzang-po). A late tradition found in Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 352) and in the Ngor-pa, *Chos-'byung* (p. 263), tells us that Rin-chen-bzang-po took complete *bhikṣu* vows in his forty-ninth year, or 1006, but the names of his three ordinators — Paṇḍi-ta Zla-'od-bzang-po, Bhi-na-se, and Ka-ma-la-ra-kshi-ta (i.e., Kamalarakṣita) — are also not found in the subsequent *vinaya* lineages (although somewhat beside the point, it is possible that Kamalarakṣita is the one whose story is told in Tāranātha, *History*, pp. 327-328). Sum-pa, *Chos-'byung*, p. 358 (and again on p. 385), says that Rin-chen-bzang-po was fully ordained at age forty-nine into the lineage of Bla-chen (Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal). Given the evidently Indian identities of his ordinators, this would hardly seem possible.

⁷Even this statement should be viewed as problematic, however, since it seems to turn on geographic conceptions more than on temporal considerations. It ignores

the continuous transmission of the Lowland Vinaya in the area of Amdo, as if Western Tibet counts more than Eastern Tibet as far as Central Tibet is concerned (and of course, to further complicate matters, these geographical conceptions have a history of their own). Vitali (*Kingdoms*, p. 185 ff.), following the *Mnga'-ris Rgyal-rabs*, places the Highland Later Spread at the date of the edict of Ye-shes-'od issued in 986, but other histories focus on the first ordination as the determining factor. Buddhism *per se* suffered no eclipse during the Period of Disunity. Members of the imperial line continued to build Buddhist temples, and Buddhist teachings such as those on the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* (subject of a forthcoming study) and various lay Prajñâpâramitâ practices and tantric transmissions continued without break. In short, the 'eclipse' of Buddhism has been overrated, in part in order to overemphasize the victorious nature of its 'revival', and in part because lay Buddhism has almost always been underrated.

⁸Few if any works of 'Brom-ston-pa seem to exist outside the *Bka'-gdams Glegs-bam*, and so far it has not proven possible to locate any likely source of his monastic narrative there. The reference here is to *Blue Annals*, pp. 61-62, and *New Red Annals*, p. 160.

⁹Here we would suggest a minor correction in Vitali's (*Kingdoms*, p. 109) translation of the *Mnga'-ris Rgyal-rabs*. Where he emends *zhal-sro* to *zhal-gso*, translating the latter as 'renovation', we would rather keep to the original *zhal-sro*, or *zhal-bsro*, literally 'face warming' (it may act as a verb, but it is more often employed nominally), which is a relatively uncommon and archaic word for 'consecration' (more generally expressed with the term *rab-gnas*). This explanation was given by Sangye Tenzin Jongdong, abbot of Bonpo Monastic Centre, Dolanji, some years ago. For a lexical source, see Btsan-lha, *Brda-dkrol*, p. 767. For instances of its usage, see the *Sba-bzhed* (pp. 39, 56-7, 59 and 79). For further references, see Bentor, *Consecration*, p. 321, note 517.

¹⁰Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 352. Ngor-pa, *Chos-'byung*, p. 264.

¹¹Bu-ston, *Chos-'byung*, p. 273. The passage was misunderstood by Obermiller (Bu-ston, *History*, p. 213), when he makes Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab the one who invited Dharmapâla. The Dge-ye history (fol. 7) does say that Dharmapâla and Jñânapâla were together invited to Tibet by King Srong-nge (probably the pre-ordination name of Ye-shes-'od, although there is much confusion on this point in the historical works; see Karmay, 'Ordinance'; Karmay, 'Btsan-po'; and Vitali, *Kingdoms*, p. 171 ff.). Probably Dge-ye intended Prajñâpâla, rather than Jñânapâla (or this could be a later scribal transformation; Bu-ston, *Chos-'byung*, p. 273, has Dharmapâla and Prajñâpâla invited together). Still more recent sources state that Dharmapâla and all Three Pâlas were invited as a group, even though there is no such clear statement in the earlier sources.

¹²Vitali, *Kingdoms*, pp. 319-20, note 496. On the Dharma conference of 1076, see Shastri, 'Fire Dragon.'

¹³Jo-gdan, *Smyung-gnas*, fol. 40, and the later Las-chen, *Chos-'byung*, vol. 2, p. 370. Compare also *Blue Annals*, p. 1012.

¹⁴The *Blue Annals* does give us the dates 1094-1186 for Dgra-'jigs' spiritual grandfather in the fasting rite lineage, Nying-phug-pa. Nying-phug-pa was a disciple of Byang-sems Zla-ba-rgyal-mtshan (*Blue Annals*, p. 1008), the latter well known as an ordinator of both Sa-skya-pa and Bka'-brgyud-pa teachers in the 1130's through 1150's. Another source (Nyang-ral, p. 472) suggests that Zhing-mo-che-ba and Byang-sems Zla-ba-rgyal-mtshan might have been contemporaries. There are clearly chronological problems here with no certain resolution as yet.

¹⁵Si-tu, *Sde-dge*, p. 329. Despite its brevity, this is the longest narrative about Zhing-mo-che-ba we could locate, but even so it unfortunately does not supply any clear way to anchor him chronologically (the Gnäs-brtan Dar-ma-seng-ge mentioned as his contemporary could not be positively identified). To give a brief translation of the passage in the Derge Tanjur catalog: "When the Gnäs-brtan Dar-ma-seng-ge, at La-stod 'Ol-rgod temple, was erecting [a manuscript of] the four main *vinaya* scriptures, the *vinaya* holder Zhing-mo-che-ba Byang-chub-seng-ge took over the work. He then sought out with great effort and expense [manuscripts], in general whatever existed in the temples of Dbus and Gtsang, and in particular the scriptures obtained by Dag-chung-pa and Bhikṣu Tshul-khrims-yon-tan from Bsam-yas Mchims-phu." The La-stod 'Ol-rgod temple is known from Las-chen, *Chos-'byung*, vol. 2, p. 178, where it is mentioned because of the existence of a complete and edited version of the four main *vinaya* scriptures which served as the prototype for the Snar-thang copy. The Bhikṣu Tshul-khrims-yon-tan is probably the disciple of Rgya 'Dul-'dzin (1047-1131) by that name (*Blue Annals*, p. 81), and this would be another probable indication of the twelfth-century date of Zhing-mo-che-ba. Dag-chung-pa (Dwags-chung-ba in Padma-dkar-po's version) could possibly be Dwags-po Sgom-chung, the younger brother of Sgom-tshul (d. 1169). We may at least know from this that our author, Zhing-mo-che-ba, also had an important role in the Tibetan-language textual transmission of the four main *vinaya* scriptures ('*Dul-ba Lung Bzhi*, which are: the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, *Vinaya-vastu*, *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*, and *Vinaya-uttara-grantha*; for a full discussion of the '*Dul-ba Lung Bzhi* and the ordering of the *vinaya* scriptures in different Kanjur editions, see Fifth Dalai Lama, *Gsan-yig*, vol. 4, p. 295).

¹⁶Well, there are a few translations by Rin-chen-bzang-po, and a few by others (but some of these latter do make their appearance in Zhing-mo-che-ba's work, since Dpal-'byor-shes-rab had something to do with the translations, or explanations based on them). None of the members of the Lowland Gzus tradition mentioned in Zhing-mo-che-ba's work had anything to do with translating *vinaya* texts, although some of them composed *vinaya* works which are no longer extant. It should also be remembered in this context that very nearly all of the *vinaya* scriptures and their Indian commentaries that would ever be translated into Tibetan had already been translated by the late imperial period (as evidenced in the text of the Ldan-dkar catalog).

¹⁷These lineages provided in Nyang-ral's history (pp. 454-455) are paralleled, and then only partially, in two later works: Yar-lung Jo-bo, *Chos-'byung*, pp. 176-177, and in *Red Annals*, pp. 57-58 (the latter quite evidently copied rather closely from

Yar-lung Jo-bo). The problems presented by these very different Highland Vinaya lineage lists are many (clearly the manuscript of Nyang-ral has undergone some twists in its own transmission), and would require a separate study which will not be attempted here.

¹⁸*Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston*, p. 483.

¹⁹Therefore, for example, Tshe-dbang-rig-'dzin (*Rgyal-rabs*, p. 82) could say, 'It is evident that the Highland Vinaya did not greatly proliferate' (*stod 'dul ni ha cang 'phel ba ma byung bar mngon*). It may have even disappeared entirely. Although it seems likely that it would have survived somehow, this is unclear. Some recent Dge-lugs-pa authors have confused the Highland Vinaya with the Pañ-chen Vinaya of Śākyaśrī, even referring to the latter as the Stod 'Dul, although there is absolutely no justification for this in early sources. For a modern example of this conflation of lineages, see Sopa, *Lectures*, pp. 116, 130. Sum-pa, in his history (*Chos-'byung*, p. 589) relates how the Fifth Dalai Lama, having already received complete ordination into the Lowland Vinaya from the Panchen Lama at age twenty-two, took them once again at age sixty-one, only this time in the Pan-chen Śākyaśrī transmission. In that context he does not comment on the unusual nature of this second ordination, but in his famous chronological study (*Chos-'byung*, p. 900), in the entry for the year 1677, we read, "Was there a necessity for [Dalai Lama V] Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho to later on accept the flow of *pratimokṣa* vows of the Highland Vinaya system?" (*ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtshos slar stod 'dul lugs kyi so thar sdom rgyun bzhes dgos byung ngam*). It seems clear that Sum-pa has confused two separate lineages, although elsewhere (pp. 360, 382) he does briefly recount the story of the Highland Vinaya (but, significantly, without employing the term), and this interesting problem of the Fifth Dalai Lama's second ordination deserves further investigation. (Thanks are due to E. Gene Smith for pointing out the sources, and making the argument.) The Fifth Dalai Lama himself (*Deb-ther*, p. 93; *Bstan-pa'i Rtsa-ba*, p. 32) was very well aware that Dharmapāla introduced the Highland Vinaya. The *vinaya* history by Bsod-nams-grags-pa (Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, no. 173; the 1975 edition, p. 21; the version in his collected works, p. 173) says that the Highland lineage continued after Zhing-mo-che-ba up until the later 'Dog-long-ba Mkhan-chen Kun-dga'-dpal, who passed the lineage on to Red-mdā'-ba (1349-1412), and to Rgyal-tshab Chos-rje, who should likely be identified as Rgyal-tshab-rje Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364-1432), the famous disciple of Tsong-kha-pa. It seems that the Kun-dga'-dpal mentioned here should be identified with Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal (1345-1439). The complete lineage linking Dharmapāla with Red-mdā'-ba is supplied in Mang-thos, *Bstan-rtsis*, p. 160, as follows: 1. Dharmapāla. 2. Prajñāpāla. 3. Zhang-zhung Rgyal-she. 4. Dpal-'byor-shes-rab. 5. Zhing-mo-che-ba Byang-chub-seng-ge. 6. Yang-rtse-ba Rdo-rje-seng-ge. 7. Stag-pa Padma-g.yung-drung. 8. Rtsis-'dul Thugs-rje-byang-chub. 9. Bde-ba-can-pa Shākya-byang-chub. 10. Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. 11. Byang-chub-seng-ge. 12. Byang-chub-bzang-po. 13. Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. 14. Dpal-ldan-bla-ma. 15. Mdog-lho-pa Mkhas-chen Kun-dga'-dpal-bzang-po. 16. Red-mdā'-pa, etc. Numbers 6 and following were not possible to positively identify, unfortunately for our efforts to date Zhing-mo-che-ba.

²⁰*Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston* (PRC version), p. 482: "*stod 'dul 'di shin tu dag par*

grags kyang / mkhan brgyud 'di la bar nas kha yar chad pa cig yin par dogs so."

²¹Gzus Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan was an ordinand of Klu-mes (or at least studied Vinaya with Klu-mes directly), as well as a monastic 'great-grandfather' of Rgya 'Dul-'dzin (on whom see a following note). His disciples founded a number of schools specifically devoted to the study of *vinaya*, which is the reason they are mentioned here (they are the main persons mentioned in Zhing-mo-che-ba's account of the Lowland Vinaya that follows).

²²This is a way of referring to the three *vinaya* teachers of Rgya 'Dul-'dzin Dbang-phyug-tshul-khrims (1047-1131), with whom he studied before reaching age 34 (and therefore before the year 1081 [see Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 343.1; *Blue Annals*, pp. 78-79; Ferrari, p. 167; Sperling, 'Notes,' p. 744-5, note 9]). The names of his three teachers are: Sog Tshul-khrims-bla-ma, Nyang-mtshams Rin-chen-bla-ma and Ko-khyim-pa Ye-shes-bla-ma, all of whom have the element *bla-ma* in their names.

²³The three learnings are: the learning of moral discipline (*śīla*), associated especially with the Vinaya Basket of scriptures, the learning of contemplative absorption (*samādhi*) associated with the Sūtra Basket, and the learning of insight (*prajñā*) associated with the Abhidharma Basket.

²⁴The *Blue Annals* (p. 77) names specific *vinaya* texts that Gzus Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan studied with Klu-mes, and adds that he later studied with Rlung and Skyogs and "he became very learned." The disciple of Gzus, named as 'Dzims-pa, even founded an institution of *vinaya* studies (*'dul-ba'i bshad-grwa*). The overall impression of this *Blue Annals* passage is that *vinaya* learning was flourishing with Gzus and his followers, and there is not the slightest hint of any shortcomings they might have had. As already noted, there are even accounts placing Gzus in the main trunk of a *vinaya* lineage stemming from Dharmapāla.

²⁵Sog Tshul-khrims-bla-ma. From him Bya 'Dul-'dzin-pa Brtson-'grus-'bar (1031-1106) learned *vinaya*. Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 277. He was a disciple of Sne-bo Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, according to Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 343.1. *Blue Annals*, p. 78, calls him Mchen Tshul-khrims-bla-ma of the Sog clan and says that he founded religious schools for the study of *vinaya*.

²⁶For reference to a biography of Rgya 'Dul-'dzin Dbang-phyug-tshul-khrims-'bar, and his dates, 1047-1131, see above.

²⁷So far it has not proven possible to locate any other mention of works composed by Tshul-khrims-bla-ma, although there is reference to a *vinaya* commentary by his disciple Bya 'Dul-ba 'Dzin-pa Brtson-'grus-'bar in Btsan-lha, *Brda-dkrol*, p. 1050.

²⁸It has not been possible to identify this person; this may very well be a shortened form of the name Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan, which is quite common, but it wasn't possible to locate anyone by this name who belonged to this generation.

²⁹Here the *Great Root Tantra* is of course the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*. These prophecies appear in nearly every account of the reign of Ye-shes-'od to be found in the Dharma histories.

³⁰Tho-ling, or name of a particular building that formed part of the complex (see Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzan-po*, p. 65). Its official name was Tho-gling Dpal Dpe-med Lhun-gyis-grub-pa'i Gtsug-lag-khang (sometimes the element Khang-dmar, 'red chamber' may be added). Building began in 996, and the final consecration took place in 1028 (these dates are given in a fifteenth-century history of Western Tibet; see Vitali, *Kingdom*, pp. 109, 255 ff.). The name is often spelled Mtho-lding, 'Soaring Height'. The longer version of the name was given at its consecration, and this detail might be used to argue for the date of completion and consecration in 1028 being the time intended here. But Vitali places Ye-shes-'od's death in 1023-4 which would then mean he could not have been alive in 1028 or after to invite Dharmapāla.

³¹This Dharmapāla should not be confused with a number of other Buddhist figures by this name. Vitali, in his index (*Kingdoms*, p. 608) makes the present Dharmapāla a Kashmiri which of course contradicts the information given here (as also in Mang-thos, *Bstan-rtsis*, p. 78, and still other available works). Likewise, the name 'Kashmir' in the brief account of Dharmapāla as contained in Hoffmann, *Religions*, p. 116, must be corrected to 'Nepal', since the sources he used all agree that Dharmapāla was in Nepal (*Bal-po*) when he was invited to Tibet. There is a tendency in some sources to connect our Dharmapāla with translations of Yogatantra works. There is a work listed in Derge Tanjur catalog, a Yogatantra cremation ritual, translated by the Indian Master Teacher Dharmapāla (Rgya-gar-gyi Mkhan-po Ā-tsarya Dharma-pā-la) and the translator Bhikṣu Dge-ba'i-blo-gros. The Tibetan translator is certainly Rma Lo-tsā-ba Dge-ba'i-blo-gros (1044-1089), who seems too late to be working together with our Dharmapāla, but then there seems to be no way of knowing how long our Dharmapāla worked in Tibet, or even how long he lived.

³²According to Tucci (*Rin-chen-bzan-po*, p. 51), the *Vinaya-saṃgraha* was translated at the order of King Rtse-lde (who took the throne shortly after the death of Rin-chen-bzang-po in 1055) by Jñānaśrībhadrā, native of Anupamapura (Grong-khyer Dpe-med), a city in Kashmir, together with the translators [Zhang-zhung-pa] Rgyal-ba-shes-rab and Shākya-bshes-gnyen. The Derge Tanjur catalog also says that the *'Dul-ba Bsdus-pa*, composed by ācārya Khyad-par-bshes-gnyen (i.e., Viśeṣamitra), was first translated by Vairocanarakṣita in imperial times. The second translation was by the Kashmiri ordinator Jñānaśrībhadrā and the translators Bhikṣu Rgyal-ba-shes-rab and Shākya-bshes-gnyen.

³³Rma Dge-ba'i-blo-gros, b. 1044 (see *Blue Annals*, pp. 70, 71, 219-220, 232, 240), and Subhūtiśrīśānti worked together on a number of translations. The *Sum-brgya-pa* is a collection of advice for novices composed by Shākya-'od (i.e., Śākyaprabhā).

³⁴Byang-chub-'od, whose dates should be 984-1078, began ruling in 1037,

succeeding his elder brother 'Od-lde. See Vitali, *Kingdoms*, p. 294. Rtse-lde took rule in 1057. The Fifth Dalai Lama (*Gsan-yig*, vol. 1, p. 23) supplies a lineage for the *Three Hundreds* and its commentary, one which includes Dharmapâla, Zhang-zhung-pa Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab, and [Zhing-mo-che-ba] Byang-chub-seng-ge. It is interesting that in this lineage, the author Śâkyaprabha and Dharmapâla are divided by only one generation.

³⁵The *Help for Students* is an explanation of the *Three Hundreds* composed by 'Dul-ba'i-lha (i.e., Vinîta-deva). It was also translated by Dge-ba'i-blo-gros, but in conjunction with the Indian ordinator Buddhaśânti. Derge Tanjur catalog: "*Tshig-le'ur Byas-pa Sum-brgya-pa'i* nram-par bshad-pa *Slob-ma-la Phan-pa* zhes bya-ba Slob-dpon 'Dul-ba'i-lhas mdzad-pa / Rgya-gar-gyi Mkhan-po Buddha-shânti dang / Lo tsâ-ba Dge-slong Dge-ba'i-blo-gros-kyi 'gyur-rnams bzhugs-so."

³⁶Here Kha-che Paṇ-chen is a name of Śrî Subhûtiśânti (i.e., Subhûtiśrîśânti); see *Blue Annals*, p. 69, which says he was invited in the time of Lha-sde (i.e., Lha-lde).

³⁷Derge Tanjur catalog: "*Dge-tshul-gyi Dang-po'i Lo Dri-ba* / Kha-che'i Mkhan-po Na-ra-sa-de-wa dang / Lo-tsâ-ba Dge-slong Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab-kyi 'gyur." Tôh. no. 4132 supplies the name Narasadeva, while Ngor-pa, *Chos-'byung*, p. 264, reads Na-ra-ma-de-wa.

³⁸Derge Tanjur catalog: "*Dge-slong-gi Dang-po'i Lo Dri-ba* Dpal Ra-sa'i Gtsug-lag-khang-gi 'Od-mchog Dngos-grub-kyi Gtsug-lag-khang-du Rgya-gar-gyi Mkhan-po Dî-pam-ka-ra-shrî-dznyi-na dang Lo-tsâ-ba Dge-slong Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba'i 'gyur." According to this, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba translated it together with Atîśa at the temple of Lha-sa (Ra-sa). Tôh. no. 4133. One source (Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia*, vol. 3, p. 52) says that, even though no author is supplied, this particular work (in Sanskrit, *Bhikṣu-varṣâgra-prcchâ*) has been attributed to one Mkhan-po Padma-'byung-gnas-dbyangs (*Padmâkaraghoṣa).

³⁹The only work which, according to the Derge Tanjur catalogue (compare Tôh., no. 4123), was translated by Prajñâkîrti and Jayâkara is the 'Dul-ba *Tshig-le'ur Byas-pa* (*Vinaya-kârikâ*), composed by Sa-ga'i-lha (Viśâkhadeva, on whom see Târanâtha, *History*, p. 197).

⁴⁰Śrâmaṇera-sikṣâpada Sûtra. Tôh. no. 4130.

⁴¹Târanâtha (*History*, pp. 284, 424-425) tells us that Parahita lived during the reign of the Pâla king Mahîpâla. According to the Derge Tanjur catalog, Bhikṣu Gzhon-nu-mchog and the Kashmiri scholar Parahita, worked together on their translations at Tho-ling. He was among the Indian masters present at the council of 1076 (see Shastri, 'Fire Dragon,' p. 878, where his name appears as Sarahete). Lde'u, *Chos-'byung*, p. 383, says that Sa-ra-he-te was invited by the translator Gzhon-nu-mchog-rab (but note that the 's' and 'p' in cursive scripts are easily confounded, and the proper Sanskrit form of his name should be Parahita). Nyang-ral's history (p. 472) gives Parahita's name the quite impossible spelling Pan-ḍi-ta Ya-thang-he-ha-ra (another manuscript, 'manuscript B', has the same spelling).

⁴²Târanâtha, *History*, p. 302. Also a Kashmiri, of the city of Dpe-med (Anupama) according to Derge Tanjur colophons. This same city is sometimes (in Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 251, for instance) said to have been the birthplace of Nâropâ.

⁴³The name of Dpal-'byor-shes-rab, appearing here in a slightly variant form for metrical reasons, is also concealed in earlier lines. See *Blue Annals*, p. 81, where he is placed in a group called the 'Ten Beams of Rgya' (*Rgya'i gdung-ma bcu*), and p. 87. Rgya 'Dul-'dzin Dbang-phyug-tshul-khrims (1047-1131), mentioned above in the account of the Lowland Transmission, did in fact have groups of disciples called the Four Pillars and the Ten Beams.

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The Woman Illusion?
Research into the Lives of Spiritually Accomplished Women
Leaders in Tibet of the 11th and 12th Centuries.*

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“One is under the impression that the part played by religious women in 11th and 12th century Tibet was more important and widespread than in following centuries.” (Lo Bue 1994: 485)

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“When people who have, like myself, taken [rebirth] in ‘low’ bodies realize the meaning of the Mother of [All] Buddhas (Prajñâpâramitâ), even when they transcend, through reflexive awareness, the spheres of objectifying (or goal orientation), they still ought to grasp onto these [Cutting] teachings which, like lamps, [cast light on] the supreme objective.”

[Commentary:] “Although the words ‘low bodies’ might, in line with ordinary worldly conventions, signify a discarding of self-importance, still, since the woman herself is an emanation body, she cannot be ‘low.’ The *Vajra Tent* says, ‘With the illusory form of a woman, [the Buddha] teaches the Dharma for those with desire. The woman illusion, Buddhahood itself, exorcises all illusions.’ The *Supreme Bliss* says, ‘Of all illusions, the woman illusion is particularly sublime [holy].’”¹

(from the *Hair-Tip*, by Ma-gcig Lab-sgron, the commentary possibly composed by the Third Karma-pa; Orofino 1987: 42-43, 74 [column 531])

• Introduction:

As an approach to the study of women in Tibetan history, it is not entirely necessary to adopt any particular theoretical line. What is necessary is a basic recognition that at any given point in time women have formed slightly less or, more likely, slightly more than half the population. Any attempt to do history without taking account of what women were accomplishing and contributing will be unsatisfactory, and will fail to do justice to the period under consideration. In the following, there are no great conclusions in terms of gender theory, just some research

* Dedicated to my sister, Kim Martin. A dictionary of Tibetan women by Tashi Tsering of Dharamsala has been long under preparation for publication. Unfortunately it is not yet available to me. The present paper has a dual audience in mind. On the one side, it supplies references to relevant English studies and translations whenever possible, and on the other, it supplies references to the Tibetan language sources in order to encourage criticism and to further research by specialists. Tibetan texts have not been transcribed (or ‘Romanized’) here, but with a little goodwill and an inter-library loan librarian, nearly all of them are available, at least in North America. English translations have been supplied here for the sake of those who do not read classical Tibetan. Those who do read Tibetan ought to ignore the translations, read the Tibetan sources for themselves and come to their own conclusions.

¹It is quite impossible to convey the pregnant sense of this passage. Gautama Buddha’s mother had a name that means [projected] ‘Illusion’ (Sgyu-phrul[-ma], Mâyâ or Mâyâdevî). Insight is primarily gained through illusion. Insight (the main emphasis of the Prajñâpâramitâ) is the Mother of All Buddhas, the source of all Enlightenment. These associations are clearly intended (Lab-sgron even identifies herself with Mâyâdevî at one point; Savvas 1990: 61). The statement, “Of all illusions, the woman illusion is particularly sublime,” is also found in the *Five Stages* (*Pañcakrama*); see Snellgrove (1987: I 302).

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into the literary sources that might be taken as bases for further reflection and argument. The main question is simply how much can we find out about the lives of people who were [1] Tibetan-born and [2] women, who [3] lived in the 11th through 12th centuries and [4] achieved public recognition for spiritual accomplishment or religious leadership? Indian and Nepalese Buddhist women leaders like Ni-gu-ma, Dge-slong-ma Dpal-mo, Bha-ri-ma and Grub-pa'i-rgyal-mo are excluded from consideration here, regardless of their undeniable importance for the Indian and Tibetan religious lineages they initiated.

Since this paper is not about eleventh through twelfth-century Tibetan women in general, but about women who were recognized for their accomplishments in the area of Buddhist religion and spirituality, we should add one important observation. If there was, and I believe this was so, a reluctance in those and later times to recognize, and therefore record for posterity, the accomplishments of women, it becomes justifiable and even necessary to magnify what evidence we do have (and this holds regardless of their potential value as models for contemporary emulation²). It will then be true that our history of the past will be different from the past's sense of its own history, but as the historian more than anyone else is acutely aware, history has a history of its own, and always has. What is arguably necessary is a 'usable past' — as that term is used by Rita Gross (1993) — that will not erase the past's usages of *its* pasts, which is in itself an important object for historical exploration and understanding.

We might further reason that canonization is itself a temporal phenomenon, and the criteria for sainthood in the past are not at all likely to be identical to the criteria for sainthood in the present. Saint recognition may be granted many centuries after a person's death, but that person will nevertheless be every bit as holy as if they had been canonized within their own lifetimes. We might assume, although here we feel the rising heat of potential controversies, that there were in fact many more women than those mentioned in the sources who led accomplished Buddhist lives and were influential during their times, but nevertheless were minimized or even left out of the historical record because a tendency to exclude them from the (over the next centuries progressively more and more) predominating male monastic institutions who reserved for themselves responsibility for the record keeping. Tibetan Buddhism, unlike Roman Catholicism, never had a formal legal mechanism for saint canonization. In Tibet, canonization (if we may call it such) was a question of record keeping, of history and biographical writing, depending on the continuity of particular spiritual lineages.

It is just a fact that much less is known about accomplished women during this time than is known about accomplished men. With some effort, I could compile a list of over a hundred religious men with clear identities —including birthdates and in most cases death dates as well — born between the years 1100 and 1178. To do the same for women, I came to realize, would be much more complex since it is very difficult to establish clear identities for most of them (in many cases we are left with only a little more than a name), and they are rarely supplied with birth and death dates. I would estimate very roughly that the amount of biographical information available for individual women leaders of the 11th and 12th centuries is about one or two percent, as compared to 99 or 98 percent for the individual men. The disparity has a distinctly blinding glare.³

²Willis (1999).

³One further refinement should be added here. Tibetan personal names do not often carry explicit gender markers. Even when they do, men's names may, rather often, contain feminine gender elements (like the endings *-mo* and *-ma* in Lha-mo, 'Goddess,' and Sgrol-ma, Sanskrit Târâ). Unless unambiguously feminine-gendered terms like *lcam* or *jo-mo* are used, or unless the context clarifies matters, we cannot be sure if a figure was a woman or not. There is also the problem that names of men like Ras-chung-pa or Kun-ldan-ras-pa may be confounded with the women's names Ras-chung-ma and Kun-ldan-ras-ma. Women's names not supplied with feminine gender markers of some sort may be, and have been, taken for men's names. A name

There are a number of difficult questions regarding women during this period. For example, were there active nunneries in Tibet during this time? Were the nuns fully ordained as *bhiksunis*? Were the nuns active, influential and respected in their local communities or regions? Were there sectarian differences in the recognition of laypersons' spiritual accomplishments? Was there a tendency in the Tibetan historical tradition to progressively obscure or confound the contributions by ordained or lay women religious leaders? In the following, we hope to beam some thin rays of light on a few of these more particular historical issues, without necessarily proposing overwhelming 'conclusions.' We will start with the most famous women, without going into much detail about their lives, since there exists already a literature about them that is easily available in English.

- The three best known women:

To begin with, by far the best known of women leaders for posterity was **Ma-gcig Lab-sgron**. Lab-sgron, perhaps the most significant disciple of Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, is most famous for the 'Cutting' (*Gcod*) lineages which flowed from her into the Rnying-ma-pa, Bka'-brgyud-pa and, still later, the Dge-lugs-pa sects.⁴ All her teachings were 'received' Buddhist teachings, conveying the esoteric sense of the Perfection of Insight,⁵ but she might have been responsible for bringing these received teachings into an array centered on the metaphor of Cutting, meaning a spiritually sophisticated 'exorcism' of the outer and inner 'demons' that hinder the unfoldment of Full Knowledge (*Jñāna*) and Complete Enlightenment. The Tibetan sources provide widely differing dates for her. Even though modern authors may confidently state her birth and death years, they are not to be trusted.⁶ She most probably lived from about

with an apparent feminine gender marker like Yu-mo or Gshen-rdor-mo (both appear later on) might be mistakenly assumed to belong to a woman.

⁴The question of the possible priority of Bon in the history of Cutting teachings is one that I will not go into here, although it is certainly worth pursuing. See Chaoul (1999). For a general analytical study of Tibetan historical and biographical sources for both Cutting and Pacification (*Zhi-byed*) teachings, see Kollmar-Paulenz (1993).

⁵The historical emergence of Cutting is quite a difficult issue (as are its 'differences' from Pacification). Some of these Buddhist teachings are believed to have been received by Lab-sgron directly in visionary encounters with high forms of Buddha. There is a useful discussion in Gyatso (1985: 331-3). A text of the Indian Cutting teachings by the Brahmin Aryadeva (who may or may not be the famous one by that name; Gyatso 1985: 326) exists in two different Tibetan translations. The Tibetan translation used by the Cutting tradition itself, accomplished by Pha-dam-pa alone, but then written down and edited by Zha-ma Lo-tśā-ba (brother of Ma-gcig Zha-ma, on whom more shortly), is available in English in Edou (1996: 15-23).

⁶The dates that have been proposed for her birth include the years 1031, 1055, 1099, 1102, and 1103. The dates 1055 to 1154 (as in Savvas 1990: 3) or 1055 to 1149 (as in Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: xi, but note, too, on p. 70, the dates 1049-1155) seem the most likely, although they are far from being well established. Her age at death ranges from 91 to 99. There are some hitherto unused sources on her life in *Gcod Tshogs* (1985), and this volume also includes several of the works she composed. The dates for Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas are also unsettled, although I believe that his period of greatest influence was his stay in Ding-ri that lasted from about 1097 until his death in 1117 (see Chos-kyi-seng-ge 1992: 61, 117). But a large number of other dates have been given in the Tibetan sources.

the middle of the 11th century to about the middle of the 12th. Since there is a considerable amount of material available in English, we will say no more about her here.⁷

Probably the second most illustrious woman of the times was Ma-gcig Zha-ma.⁸ She was famous for a particular lineage of Path Including Result (*Lam-'bras*) teachings,⁹ primarily absorbed by the other *Lam-'bras* lineages that flowed through Sa-skya-pa lineages, although it also entered into various eclectic traditions of other sects in the late 12th and 13th centuries. Unique among the women religious leaders of her times, her dates are quite clear and uncontroversial. She lived from 1062 to 1149 CE. Various forms of her name are Zham, Zha-ma-chung-ma, Zha-chung-ma [Zhwa-chung-ma¹⁰ and Zhang-chung-ma also occur, although the latter, like Zham, may be considered a mistake] and Lha-rje-ma. She had a quite well-known younger brother named 'Khon-phu-ba Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1069-1144), and so she may also be referred to as 'Khon-phu-ba Lcam-sring ('Sister of 'Khon-phu-ba'). Her youngest brother was to become Zha-ma Lo-tsâ-ba Seng-ge-rgyal-po, a translator responsible

⁷A brief biography is supplied in Allione (1986: 150-187), another is found in Crook & Low (1997: 297-315), and still another in Savvas (1990: 52-81). For an important discussion of the biographical sources see Kollmar-Paulenz (1998). A major monographic study, Edou (1996), contains a translation of the same biography translated by Allione, noting the critical comments in the review by Herrmann-Pfandt (1998). For remarkable studies of texts composed by Lab-sgron, see Orofino (1987), where there are Italian translations of the *Bka'-tshoms Chen-mo* and the *Insight's Hair-Tip* (*Shes-rab Skra Rtse*, with its commentary attributed to Karma-pa III Rang-byung-rdo-rje) and Savvas (1990: 154-194), where we find a translation of Lab-sgron's *Eight Added Chapters on the Teachings Extraordinarily [Pertaining to Cutting]* (*Thun-mong-ma-yin-pa Le-lag Brgyad*). I am aware of many other studies on Cutting, but will not list them all here. More works by Lab-sgron remain untranslated, although they have been available to the world now for decades in the reprintings of the *Gdams-ngag Mdzod*. According to Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 232) and Gang-pa (1992: 316), there was a complete set of Lab-sgron's works (a *Bka'-'bum*) which included most prominently the texts with the titles *Bka'-tshom Chen-mo*, *Yang-tshom Chen-mo*, *Nying-tshom Le'u-lag*, *Gnad-them*, *Khong-rgol*, *Gsang-ba Brda'-chos La-bzla Skor Gsum*, *Gzhi Lam-du Slong-ba* and *Khyad-par-gyi Gdams-ngag*. All of these just-mentioned titles were put in writing during her last years, and were translated into an Indian language. Most of these titles have in fact been preserved in the collection known as the 'Treasury of Precepts' (*Gdams-ngag Mdzod*; for English translations of the titles, see Edou 1996: 163; and see also Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 193-194).

⁸English literature on Ma-cig Zha-ma, not nearly so abundant, includes Diemberger & Hazod (1994) and Lo Bue (1994: 482). Also available in English is Roerich (1976: 210, 219-226, 229-230, 919), but be aware of the confusion in this translation of the two identities of Lab-sgron and Zha-ma, first noticed in Gyatso (1985: 329). One of the most important sources, given its relatively early date, is the *Zhib-mo Rdo-rje*, a history of Path Including Result teachings composed somewhere between 1216 and 1244. I could make reference to this rare work only with the generous permission of Cyrus Stearns, who is preparing a translation for publication. More details about Zha-ma's life are to be found there.

⁹The Path Including Result teachings originated in a vision of the divine consort of Hevajra, named Nairâtmyâ (in Tibetan, Bdag-med-ma, [f.] 'Non-Self'), beheld by the Mahâsiddha Virûpa. It was first taught by a divine female form of Buddha (a 'focus of high aspirations,' a *yi-dam*). The fourth member in the line of transmission, the lay master Gayadhara (d. 1103) brought these teachings to Tibet in the year 1041, where they were (orally) translated into Tibetan by 'Brog-mi (on whom, see below). For more details, see Stearns, forthcoming.

¹⁰The name Zhwa-chung-ma (meaning 'she of the small hat') is said to have been given by Grwa-pa Mngon-shes to Ma-gcig Lab-sgron. See Kollmar-Paulenz (1993: 139). However, in Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 96) and in the text on the 24 Jo-mo (discussed below), it is clearly a name for Ma-gcig Zha-ma.

for many canonical translations from Indian language works still found in the Tanjur collection. She was born in southern Tibet, in Pha-drug, the fourth of six (some say seven) children and the only daughter. Her father's real name was Zha-ma Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1098), although he also had the curious nickname Byi-ba-hab-sha ('Mouse Quarrel'). Her mother was called Rgya-gar Lha-mo ('Indian Goddess'). In her 14th year, a marriage was arranged for her with one A-ba Lha-rgyal, but she found married life uninspiring and turned her mind toward religion, eventually escaping her unhappy marriage by pretending to be insane.¹¹ From age 16 through 21, she was a *phyag-rgya-ma* (a *mudrâ* or 'consort') of the Rma translator Dge-ba'i-blo-gros (1044-1089). When she was 27, Rma was poisoned to death, and she had to go to Shab to arrange for his cremation. In her early thirties she struggled against seven difficult obstacles, including serious medical conditions, and in part in order to find a cure, she visited the widely renowned Indian teacher Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas. Apart from him, she studied with a long list of teachers, including Vairocana, the Orissan translator and teacher of the radical spiritual songs of the Mahâsiddhas.¹² Most crucial for posterity was her meeting with Se-ston Kun-rig, since it was through him that she received the Path Including Result teachings which would be passed on in subsequent centuries under the name Lam-'bras Zha-ma Lugs ('The Zha-ma System of Path Including Result'). During the later years of her life (beginning approximately at age 40), she travelled about teaching together with her brother 'Khon-phu-ba, and their fame spread far and wide. There is an interesting story about her relationship with her nephew, the son of 'Khon-phu-ba, who would later become a significant Lam-'bras teacher. His name was Lha-rje Zla-ba'i-'od-zer (1123-1182).¹³ His mother died when he was two, and he was raised by his aunt Zha-ma, about 60 at the time, who, it is said, nourished him with milk from her finger for the first 10 years of his life. Zla-ba'i-'od-zer spent most of his later years in Nepal, but he was able to amass a considerable fortune, and it was he who had erected the two silver reliquaries for enshrining the remains of his father and his aunt. Among the famous men who received esoteric teachings from Zha-ma were Khyung-tshang-pa and Phag-mo-gru-pa. Zhang Rin-po-che received (and practiced) her lineage indirectly, through his teachers Gling-ka-ba and Yer-pa-ba. Yang-dgon-pa eventually made known the titles of three of her instructions on the 'intermediate state' (*bar-do*) between death and rebirth. Unfortunately, nothing longer than a few lines of her teachings seems to survive in writing.¹⁴

¹¹Feigning insanity in order to escape (supposed) duties or responsibilities is especially well known in the history of Chinese Daoism, but cases of it are known in Tibetan history as well. For examples, see Roerich (1976: 99, 1030). Of course, psychologically speaking, impossible social conditions, in particular an unbearable family life, may strongly contribute to very real mental problems. It may be, too, that the perception of such psychological disturbances as 'feigned' or 'real' may also depend in some part on a process of social recognition (saints are never 'really' insane...). On the other hand, feigning insanity, since it is conscious and calculated, would seem to be quite distinct from the utterly free and spontaneous activities of the mad Buddhist saint, as depicted in Ardussi & Epstein (1978) and Silver (1987). The first kind of insanity breaks oppressive social ties *in order* to practice religion, while the second is a *celebration* of spiritual attainment.

¹²On Vairocana (AKA Vairocanarakṣita or Vairocanavajra), see Martin (1992: 254-5) and Schaeffer (forthcoming).

¹³His story is to be found in Roerich (1976: 229-232). A biography of both he and his father was written by one Jo-ston Dbang-phyug-grags, but I have been unable to learn about its present existence. The account of Zha-ma causing a jet of milk to fall from her ring finger may be connected to the idea that saints no longer have ordinary blood, but milk instead (the story is told, for example, about her near contemporary Khyung-tshang-pa).

¹⁴One brief passage has been identified in Stearns (forthcoming). I have noticed two further quatrains in 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1969-71: V 85).

The degree of the impact her teaching activities had on Path Including Result lineages that *have* survived is one of those unfortunate historical unknowns.¹⁵

A third figure who will not be discussed here in detail, although she must belong to the 12th century, is Snang-sa 'Od-'bum, native to the region that includes the town of Gyantse (Rgyal-rtse). Her story has been summarized and translated a number of times.¹⁶ It is very difficult to judge the historicity of her life, but even if it is in some part fiction, as is often the case, fiction can be made to tell cultural truths larger than fact. Her involuntary marriage, her thwarted desire to lead a life of religion, and the injustices she suffered at the hands of her inlaws reflect the experiences of many Tibetan women in history, which may largely explain her story's popularity. It belongs to the 'das-log genre in that it includes an account of her return from the dead. It is extremely popular as a subject for laypeople's masked dance-opera performances called *Lha-mo* ('Goddess'), and might also be told at home, or by a more professional storyteller (called a *ma-ni-pa*) in the marketplace illustrating the story by pointing to a scroll painting with narrative scenes. It certainly provided Tibetan women with a model for transcendence, as well as a complete or partial mirror of their social situations.

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All the remaining women share one characteristic besides their gender, and that is that there is relatively little literary information on them, and generally not much prospect of drawing out a complete biographical sketch. I have arbitrarily divided them into the categories of [1] prophets, [2] disciples, [3] lineage holders, (which ought to include the lineage founders Lab-sgron and Zha-ma), [4] leaders of popular religious movements, [5] teachers, and [6] nuns, with the recognition that these categories are based on the roles they play in the limited literature we have found about them. The categorical lines are blurred, and increasingly so the more we learn about them.

all women?
PATHS

• [1] Prophets:

Primarily known for her prophetic role is one Dngul-mo Rgyal-le-lcam. She was a disciple of 'Dzeng Dharma-bo-dhi (1052-1168) who was in turn a disciple of Pha-dam-pa and Lab-sgron and many other luminaries of the day. While he followed the Cutting and other esoteric teachings, 'Dzeng's greatest fame was due to his spreading of the Rnying-ma-pa teachings known as the *Vajra Bridge*, and his rather unusual ascetic practices which would remind us today of 'extreme sports.' For five years he wandered about Gtsang Province stark naked,

¹⁵There are some general discussions of the Path Including Result transmissions, for example in Mang-thos (1988: 133) and Kong-sprul (1985: I 522-3), which would at least indicate that the Zhwa-ma system was adopted or mixed into still other Path Including Result transmissions. Still, there is nothing in these sources about what in particular the Zhwa-ma system contributed. It is interesting that Kong-sprul (*ibid.*) names three direct disciples of Zhwa-ma herself. One of these three was a woman who was evidently a locally prominent political leader, named Dpon-mo Sher-tshul, who continued one of the Zhwa-ma lineage streams. A *dpon-mo* is a woman chieftain of a local administrative area (of a township or *rdzong*).

¹⁶For examples, Allione (1986: 61-140), Bacot (1936), Cunningham (1940), Ross (1995: 83-90) and Waddell (1972: 553-565). The Tibetan text has been published several times in differing versions. Her name sometimes has the variant spelling Snang-gsal 'Od-'bum. Because of her association with Ras-chung-pa (1084-1161) among others (Milarepa and Pha-dam-pa are also mentioned), she must belong to the late 11th or more likely 12th century. I have not yet been able to locate her name in the biographies of Ras-chung-pa. One source, which spells her name Snang-sa 'Od-de-'bum, after telling how she was forced against her will to marry a chief after she was seen at the festival at Gyantse, quite improbably has her go on to become the famous wife of Mar-pa named Bdag-med-ma (*Khyung-po-ras-pa* 1984: 29-33; a translation of this important woman's biography is said to be forthcoming). On 'das-log stories in general, see in particular Epstein (1982).

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taking high-dives into icy waters, leaping into abysses, striking his head with rocks and burning himself alive. His biography mentions that he gave esoteric precepts to Dngul-mo, which included the 'Four Statements' (*Yi-ge Bzhi-pa*) and the Great Perfectedness.¹⁷ She is referred to here as a 'superhuman *zhig-mo*.' This word we are used to seeing in the masculine form *zhig-po*, which means a person who has totally 'dissolved' (*zhig-pa*) ordinary clinging to the 'self' concept as well as the usual bonds of social life. *Zhig-po* and *zhig-mo* are people who act out their realization of Buddhist truths in unconventional, 'crazy' ways.¹⁸

The only other known episode of her life would be the prophetic statements she made to Rten-ne (a follower of Pha-dam-pa's Pacification [Zhi-byed] teachings, he lived 1127-1217), explaining how he obtained his name. There are three literary sources of this story known to me.¹⁹ The story may be paraphrased as follows:

When Rten-ne was three years old, he asked his mother, "Where is the region of Mal Brtson-grus-bla-ma?" His mother replied, "In the gorge of Lho-brag. Why do you want to know?" "Because these are the region and name of my previous rebirth," he responded.

Years later, when Rten-ne reached his 25th year, he got the idea to visit what had been his home country in his previous rebirth in the gorge of Lho-brag. On his way, in Yar-brog, the region surrounding the the famous lake by that name, he met two lamas of from E-mnyal²⁰ and the three of them went about begging. His two new companions recommended that together they should visit the nearby Sla'u Monastery before going on to Lho-brag, saying that there was to be found in that monastery a group of chaplains who had dissolved worldly bonds (*mchod-gnas zhig-po*) serving a Sprul-sku Se Jo-sras. One of the four, they said, was Ma-jo Rgyal-le-lcam, an old beggar woman who was always laughing but possessed the powers of clairvoyance. It is necessary to know that, at the time, Rten-ne had the name Jo-sras 'Jig-rten-grags. When they met with Rgyal-le-lcam she didn't speak to the other two men, but grabbed 'Jig-rten-grags by the hand and exclaimed, "Goodness! Goodness! If it isn't big brother Rten-ne! What a surprise! What a surprise! Drink from these breasts! Child, don't go to Lho-brag gorge! The house of Snang went to war and was destroyed without a trace. Child, your teacher is in the northern sun, so do go to Dbu-ru and there you will meet the son of G.yas-mo-

¹⁷Das (1992: 177-180) and Roerich (1976: 180-1). Mentioned here, too, is a 'nun' (*ma-jo*) who vanished without leaving any trace at a lake called Mon-kha Zer-mo. *Ma-jo* is a title of problematic meaning used with some frequency in genuinely 12th century works which became obsolete (and is not in any dictionary). It is possible that it is a contraction of *ma-gcig jo-mo*. My impression is that it means something more than simply 'nun,' perhaps 'abbess' or 'nun teacher.' One way Pha-dam-pa would address Lab-sgron was "Ma-jo Mchod-gnas-ma," according to Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 49) and Roerich (1976: 982), in which *mchod-gnas-ma* means 'woman chaplain.' For sources on the 'Four Statements,' an especially esoteric Bka'-brgyud-pa Mahāmudrā transmission based on the words of Saraha delivered to Mar-pa in a dream, see Martin (1984: 91-92).

¹⁸In Roerich (1976: 181), *zhig-mo* is translated 'one who had abandoned all worldly laws,' but elsewhere in Roerich (1976: 132), *zhig-po* is translated 'mad ascetic.' Don-grub-rgyal-mtshan (1985: 585.6) defines *zhig-po* as *bdag-'dzin zhig-pa-po*, 'one who has dissolved selfish grasping [grasping to the illusion of the self].' It seems to be more or less closely synonymous with the appellation '*khrul-zhig[-pa]*, 'one who has dissolved erroneous appearances,' further interpreted as one who has realized Emptiness (cf. Roerich 1976: 960).

¹⁹Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 210); Roerich (1976: 930-1); Kun-dga' (1979 IV 405).

²⁰This refers to E (Dbye, E-yul) and Gnyal, two adjacent regions, both located to the east of Tsethang (Rtses-thang) along the Brahmaputra River. Lho-brag is close to the modern northern border of Bhutan.

dpal-'dren."²¹ On the basis of this prophecy, Rten-ne eventually located his teacher Pa-tshab²² and received the complete one-on-one transmission of the Pacification.

Another prophet was Bgres-mo. The very name means 'old woman,' and therefore is more likely a nickname than a proper name. It is said that Rngog Mdo-sde (1090-1166), while staying at some springs in Gtsang province, was preparing to visit his consort one evening when a woman *siddhâ* appeared at his doorstep and said, "If you go tonight there may be an accident. But if you go tomorrow night an exceptional child will be born." This prophecy came true in 1115 when his son Gtsang-tsha Jo-tshul was born.²³

This woman is almost certainly the same as a known disciple of Ras-chung-pa (1083-1161). The story goes that Ras-chung-pa was travelling through the gorge of Snubs territory when, "at a place called Spang-chen, one of his disciples was bitten by a dog, forcing them to stay there a few days. During this time, he gave initiations and precepts to one Jo-mo Btsun-ma, who was quite amazed at this, and said not to bite a still more serious bite than that dog. Then the woman went to her own area, Sham-bu. There she meditated and turned out to be a *siddhâ* known as Jo-mo Bgres-mo."²⁴

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disciple

But there were other women by the same name (apart from minor spelling differences), and they are already confounded with each other in the sources. One Jo-mo Sgre-mo of Rong Chutshan ('Hot Springs Gorge') had been a disciple of the 8th-century Indian teacher

²¹The implication of this story is, according to my current understanding, that Rgyal-le-lcam had been Rten-ne's sister in his previous life as Mal Brtson-'grus-bla-ma in Lho-brag. As one proof of her familiarity, she addressed him with a childhood nickname from his previous life Rten-ne, which thereafter stuck as his name in his present life. It is also possible that Rgyal-le-lcam made the nickname Rten-ne on the basis of the second syllable of the name 'Jig-rten-grags. The son of G.yas-mo-dpal-'dren may easily be identified as Rten-ne's teacher Pa-tshab Tshul-khrims-'bar (1077-1158), in his turn a disciple of Pha-dam-pa's student Kun-dga' (see Roerich 1976: 923, 925).

²²His biography is found at Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 205), where his name is spelled Ba-tshab Sgom-pa. He was born in Lower 'Phan-yul to the father Ba-tshab-ston 'Bum-grags and mother G.yas-mo-dpal-'dren in the year 1077. He barely missed meeting Pha-dam-pa himself (when Pa-tshab arrived at Ding-ri, Pha-dam-pa was on his funeral pyre), which made him quite depressed, but a beggar woman, a hidden yoginî, restored his mind and made a prophecy which sent him to study with Pha-dam-pa's student Kun-dga'. This is yet another example of a prophetic woman helping people to find their way to their most important spiritual teacher. According to Roerich (1976: 929), Rten-ne met Pa-tshab in 1150, and the latter died in 1158, at age 82 (i.e., 81).

²³Roerich (1976: 408-409). A longer (and probably later) biography of Ras-chung-pa, Rgod-tshang-ras-pa (1992: 378-379), contains a fairly closely parallel passage, except that the 'few days' are instead "a few months", the disciple bitten by the dog is named Rin-chen-grags, and a few other small pieces of information are provided. The same story is told more briefly in Rta-tshag (1994: 55).

²⁴Rwa-lung (1975: I 217). She is mentioned again later in the text in a list of Ras-chung-pa's disciples, where she is called Jo-mo Bgres-mo of Gtsang (p. 222). The name, the appellation *siddhâ*, the location in Gtsang, as well as the time period are shared by both the prophet and the disciple. Therefore they must be identical. There was still another woman disciple of Ras-chung-pa named Ras-chung-ma (not the same as the disciple of Milarepa called Ras-chung-ma!) whose story should also be studied. She meditated at Gnam-mtsho, and when she died at Se-mo-do (an island in the lake Gnam-mtsho), she didn't leave a body behind (her story is alluded to in Roerich 1976: 439, and told in greater detail in the biographies of Ras-chung-pa).

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female
disciple

Vimalamitra.²⁵ The *Blue Annals* author believes that this 8th century woman was the same one who made the prophecy to Rngog Mdo-sde, "This Sgre-mo was a great *siddhâ* and lived long. It is said that Vimalamitra had entrusted to her many Vajrayânic Tantras. Sgre-mo's prophecy came true..."²⁶ It seems just possible that, as the same author suggests, our prophet Sgre-mo was the same nun who came to Atiśa and made a gift of a model horse made of gold with a turquoise boy riding on it.²⁷ However, it hardly seems possible that, regardless of how 'old' her name might seem to make her, she could have been quite so long lived as to last from the 8th century to the 12th.

We might also mention, although she doesn't fit our criteria since she was not a Tibetan but an Indian (or Nepalese?), the Yoginî Me-tog ('Flower,' perhaps her real name was *Puṣpâ). A story of her prophetic statements made during her visit to Tibet in about 1160, may be found in English elsewhere.²⁸ As an example of the many more obscure prophetic women, we might mention the unnamed woman at Thang-skya, a returnee from death, who prophesied to Stag-lung-thang-pa (founder of the Stag-lung-pa lineage, he lived 1142-1210) about the future gathering of his disciples.²⁹

•[2] Disciples:

I decided not to lay too much emphasis on women who were disciples of famous religious figures, mainly because disciples, as such, are followers, not leaders. Nevertheless, it may be that many of these achieved publicly (or at least literarily) recognized signs of advanced spiritual attainment, or that they in fact had leadership roles or lineages that have since been obscured. Therefore they do belong here, and we will mention some of their names.

We begin with the 11th-century women disciples of 'Brog-mi. His full name being 'Brog-mi Lo-tśa-ba Shākya-ye-shes, he is best remembered for introducing the Path Including Result teachings into Tibet. The initiator of the Sa-skya tradition, 'Khon Dkon-mchog-rgyal-po, was among his followers. He was also a translator from Indian languages. His dates are not very certain, but they might be 993 to 1050 (or 1077?). Among a group of seven disciples who achieved 'accomplishments' (*siddhis*) four were women: Stod-mo Rdo-rje-'tsho, Bzang-mo Dkon-ne, Shab-mo Lcam-cig and 'Chad-mo Nam-mkha'.³⁰

²⁵Roerich (1976: 126, 177).

²⁶Roerich (1976: 409).

²⁷Roerich (1976: 256).

²⁸Roerich (1976: 135-7). The story is also of some interest because it mentions the receiving of a Vajrayâna initiation by a (Tibetan) woman named Wang-mo (or Wang-chung-ma, or Jo-mo Dbang-mo, she was the mother of the famous Rnying-ma-pa teacher Zhig-po-bdud-rtsi, 1149-1199).

²⁹Roerich (1976: 611). 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's mother gave a neighbor who had been bereaved a lesson in impermanence which 'Jig-rten-mgon-po later said was the highest Mahāmudrâ teaching, and his grandmother was evidently elevated to become a spiritual guardian of the 'Bri-gung-pa school; see Das (1992: 90-91, 110-111).

³⁰These names are according to Roerich (1976: 208). The first three of these women achieved the accomplishments (*siddhis*) within a single human embodiment. The fourth achieved only the ordinary *siddhis* (miraculous powers). Elsewhere, their names appear in the forms Rtod-mo Rdo-rje-'tsho, Dbrad Sgom-ma Dkon-ne, Shab-pa-mo Lcam-gcig and 'Phyad-mo Nam-mkha'-mo (see Madrong 1997: 73, in turn based on Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan 1968: 174; the

Among the disciples of that most famous of Tibetan yogis, Milarepa, is his sister Pe-ta and his childhood fiancé Mdzes-se. According to Sangs-rgyas-dar-po's 16th-century history, five women, Pe-ta, Mdzes-se, Gri-lcam-ma, Sa-le-'od, and Dpal-dar-'bum were among his disciples that entered the sky life without leaving physical bodies behind, a traditional 'sign of saintly death.' It lists separately a group of his disciples, 'the four sisters,' as Ras-chung-ma of Mtsho-lnga, Sa-le-'od of Snya-nang, Dpal-dar-'bum of Cung, and Lcam-mo Be-ta (i.e., his sister Pe-ta).³¹ It would seem that another interesting woman disciple would be Gshen-rdor-mo, said to have entered the initial stage of the spiritual Path at the moment of death.³² However, Gshen-rdor-mo was most certainly a man.³³ Their stories will not be told here, but it is interesting to notice that most of the women disciples of Milarepa tend to be referred to with the rather unusual term *nya-ma*, an obsolete word still remembered but difficult to define or etymologize. There are times when the word is used to cover both disciples and patrons regardless of gender.³⁴

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latter is source of the spellings given here). Mang-thos lists the four names as [1] Sham-mo Lcam-gcig, [2] 'Phyad-mo Nam-mkha', [3] Srad-mo Ko-ne, and [4] Stod-mo Rdo-rje-mtsho. More details about these women, based primarily on so-far extremely rare sources, will become available in Stearns (forthcoming).

³¹Sangs-rgyas-dar-po (n.d.: fol. 51). I was able to make use of a photocopy of this manuscript thanks to E. Gene Smith. Unfortunately, large portions of it are nearly or entirely illegible, and I have been able to learn of no other copy. (For more on this work, see Martin 1997: no. 167.) Accounts of all these women may be found in Milarepa's famous biography and song collection, available in English in Lhalungpa (1977) and Chang (1977). Account of Dpal-dar-'bum ("Bardarbom") in Chang (1977: 136-148), Sa-le-'od ("Sahle Aui") in Chang (1977: 408-420), and Ras-chung-ma ("Rechungma") in Chang (1977: 259-274). The chapter about Sa-le-'od was composed by Ngan-rdzong Ston-pa, himself a disciple of Milarepa. The history by Nyang-ral (1988: 493) mentions, unfortunately without listing the individual names, a group of nine women disciples of Milarepa who were *siddhās* (*grub-thob-ma*).

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³²On Gshen-rdor-mo ("Shindormo"), see Chang (1977: 11-2, 23, 33, 552-557); called Rdor-mo in Roerich (1976: 434) and "Shen Dormo" in Lhalungpa (1977: 151). In all these English-language sources she is explicitly said to have been a woman.

³³Thanks to Cyrus Stearns for pointing this out to me. The song collection of Milarepa, in the original Tibetan, says that the patron (~~yon-bdag~~ not *yon-bdag-mo*) Gshen-rdor-mo had the greatest faith in Milarepa from the beginning, that he and his spouse Legs-se[-'bum] invited Milarepa to Rtsar-ma... Another clue that Gshen-rdor-mo was a man, he is never listed among the women disciples of Milarepa. Like Gshen-rdor-mo, Legs-se-'bum is said to have entered the initial stage of the Path, only in her case this occurred when she was still living ("Lesebum"; see Chang 1977: 562). Although considered a very significant step, this is quite far from attaining the direct vision of the truth which signals the beginning of 'sainthood' (*phags-pa*). However, Dpa'-bo (1980: 784) lists the disciple (*nya-ma*) Legs-se in a list of six women disciples who "went to the sky life in their present incarnations" (these six names evidently are those of the "six women *siddhās* who kept the appearance of being householders"; also mentioned, without listing, are the "twelve cotton-clad women" [*ras-ma bcu-gnyis*]).

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³⁴However, in cases where both genders are intended, the expression would be *nya-ma pho-mo-rnams*, 'disciples both male and female'; it is interesting here that the inclusive term for all his disciples is formed upon the term for his women patrons/disciples. The word *nya-ma* is further discussed in Uebach (1990: 343), citing its single occurrence in the *Sba-bzhed*.

Of other early Bka'-brgyud-pa teachers — two of Ras-chung-pa's women disciples have been mentioned already³⁵ — we might mention that Sgam-po-pa wrote a few of his works for the benefit of a 'woman patron of 'Ol-ka' ('Ol-ka'i *yon-bdag-mo*). Since these texts include quite advanced Mahāmudrā instructions, we may assume that she was among his more spiritually advanced students.³⁶ Her's would seem to be just one among a number of other stories of remarkable women unfortunately left untold.

Patroness
of
Sgam-po-pa

There were three groups of Ma-gcig Lab-sgron's disciples who are said to have held her lineage. The second group is called the 'four daughters,' but we have no information about them apart from their names and localities.³⁷ Also in the Cutting lineage, we might mention Lcam-mo La-'dus, AKA Grub-chung-ma, born to Ma-cig Lab-sgron when the latter was in her 30th year; and Lan-thog-ma (Lan-to-ma), daughter of Thod-smyon Bsam-grub.³⁸ We save our comments on the largest group of women disciples, totalling 24, for later discussion.

Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158) had a group of three women disciples. Their names are simply listed as [1] Jo-lcam Phur-mo, the mother of his son Kun-dga'-bar, [2] Jo-mo Ba'u-ma (or 'A-u-ma) of G.ya'-lung, and [3] Jo-mo Mang-chung-ma of Mang-mkhar.³⁹

SA chens
disciples

³⁵Although we have no other information apart from her name, there was among the four main disciples of Gtsang-pa Sum-pa (one of the most famous of the disciples of Ras-chung-pa) a woman named Jo-mo Sgron-ne of Gtsang. She must date to the late 12th or early 13th centuries. There is reference to her in the brief 15th-century Bka'-brgyud-pa history by 'Brug-chen II (for bibliographical reference, see Martin 1997: no. 126). It is possible that she could be identical to the Ma-jo Sgron-ne who was a teacher of Zhang G.yu-brag-pa (1123-1193).

³⁶'Ol-kha is a region within Lho-kha (the general name for the area inside the great bend in the Brahmaputra River). It is unfortunate not to be able to further identify this patron/disciple. Even her proper name is not known (but it is certainly possible it was preserved in one of the many biographical accounts of Sgam-po-pa). Although Sgam-po-pa had already spent some time in 'Ol-kha before, he met this woman patron during one of his lengthy retreats in 'Ol-kha after the death of Milarepa (therefore, in the late 1120's or 1130's).

³⁷Their names are listed in Gcod Tshogs (1985: 94), in Kollmar-Paulenz (1993: 200, 244, 248), in Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 233) and in Savvas (1990: 73). Even their names are spelled in very different ways. It might prove possible to put together scattered pieces of information about Rgyan-ne-ma (whom I believe to be identical to the first of the 'four daughters,' Lab-lung 'Bro-tsha Rgyan).

³⁸On La-'dus, see Edou (1996: 91, 93, 108-110, 114-5, 145, 154, 196 [n. 42]), Gang-pa (1992: 285), Kollmar-Paulenz (1993: 71, 144), and Savvas (1990: 71). There is confusion in the sources as to whether her father Thod-smyon Bsam-grub, was Lab-sgron's son or her great-grandson. On Lan-thog-ma, see Edou (1996: 115, 163, 196 [note 42]), Gang-pa (1992: 320), and "Len-sto-ma" in Kollmar-Paulenz (1993: 198). A daughter of Thod-smyon by the name Nam-mkha'-rgyan is said to have shocked 'Jig-rten-mgon-po into taking monastic vows by running into his presence naked (see Roerich 1976: 597; 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was known for being extremely scrupulous about avoiding even the least physical contact with women). Padma-dkar-po (1968: 426) mentions, without listing any individual names, a group of Thod-smyon's disciples called the 'eighteen daughter *siddhās*,' and says that from them the Women's Cutting (*mo spyod*, i.e., *mo gcod*) lineages spread. There is considerable confusion about La-'dus and Lan-thog-ma in the sources, which requires sorting out. Lan-thog-ma may belong to a later century.

³⁹Based on Mang-thos (1988: 131).

• [3] Lineage holders

'Lineage holder' is here defined not only as a person who holds the main teachings (secret precepts and the like) from a particular teacher, but one who also passed them on in a lineage significant for posterity. One of the most intriguing personalities in this category was one Jo-'bum, important for holding a place in the transmission of the Kâlacakra Tantra of the 'Bro system. Her location in the lineage clearly places her in the 12th century. Her father's name was Dharmesvara (a Sanskritized form of his Tibetan name Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug), while her grandfather was Yu-mo,⁴⁰ both of them very important figures in the early history of Kâlacakra in Tibet. Her brother, Se-mo-che-ba Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan, although he suffered in childhood from serious speech and hearing problems, went on to master the extensive Kâlacakra commentary known as the Vimalaprabhâ and the practices of the Six Limbed Yoga. The brief account of Jo-'bum in the *Blue Annals* translates as follows:

The daughter of Dharmesvara was Jo-'bum. In her childhood, she was urged by her mother to study magic (*mtshu*) and destroyed many enemies. After that she practiced the Six Limbed Yoga, and during that same incarnation became a saint (*'phags-pa-mo*) of equal fortune to the naturally-born *yoginîs*.⁴¹

She appears in a, for most part, quite standard lineage of the 'Bro system of Kâlacakra by Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, where a single line, with added refrain, is devoted to each lineage holder. Her line reads: "Chief of all who live their lives in the sky [the *dâkinîs*], [attainer of the] rainbow body, Jo-'bum-ma. [refrain:] I pray to you, hold me in your thoughts with compassion. You hold the lineage; bless me to have a life comparable to yours."⁴² She is preceded in the lineage by her father, and after her comes her student 'Jam-sar Shes-rab-'od-zer, although it is curious that she is not mentioned in the role of teacher in the latter's biographical account in the *Blue Annals*, where he studies instead with her brother Se-mo-che-ba.⁴³

⁴⁰Yu-mo studied directly with the Kashmiri Kâlacakra master Somanâtha. Some of Yu-mo's Kâlacakra treatises, although falsely attributed to others in the published version, have miraculously survived. See Stearns (1999: 44-45) for more on Yu-mo and his treatises. Stearns (1996, 1999) has written the most valuable studies of the Six Limbed Yoga. For the Kâlacakra treatises, which have been mistakenly published under the authorship of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, see Yu-mo (1983), and note (on p. 13, line 1) that Jo-'bum does occur in a lineage prayer (*not* by Yu-mo) appended to the first treatise (although it spells her name "Ma-1 Lo-'bum").

⁴¹Based on 'Gos Lo-tsâ ba (1974: 675-6); see the English translation in Roerich (1976: 768).

⁴²Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1979). Checking the lineage of the 'Bro system in the 'record of teachings received' (*thob-yig*) by the Seventh Dalai Lama (Dalai Lama VII 1983: XI 222), one may observe that Sprul-sku Jo-'bum (nothing here to indicate her gender) is indeed included. Still, there is a footnote attached informing us that the name does not appear in the 'Bro lineages included in some seven other *thob-yigs*, including those of Bu-ston and Tsong-kha-pa. The Seventh Dalai Lama places her immediately after Grub-thob Nam-mkha'-od (described in the footnote as a shaven-headed white [robed] tantric) and immediately before her brother Se-mo-che-ba. One of the earliest lineage sources for the Kâlacakra, 'Phags-pa (1968: 191, column 3), also excludes Jo-'bum.

⁴³Roerich (1976: 769-70). Jo-'bum is also not mentioned in the brief account of the early 'Bro system lineage in Bu-ston (1965: IV 61-65). A slightly later Kâlacakra history, dated to 1360, mentions her only as a teacher of some relatively minor practices and precepts to [her brother] Se-mo-che-ba. Here she is called 'father's lady Emanation Body Jo-'bum.' Here again, she is left outside the main line of transmission (fol. 38 *verso*, line 1; the author of this work, I now believe, must have been a disciple of Dol-po-pa and not Dol-po-pa himself; for bibliographical

The most detailed biography of Jo-'bum was found in the Kâlacakra history by Târanâtha (1575-1635). It runs as follows:

Of the three children of Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug, there were two who served animate beings. The Lady Lha-rje Jo-'bum was renowned as being the emanation body of Indrabodhi's lady Lakṣmînkâra.⁴⁴ She had such great knowledge that she had thoroughly mastered the tantras and commentaries of the Kâlacakra. In her younger years she engaged in all kinds of activities. When she became a young woman, at her mother's urging, she practiced the Yamântaka Gesture of Vanquishing and beheld his visage. She coerced Life Lord (Tshe-bdag) and Great God Blazing Glory (Lha-chen Dpal-'bar) into her service. She practiced life magic (*srog mthu*). She made magical displays, hail and so forth. She spent all her time on this. The magical powers of her coercive mantras were extremely great. During her 36th year (i.e., age 35) she was suffering from a severe illness which convinced her that nothing was of any importance apart from realizing the way things truly are. She meditated on the Six Limbed Yoga which she had learned from her father and during the first day she completed the ten signs. In the 7th day, the internal winds dissolved into the central vein. She became a great woman *siddhâ* (*grub-thob chen-mo*). In her retreats she would go entirely without human food for about half a month or about a month, but her physical strength would become much better. She stayed in rock shelters at Srin-po-ri, and travelled in areas impassable to humans, meditating. She was able to stop outbreaks of contagious diseases simply by pronouncing the Power of Truth. A simple touch of her hand would free the sick from their sicknesses. These and other such signs [of her accomplishments] became known.⁴⁵

About her dates, or how long she lived, we are told nothing, only that she died before her brother Se-mo-che-ba.

I was also able to locate a brief reference to Jo-'bum in a defense against critics of the Rnying-ma-pa school, one attributed to the famous Klong-chen-pa. The general context is an argument that many members of other schools have benefitted greatly from their study of Rnying-ma-pa teachings, in particular the Great Perfectedness. In the narrower context, it seeks to show that Kun-spangs-chen-po (this is a way of referring to the founder of Jo-nang Monastery, who lived 1243-1313) received Rnying-ma-pa teachings. It says, "Then he requested the Royal Manner Anointment initiation from Ma-gcig Jo-'bum, the daughter of the great *siddha* Yu-mo."⁴⁶ This is quite a puzzling statement, first of all because nothing that we know connects Jo-'bum to Rnying-ma-pa teachings, and secondly because of the obvious chronological problem. I would suggest that the author of this work has confounded Jo-'bum, the [grand] daughter of Yu-mo with another person with the same name. One candidate might be the wife of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, whose name was Jo-'bum-ma, or the male Rnying-ma-pa teacher [Rta-ston] Jo-'bum (1124-1174), or a person [male?] Gnyan-thob Jo-'bum (1235-

details see Martin 1997: no. 89). Even more confusing, calling her 'father's lady' (*yab-kyi lcam-mo*) would seem to imply that she was Dharmesvara's sister or wife (*lcam-mo* may serve as an honorific in both meanings).

⁴⁴Indrabodhi, although the name often appears so in Tibetan sources, ought to be corrected to Indrabhûti. For Lakṣmînkâra, "one of the founding mothers of Tantric Buddhism," see Shaw (1994: 39, 110-13, *et passim*).

⁴⁵Târanâtha (1983: 17-18).

⁴⁶Klong-chen-pa (1977: 168). Despite the tone of the discussion here, there is evidence that the Kâlacakra lineages had a considerable number of exchanges with Rnying-ma-pa teachers. Germano (1994) has attempted to excavate evidence of some of the doctrinal and practical cross-fertilizations that have become obscured in the (generally lineage-specific) histories.

1273).⁴⁷ Only the last-named suits the chronology, but this person also was, being connected with the transmission of Cakrasamvara, free of any apparent Rnying-ma-pa connections. This unsolved and perhaps insoluble problem is offered as an example of the confusions of identity that we find so often in the sources, and we take our leave of Jo-'bum with some reluctance, since there must be more literary sources about her somewhere. For the moment, we have done our best.

The 15th and 16th century teachers Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka, most famous for compiling the life and songs of Milarepa, and Padma-dkar-po, 4th 'Brug-chen incarnation and perhaps the most important intellectual of the 'Brug-pa school, both belonged to lineages of the esoteric ear-whispered teachings called the Ras-chung Earwhispered Transmission (Ras-chung Snyan-brgyud).⁴⁸ This lineage included two women, Ma-gcig Ong-jo and Kun-ldan-ras-ma (AKA Yeshe-kun-ldan, daughter of Dha-ra-shri).⁴⁸ Only the former, Ong-jo, belonged to our time period. Since one biographical source (which provides only a few biographical details, however) has been translated,⁴⁹ we will not translate it once more, but rather summarize and add some further sources.

MS Cuvato
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The Ras-chung Earwhispered Transmission was a special tradition centered on Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī. Some of its teachings were received by Ras-chung-pa from the Indian Ti-phu-pa, and not from his main teacher Milarepa (some parts of these teachings were in fact given by Ras-chung-pa to Milarepa). It was certainly esoteric in the sense that it existed independently of the public arenas of Buddhist teaching, and could freely pass inside monastery walls and out again. Its existence outside the institutions, as well as its deliberate fostering of 'individual' spirituality, made it rather suspect in the eyes of some of the more scholastic leaders, for example Chag Lo-tsā-ba.⁵⁰ One consequence of this independence of monastic institutions was that among its lineage members there were laypersons, both married and unmarried. Another consequence may be that they had less problem accepting women as bearers of the blessings of the lineage.

The one independent biographical source would appear to have been written by Ong-jo's follower in the Ras-chung transmission, Zhang Lo-tsā-ba.⁵¹ Her outward life is covered in just a few lines, which tell us that she was born in 'U-yug, that her family had achieved great wealth in both field and livestock agriculture,⁵² and that she belonged to the Rgya-mo clan. She was extremely sad during her youth, refused to remain in the household life and escaped to

⁴⁷There was also the wife of 'Khrul-zhig Dar-ma-seng-ge (1223-1303, a Zhi-byed master) named Jo-'bum (Roerich 1976: 960). Clearly, Jo-'bum[-ma] was a rather common name during these and subsequent centuries.

⁴⁸The story of Kun-ldan-ras-ma has been translated in Allione (1986: 221-231).

⁴⁹Allione (1986: 213-219). The translation is generally quite well done, but there are so many explanatory elements added to what the Tibetan actually says, that it would better be described as a paraphrase.

⁵⁰See Martin (1996: 33-34) for Chag Lo-tsā-ba's polemic.

⁵¹I have two cursive manuscripts to work with. They are not completely identical in content, but I have combined them rather indiscriminately in the following summary. They are located in Bde-mchog Snyan-brgyud (1983: 285-288) and Bde-mchog Mkha'-'gro (1973: 175-176). The latter source, which is the one used by Allione, is somewhat less detailed.

⁵²The expression used is *bod 'brog 'dzom-pa*. This means [sedentary] agriculture and [nomadic, or rather transhumant] shepherding combined. This is one of those interesting cases where the word for 'Tibet,' Bod, is applied specifically to the tilling of the soil.

the mountains. She ‘entered the door of religion’ (she took lay vows) and studied and reflected on many of the esoteric precepts, but most importantly, she met Khyung-tshang-pa. He said to her, “You are a reincarnation of the Total Knowledge Sky Goer Bde-gter-ma,”⁵³ and with compassion accepted her as a disciple. She received the earwhispered teachings three times, the first time as a layperson, the second and third times as a fully ordained nun.⁵⁴ Of her degree of attainment after receiving and practicing the esoteric precepts, one of the manuscripts says, “An extraordinary realization of the way things are took birth in her mind.” The remainder of this ‘biography’ illustrates how she brought to perfection in her life the six transcendent qualities of generosity, disciplined conduct, patience (including tolerance and longsuffering), energetic application, meditative absorption and insight. These virtues, universal to Mahāyāna, she actualized within the tantric realm of the Vajrayāna.

Only one of the manuscripts says that Ong-jo received the one-to-one transmission (*chig brgyud*) from Khyung-tshang-pa. In fact, Khyung-tshang-pa also passed the earwhispered transmission teachings on to three men, one of whom had the name Dge-sdings-pa. But these three along with Ong-jo were all teachers of Zhang Lo-tsā-ba (d. 1237). Zhang Lo-tsā-ba, who had many teachers, first studied with the three men, but had some doubts. Padma-dkar-po’s 16th-century history says, “When he had some doubts because no text was forthcoming, Dge-sdings-pa told him, ‘Ma-cig Ong-jo is the Lama’s consort (*gsang-yum*). It seems she has [the texts]. Go to her.’” He went to her twice, but she did not speak, let alone say what she had. Meanwhile he went and took complete ordination from the Great Pundit of Kashmir and studied the monastic rules. Only then did she very happily grant him the precepts.⁵⁵

The *Lho-rong History* has nothing to add to Ong-jo’s biography, of which it gives brief extracts, but it does tell in a different way how Zhang Lo-tsā-ba received the earwhispered transmission from Ong-jo, “He went to the presence of Ma-gcig Ang-co three times, but the first two times she did not grant [the precepts]. The third time, she said, ‘[Khyung-tshang-pa] told me to give them to a suitable vessel, and that means you.’ She gave him the initiations and guidance instructions of the earwhispered teachings as well as the Revered One’s personal books and sacramental objects. Then she made a prophecy.”⁵⁶

⁵³It is probable that the manuscript has misspelled the name *Bde-ster-ma*, ‘She Who Grants Bliss.’ This is known to the Bka’-brgyud-pa tradition as the name of Tilopa’s spiritual ‘sister’ (*sring-mo*) a Sky Goer who offered him guidance throughout his life. On her, see for example Padma-dkar-po (1968: 246, 248). One manuscript says that Khyung-tshang-pa accepted her as a disciple with “compassion” (*thugs-rje*), while the other says he did so “with affection” (*[b]rtse-ba*). Although not necessarily different in meaning, there is certainly a difference in tone, since the latter may connote kindly affection of a less spiritually refined and more familial kind. Even though we will note some later sources which suggest that she and Khyung-tshang-pa had intimate relations, there is really no sign of this here, in the single source of all the later literature on her.

⁵⁴This statement, which appears in only one of the manuscripts, is quite significant, since the word *dge-slong* (notably lacking the feminine ending *-ma*) is used. This is one of the few pieces of evidence we have that women were receiving the complete *bhikṣuṇī* vows in those times. This point will be discussed further in the section on nuns. Note also how one source says that, ending at age 33, Ma-gcig Lab-sgron was a “vollkommene Nonne” (Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 142).

⁵⁵Based on Padma-dkar-po (1968: 509).

⁵⁶Rta-tshag (1994: 127; with summary of Ong-jo’s life at 119-120). This account is somewhat elaborated in Zhang’s biography composed by his own disciple (contained in Bde-mchog Snyan-brgyud 1983, at pp. 308-9). Here the objects he received from Ong-jo are clarified. The personal books of Khyung-tshang-pa were ‘codified’ (*bkod-pa*) by himself (a different manuscript, however, says it was codified by Milarepa), and the ‘sacramental objects’

The only passage about Ong-jo that seems to be in some degree independent of all the other sources that stem from the only biography there is, is a brief one in a 16th century history already cited above. Notice the very unusual spelling for her name:

“The Heart Disciple of Khyung-tshang-pa by the name of Ma-cig Kong-'byo was born in U-yug. From her youth she had very great faith and compassion. When she went to the presence of Khyung-tshang-pa she heard the complete precepts of the earwhispered transmission, and countless good qualities were born [in her]. She helped many fortunate disciples such as Zhang Lo-tsâ-ba, and departed for the sky life.”⁵⁷

Although they might fall outside the chronological boundaries set for us, we should at least mention two other women lineage holders, Ma-gcig Re-ma and her spiritual granddaughter Mdzes-ma.⁵⁸ It is possible that Re-ma could at least have been born sometime in the 12th century. It seems that she was a direct disciple of the Indian teacher Mitrayogin, a historically shadowy but nevertheless extremely popular figure in Tibetan literature.⁵⁹ She passed the lineage of the ‘Cutting the Flow of Sangsara’ (*Khor-ba Rgyun Gcod*) teachings on to a man called 'Khrul-zhig, who in turn passed them on to Mdzes-ma of 'On. Mitrayogin's dates are unsettled, but based on his presence at the beginning of the building of the Great Maitreya image (80 cubits high, or about 120 feet!) at Khro-phu, he must have come to Tibet sometime in the late 12th or early 13th centuries. We may attempt to be more precise, in that Khro-phu Lo-tsâ-ba (1172-1236) invited Mitrayogin to come to Tibet when the former was age 26. This means he must have been invited in 1197, some 7 years before Khro-phu welcomed the Kashmiri teacher Śākyaśrī (1127? or 1140?-1125?) to Tibet in 1204.⁶⁰ Re-ma would have met Mitrayogin, who stayed in Tibet only 18 months, in 1197 or the following year.

included a set of the six ornaments (worn by male wrathful deities) and elixir pellets. But for several years she did not perform the initiations and neither did she explain the more profound precepts. She made a mysteriously worded prophecy which seems to say that he would have to wait until his hair reached his knees, when a student of the great man would arrive and the sky goers would extend an invitation (?). One may consult the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1976: 443-444 and 446), but be aware that this text offers no more than a summarized form of the biographies. Note, too, that the few entries in biographical dictionaries devoted to Ong-jo simply copy the *Blue Annals*. It is curious that the *Blue Annals* (and sources based on it) say that she served as a tantric assistant (*shes-rab-ma*) during the performance of initiation rites. The source on which this is based says no such thing, although one of the manuscripts does say (at the same point in the story) that, quite to the contrary, she served as a Vajra Master. The other manuscript says that [she or someone else?] “performed the initiation.”

⁵⁷Sangs-rgyas-dar-po (n.d.: fol. 76 verso, line 3).

⁵⁸The story of Mdzes-ma, not told here, is found in Roerich (1976: 1039-1040). Although here it is obviously a proper name, it is interesting that the noun *re-ma* (also spelled *re-rma*, *re-dma*, *ri-ma* and *res-ma*) is said to be an obsolete word meaning ‘woman.’ See Btsan-lha (1997: 892-893). One woman disciple of Pha-dam-pa was named Ri-ma (Roerich 1976: 916) although for chronological reasons she cannot be identified with the present Re-ma.

⁵⁹The study of the biographies of Mitrayogin will prove a difficult but rewarding effort. There are numerous variant manuscripts, most of them based on a series of miraculous events in his life. Five unpublished manuscripts are described in van der Kuijp (1994: 602), and several more have been published. Also unpublished but potentially quite valuable for research on Re-ma and Mdzes-ma and their circles are some manuscript collections of Khro-phu Lo-tsâ-ba's writings and translations (see van der Kuijp 1994: 600).

⁶⁰On these figures, see especially Jackson (1990) and the review by van der Kuijp (1994). The Kashmiri teacher is said to have died in his 99th year (i.e., age 98).

The *Lho-rong History* has by far the most detailed account of her life, but spells her name Reb-ma:

Ma-gcig Reb-ma Dar-ma-byang-chub received the name [Reb-ma] from her native area. She met with Lord Kun-ldan-ras-pa [1148-1217] and requested all the secret precepts. Then she did the practices single pointedly. Her realization reached the point that is like when both the blade and the whetstone disappear. Scholars rank her by saying, “She is a great yoginî who clearly did realize the way things are, emptiness.” She had unrestricted clairvoyant abilities, and knew that there would come to a fisherman in the lower ‘Jad Valley [in Gtsang] named Lug-skyes a child who would be a reincarnation of Dam-pa Rin-po-che.⁶¹ The morning that child was born, she carried him to the first feeding ceremony⁶² and then she raised him. Later he would turn out to be an unimaginably great *siddha* known as Lce-sgom-rdzong-pa Shes-rab-rdo-rje who would found and reside at a monastery at the rock of Mkha'-skyong in Rta-nag, and thereafter be called Mkha'-skyong-brag-pa. In later times, this same Ma-gcig Reb-ma would clear away obstacles for this very person. The Six Treasuries of Dohâ [songs singlehandedly translated by Vairocana] were obtained from Bla-ma Zhang by Tshongston Sgom-pa and, just like the latter, this one [Lce-sgom] mastered them.⁶³ When it is said that this person [Lce-sgom] met with Gtsang-pa Jo-sras,⁶⁴ it is referring to the memories of five hundred rebirths found in the biography. Some say that it refers to Kun-ldan Gtsang-pa, while others say, to a disciple of Kun-ldan. This requires more research. This person’s Buddhist compositions were very fine and many, and the Dharma transmission has continued until now (it is said). What this refers to is the fact that this person had two transmissions going back to some masters of the Bka'-gdams-pa. This person had many students including 'Brom-ston Lha-ri-ba, Sangs-rgyas Ba-lam-pa,⁶⁵ Sangs-rgyas-'dul-ba, and the *siddha* Hûm-'bar-ba.⁶⁶ Hûm-'bar-ba had a transmission lineage [list of names omitted]. There were many other transmissions as well, but they are not recorded.⁶⁷

⁶¹I suspect this is an oblique reference to the death in 1195 of Rgyal-tsha Rin-chen-mgon-po (1118-1195), leader of the Khro-phu lineage and disciple of Rngog Mdo-sde.

⁶²Called here *rkan-mar* or ‘palate butter,’ since butter is applied to the newborn’s palate. Pats of butter may also be given to women experiencing a difficult delivery; see Pinto (1999: 167). Butter has a number of special usages in Tibetan rituals, particularly in the lay rituals associated with the New Year, where it seems to be associated with richness and prosperity.

⁶³A mistake in the text (*do-ra* instead of *do-ha*) made this passage incomprehensible until locating a parallel passage in Rta-tshag (1994: 205), which has the more correct reading and specifies that it was exactly Lce-sgom-rdzong-pa who received the teachings from Tsh[o]ngston Sgom-pa. The Bla-ma Zhang mentioned here is of course Zhang G.yu-brag-pa (1123-1193), on whom more later.

⁶⁴This means the spiritual son of Gtsang-pa (and Gtsang-pa often forms a part of Kun-ldan-ras-pa’s name, in forms like Kun-ldan Gtsang-pa). I believe this refers to Kun-ldan’s nephew Khro-phu Lo-tsâ-ba, as the spiritual son of Kun-ldan Gtsang-pa.

⁶⁵Ba-lam-pa was a renowned teacher of the Tshal-pa school born at the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th.

⁶⁶That he was a student of Lce-sgom-pa is confirmed in Roerich (1976: 1025)

⁶⁷Rta-tshag (1994: 336-337). Part of the problem with translating this passage is that it is in the form of a commentary on a not yet identified text. Various photographic copies of manuscripts of the *Lho-rong history* have begun circulating in recent years, and it is possible that

• [4] Leaders of popular religious movements:

Sometime in the decades before or after the year 1100, two women led broadly based religious movements. Literary sources place them in groups variously characterized as “The Four Children of Pe-har,” “The Six Black Yogis,” or “The Four Total Knowledge Sky Goers.” Their names were Shel-mo Rgya-lcam and Zhang-mo Rgya-'thing. Although all but one of the sources provide them with dubious reputations, some even denying their human embodiment by ‘spiritizing’ them, and although nothing survives in terms of self-representation, it is clear that they were widely followed during their times, and their movements may well have continued into the 14th century. Their stories have already been told elsewhere,⁶⁸ so it will suffice to say here that, like so many of the women mentioned here, one or both of them were in (or came into) close relationships with Pha-dam-pa and his circle.

• [5] Teachers:

There would seem to be little point to this ^{particular} last category, since most of the women mentioned above did have teaching roles. Here it is just a category to fit some of the more obscure figures who do not fit in one of the others, and who happen to be mentioned in the role of teacher. One of these was Skal-ldan (or Skal-ldan-mtsho), daughter of Rten-ne. Two sources tell us that she passed teachings on to Rog Shes-rab-'od (1166-1244).⁶⁹ This probably occurred during the first two decades of the 13th century, since Rten-ne was extremely old at the time, perhaps also blind.

It seems Lce-ston Rgya-nag (1094-1149) received teachings from one Jo-mo Myang-mo.⁷⁰ These teachings belonged to the system of Great Perfectedness known as Khams A-ro.

Two women are mentioned by Zhang G.yu-brag-pa (1123-1193) among his many teachers. One, Ma-jo Sgron-ne, is likely to be the same as the Jo-mo Sgron-ne mentioned in a previous footnote. She gave Zhang teachings on the direct introduction [to the nature of mind] according to the Ke'u-tshang-ma system. Zhang's mother was herself a former nun who evidently kept her association with her former convent. The Lho-rong History provides some unique

they may have better readings for this passage. Nowadays Lce-sgom-pa is primarily thought of as a member of the Bka'-gdams-pa school. For arguments about Lce-sgom-pa's connections with Ma-gcig Re-ma and the Khro-phu lineage, those interested are referred to Sørensen (forthcoming). This study includes further sources for the story translated here.

⁶⁸Martin (1996 & 1996a).

⁶⁹Roerich (1976: 946) and Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 214).

⁷⁰Roerich (1976: 128, 1005). Myang-mo as a proper name is not very specific, and could be used to refer to any woman from the region of Myang (Nyang). One Myang-mo was among the 24 women disciples of Pha-dam-pa (Roerich 1976: 918), but there is no reason to believe that she should be identical to the teacher in the Khams A-ro system. This A-ro system had one of the most obscure transmissions in all of Tibetan religious history (see Karmay 1988: 93, 126, 208), but despite that fact (like everything else, it seems) it now has its website on the internet. In the 12th century, Phag-mo-gru-pa was searching for a teacher and at one point requested A-ro precepts. Afterwards he said, “It is no help. It has nothing to offer but quiescence meditation (*zhi-gnas*)” (O-rgyan-pa 1972: 283; compare Roerich 1976: 556). Well, it is difficult to please everyone. The only published texts of the A-ro system I know of are in Kong-sprul (1978: I 311-378), although these texts do not include Myang-mo in their lineages (a 14th-century woman named Zur-mo is found in the Zur lineage).

information. It says that his mother was Shud-mo-za Mang-skyid, as is well known in many sources, but adds in a footnote that the name Ma-jo G.yang-mo also occurs.⁷¹ When she was evidently still a nun, a woman who was recognized as a Total Knowledge Sky Goer named Ma-jo Ra-ma prophesied to her, among other things, that she, Mang-skyid, was like the *bhikṣuṇī* *Prasannaśīla who became the mother of Vasubandhu and Asanga,⁷² that she must take up the household life since it would be a great benefit to the teachings. As a consequence of this prophecy, Zhang and an elder brother were born. When Zhang was 4 (i.e., 3), he asked his mother what Ma-jo Dar-ma was like. His mother told him how, when she was in the stomach of Ma-jo Sangs-rgyas-skyid, the latter would recite the *Names of Mañjuśrī*, that when Ma-jo Dar-ma was born she knew it without studying, that she was known as a sky goer and natural *yoginī* who was able to interpret the words of the text. Then Zhang and his mother went together to Sne'u-gdong to meet her. Zhang recited a brief text for the assembled nuns on the nature of mind. Ma-jo Dar-ma was the first to recognize him as an emanation and foretell his future greatness. She was not only his first teacher, but also his first disciple (so says the *Lho-rong History*). Years later when she died, it was Zhang who arranged her funeral and cremation.⁷³

• [6] Nuns:

It has often been suggested that the lineage of fully ordained nuns might never have been instituted in Tibet, and in recent publications this idea seems to have become an article of faith with a life of its own.⁷⁴ We have already seen that Ong-jo did become a fully ordained nun, a *bhikṣuṇī*. If we may be permitted to use an example that lies outside our time frame, in a history of his monastery Rtse-le, Rtse-le Rgod-tshang-pa (b. 1608) tells this story of a fully ordained nun (who may, with more research, prove datable):

“Lcam-mo Rje-btsun-ma Dkon-mchog-'tsho-mo took the complete vows from Rje Mi-skyod-zhabs, and became an actual *bhikṣuṇī* (*dge-slong-ma*). She faultlessly practiced all the most minute rules of the Vinaya. In Zhong-kha Convent, in the midsts of over a hundred nuns (*btsun-ma*) she taught the

⁷¹I could not find any other source for the name Ma-jo G.yang-mo. However, the only known manuscript of the rare history by Dge-ye (at fol. 36; for bibliographical references, see Martin 1997: no. 140) supplies Zhang's mother with the 'similar' name Ma-jo Yag-ma. On the title Ma-jo, see the previous discussion.

⁷²Her story, although quite fascinating, belongs to an Indian Buddhist context. For English-language sources, see Tāranātha (1990: 155) and Tsonawa (1985: 26-27, 33).

⁷³Most of the material for this paragraph is from Rta-tshag (1994: 181-183). The story has been told briefly, without the benefit of the *Lho-rong History*, in Martin (1996b: 65). The text recited by Zhang, entitled *Mind Meditation: Six Meanings of Enlightened Mind*, has been translated in Martin (forthcoming).

⁷⁴For example, in Tsomo (1989: 121; 1996: viii-ix), Campbell (1996: 5), . The translators of Kongtrul (1998: 26) attribute to Kongtrul the idea that “the ordination of nuns was never introduced into Tibet.” What Kongtrul (p. 129) in fact says is, “...since the nun's ethical conduct is not observed in Tibet at this time, [the subject] will not be discussed here.” Kongtrul was referring to his own times in the late 19th century. Other references to the literature may be found in Havnevik (1989: 45, 210, n. 37).

Dharma. Her life span and her practice were brought to perfection and she was honored with the prostrations and offerings of all the people of Dwags Valley.”⁷⁵

While there may have been Tibetan-born nuns already during imperial times, there were surely both nuns and nunneries during the time of the Second Spread, as newly published evidence would indicate. The daughter of King Ye-shes-'od named Lha'i-me-tog, who took (unspecified) nun's vows herself, “instituted the custom of women (*bud-med*) becoming nuns (*btsun-ma*),” founded a nunnery called Kre-wel, and provided for its maintenance.⁷⁶

In reading the English translation of the *Blue Annals* it is important to realize that the translation ‘nun’ is used to cover a number of Tibetan terms, including *jo-mo*, *ma-jo* and *btsun-ma*. While these terms are likely, in most cases, to refer to ordained women, in fact, ‘nuns,’ they do not necessarily imply the full ordination of the *bhikṣunī*. Three mentions of ‘nuns’ occur, for example in the stories of 'Dzeng (1052-1168) and his disciple 'Dzeng Jo-sras. 'Dzeng was conceived when his mother, named 'Tshar-dgu-gza' Skyid-de, when she had been a ‘nun’ (*btsun-ma*) at Thang-chung in the Yarlung Valley, was forced to descend from her vows by the eldest son of the Thang-chung ‘Emperor.’⁷⁷ A ‘nun’ (*ma-jo*) named Zlo-ba, among others, requested 'Dzeng to teach the *Vajra Bridge*, while the mother of Kun-bzang (a disciple of both 'Dzeng and 'Dzeng Jo-sras) is said to have studied religion with a ‘mad nun’ (*ma-jo smyon-ma*) named Bsam-grub.⁷⁸ These nuns may or may not have been *bhikṣunīs*, but *bhikṣunīs* probably did exist in those days, despite the near silence of the literary sources on this point.

"NUN"
"
jo mo
ma jo
btsun ma

• Encouragement and discouragement. Women's spirituality in the circle of Pha-dam-pa:

One general observation that might be made, is that the majority of these women had some direct contact with Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, or at least with his immediate circle of followers (Jo-bum and Ong-jo being the foremost exceptions).⁷⁹ Pha-dam-pa is said to have visited Tibet a number of times, but it was only during his last visit, after going into retreat at Ding-ri Glang-'khor, that his fame spread all over the Tibetan plateau and people flocked to see him from distant valleys. Although he still used intermediaries or ‘interpreters’ such as Kun-dga'

⁷⁵Rtse-le (1979: 327). Dwags Valley is equivalent to Dwags-po, a major region in the eastern part of Central Tibet.

⁷⁶See Vitali (1996: 55, 60, 110, 178, 209, 274). This evidence was not available to earlier authors such as Gross (1993: 86), who stated, “It is uncertain whether nuns’ ordination was ever transmitted from India to Tibet, but certainly it was not transmitted during the second diffusion of Buddhism from India to Tibet, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and if it ever had existed in Tibet, it had died out by then.”

⁷⁷Roerich (1976: 176).

⁷⁸Roerich (1976: 188).

⁷⁹The percentages might very roughly be estimated at 62 percent for Pha-dam-pa and his circle (including followers of both Pacification and Cutting), as compared to 27 percent for the wider Bka'-brgyud-pa group, and 11 percent for all the rest combined. One reason Pha-dam-pa might have supported women's spiritual education is the fact that, among his 54 *siddha* teachers in India, about ten were women (see Roerich 1976: 869, and Chos-kyi-seng-ge 1992: 21, for lists). It is noteworthy that the Zhi-byed literature employs explicitly gender-inclusive language when referring to Pha-dam-pa's teachers, calling them “the 54 male and female *siddhas*” (*grub-thob pho-mo lnga-bcu-rtsa-bzhi*).

when people came to ask him questions, there is also evidence that he knew Tibetan quite well, that he was able to translate Indian texts into Tibetan by himself (the colophons to these works use the word *rang-'gyur*, indicating that he did it himself without working with a Tibetan), although these translations were then scribed, proofread and corrected by native speakers. Few other Indian teachers in Tibet have been credited with such translations (another is the Vairocana mentioned above). He was famous for his unconventional utterances and behavior, and knew how to deploy a gesture or interjection to cut more directly through the illusions brought by his listeners. He was famous for his parables, paradoxes and riddles. Much to the discomfort of conventionally minded Tibetans, he seems to have given most of his teachings naked, or at least nearly so.⁸⁰ He must have been one of the very few to provide Tibetans an opportunity to directly communicate with an Indian Buddhist tantric master.

Based on the literary remains of his school, he was surely an advocate of a kind of women's liberation, both in the spiritual and mundane senses of the word. He taught the highest teachings to men and women alike, but for women in particular he demanded the courage to break free of the household life and to stop slaving for their husbands.⁸¹ "A woman who cannot leave the household life behind and who produces Dharma I have not seen." "A woman who cannot cast the household life to the winds will not get Dharma." "A beggar woman without a husband is happier than a wife of a bad husband." "Women cannot have Dharma, and if they get Dharma, they have to cut off their connections to the household life. Even if they got Prince Rtse-lde⁸² for a husband, they are just high class slaves." "Women who practice Dharma need a bone in the center of their hearts (they need courage)." What other teacher in Tibet of those times was telling so many woman to break free of their servitude to house and husband to seek the highest spiritual liberation?⁸³

It follows that in Pha-dam-pa's circle, more than others, the spiritual potential of women would have been recognized. There is one text, perhaps the finest literary monument from our era of concern on the spiritual abilities of women, entitled *Answers to the Questions of the Twenty-Four Jo-mo, together with Their Stories*. It is contained in a wonderful old manuscript now available in a 5-volume reprint edition (for convenience, we will just call it the *Pacification Collection*). The original manuscript, with an undeniable and unrivalled importance for understanding the Pacification teachings, dates from no later than the late 13th century (some

⁸⁰We know that he did not wear clothes because his followers would sometimes beg him to put some on. See, for example, Kun-dga' (1979: II 212). As in India, this religious nudity is meant to demonstrate transcendence of the 'social self,' the casting off of worldly concerns, and, in spite of the apparent paradox, the ultimate in modesty. In earlier iconographical representations, he is usually shown with a cloth loosely wrapped around his lower body.

⁸¹There are several dozen possible examples of such advice that he gave to particular named women in a single volume of Kun-dga' (1979: II) alone. The following examples are from pages 407, 412, 415, 420, and 422. "A bone in the center of their hearts" (*snying-gi dkyil-dur-pa cig*) plays with the Tibetan word for 'courage' (*snying-rus*).

⁸²Rtse-lde was a king of the western Tibetan kingdom of Gu-ge. He probably ascended the throne in about 1057, and was especially famous for the religious council he held in 1076.

⁸³It would of course be valid to ask, What really is the gender difference? If women who break free of worldly concerns can advance their spiritual practice, isn't this equally true of men? Another question lies behind these questions, which is, What allowances are to be made for religious and spiritual practices for laypersons in general? Despite the now common generalizations to the contrary, there is evidence that early Buddhism did encourage lay practice of meditation (it is not just a modern concept; on this point, see Samuels 1999). Pha-dam-pa taught a form of meditation-based Buddhism with no prerequisite training in syllogistic reasoning and sophisticated scriptural exegesis, and therefore much more accessible to people in general.

works date to the mid-13th century). It was kept until recently at Ding-ri Glang-'khor as a kind of 'speech receptacle,' an object of worship, a 'relic,' even, of the early lineage. It consists in large part of a collection of teachings put together by Kun-dga', who is said to have received the one-to-one transmission from Pha-dam-pa, and it was Kun-dga' who composed the text on the Jo-mo. The *Pacification Collection* deserves a full study not practical here, and we may hope that someone will undertake the task of overcoming the problems due to its old orthography and vocabulary and do just that. The stories of the twenty-four *Jo-mo* have long been available in English, based not on the original, but on the later *Blue Annals*, which very possibly made use of the very same manuscript we have today.⁸⁴

Just because it is so clear that, more than any other group, the circle of Pha-dam-pa supported women's practice, it is all the more surprising and even dismaying to find more and less negative statements on women's spiritual potential. There is a tenuous but nevertheless crucial distinction between men saying that women have it bad, a statement with which many women of past and present would agree, and saying that women *are* bad. I believe at this stage of my research that Pha-dam-pa himself never unequivocally crossed that line. His actions in teaching women clearly show that no matter how unconducive women's home lives might be to spiritual practice, if they are freed from their household duties they are capable of pursuing Enlightenment. It does not necessarily follow that his followers followed suit. Even the text on the 24 *Jo-mo*, composed by Kun-dga', mentions that women are of 'small accumulation.' Perhaps, but only perhaps, the intention was to say that they had little learning, although it could also intend that their accumulation of merit and total knowledge, and hence their spiritual status, was low; other statements from the early *Pacification Collection* will be adduced that lend support to the latter interpretation.

The entire fifth volume of the *Pacification Collection* is taken up by a major commentary on a text recording interviews Kun-dga' had with Pha-dam-pa. The commentarial portions would seem, basing ourselves on a passage in the *Blue Annals*, to have been composed by Zhig-po Rin-chen-shes-rab.⁸⁵ However, in Zhig-po's untitled history of the lineage, he says that this

⁸⁴The Tibetan text is found in Kun-dga' (1979: IV 302-323). The author, Kun-dga' (at p. 314), explicitly states that he has written down this account as a "message for the women of future generations." A large part of it was more or less reproduced (often abbreviated, with minor changes and omissions) in the Tibetan text of the *Blue Annals* translated in Roerich (1976: 915-920) with the life of Kun-dga' following (pp. 920-923). Incidentally, this text has what may be the earliest known reference to 'carrying corpses to the mountain,' which is what we, not Tibetans, call 'sky burial.' The *Pacification Collection* as we have it was probably first put together (by adding to a nucleus already formed by Kun-dga' and Pa-tshab) by Zhig-po Rin-chen-shes-rab (1171-1245) in 1210, although this original was done in gold letters (see Roerich 1976: 953), and the manuscript we have today may have been prepared later in the same century. The miniature drawings have most unfortunately not been reproduced well, and in most cases have simply disappeared.

⁸⁵The *Bshad-'bum* (short title only) is mentioned as his composition in the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1976: 954), but this may in fact refer to a different text. The complete title is however, mentioned in Kun-dga' (1979: IV 418), where it is associated with the 'six Dharma selling merchants' (a group of Rten-ne's disciples, of whom Zhig-po obviously did not approve). The name that appears in the colophon gives the author's name as Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje. Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje is, however, a common initiation name used by large numbers of early figures (including Yu-mo, Sman-lung-pa and of course the 16th century Karma-pa by that name, among others). The most likely candidate is Gnam-mtsho-ba Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, a Cutting teacher of the Third Karma-pa (1284-1339). References to him appear in Roerich (1976: 992) and Kollmar-Paulenz (1993: 253, etc.), but the most interesting and puzzling source is a brief and hitherto ignored 14th-century history of an obscure Cutting lineage, Anonymous (1982), which also seems to place him in the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th.

the *Bshad-'bum* was granted to the master, with his servants, Spangs Jo-'dzin, a Lama of Phrang-po, and from them it is said to have spread. Of its 55 chapters, the 9th is entitled, "Showing how, women being bad receptacles, the thought of practicing [religion] dawns with difficulty." We will start with the words spoken by Pha-dam-pa to Kun-dga', which will be translated completely, while the much more lengthy commentarial treatment will be excerpted.

"It is as if the likes of women were cut off from the inheritance of the Buddha."

Kun-dga', "But what about the saying that, in Enlightened Mind, there is no gender (*pho mo*)?"

"Firstly, their rebirth is low (*skye-ba dman*) by virtue of not having accumulated the accumulations. In their bodies there is opposition. Because they have no bone in their hearts (no courage), they are unable to do the practices. In their youths, without remembering Dharma, they do everything they can to start a family. When they are old, although they may wish to do something, their bodies are unable. If they take renunciate vows, they are shadowed by the habit. [But] then, if birth and shape are good, they are picked out once more. The women who have obtained independence (*rang-dbang*) are few."

The commentator elaborates these statements with typical commentarial pedantry under ten different categories spread over several pages. It is far from certain that these elaborations would have been countenanced by Pha-dam-pa himself (and it definitely post-dates our period of preoccupation), which makes it less interesting for present purposes. A few of the more remarkable passages will suffice for the present.

"The likes of women are bad receptacles (for the teachings); they clearly place their trust in the causes of suffering. Having little sorrow for their lot in sangsara, since they view suffering as an ornament, they do not escape from household work, and get no chance to work on Dharma... It is because they have no escape (*bud*) from routine chores, that they are called 'women' (*bud-myed*) ..." ⁸⁶

" 'Because they have not accumulated the accumulations, they take <low rebirth>.' ⁸⁷ This means, firstly, that because their bodily receptacles are inferior, the minds that rely [on those bodies] are also inferior. Their minds being of limited scope, their thoughts are incapable of anything more than minor objectives."

He makes part of his argument the idea that women are subject to 32 diseases that men do not have, and since their possible physical sufferings are greater, their minds are more prone to emotional afflictions. "Women's bodies are vessels of pain, and women's minds are vessels of suffering." Commenting on women's lack of independence, he does make use of an unfortunate animal (as in four-legged beast) metaphor,

⁸⁶A different etymology for the word *bud-med* (the 'y' belongs to a now obsolete orthography) has been proposed in Klein (1995: 51), "those not to be put out (*bud med*) because a woman is not to be left outside the house at night" (compare also Campbell 1996: 31-32). Modern discussions of the word inevitably take their point of departure in Das (1973: 872), which supplies a Tibetan-language etymology of unspecified origins that is not translated correctly. It ought to be translated, "Because their [gender] signs do not protrude (*bud*) outward, they are called 'women' (*bud-med*)."

⁸⁷The words *skye-ba dman* would appear to provide an etymology of an ordinary Tibetan word for 'woman,' *skye-dman* (sometimes spelled *skyes-dman*). Pha-dam-pa never seems to use the word *skye-dman*, preferring *bud-myed* instead, as is true also of the earlier Dunhuang documents. Therefore it might seem that the word *skye-dman* had not yet gained currency in Pha-dam-pa's time, although this point needs further study.

“The receptacle for finding one’s way to heaven and liberation is the precious human body. Even those who do find human rebirth, if they are simply born as women, they turn into the unadulterated [nature?] of animals, so their nose ropes are lost to others (i.e., they lose their independence). Even if the attainment of independence is rare [for anyone, for them] it is more rare, [and they are] extremely few.”

He ends by quoting a verse from an unspecified *nîtiśâstra*,

“In their youths they are kept by their parents,
as young women by their husbands,
in old age by their children.
Women do not obtain independence.”⁸⁸

If women are so handicapped by their bodily sufferings, lack of courage, and social position, there would seem to be two different responses, one by the man Pha-dam-pa and one by the man who elaborated on his comments. Pha-dam-pa’s response would probably be that, on an individual basis (not, *nota bene*, as part of any program of social reform), their bodily sufferings need to be alleviated, they need encouragement, and above all they need emancipation from their particular social situations. But his commentator crosses over the line. The alleged handicaps are given such weight and emphasis one wonders whether he would have found teaching Buddhist spirituality to women worth the bother. Both men agree that the reason for low birth as a woman is that they have not ‘accumulated the accumulations,’ and although neither explicitly draws this consequence, this would imply a lack of spiritual cultivation in previous lives, and could mean that they would not be considered suitable for the higher meditative precepts, like Great Seal (Mahâmudrâ) or Great Perfection, which are often said to require prior cultivation. There are still a number of tensions tending toward contradiction in both men’s positions. For example, if women are in fact inordinately suffering entities, it is still the case that suffering itself is, along with impermanence, the strongest motive for the Buddhist quest. Suffering, including in particular bodily sickness and pain, is not a necessary block to spiritual progress, but might to the contrary be directly employed as an expedient (*lam-khyer*) on the Path.⁸⁹ Therefore, if it is in fact the case that women have greater suffering, they will be even more driven to undertake spiritual disciplines and faster in reaching spiritual goals than men are. Even the nagging concerns of the day-to-day life of householders would not necessarily have to bar them from spiritual development.⁹⁰ Guru Rinpoche

⁸⁸Kun-dga’ (1979: V 94-102). For the passage with Pha-dam-pa’s words about women in the ‘root text,’ the *Heart Mirror* (*Thugs-kyi Me-long*), which is a compilation by Kun-dga’ of various interviews he had with Pha-dam-pa, there are at least two other textual witnesses. One is in Phyag-rgya-chen-po (1985: 217-218) and the other in Kun-dga’ (1979: II 184). It may be useful to look at the wider context of the passage, since Pha-dam-pa immediately before and after casting doubts on the spiritual possibilities of women, has some skeptical things to say about the local Ding-ri people, about Tibetan Buddhists in general (“Just seeing these Tibetan Buddhists makes me depressed...”), and about the worldly concerns of followers of the Bka’-gdams-pa sect. I haven’t yet identified the source of the *nîtiśâstra* verse. A *nîtiśâstra* is a text of advice in favor of ethical conduct in worldly affairs, frequently addressed to members of royalty.

⁸⁹A separate text on the practice of ‘taking happiness and suffering on the Path’ (*skyid sdug lam-khyer*) attributed to Shâkyashrî is to be found in the *Blo-sbyong Brgya-rtsa* collection, and this text is the evident basis of a more recent text by the Rdo-ba Grub-chen III (Thondup 1990: 117-129). The same practice appears embedded in a large number of other Buddhist texts.

⁹⁰Thondup (1986: 82), “For them the household life is a method of practice to transform every source of experience in life as the means of enlightened attainment.” See also the text translated

Padmasambhava could even say, in a passage in which he prophesies Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's future rebirth as Ma-gcig Lab-sgron, "The basis for realizing enlightenment is a human body. Male or female — there is no great difference. But if she develops the mind bent on enlightenment, the woman's body is better."⁹¹

- Conclusions and a recommendation:

Contemporary western feminisms find their necessity in their own cultural past, and their justifications within the current socio-ideological atmosphere. It may not even be very fruitful to compare the semi- or 'proto-' (?) feminism of Pha-dam-pa's circle with any or all the feminisms of the present. Still I think it would be fair to say that Pha-dam-pa himself (along with some members of his immediate circle), *more than any of his contemporaries in Tibet*, advocated a particular kind and degree of women's liberation with strongly Buddhist characteristics. His 'feminism,' unlike most modern feminisms, was not aimed at emancipating all women from a socially endemic inequality. Nevertheless, it made individual emancipation from women's social conditions prerequisite for spiritual emancipation.

There are just a few less momentous conclusions that we would hazard to make, and a few possible objections to answer at the same time. We know that women's status in 11th to 12th century Tibet was not high. We may know this from at least two angles. One angle would be to listen to the words of Pha-dam-pa himself, as a rather critical and outspoken outside observer (both as a man and as a foreigner with considerable experience of Tibetan culture). Another angle would be to simply observe the relative scarcity of historical evidence about women. If women did have identical opportunities for education and employment to men in those days, we would find just as much written about women as we do about men.

From a cynical perspective, it could be argued that most of the women who did gain prominence for spiritual realization and religious leadership gained this recognition because of their family connections. The lives of Ma-gcig Zha-ma, with her illustrious religious family, of Jo-bum, who received her spiritual lineage through her family lineage, and of others could be brought forward to support this argument. Although I believe that this is an line of thinking worth testing against the evidence, others clearly did not belong to charismatic or privileged families. If a number of prominent women did have such connections, it might, however, suggest little more than that, generally speaking, family connections may play a strong role in achieving recognition for sanctity or leadership. This would also hold true (in equal degree?) for men.

Another cynical observation might be that all or nearly all these women belonged to esoteric orders with little public exposure. Despite some arguable truth in this, Zha-ma is clearly one who had a great deal of public exposure, even widespread fame, during her later life. Some of the others probably were recognized for their sanctity at the very least in a specific locality. Their transmission lineages might have been quite restrictive and exclusive, but the sanctity they achieved was palpable to those who came in contact with them, even to those with no inkling about their secret teachings.

Momentarily taking leave of the Tibetan for the general Buddhist realm, it is well known that Buddhist scriptures sometimes recommend that in order to strive for Enlightenment, women ought to first transform their bodies, either miraculously in the present life, or 'naturally' in a

in Thondup (1990: 130-141) on a tantric method for making daily activities take part in the Path to Enlightenment.

⁹¹Quoted from Stag-sharn (1983: 102), following the citation in Willis (1984: 14).

subsequent rebirth, into bodies of men.⁹² It is also well known that Buddhism frequently recommends, at a particular stage of spiritual training, meditations on the foulness of women's bodies (along with the foulness of human bodies in general, particularly dead ones). These meditations are bent on making men more realistic by deconstructing the illusions projected by male desires on the bodies of women, to make it possible to eventually achieve freedom from the entanglements of the desires themselves. Although clearly androcentric (women are never explicitly advised to perform foulness meditations on men's bodies), this practice is not misogynistic, or if it is misogynistic it is misogyny aimed at illusions about women, not at women as they (truly?) are.⁹³

Finally, an important point for historians — if we want to learn more about women of a particular time period, it will be important in the future to use historical sources composed in, or as close as possible to, those times. Later sources, because of their greater distance from the realities of the times of which they speak, tend to idealize and 'regularize' (encapsulate) and at times reinterpret the past according to the lights of their own times. One effect of this is that there is less about women in, say, a 15th century source about the 12th century than there would be in a 12th century source. We have seen, too, one example of a likely later reinterpretation. If two 15th- and 16th-century sources state plainly that Ong-jo was the consort of Khyung-tshang-pa, we ought to take this with a dose of skepticism, since it may very possibly be telling us more about the assumptions of the 15th and 16th centuries than about anything that happened in the 12th. From a historian's angle, those places where women's (and not just women saints') lives do surface in the traditional historical sources are precisely those places where we may glimpse the kinship and gender concerns of the traditional historian. Understanding these concerns may open a window on the larger social conditions of the times, through which might emerge insights that no contemporary history writer can afford to dismiss or miss. Knowing the past, like knowing women (or religion, or life, or oneself ...), may involve struggling through any number of illusory projections by both self and other both past and present. There are many barriers in the way, which is not to say that we should shrink back from any possible effort.

⁹²A passage in the *Pacification Collection* (Kun-dga' 1979: V 257) would suggest that 'having turned into a man' (*khyo-gar gyurd-nas*) is there considered to be a mental rather than a physical process. The women in question, who 'turned into a man,' was born to the 'Jim clan in Mang-yul with the name Chos-rgyan, although here and elsewhere she is generally referred to as Rgya-sgom-ma (she is the one mentioned in Roerich 1976: 919, which should say that Ro-zan-ma married as a bride into the family of Rgya-sgom-ma, not that she *was* her bride). Her name surfaces frequently in the biography of Pha-dam-pa during his stay in Ding-ri, although she also spent much time in the Nepal Valley. At one point (Chos-kyi-seng-ge 1992: 61) he granted her profound precepts including the direct introduction to seeing awareness in its nakedness (in its sheer simplicity). Before Pha-dam-pa died, he passed on some of his personal possessions to her, including a robe and a skullcup. In many cases she is called Rgya-sgom or Rgya-sgom-pa, which might lead to the mistaken idea that she was in fact a man (as indeed occurs in Roerich 1976: 914). With further study the *Pacification Collection* will certainly prove a rich source for still more accounts of women's lives.

⁹³For more about gender transformation and foulness meditation (there is now a considerable literature), see the recent works of Havnevik (1989: 27-31, 163-165), Hopkins (1998: 41-43, 114-117), Sunim (1999), Wilson (1996: 77-110), and literature cited therein. For Buddhist Mahâyâna scriptural sources on women, including accounts of gender transformation, the most important book, still unsurpassed, is Paul (1985; first published in 1979).

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