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 'mainstream' 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, 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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† 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 Layma/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 tension 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 potential of lay religious practices, ranging from the dismissive, the patronizing, the accommodating.

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

pressed) in the triumphalist record 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 begin 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 Pehar* (Pe-har Bu Brzhi). 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.* The Four Children are almost always characterized in our sources as *Rdon-chos,* 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, 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-skyba Paṇḍita to be identified with the Bon treasure excavator Gshen-chen Klu-dga.* He recommended a line of research which could establish this iden-

Yet in particular, an examination of the early commentaries to the *Classifying the Three Vows* (Sdom Gsum Rab-bgyud) of Sa-skyba Paṇḍita (1182–1251). Another suggested method and begin with the story of Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal as told by commentaries. In its broader context, Sa-skyba Paṇḍita tells the story in order to provide an example of one who taught in harmony with the Buddha's pro-

During the time of Rin-chen-bzang-po,* 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* grass. He gave and compassion. His teachings even aroused states of contemplative concentration (*samadhi*) in others. All the world believed in him. He made his teachings a little different from those of the Sa-skyba 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, *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,*

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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 Gyu-brug-po. It is found a number of times in early 13th-century works. The term *Rdon-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-geg Yig-chu. The later Tibetan tradition seems to have forgotten the earlier meaning of *rdol,* and so one sometimes finds the word in corrupted forms (based on the graphic similarity of *rd* and *r* in Tibetan script) such as *jol* or even *njol* 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 Tibetanological literature, appears to have originated in the 1801 anti-Bon polemic of Thub'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, Bloomsbury 1991, 170–173, 182–223).

4 See G. Smith, Introduction. In: L. Chandra (ed.), Kmyrgal's *Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture* (Saatapata 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

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It is said, "A great nāga-spirit known as Skar-rgyal who preferred the 'dark side' entered into a bad person 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 any analogy, many people can be killed by poison when it is added to good food. If known to be simply poison, no one could be killed. 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.

Sa-skya Pandi-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 Pandi-ta, although one might expect some reference to it, given its polemical nature.

Of the later commentaries, that of Spos-khang-pa provides the most interesting information. According to Spos-khang-pa, the people of Mar-yul 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. 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 (ltag-stangs) of his chosen deity whose sādhanā 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 Pandi-ta (bid., 133) the speakers of these words are "scholars of generations past."

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


The text for the passage is found in Sa-skya Pandi-ta, Sdom Gaüm Rab-dbyae (Sa-skya Pandita Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtsho, Sdom-po Gsam-gyi Rab-ti Dbyer-bo’s Bstan-bcos, n.p. 1971, folio 80b; through folio 81r.6), and in the same work as contained in Sa-skya Bka’-’bum (see Sa-skya-pa’s Bka’-’bum. Vol. 5. Tokyo 1968, 316 ff.). Jared Rhoton composed a doctoral dissertation (Columbia 1985) on this text which we have not yet been able to consult.

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 Dyang-rgug Yig-chen anti-Bon polemic and in a polemic by Sa-skya Pandi-ta’s contemporary Chag Lo-tas-ba.

Mng-yul, according to the commentary of Go-rims-pa, which has little to add to the information about Skar-rgyal found in Spos-khang-pa’s commentary.

The mngud-spa, a circle of hair between the eyebrows, is one of the thirty-two major marks of a Buddha.

According to the 1954 commentary by Sangs-rgyas-bstan-dzin, (Mkhan-chens Sangs-rgyas-bstan-dzin, Sdom-po Gsam-gyi Rab-ti Dbyer-bo’s Bstan-bcos, New Delhi 1979, 2394), the chosen deity was the Dharma Protector Bce’-bag Gur-mgon (Mgur-gyi-mgon-po). See D.


Bka’-bug drug-po mngud-spa. Literally, 'to do a forceful exertion'.

Sangs-rgyas-bstan-dzin (Mkhan-chens Snga-rgyas-bstan-dzin, op. cit., 240.1) says that he was from Khu-nu, or the lake of Khu-nu. Khu-nu is the present Kunagwar (Kunawar) district on from Mlingo where Rin-chen-bzang-po spent some time. No place name Gu-ma could be identified (Mkhan-chens Nga-dbang-chos-grags, Sdom-po Gsam-gyi Rab-ti Dbyer-bo’s Rnam-thabs-legs-bris-bzhi ‘Od Nor-bu and Sdom-po Gsam-gyi Rab-ti Dbyer-bo’s Spyi-dan Kun Gsal Gnam-ga. The spelling Gu-me will also be noted below. A region of Kham (Kha-chi) named the third collection of scriptures 300 years after the death of the Buddha. This was the close from the standpoint of phonology, would be an identification with the large oasis of Glima on the

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

'Unfortunate' translates bsdun-gras, 'small merit'. In ordinary usage, it means 'unfortunate' or 'lackluster', but it comes out of a Buddhist framework where 'merit' (bsdun-gras) is a salt of past good deeds, and therefore the one who experiences the 'luck' is ultimately responsible.

According to Sangs-rgyas-bstan-dzin (Mkhan-chens Snga-rgyas-bstan-dzin, op. cit., 240.2) he was a goatherd (rwa-brgyud).
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 Tisya. It was also used to translate the nouns *tisya* and *pasya* 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.  

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 Ngam-ris province named Mang-yul (just north of modern central Nepal, at least in later times subdivided into Gung-thang and Skor-pa). This sort of confusion in Tibetan sources has led to considerable scholarly confusion and arguments, and for present purposes it is perhaps as well to live with the ambiguity. The location given by the recent commentator Mkhon-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 Khru-nu, or the area of the present-day Kinnaur district in India. Kinnur borders on Gu-ge (with its capital then at Mhro-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. This would 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., 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. Everyone 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 delusional manifestation of Pe-har, 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,  

21 In A. H. Francke, Antiquités du Tibet, Vol. 2. New Delhi, 1972, 128, we find the spelling Dkar-skylis for this town in Ladakh. Modern newspapers often spell it as Dkar-khyil. We also find the name Dkar-rgyal belonging to one of the prior reincarnations of the Buddha --- see Mkhos-pa Lde'u, Mkhos-pa Lde's mdzes-pa'i Rgyas Bod-rkyi Chos-byung Rgyas-pa, Lhasa 1987, 30, 33. For others with this same name, see H. Gaetchter, The Life and Teachings of Naro-pa: Translated from the Original Tibetan with Philosophical Commentary Based on the Oral Transmission. London 1971, 16: Khutsun Sangpo (= Mkhos-bsan-bsam-pa), Biographical Dictionary of Tibetan and Tibetan Buddhism (in Tibetan). Vol. 1. Dharamsala 1984. 111. For reference to one named Skar-rgyal among the many Buddhas of the past, see for example Bod Mkhos-pa Mi-pham-dge-legs-mam-rgyal, 'Byans-rgyas-pa phun-bes Chen-po Mei-long la 'Jig-po'i Bhad-skyar Dondi Dgyongs Rgyal, Dharamsala 1984, 49. I think it more likely that Skar-rgyal claimed to be a manifestation of the Buddha of the past (if he used the name for himself at all) and that the claims that he was a manifestation of a nying or of Pe-har were then introduced into the story for polemical effect.  


23 D. Snellgrove-T. Skorupski, op. cit., 91. According to the notes attributed to Sa-skya Pandita (see Sa-skya Pandita, Sabin Gsum Rong Mchun, 133.4), Skar-rgyal was in Khru-nu. For the problem of the historical authenticity of these notes, see now D. Jackson, Several Works of Unusual Provenance Ascribed to Sa-skya Pandita. In: E. Steinheilier (ed.), Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Urs Giza on his Seventy-Second 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 Reincarnation. Delhi 1977. The early date would make it one of the earliest specimens of the biographical genre called man-thar to be devoted to the life of a Tibet (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 Bsdod-nams-li ’dzin-pa, Bka’-gdams-pa ’phrul-po'i Chos-byung Rnam-thar Rnyi-mor Bred-pa'i Od Ston (1484) (as contained in Two Histories of the Bka’-gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Rumtek Aham Gangtok, 1977, 291, 292, 292), as well as in the 1476 history Gos Lo Gzhung-nu-dpal, Debs-sun Skyon-po, Zhab-dbyar 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 Rinpoche 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. I see very little reason to doubt that the biography by Khri-thang (= Khri-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., p.) “has all the appearance of a gloss or later insertion” in addition, 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 Khri-thang and Khri-thang is found in Old Tibetan texts in the names of the sons of Dri-gsum-bsan-pa (Bya-khyi = Byad-khyi) and in an Old Tibetan spelling for run-gyi (‘knife”) = run-gyi.  

25 Pe-kar. A variant manuscript of this work reads hka-hbar, a type of spirit which is opposed to the nying-spirits; this of course contradicts the idea that he was possessed by a nying-spirit. For iconographic representations of Pe-karPe-har, see D. I. Lau, Eine Iconographie des lakedischen Buddhismus. Graz 1979, 146, and references supplied there. See also below.
felled to the ground and went. From then on our Lama Translator was treated with great respect. 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 Pandita. 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) who turns out to be a delusive manifestation of Pe-har (or significantly, in variant ms., a klu-bshad spirit) rather than a low-class person possessed by a nagpa, rather than bringing the `levitating' teacher down to earth with a look (lha-stangs), here Rin-chen-bzang-po brings him down with a gesture. 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 cross-legged 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.

There is another brief account, roughly relating to that of Sa-skya Pandita, contained in the story accompanying the commentary to the sixth verse of the verb pronounced here may imply that he `disappeared' or `vanished' in a more-or-less miraculous manner.

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

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 Pandita had the longer (but no longer extant) version of the biography available to him. 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'-gsum-pa and Dge-lugs-pa sects. I think here it just means `religious teacher'.

Sld-mtshab. This is a characteristic gesture in the iconography of wrathful lha (including Mahākāla), generally with the song 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.


The Star King and the Four Children of Pehar. In the early 13th-century Dgyungs-geg-chig Yig-chu, this passage seeks to demonstrate that teachings received through the transmission of a tree revelation and tree prophecies or Poplu[r]ar Buddhism (Rdo-rje) is comparable with those of the Pa'-gtu-dzin who emerged at different times:

While some say that he did sādhanā at Glang-ru in the Nepal Valley (? Bal-ma), the great Ka'-gtu-dzin is the one who was brought down to the ground from the sky with a gesture (snying-'drol) of gazing (lha-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 the 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 Pehar 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 Zhal-pu. Dpe-dkar emanated there as a young monk (btsha 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.
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 Skiyid-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 they only wanted that he should paint a 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-zhab-gho 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-ch’en-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 delusory manifestation[s] of Dpe-kar [which have we] 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-rig,39 entered into a bad person. His name was Sangs-rgyas

36 For this and other stories about Pehar, see R. de Nobesky-Weijorfo, Oracles and Visions of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities. Moton 1955, 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.


38 This passage follows what D. Snellgrove-T. Skorupski (op. cit., vol. 2, 83, 99) called manuscript version B. The same passage is found in Jam-mgon A-myes-zhab-gho (op. cit., vol. 1, 210–211.4), as well as in Collected Biographical Material, 228.1 ff.

39 For Se-rig (= Bse-rig), see Kun Chung. On Zhang zhun. Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica extra volume no. 4 (= Studies Presented to Tung Tso Pin on His Sixtieth-fifth Birthday). Pt. 1 (1960) 145. As Chung 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-rig, where Se-rig is located in the Kali-Gandaki valley south of Mustang (Lo, Gho) in what is now Nepal.

The Bodhisattva Zla-ba’i-rgyal-mtshan had three brothers, the youngest of whom was a Bonpo name Dkar-ma’i-rgyal-mtshan. He had very great [miraculous] powers. It is said that he had the power to [tie] the tops [lit., ‘heads’] of mountains on either side [of himself] in a knot.40 Still, even though one obtained such sorts

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

Some of the unique points of this version are as follows. A-myes-zhab-gho 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-ch’en-bzang-po was inspired to write his Critique of Wrong Mantra41 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-ch’en-bzang-po, gives no name whatsoever for the false teacher led me to speculate about another passage which predates Sa-skya Pandi-ta’s work and which I came across in the works of Jig-rgya-mtshan-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-rgya-mtshan-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 sanssāra. For this, nothing else, not even miraculous abilities, can be of any assistance.
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 sansdéra. 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 Zhu-ba'i-rgyal-mtshan can be identified and that is the reason why this Dkar-ma'i-rgyal-rtshug-mtshan could not be a contemporary of Rinchen-bzang-po. Bodhisattva Zhu-ba'i-rgyal-rtshug-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 never had a passing effect on later Tibetan Buddhism. Besides, the

42 Text in 'Bri-gung Chos-rje Ji-gren-mgon-po, The Collected Writings. (Gsum-'bum) of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje Ji-gren-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal. New Delhi 1969. Vol. 1, 644 f. The reading of rNga 'gres ("moving drum") in the last sentence is not very certain, and the translation presumably an archaic meaning for the verb 'gres. A similar line is found on the preceding page (373.5): "khlo-lo la rta rNga 'gres gser las ma 'phags, a moving horse [or] drum by means raised [them] from samdéra." See also Karma-pa I Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, Selected Writings of the First Zhab-mo'ang Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa. Gangtok 80. Vol. 1, 264 f. This does remind us of the story of Na Ra'CON (in the Milarepa biographies) in which he rode on his drum to the top of Mt. Tsi-se.


THE STAR KING AND THE FOUR CHILDREN OF PEHAR

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 [Rinchen-bzang-po] performed a six-month skāhāvan 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 Beneficent of the Vajrachakrā. 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 Beneficent of the Vajrachakrā. It is a very popular collection of fifteen stories which all testify to the efficacy of reciting or copying the Vajrachakrā Sūtra for averting various calamities and securing a good rebirth, while some of the stories are very like the later popular genre of "das-log" stories. The Beneficent was often appended to manuscripts of the Vajrachakrā in Tibet: Although it was never included, so far as I have been able to discover, in the Tibetan canon

45 Dpa'-bo II Gtus-lag-'phrang-ba, Chos-byung Mkhas-pa'i Dga-'ston: A Detailed History. Delhi 1980. Vol. 1, 524–5–7. Dpa'-bo II Gtus-lag-'phrang-ba, Chos-byung Mkhas-pa'i Dga-'ston: (= Dam-pa'i Chos-kyi Khri-la Bagyar-bum-mams-byi Byung-ba Gsal-bar Byed-pa Mkhas-pa'i Dga-'ston). Ed. Rdo-rje-rje-pa, Peking. 1981, 527. For a reference to the Beneficent of the Vajrachakrā, see K. M. Nakamura, Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Rokkō of the Monk Kyōkai. Cambridge 1973. 32 (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 Vajrachakrā. I have in my possession a microfilm copy of a rather unusual example of a woodblock-printed version, thanks to which I was able to be appended to a text of the Vajrachakrā, as we may judge from the marginal notation Klu ('part 2').

46 L. Epstein, On the History and Psychology of the "Das-log": Those '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. Schrewe, Ein Besuch in much deeper into Buddhist history: one may cite the story of the visit of Maudgalyāyana to the hills, 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. Dyksura, Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan: the Datônokōki, Hokekyōkki of Priest Chines (1007–1044). Hiratsuka City 1983. Epstein finds the roots in the canonical cycles of Avalokiteśvara. See also F. Pommaret, Les Revenants de 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.

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 Pandi-ta in his Sdom Gsum Rab-‘byun.47 Nirvāṇa, rebirth in Sukhāvaśī or Tūṣita 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 Vajra-chedikā Sahiti itself.48 It perhaps goes without saying that many, particularly the learned scholars, would agree with Sa-skya Pandi-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 Pandi-ta for their strong and worried reactions?

The Dgongs-gegig 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 (gnaa mchos),50 gter-ma and so on are profound and miraculous. But we 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-gegig 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-lchan,53 Zhang-mo Rgya-‘dul-tshing, ‘O-lam Blu-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-har 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 Dpon Sher-‘byung, Dgongs-gegig, vol. 1, 171.1.
53 According to the Bu-ston polemic, she was named Snyi-mo Rgya-lchan, and her followers were called the Union Release (Shgyor-sgral-pa). Note, however, that the Bu-ston polemic located in Snags legs kun-ba, 33–34) is probably not really by Bu-ston. Thu’-bkwan Bla-bzangs-chos-kyi-nya-mi, Thub-btsan Grub-mtha’ (ed. Grub-mtha’ Thams-cad-kyi Khongs dang) Dod-ber Tshos-po Leg-ru-‘bzhad Shel-gyi Me-long, Gansu 1984, 74, says, “There is one [polemical] work purportedly is authored by Bu-ston, but since it doesn’t appear in the listings of his collected works and even with its pretensions of compositional skill it doesn’t have the feel of scholarly discourse, it is simply written by a scribe 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. Kaspian, Purificatory Gem and its Cleansing: A Late Tibetan Polemical Discussion of Apocalyptic Tales, History of Religions 28:3 (1989) 217–244. Nyang-ral (Nyang-ral Nyi-ma’ od- et al. Lhasa 1988, 404) says, “From Snyi-mo Rgya-lchan of Dbus [was one?] Glong Nag-po Rgya-dzam. They are called the Flyera (Phur-tsha).”

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47 Sa-skya Pandi-ta, Sdom Gsum, 69r and 79r. See also similar statements in another of his works contained in Sa-skya Bka’-bum, vol. 5, 332a1 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. Schopen, The Phrase ‘sa prhivjrode žalčaitvbbhito bhavet’ in the Vajra-chedikā: Notes on the Cult of the Boat in Mahāyāna. Indo-Iranian Journal 17 (1975) 147–181. However, the text of the Vajra-chedikā falls short of promising the very highest religious and spiritual goals, saying rather only that reciting the text of 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.
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-rui57 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-'tham59 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-ggung Phug. Evidently ‘relic’ because of the presence thereof of tsha-tsha containing remains of her husband.
55. Zhang-mo Rgyal-mihiing 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 ma) between mind and objects (dgongs), 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 Zor Suag-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-tsha-pal), according to Bu-ston. Nyang-ral calls them the Crazy Yogis (Rnal-'byor Smyon-tsha).
57. The name occurs in Bu-ston’s polemic as ‘O-dla Bab-tu, and his followers are called the Do Nothing’s (Byar-med-pa). Nyang-ral (op. cit., 494) calls him ‘O-dla ’Ba-su, associates him with a place called Rsi-tu, and calls his followers the Do Nothing Yogis.
58. The phrase used here, me chu go bzing, 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); T. Dhonden-T. Topgyay, 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 Sru Kha-'thams, the ‘Victor’ (Rgyal-ba, i.e., Jina, or Buddha) of Bu-mtams, and styles his followers the Fire-Water Reversalists (Me Chu Go Log-pa). His name was Srog-khangel Thubs-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-rui appeared in ‘Phan-yul. Zhang-mo Rgya-'thing-ma was later converted by Pha-dam-pa Sangs-gyes 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 Mgs-don group of Rdzi-lung — and calls them all collectively ‘Six Dark Yogis’ (Rnal-'byor Nga-po Drug). After brief statements about each of them, he says,

They performed well the ‘practice transmission’.63 The followers of the Lo-tsas-bas and Purducts (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 Debam, on which, see below), the View Awareness Knot (Lha-ba Rigs-pa’i Mlad Skor), and the Proposition that Fire and Water Have Exchanged Places (Gtan-gthugs Me Chu Go Log), etc.
60. The section about ‘sky teachings’ (gsum chos) has been translated above.
61. This passage is found in the opening pages of the text entitled Lha Srog Smyon-pa’s Thams-kyi Lo-rgya Gyal-byed contained in the various editions of the Dbyangs-geg Yig-chu (for example, Dbyons-pa Shes-rab’-byung-gnas, Dbyangs-chos Dbyongs-pa Ge-ga’i Yig-chu. Thimphu 1976, Vol. 2, 434-436.5).
62. This Stag-tsho (‘Stag Faction’) is known to be among the many sub-factions that developed within the ‘Four Factors’ in the monastic community of the Later Splede. 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-phug 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 ‘Bro-ge-n-gnyen named Stag-lo Gzhon-nu-stshul-khrims, although this needs more study (see ‘Brug-chen Padma-dkar-po, Chos-byung, 393-396). Likewise, the Mgs-don may be identical to the monastic faction initiated (also in Gtsang) by Mgo-ba (= ‘Go-ba) Ye-shes-g-yang-drung, who had his residence at Sre Lo Lha-khang. It is interesting that Nyang-ral includes these two groups of popular 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’ (gtshug-brgyud) is a term still in fairly common use among the although both are equally esteemed. ‘Practice transmission’ emphasizes sdhan pa practice, while ‘meaning transmission’ emphasizes the kind of learning transmitted through the oral precepts.

Translations evidently are intended here] styled them ‘Poplar
Buddhism’ (Rdol-chos).

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’ (gsgrub-brgyud) which is included in his treatment of the Later Spread (Phyi-dar), and therefore unconnected with his own Ancient (Rnying-ma) traditions. 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. Perhaps of more significance, one of the men might have something to do with the history of the Great Perfection (Rdzogs-chan) of the Rnying-ma tradition. Bso Khad-’dham. could be identical to the Bla-ma Sro-ba who taught something called the Great Perfection Seven Pebble Cycle (Rdzogs-chan Rde’u Skor Bdon). Bston’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 deBas na sar sgrub sko’、“zungs po rgyu ‘thog las ral’ byor anyon tsho dang / ral rnyi’o la ba’u la bral rnal byor ba med dang / rgyud bral ba sro kha’ams la sgo chu / go go rdag pa dang / ’dus kyi zho mo rgya lean las / sgong nag po rgyu ‘dzam [de la] ’phur tsho zhes zer ce / ’shaungs kyi rnal byor stog tsho dang / ral ling gi mngos tsho kha sbang po’u di manas la / rnal byor nag po dnyen zer / kon rang zin sgrub brgyud bzung pur byed / la pon gyi rjes sa ’brog ba nmues ni khong gi de manas rdol chos sa byed (note letters within brackets [ ] were unclear in the original from which the modern publication was culled).

65 Nyang-ral includes in his category of ‘practice transmissions’ various lineages of Zhi-byed. Gcud, Bka’-brgyud-pa, followers of Dam-po Dmarg-po, and the Six Dark Yogis. All these lineages would later be polemic in their polemics, 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 11th 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’-shon-sbying-po (1585–1656) being the most famous of a very few exceptions to the general rule. It is even 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-skya 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 Atisa, were all laypersons. Still, the presence of leaders who were laypersons in the incipient stages only underlines the fact of their subsequent rarity (as Bka’-brgyud-pa). This absorption of the Zhi-byed school by the other Tibetan schools is said to have occurred in the time of Rgya-brtan Shes-rab’od (1166–1244).

67 Sog-bzil-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. Slob-dpon Sang-gar-gyas-gnas-pa Padma-btson-gyas-brgyud-btsun Thar-po Yid-kyi Mtn Ser (In Bka’-shang Yid-kyi Mtn Ser). Thimphu 1984. 123. Sog-bzil-pa was born in 1552. This work was composed, according to the colophon, in the Zhi-gon year, which would correspond to 1600. 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 Shaky-rab-rgyal-mtshan, a rather shadowy figure. In Gru-nu Bka’-shis. Bstan-po’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 Nyarang. 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-nang). Bu-ston’s polemic says about the Four Children. “Their’s are not Buddhist teachings. They are teachers (chos) of Dpe-dkar.”

69 Nyang-ral, Chos’-byung. 494, places them in approximately the same time as Dam-po Dmar-po (a La-stod Dmar-po). who seems to have been a contemporary of Mar-pa Lo-tsa-ba, active in the mid-eleventh century (see G. N. Roerich, The Blue Annals, 1025–1030; Kang-spur Yon-tan-rgyas-mthong (blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan) Shes-bya Kung Khryab (Thar-po’i Sgo Kha’i les Btan-po Gsang-rab Rin-po-che’i Mtsod Btsug-pa Gsang Leg-po Stongs-la’i Bstan-ldod Shes-bya Kung Khryab). Peking 1985. Vol. 1, 555). This Dam-po Dmar-po was a Tibetan, and must not be con-
winning side. For Sher-'byung, as for his contemporary Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, the ‘excavation’ (ger-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 Samyé Monastery, as an entity that tends to instigate boys or ‘small monks’ (bisum-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-te-a Dmar-po, an Indian tantric teacher who visited Tibet before the mid-twelfth century (G. N. Roerich, The Blue Annals, 1049–1050).

71 Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta says in his Sdom Gsum Rab-dbyar, Volumes that came from mines (ger), religious traditions stolen from others, composed teachings and dream teachings —

This translation based on the version in Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, Sdom Gsum Rang Mchön, 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 criticize 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 Insights (prajña) that comes from meditation is concerned, it makes no difference whether you meditated in the western world or in the eastern (bsgom byun-gi shes-rab rtogs-pa gsha-ma de ni nub-phyes-kyi 'jig-rten dang shar-phyes-su bsogms-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 religious-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
its past. In the mid-nineteenth 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 Ranying-ma-pa school, are uniquely preserved in Zhang's Partial Works (Bka'· Thob-ba). We would like to translate this brief work in full, since it demonstrates, already at a tender age, his engagement with 'ultimatum' 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.
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'-brgyud-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 veil 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 objects; 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 Profoundness. 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?] 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 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-rsa-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 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 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, 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 Khams province. In his twenty-third year he took the novice vows, and in the following year he dreamed that a slimy snake-like 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, Brson-'grus-grags-pa ('Diligence Fane')—his name often occurs in the form Zhang G.yu-brag-pa Brson-'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
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.

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.

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 Gsaṅg 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 Gsaṅg 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-yas, close to the banks of the Gsaṅg-po River, benefitting from the patronage of the royal descendent residing there. Some of the monks then left Bsam-yas 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 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-yas, the Klu-mes faction was battled by an alliance of the Rba and Rag factions, and most of the outlying temples of Bsam-yas 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' (gdam-ba) 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.
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.

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 (inaccurately, from a Buddhist perspective) termed in political science a ‘theocracy.’ He may help us to explain why it is that
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 (Sdon 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 Hoshang 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-gyas-pa) versus ‘instantanealist’ (cig-car-ba) types, along with the often-overlooked third type called ‘jumpers’ (shad-rigs-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 sutras, be shortened by various expedients). As Tilopa, the Indian initiator of the Bka’-bgyud 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.

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
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 fulfills 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, chartrens and images. [Tsha-tshas are small clay plaques of Buddha images and chartrens.]

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 instable.
If their perceptions in meditation are not stable,
there 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 unceasingly
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 void clarity, unobstructed, without middle 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 nirvāna arises.

In all the various mental complexes, non-discursiveness,
appearances, non-appearance, abidings, non-abidings,
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-mediation [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-mediation.

In is 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 ab-
original 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 dawning 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 other.
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 Knowledge 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 sweness 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 the non-duality of which we speak is born from within. It is due to the Lama's blessings alone. Respect for the Lama with faith grows realization. Total Knowledge from within. What does it have to do with philosophical analyses? Even I would make the claim that it is all 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 clarifications 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 Reverend 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 affections." Did not Reverend Lo-nas 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 are born 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, they talk nonsense about forceful methods for fixing people, "Enemies and friends, gold and dirt cloths, 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, Translators, 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-pa' attitudes about the life of learning and meditation, see "Beyond Acceptance and Rejection? The Anti-Bon Polemic included in the Thirteenth-Century Single Intention (Dgon-geg 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 Gyu-brag-pa Brson-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.


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 Bka'-shis-rnam-gyal), *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.
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, Muhammad 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), 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 and the early medieval Christian might have called charis (‘gift’) or dynamis (‘force’, ‘power’), a Tibetan would call byin-rabs.

Byin-rabs is commonly glossed as ‘gift wave’, but it more properly goes back to a literal translation of a Chinese word 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 adhīṣṭhāna. 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 lighthouse, 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-di-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-rtin.

Byin-rtin’ is a contracted form of byin-rabs-kyi rtin, which we may translate, ‘blessing support/receptacle’. The word rtin 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 five) of things worthy of worship. First is ‘Body recepctacles’ (sku-rtin), the images of Buddhas, deities and saints. The second is ‘Speech recepctacles’ (gsung-rtin), the words of Buddhas and saints embodied in sacred texts of all sorts. The third is ‘Thought recepctacles’ (thugs-rtin). This third is, for all intents and purposes, identical with the chorten (chod-rtin).

The chorten is well known to many as the Tibetan counterpart to the stūpa, caitya, dagoba (from dhatugarbha, ‘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’ (chod), ‘receptacle’ (rtin) 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, 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? 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 Sakya 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. 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.\textsuperscript{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-bzrel 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-bzrel (or gdung), but both together belong to the broad category of byin-rten.

4) They include ring-bzrel 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 Rediscoveror of Hidden Treasure (Terma/Gler-ma), the Terton (Gler-ston/Gler-bton). This issue alone could be grounds for a book,\textsuperscript{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)
Translators 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 Terton frequently became a 'translator' of populations, leading at times thousands of people on revelation-inspired migration-pilgrimages to previously unsettled 'promised' ('prophesied', to be more exact) lands. 15

The key to this reassessment of the Terton 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; and usually together with all the other items Tibetans have called relics (ring-bser), 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-po [Padmasambhava]. Hair and 'increasing bone' which came from the dried nasal blood (shangs mishal, 'nose vermillion') of the Lady Msho-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-pa 21 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 Saintly Death 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 Atri-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 Vajradhāra and the Skygoer (Mkha'-gro-ma) named Clear mind (Gsal Yid).

In chapter one, Clear Mind asks Vajradhāra about the signs of sainthood. Vajradhāra 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 Jambudvīpa 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 death 24 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) Sku-ri-ram (Tathāgata 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/cast) 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-ran (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) Bes-ri-ran (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-ran (Karma type/north). Sapphire blue, about the size of a mustard seed, formed from the essence of knowledges, it occurs on the lungs. All five of these are generally formed in spherical shapes and transparent. Ring-bsrul are similar to these, only smaller, the size or sesame seeds or dust, and they may be destroyed by the elements, whereas thugs are indestructible. Ring-bsrul 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.
D) Mysterious sounds coming from the different directions surrounding the corpse.
E) Earth tremors signifying different degrees of spiritual attainment depending on the number of days which elapsed since the death.
F) 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 Vajradhāra 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-brtsags.

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 1925. Sharil is a Mongolian loan from Sanskrit (śāriṇa) with the broad and narrow meanings of the Tibetan ring-bsrul.

... when I was nine or ten years old and still residing at Serku Monastery in the Amdo region, I had a friend Monon Serku ggehs, two years older than I. When he died and was cremated, I observed that his sharil (Skt. śāriṇa; a jewel-like deposit remaining after the cremation) was in the shape of an image of Yamdaga (Skt. Yamāntaka), “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. Manjusri (Skt. Mañjuśrī; Ch. Wen-shu p’u-sa) was situated in the middle, with Artyabul (the thousand handed Kuan-yin p’u-sa or Avalokiteśvara) on one side, and Ochirbain (Skt. Vajrapāni; Ch. P’u-lssien 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.

We have noticed some similar phenomena in the shorten 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. 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 gdon and ring-bsrul (= ringel) are described by a contemporary western Buddhist and former nun based, in part, on her own observations.

Ringel 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 ringel. There are also cases of ringel 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 ringel. Ringel also have the ability to reproduce. One of them get bigger and bumps appear on the side and then the bumps become small ringel. In 1970 the stūpa of Swayambhu in Kathmandu produced ringel 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.

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 Pand-dpa-ta. The circumstances surrounding this testimony hold their own fascination, but this story has already been summarized in English. We will say only by way of introduction that Rdo-ring Pand-dpa-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', I together with the Minister (Bka'-blon) G-yu-thog, Snya'-nang Sho-pa, Rgyal-rtsi Sne-stod-pa, Bkras-lhun Thang-smad Nor-dbang, and the Sakya Secretary, all the nobles and servants of the Sakya together, were doing prostrations, circumambulation, and aspiration prayers at the great chorten Bya-rung-kha-shor (Bodhanath). First I alone found a piece of 'increasing bone' (phel-gdung) about the size of a 'fish eye' 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, shis-ri-nam, 'fish eyes' and so forth on top of the stepped levels (bang-rim) beneath the 'vessel' (kume-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.

There are countless similar testimonies to be found in Tibetan literature on ring-bserl emerging from a variety of objects. Here are a few instances from the biography of the famous Sakya scholar Rong-ston Shes-by-a-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-bserl which finally filled up its container. Still another person received a tooth which immediately produced a ring-bserl. Later, a single ring-bserl appeared on the same spot, and after it fell another appeared there.

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.

The naturally formed images and 'pearls' or 'increasing bone' (phel-gdung) have some things in common. They both may come from cremated bodies. 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, and their use as a kind of death-bed sacrament. 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' by the founding father of Tibetan scholastic method, Sa-skya Paññi-ta Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251). 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 'sinply caused' Enlightenment (what he calls dkar-po geig-thub), including those who make such extraordinary claims as, 'circumambulating a chorten once is sufficient.' 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 Pañdi-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.

The reasons why ring-bser, hearts and tongues images and so forth emerge from the remains of cremated saints needs to be investigated a little. The ring-bser of the three types of saints emerge through the force of their saintly qualities. As receptacles for the merit of embodied beings, these emerge genuinely like jewels from a definite origin. Some ring-bser 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-bser are deceitfully manufactured. 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. 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-bser from a living person's body... 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. 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, if wise persons perceive such

Although it may seem a bit of an irony, the death and cremation of Sa-skya Pañdi-ta himself was accompanied, according to his biographers, by various miraculous signs, including those same 'images' which he had averred were not to be found in Buddhist scripture. In the version of his life according to the Sa-skya'i Gdüng-rabs by Kun-dga'-bsd-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-bser. Kun-dga'-bsd-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 Mañjuśrī. 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 Khasārpa. In the hollow of his foot was an Avalokiteśvara. On sections of his backbone were the four 'secret mothers' (grang-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-bser occurred.

As this quote makes clear, Sa-skya Pañdi-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 Pañdi-ta, but especially against his later commentators, was Mkhās-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje (1569-1645), a scholar of the Druka Kargyuupa school. In one of his polemical works, most of them aimed at Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-
example of the relics of Rgya-ras-pa. "The great intellectuals have trouble knowing what to make of such reports. [Sa Pan] added these misleading verses which make the contrary [opinion] more obvious and without 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]."

Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje goes on to discuss the other miracles mentioned by Sa Pan. 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]:

"All sorts of divine images, letters, deity insignia (phya-mthuk) and 'increasing bone' composed of small bones, resinus 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
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 temporal authority in what sūtra or tantra? When the Completely Perfect Buddha[es], the Arhats and other saints died it is said that there were bad omens such as earthquakes, a nearby fire (ṣīṣyā phug bzhag), 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.⁶⁶

The reply of Sog-bzlog-pa:

"The relics (ring-brel) 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-brel]. The occurrence of images and letters is [however] one of the things that sets tantras apart from sūtras. The Reverend Lord [Aśīśa] 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-brel drip out. To show the actual meaning of the external and internal sensory potentialities (skyi-mchad 'gyaltsana), the letter 'A' [occurs]. For Nonreturners (Phyin-mi-idog-pa/Aṅgulimānas), a spiraling conch [occurs]. In the case of [Bodhisattvas who have not abandoned samsāra, hearts and tongues occur." This and more may be found explained in the [Bka'-grolma] Clegs-bam¹⁶¹ 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 Paöffent-ka had a Hеvajra [image] in the middle of his uṣṇīśa, a Khasarpāni on his shoulder along with a great many other deity images. The Lord of Beings, Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras-ka had twenty-one images of Avalokiteśvara on twenty-one sections of his backbone. The learned Gung-nu 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 Ah and Hām which are supports of Body, Speech and Mind; the six syllables (Om Mañjus-pādām Hām) 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 Dzags-po (5gam-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 Pan, 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-bsrél. 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 bzhī)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-bsrél for the sake of the faithful. Then a sādhanā 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-bsrél 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 Herbs\(^{66}\) 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 armpit 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 Buddha’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 deceptions 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 Brton-'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 Bdon). Before citing in his support an otherwise unknown tantra,\(^{68}\) he says,

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Yogis, when their Lama has passed away, [should] take his powdered bones (gdung-rus-khyi phy-ka-ma), place a syllable Hūṃ made of gold in the middle, and attach this to the neck or at the top of the head. Worshiping 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 Rib-bu). This Mani Pellet is produced during a religious service, usually lasting several days, the relatively wellknown “Mani Rimdu” (Ma-ni Rib-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
spherical. Evidently the ‘baby’ pellets emerge from their ‘mother’ pellets in the same way in which the ring-bserel 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. 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 Panḍita, 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 shrines, 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-bserel 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.
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’, 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-ialisitic 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? 73

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 Alāyavijñāna, the Dharmakāya or the Holy Spirit, while Tenzin the yak herder circumambulates the neighborhood chorten telling his beads. Of course, Sonam the

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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 Sikimese Chorten Named Sku-bum Mthong-ba Rang-grol

This Guide, written by Lha-bsun Nam-mkha'-jigs-med (1597-1653 A.D.), opens with a eulogy on the area surrounding the chorten, noting such features as a naturally formed clay chorten with drops of elixirial nāga-water on it, the mere touching or tasting of which will clear up an aeon’s accumulation of defilements. 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, 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, 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 dhārani. In the uppermost tip, the Baltag-grol Mthong-grol of Ati-yoga Tantra and the five great dhārani including that of Uṣṇīṣa[vijaya]. In the base of the harmikā ('bre'), dhārani of the deities of Mahā-, Atu-, and Ati-yogas...

2) The insertion of scriptures and relics (ring-brel): 'Increasing bone' ('bhel-geglung') of Sākyamuni Buddha. In the base of the spine, a tooth of Sāriputra and bones of Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa. In the bulge of the 'vessel' (bum-pa'kum-bka): 'increasing bone' from the White Chorten at Samye (Baam-yas) as well as from Rgyal-rtsa and Rtsa-la-sang. The 'increasing bone' of the Buddha... Miraculous relics of Dga'-rabs-rdo-rje. The forearm of Rgyal-ba-mchog-dbyangs and bones of nine Nyimga historical figures of the eighth century (listed).

3) Consecrated substances (dam-rtaas) and blessing bestowing objects of worship (ten byin-bral-can, = byin-rten): A jewel blessed by Buddha Kāśyapa, brought by Nāgārjuna from the nāga land, concealed by Padmasambhava at Turquoise Lake in Tsari, and rediscovered by Ye-shes-rdo-rje. 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-tsang-snying-po at Kong-phrang-brag. The red and white Bodhicitta (in this context, 'reproductive substances') of Padmasambhava and his consort rediscovered at Lha-r'i Snang-mtha'. Hair of Padmasambhava and Katha-Rinchen, Hair of Tibetan emperors. A testicle rediscovered at Baam-yas MiChims-phu. A testicle rediscovered from behind the Jowo (Jo-bo) image at Lhasa. Clothing, hair, testicle[s], etc., of Padmasambhava rediscovered by Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa 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 (byud-rtsis 'ri-bu). A tooth of Bruges-kun-legs. More hair relics. A skull of Khwing-po Raschen 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. Flesh of Rattan-gling-pa. Loincloths (ang-rag) of Gsang-smyon and of Dbus-smyon. The sitting cushion and loin cloth of Tilopa. The bones and shroud of Nyang Ta-tha-ga-ta. Milarepa's loin cloth... Long Life Pellets of the Karmapa school which include the 'increasing bone' of Yang-ston-pa. A garuda bird discovered at Mizo-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'. 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) Zhu-chen was a monk of the Sakyapa (Sa-skya-pa) 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. Zhu-chen’s list begins with the insertion of dhārani 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-brel) begins:


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:


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

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. The life of Gung-thang-pa, a renowned Gelugpa cleric, abbot of Tashihyil Monastery in Amdo, Northeast Tibet, has already been described, so we will go directly to the Guide itself:


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 Guhyasamaja; the Bodhisattvacaryavatara, the Lam-rim Chen-mo of Tsongkhapa, etc. There are fingernails and blood (‘body vermilion’, sku-mtshal) relics. There are Tsongkhapa’s urine (gsang-chab) pellets, nasal blood (shangs khrag) of the Fifth Dalai Lama, rosaries, tsha-tsha made by the hands of Smiti 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 (rten) which contained hair, tooth, bone and clothing relics of an impressive array of saints; Nyingma, Kargyu, Gelugpa and Sakya 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.

In a later list, we find hand and foot imprints (rjes), copies of texts for chanting which belonged to many holy persons, double headed damaru drums, vjoras, bells, and a natural syllable Om made of bone. In yet other lists are handkerchiefs (shangs-phyes), 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-phan-tshogs

So far, we have examined one chorten Guide by a Nyingma tertön, one by a Sakayapa 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 Kargyu dpa 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.

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.) 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 millennium, 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 intersectarian 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-bred) are divided in five classes:

1) Bon Relics: The collected dhārani of Bon written in gold and silver on azure colored paper. Many other canonical Bonpo dhārani 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’, bya-gros).

2) Mustard seed like relics: In the uppermost tip of the chorten, a relic (sha-rim) larger than a Tibetan pea which came from the bone of Khyung-po Rang-grol Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. A pea sized relic which came from the bone of Sku-mdun Bsdod-nams-blo-gros.

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-phan-tshogs. Other images.

4) Physical remains relics (ska-gtung gi ring-bred): In the upper, east part of the inside of the ‘vessel’ (kum-pe), a tooth of Brun Nami-mkha’-g.yung-drung marked by two white mustard seed like relics (sha-rim). 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-sgon’i’s 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 Ngag subsect of the Sakayapa school. Other types of blessed, consecrated articles which were contained in the ‘worship box’ (tien skam) of the Derge ruling family (Sa-skhyong Sde-dge) including Nyinginapa, Karmapa, Drukpa (‘Brug-pa), Sakayapa 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. 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 Dhāraṇī 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-skya incarnation, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-chos-ltan (1642-1714). He supplies the following general classification of relics (ring-brel) aside from the dhāraṇī, which are also included in his discussion:

1) Mustard seeds like relics: ‘Increasing bone’ of the Tathāgata 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.

My second example of a chorten consecration text (or, more technically speaking, a ‘dhāraṇī 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 ofMerit and Total Knowledge: Ritual Methods for Inserting the Five [Types of] Relics (ring-brel). 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 Kālājāra Sūtra on the merits of building chortens. Then we are happily supplied with a most thorough classification of relics:

1) Dharma body relics: These might be understood to be ‘Dharma incorporating’ relics. These relics, which indicate the nature of the Dharma body, include the eight chortens and tsha-tshas which in turn contain dhāraṇī, for instance those of Sākyamuni, Uṣṇīṣavijaya, Vimalakīrti, and so on.
2) Mustard seed like relics: These come from the bones of special people such as the three types of saints. Those which are transparent in color and as big as a pea or larger are called gdüng. Those smaller than this are called ring-brel. In the Sku-gdung ‘Bar-ba and other tantras of the Nyingma Secret Mantra, there is a division into five: sha-ri-ram, ba-ri-ram, chu-ri-ram, nya-ri-ram, and panyi-sa-ram. But these are only divisions according to color. They, as well as all other gdüng and ring-brel, are included within the category of mustard seed like relics.
3) Dharmabody relics: Mantras from Vajrayāna literature and dhāraṇī from Śrītāravīya 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.

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

1) Dharma body relics: dhāraṇī 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-ri-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, the Bodhgiravāchāra:

1) Dharma body relics: sāttṣha (= tsha-tsha) and chortens.
2) Tathāgata relics: same as 2 in preceding list.
3) Clothing relics: same as 3 in preceding list.
4) Dharmac relics: dhāraṇī, mantras and volumes of scripture.
5) Mere mustard seed relics (yung-‘bru team-gyi ring-brel): 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 Dharma relics are worth noting.

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Please note that part of this material, viewed in its historical dimension, is subject to 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 1999.

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 Muhammad's bodily relics, although the hairs of his beard seem to be widely spread. I heard that a few hairs from Muhammad'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' 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, *Relics*. 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*.

Gecertz, _Islam Observed_, p. 44. This is related to Hebrew _broachah_, with the same meaning.

The Greek _kharias pneumatike_, or dynamics; MacCulloch, _Relics_, p. 654.

For example, Ekvall, _Religious Observances_, p. 156. One more imaginative ethnographer has given the translation 'splendourous ripples' (Stablein, _Medical-Cultural System_, p. 195).


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

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

The two optional categories, more frequently encountered in Nyingmapa and Bon sources, are 'quality' (_yon-tan_) and 'action' (_byin-tas_).

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. 1, p. 56) notes that cremation ash could be mixed with the ink used in copying scriptures.

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. Halt, 'A Thirteenth Century Tibetan Reliquary'.

I have now dealt in some detail with this issue in Martin, 'Crystals and Images'.
interesting references to “a relic... spontaneously produced from one of his teeth.” (p. 66).

24 This naturally makes it difficult to leave body 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-ba) relic category, as things closely connected with, but not a part of, the body.

25 These same signs are discussed by Thondup, Tantric Tradition, pp. 193-4, note 165.

26 Dargyay, Rite of Exoteric, p. 214 (note 60), calls these images rten. In my experience (admittedly limited), they are always called simply sogs (‘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 rten and ring-srel—relics. rten signifies relics in the shape of Stupas or gods that originated from parts of the corpse during the cremation. ring-srel denotes some whitish pill-like stuff that also came from the cremation residues.”

27 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 (plag) of the Tathagata as: 1) sha-ri-mam which depends on the flesh; 2) chu-ri-mam, which depends on the blood; 3) nia-ri-mam, which depends on the marrow; 4) ka-ri-mam, which depends on the bones and cartilage; 5) ka-ri-mam, which depends on the brain and sinews. This passage occurs in Zhang, Bka’-rgya-ma, vol. 2, pp. 2.6-3.1. Further (Nyimagama) sources on these types of relics are cited in Sde-srid, ‘Dzam-gling-yang-rgyud, pp. 563-66.

28 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-ri, to mean relics with images in relief (see Bed Rgya Tshig-madz Chos-ma, p. 2829).

29 In the Sku-tshab-ger-inga temple in the Thák 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 Pilgrimages, p. 187.

30 Allione, Women of Wisdom, pp. 203-4 (note 140; see also p. xxv, note 1). Note as well M. Slusser’s (Nepal Mandala, vol. 1, p. 151, no. 69) statement: “According to a Buddhist monk I once talked with at Svyambhunath, they [stupas] also contain rincils, a divine substance which in the form of firm, white variably 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.”

31 See Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History, pp. 143-182, the chapter entitled ‘War with the Gorkhas and Dogras.’

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, Mthas-pa'i Dga'-ston, vol. 2, p. 641.

34 Rdo-rje Bka'-blon, Rdo-rje Pads-pa'i. Rnam-thar, vol. 2, pp. 850-851. I must thank Tashi Tsherling 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 Sākya-mchog-idan, 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-brel might be based on a misapprehension of the idea (attested in the passage from the Bka’-rgyas-gtabs-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-brel appearing after a cremation is found in the biography of Sgam-po-pa (1079-1153) written by his disciple ‘Ba’-rom-pa (1127-1207)—see Or-gyans-pa, Dkar-brgyud, pp. 267, 269.


39 Sangay, Bod Mi’i’s ‘Das Mchod,’ p. 1, where ring-brel 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-rje Bka’-blon, Rdo-rje Pads-pa’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 gnyi-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 the-dam, ‘religion of the gods’, which means Buddhist methods for transcending the mundane realm. Comparing the meanings of gnyi-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 Nyimagama teacher Rong-zom-pa Chos-kyi-bzang-po (eleventh century) was also a scholar, although his works do not focus so directly on problems of method. Phyu-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109-1169) might deserve the title of ‘founding father’ of Tibetan scholastic method even more than Sa-skya Panni-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-skya Panni-ta. For valuable material on Phyu-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, his influence on Sa-skya Panni-ta and many others during this period, see Kuij, ‘Phy-a-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge’s Impact’.

42 See especially the passage in Sa-skya Panni-ta, Sdam-po Gsum-gyi Rab-ta Dbya-ba’i Bstan-bas, p. 69b (line 1, if), 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 sutras). In effect, he criticizes them for not being sufficiently educated or intelligent to recognize commonplace rhetorical devices. Dkar-po gez-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-pho gis-hub have focussed too narrowly on the philosophical aspects, entirely missing Sa-skya Pandita’s uses of the term in relation to popular religious practices (see especially Brodi, ‘Sa-skya Pandita’, Jackson, ‘Sa-skya Pandita’, and references supplied there).

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 Bod-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 1027-1103) was cremated, “heart, tongue and many ring-brel of the five different colors emerged.” (See Two Histories of the Bka’-gdams-pa Tradition, p. 314.8.)

The ‘images (sku-grugs) 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. 332), quotes reports (while reserving judgement on their truth value) to the effect that these images are caused by Generation Stage contemplations and that ring-brel are produced by cultivation of Bodhichitta (Enlightened Thought); but see Ramba, ‘Status’, p. 348, n. 24, for another explanation. The probable source of Spos-khang-pa is the Bka’-gdams Glegs-bam (see below).

As Mkhan-chen Sanga-rgyas-bstan’-dzin (writing in 1554) interprets in his commentary (p. 260, line 4), these genuine ring-brel should be a subject of confidence since they become 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 sainthood qualities of the deceased as well as the strength of merit of embodied ones to be causes for the occurrence of ring-brel.

According to the same commentary by the Mkhan-chen (p. 260, line 5), the genuine ring-brel 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.

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.

It is significant that Sa-skya Pandita did not include ring-brel among the items not mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. (Bo-rams-pa Bod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489), in his commentary as contained in the Sa-skya Bka’-bum (vol. 14, p. 193d, line 4) cites the Bzikal-bzang (Bhadrabala) Sutra (Toh. no. 95) and the Meeting of Father and Son Sutra (‘The’ images of the 6th Brang-bzigs section as scriptural sources for ring-brel. That the ‘images’ are mentioned in the Sku-’gongs ‘Bar-bar, would not impress Sa-skya Pandita; he would not have accepted this tantra as a genuine scripture, along with most of the other Nyingma tantras and rediscoveries (ger-ma).

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

According to Mkhan-chen Sanga-rgyas-bstan’-dzin (p. 262, line 3), these occurrences were said to be bad signs in the Sng sn Abyadana (i.e., Sang 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.

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Pearls from Bones

Mkhan-chen Sanga-rgyas-bstan’-dzin (p. 262,6) cites a passage from the Mig Bcu-gnyis-pa Sutra (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 sutra passages in Martin, ‘Crystals and Images’.

The Tibetan text for the translated passage begins on page 318a, line 3, of the Slod-pa Guurn-gyi Rab-tu Dbyes-ba as found in the collected works of Sa-skya Pandita in the Sa-skya Bka’-bum (vol. 5, pp. 297-320). It may also be found in Sa-skya Pandita, Slod-pa Guurn-gyi Rab-tu Dbyes-ba’s Bstan-bcos, pp. 88a-89b.

Kun-dga’-bood-nams, Sa-skya’i Glang-btsa, p. 144.


This work, entitled Gnai Guurn Gsal-byes Nor-bu’i Me-long, is found in Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, Responses, pp. 327-463. Sla Pa’i’s passage on relics was also noted by Sde-arid Sangs-rgyas-rgyas-mtsho in his work, first published in 1701, on the tomb-chorten for the Fifth Dalai Lama (Sde-arid, ‘Dsam-gling-gyan-geg, p. 563).

On Tsar, see Martin, ‘For Love or Religion’, and Sorensen, Divinity Secularized, pp. 113-142.

For his arguments, see Sa-skya Panditi, Slod-pa Guurn-gyi, pp. 65-70 (or the same passage as contained in the Sa-skya Bka’-bum, vol. 5, p. 312 ff).

The passage rendered here is found in Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, Responses, pp. 430,4-5.

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

For this passage, see Sog-bzlug-pa, ‘Gsang-snags 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 Thig-med Chen-nu, vol. 3, p. 3245, gives 1400 as the year of composition. For some discussion, see Kuijps, ‘Miscellanea’, p. (173) note. The dates of Sog-bzlug-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan are 1552-1624.

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-arid, ‘Dsam-gling-gyan-geg’, p. 563. An anonymous Kangyudpa work of the thirteenth century (Anon., Gnaad-skyi 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-du) bodhicitta is stabilized, ring-brel occur.
When one has achieved stability in the generation stage, images occur.
This refers to the Sakya teacher Gung-rub-با Shes-rab-bzang-po (1411-1475), on whom see Jackson, Early Abbot, pp. 15-16.

One should also notice in the same work by Sog-bzlog-pa (p. 504.4 ff.), some discussion about various types of gudung and ring-bzrel as signs of particular degrees of spiritual development. He cites the Stag-dgung 'Bar-ba as well as a commentary

the Gaγ-sha Ring-bzrel (i.e., the Bodghigamlogo) by Bodghibadra (Slub-dpon Byang-chub-bzang-po). The latter citation contains a four-fold classification: 1) Remains (sku-gudung) relics. 2) Mustard seed like remains (sku-gudung yung-brul-bu) relics. 3) Clothing (sku-bal) relics. 4) Dharmabody (Chos-kiy Sku) relics.

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 Dgebgs-pa Kun-du-las: Gang Khrod-ki Gyub-skor: Ring-bzrel-gyi 87rjub-pa Dgra-rab-rdo-rje Mtha-ba—found in Padma-gling-pa, Rediscovered Teachings, vol. 15, pp. 433-4.

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

Yuthok, Yuthok’s Treatise, p. 290, where the Six Good Medicinals are:

1) de-sti (nutmeg).
2) sc-gang (bamboo manna).
3) gar-gum (afron).
4) li-sha (clove).
5) saktel (lesser cardamom).
6) ka-ko-la (cardamon).

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

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-bzrel 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 Terton generally) a fraud, although we see little reason to dwell on this issue here.

This tantra is cited under the title Rdou-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 Stag-dgung ‘Bar-ba, mentioned elsewhere in these pages). For the text by Zhang C.yu-brag-pa, with colophon title ‘Blo-ma’s Sku Bag-la Brtan-pa’i [Breten-pa] Le’u,” see Zhang, Writings, pp. 199.6-202.1 (translated passage at pp. 199.6-200.2).

Gilmour, Among the Mongols, p. 231.

The Ma-si Rit-bug-n-p-yi Cho-po Khyer Bde by Lchang-skya T Nag-g-dbang-bzang-gsos-ladan (1642-1714) found in supplement to the Suzuki reprint of the Pek- ing 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.

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

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 Eikai 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, Statologic, chapter 8, ‘The Ordure of the Grand Lama of Tibet.’ 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 rit-bu. Bourke received a few ma-ti rit-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, Statologic, 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 rit-bu he examined contained anything more than the flour which, as Rockhills 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 rit-bu (the gshag-chub rit-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.

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.

What Turner (Image) called “Row” (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 personal, 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.
76 Tibetan title: Sku’-bum Mhong-ba-rang-grol Dkar-chang Mdo-bras: Don Gsal Me-long. This work is found in Nam-mkha’-’jigs-med, Collected Works, vol. 4, pp. 437-59.

77 The two delimitations, or ‘veils’, are, according to Mahâyâna, those due to afflicting emotions (klesa) and knowables (jñâpa) which are countered by the two accumulations of Merit (punya) and Total Knowledge (jñâna) 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’ (smod-kyi ’jig-sten = bhalamoloka) which contains the ‘living beings world’ (bca’-kyi ’jig-sten = saulaloka). The Tibetan word bcad emphasizes the vital aspect, meaning the life essence conceived as a sort of sap. I have avoided the word ‘material’ (for the word smod), since it functions within a different dialectical framework.

80 Dhârânta (Geunga) 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. B thugs-grol mthong-grol means ‘touch-liberation sight-liberation’.

82 Peking Kangur, no. 198. It seems that all the Uṣṇîṣa deities (Uṣṇîsvijaya and Vimalakîrtî, 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.


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-sgan 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 Atri-yoga lineages.

92 One of the twenty-five main Tibetan followers of Padmasambhava; Ferrari, Mâjen 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 Bodnath (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.


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 bsdud-rtsis is used to render the Sanskrit amrita, 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, sâyañâs, etc.) into pure and beneficial ‘substances’ (the bsdud-rtsis byed pa = parci-ma) Total Knowledges (Ye-shes/ = jñâna). These alchemical denotations should be kept clear, while a literal interpretation 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 Tertons about whom relatively little has been written. Sang-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 claims to even earlier Tertons). He was active in the last half of the tenth century.


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-ghegs-pa (= Thâthâgata), lived from 1384 to 1415. See Roerich, Blue Annals, pp. 506 ff.

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

107 See Bernbaum, The Way to Shambhala, p. 69. The life of Lha-btsun Nam-mkha’-’jigs-med is told in Dargyay, Rite of Exoteric, 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.


109 The full name given is ’Jam-pa’i-dbyangs-bsdod-nams-bzang-po-bkra-shis-grags-pa’i-dbyangs-mtshan-dpal-dbang-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 Paññi-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 Bsdod-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, Rgyal-ruko Gsal-ba’s Ms-long.

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

114 An abbott of Nor; ’Jam-dbyangs-blo-ger-dbang-po, Rgyud-sde Kun Btus, vol. 1, contents page.

115 Thang-stong-rgyal-po Brtson-gzur-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.

Ngör Monastery (= Ngör E-wan Chos-sdongs), the seat of a Sakya sub-school founded in the early fifteenth century.

He plays a part in the *Prayānérapamit* and other scriptures. See Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 938, for references. The Sanskrit form of his name is Dharmodgata.

Sā-skya Kun-dga'-mnying-po (1092-1158), famous Sakya patriarch.

Another important Sakya patriarch who lived from 1142 to 1182 A.D.


Probably referring to the person in preceding note.

Glo-bo Mcham-chen Bsdod-nams-lhan-grub (1420-1489), well known for his commentaries on the logical and scholastic treatises of Sa-skya Pañdi-ta.

This is probably the sixty-fourth Chairholder (Khri-pa) of Ganden Monastery (from 1799 to 1799) by the same name. See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 6, p. 201.

This larger work with the title *Gung Thos-ba-las: Rten Gsum-gyi Dkar-chag dang Skor Tshad-kny Rim-pa Phyogs Blo* 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.

One of the largest monasteries in Amdo, Bka'-shis-'khyil.


Atiša (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’-gdmams-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 Kagyudpa in particular.

See note 111, above.

Probably the important teacher of Tsongkhapa from Amdo usually called Don-grub-rin-chen. See Wayman, *Calming the Mind*, p. 16.

Lho-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha’-rgyal-mtshan (1326-1401) was a Kadampa/Nyingma visionary, both teacher and follower of Tsongkhapa.

Rwa Lo-tshas-ka Rdo-rje-grags was the most famous propagator of Yamtaka 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.

See note 133, above.

Rgyal-tshab-rje Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364-1432) was one of the two most celebrated followers of Tsongkhapa.

Mkhas-grub-rje Dge-legs-dpal-bzang (1385-1438) was one 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.

'Duil’-dzin-pa is almost certainly a reference to 'Duil’-dzin Grags-pa-Rgyalmtshan, the disciple of Tsongkhapa.

Ba-so Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1402-1473) was, like Rgyal-tshab-rje Darmar-in-chen and Mkhas-grub-rje before him, a Chairholder of Ganden Monastery.

This is a slightly abbreviated form of the name of Bso-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyalmtshan (1579-1622) 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, *Mkhyen brtse’s Guide*, p. 145.

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.

An unidentified person, evidently from the Dung-dkar Monastery in the Tromo Valley (Gro-mo Lung) in South Tibet between Sikkim and Bhutan.

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-skya (see following note). See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 560.

The Second Lcang-skya Incarnate of Peking, Rol-pa’i-rdo-rje (1717-1786), alias Ye-shes-bstan-pa’i-rgyas-mon. One of his biographies has been edited and summarized in Kämpf, *Ni ma’i ’od zer*.

Bka’-’gyur-ba No-nom-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.

Not identified.

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 an 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).

Alias Khri-rgan-tshang, he was a pupil of the first Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa incarnation.

Not identified. All of the unidentified persons in the following text will be left unfootnoted.

This is most certainly the Smin-gling No-nom-han Ngag-dbang-’phrin-las-rgyal-po (1678-1739), a student of Lcang-skya Rol-pa’i-rdo-rje (note 142, above). See Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 583.


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.

In other words, Blo-bzang-bka’-shis, in whose memory this chorten was built.

This also refers back to the Blo-bzang-bka’-shis to whom the chorten was dedicated.

Ring-brel nam kyi. For these, see the chorten consecration text of Lcang-skya Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-chos-ldan mentioned below. This four-fold classification is most usual with Gelugpa writers.


Smrtriśīlāna is an important transitional figure in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. This Indian master was translating tantras in eastern Tibet when Rinchen-bzang-po was introducing the ‘new’ translations in western Tibet and, so, he is considered as the last of the ‘old’ tantra translators.

and associated literature. This is the technical meaning of 'saint' ('phags-pa = âra') 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 Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba (already cited). These curious terms were evidently formed by Tibetans who falsely etymologized the loan word sha-ri-ran to mean 'flesh' (sha, in Tibetan) ri-ran 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, 'Dzaam-gling-rgyan-gi-gyas, pp. 543-4.) Compare the categorization in the rediscoveries of Padma-las-'brel-rtsal (1291-1310?) called the Mikha'-gro Snying-thig-gi ChoFel-tser (p. 70.6); sha-ri-ran, cha-ri-ran ba-ri-ran nya-ri-ran and pum-tsa-râ (p. 71.3, pum-tsa-ran; p. 131.6, pum-tsa-ran). There are minor, not especially significant differences between these presentations of 'signs of saintly death' and that in the Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba. The Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba as well as the Mikha'-gro Snying-thig are dateable at the very latest to the time of Klong-chen Rab-bysams-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363) who was the first to publicize them. Both the seventeen tantras (of which the Sku-gdung 'Bar-ba is one) and the Mikha'-gro Snying-thig belong to the Precepts Class (Man-ngag Sde) of the Atyoga 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-rtsal and Klong-chen-pa, see Aris, Hidden Treasures, pp. 27-30.

A highly recommended introduction to the business of Tibetan Buddhist consecration is Gyaltzer and Verhey, 'Spells on the Life-Tree'. 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 Otrol, 'The Consecration Ritual'. Yael Bentor, has devoted her dissertation research to this topic. See Bentor, Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Consecration Ritual.

This work, entitled Rten-la Gzhung 'Bu-la'i Lag-len Lugs-rol Kun Gsal Dri Bral Nor-bu Chus-bshol-gyi Me-lon, is contained in Kong-sprul, Rgya-chen Bka' Mzed, vol. 12, pp. 97-153 (including a few related appendices). The passage rendered here is found on pp. 101-102.

See Schopen, 'Bodhigarbarhâlukâralaka', 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 Bodhigarbarhâlukâra which he [Schopen] used; see also note 64, above). This article also has a very valuable discussion of relics which is consulted. This work, cited by Kong-sprul under the title (Rgya-nag gser-gyur, 'new translation [from] Chinese') Byame-chub Snying-po Ryan-gyi Gzung-ba-gyi Cho-mi Ze-rje, is also cited in Sde-srid, 'Dzaam-gling-rgyan-gi-gyas, Studies of this text and the problems associated with it may be expected in the near future.
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BOOK REVIEWS


Another piece has been added to the puzzle of Mithraism. With the continuing inventorying of the Berlin papyri, excavated in Hermopolis in 1906, a small (7 x 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 leontion, 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 žennum, ‘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 tauroctous scene and, theriomorphized (presumably), as the serpent(s) that encircle the leontocephaline anthropomorphs, some of which have the daily 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'-brgbud 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 Buddhist of this period were: Atīśa (958-1054 A.D.) and his pupil Srom-ston (1008-1064), the founders of the bKa'-gdams-pa school; Rin-chen-bzang-po (988-1055), 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; 'Brug-mi (992-1072) and his disciple Dkon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102) who inspired and founded the Sa-skya-pa 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 revealing the nine schools) who began rediscovering ancient texts during this period. 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., 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-ros-pa and Maitri-pa, the Six Doctrines of Nā-ro-pa and the Mahāmudrā were to become the basis for the bka'-brgbud school to which gLong-ras-pa, the subject of this paper belonged. Within the bka'-brgbud 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 (1053-1161) 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'-brgbud 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, 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'-brgbud (excluding the Sangs-pa), that we must look to find a founder of monasteries and author of a systematic guide book for Buddhist doctrine. In sGam-po-pa the doctrines of another school, the bKa'-gdams-pa, were combined with the purely bKa'-brgbud doctrines and indeed most bKa'-brgbud 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-mchyen-pa (1110-1193), the founder of several large monasteries and of the important Narma-pa school, and Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170) from whom stem three other major bka'-brgbud 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, the 'Brug-pa, is the one which directly concerns us here. While this school was of no little importance in the western 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 gLong-ras-pa and his guru, a disciple of Phag-mo-gru-pa, gLong-ras-pa (1128-1188).
The Life of gLing-ras-pa

gLing-ras-pa was born in 1128 A.D., the youngest of four children, to rOy-al-pa skyab-be and his wife gDog-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 Rsa-sman (Ra-sman) from age eight until age thirteen. When he was seventeen, he took the Upaśaka vows in the presence of his paternal uncle gLing (a bkail-dams-pa). Also he learned many tantric cyclical such as the Kālacakra and Vajrabhairava cycles of the Rva school from one Rva 'bum-seng-pa. 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 Nāro-pa, and the oral transmission of Ras-chung-pa. qLing-ras-pa performed rites to stone 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-pa, 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 Sua-pa.

Later gLing-ras-pa set out on a journey intending to meditate at Rgam-śod. 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 actuality 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.'"

When Phag-mo-gru-pa had given him the Lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor teachings, 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 (gHyug-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 Sāraṇa beyond the Ganges.' Having said this, he entoned a mantra.

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, 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 Viryaprāha. gLing-ras-pa recognized himself to be a rebirth of Viryaprāha 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 misdeeds performed in this other incarnation.

actuality 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.'"
The second miraculous event occurred while he was staying at a cave in the area of sNa-phul 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 bkra'-gyur in a single volume. In this manner the whole of the bkra'-gyur was stored in his memory. Whatever anyone wanted (to know) in the bkra'-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 Cakrasamvara, Hevajra and Namasamgiti (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 parasons of their reverent praises, calling him a Mahasidda."\(^{20}\)

The fifth miracle:

"While staying in the cave known as bKra-sis-dge-gling, a Dakini 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 Däkinis came, each carrying a crown with its own special symbol. They placed the crowns on the head of the Mahasidda, appointing him thereby a representative of Vajradhara. This done, they disappeared."\(^{21}\)

The sixth miracle:

"As with Mi-la-ras-pa and many other bkra'-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' (Vajradhāra). 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 promised
by the Dharma-las and Däkinis,
by the Gurus and the (Three) Precious!

The affliction called death is a kindness
as it shatters doubts and dissolves the compounds.
With the Yogi of Uncompounded Mental Reality 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."\(^{23}\)

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 gTsang-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 may 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'-bgyud 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'-bgyud 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-pa, 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 (he misled). For instance he makes "Phag-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. Dars29 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 "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 prophesied 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'-bgyud school tends to aid this conclusion.

The name bka'-bgyud 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 school originated from gling-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-phug (1212-1270). However, E. Smith (see preface to Kong-snap-ul'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. Ketsun Sangpo included Sangs-rgyas bla-ma in his Biographical Dictionary (vol. III, p. 165) as well as a few eleventh century gter-ston (vol. III, pp. 238-9, 299ff). The significance of these earliest gter-ston needs examining.

2. Conze, Buddhism, pp. 43, 216.


5. Besides the esoteric transmissions of Ras-chung-pa (the Ras-chung sNyams-brgyud), we have the esoteric tradition which, passing through rNog Chos-skru-rdo-rje, one of the four chief disciples of Mar-pa, survived into modern times. (See Smith, Kong-snap-ul, p. 60) The transmissions of rNog and Ras-chung-pa, although they did not form distinct, organized schools, appear as more or less minor currents in the praxises of the various bka'-bgyud sects.

6. The Yid-bzin-nor-bu-Thar-pa-rin-po-che'i rtgyan, see Guenther, Jewel Ornament.

7. These are sometimes called collectively the Phag-gru bka'- bgyud 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'-bgyud.

8. I used: Ye-sa-chos-'dar, sNyams-med Dvags-po bka'-bgyud (A); Roerich, Blue Annals, (B); bka'-bgyud gSer-'phreng Chen-mo, (C); Padma dKer-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 rGos-tshang-pa (who was in turn a disciple of rGya-ras-pa), wrote a forty-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-'les-chos-'dar, mNyang-med Dvags-po bk'a'-brgyud, p. 73.

13. The Lhan-cig-skyes-abyor is the doctrine of Sahaja (see 
index to S.B. Dasgupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*). 
In the *Blue Annals* (p. 460) it says of sSam-po-pa that he 
'composed a 'Graded Guide' (khrid-rim) called Lhan-cig-
skyes-abyor which was also called Dvags-po'i rTogs-chos. "I 
was unable to find this work in the two gsHung-bum 
('Collected Works') which I consulted, that is, unless 
'rTogs-chos is to be identified with Tahsho-chos ('Misc-
cellaneous Teachings') in which are to be found a few 
short works on the Lhan-cig-skyes-abyor. For sSam-po-pa's 
transmission of these teachings to Phags-mo-gru-pa, see 
*Blue Annals* (p. 559).

14. Ye-'les-chos-'dar, mNyang-med Dvags-po bk'a'-brgyud, p. 74.

15. I avoid passing judgement on the historicity of these 
stories if only to keep the 'middle path' between the cre-
dulity of wonder mongers and the skepticism of the rational-
alist who wouldn't accept anything 'supernatural' if it 
bit him on the nose.

16. His most common alias in sNa-phu-pa.

17. Ye-'les-chos-'dar, mNyang-med Dvags-po bk'a'-brgyud, 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).


24. Sems-nyid or sams-kyi-de-kho-na-nyid.

25. bk'a'-brgyud gSer-'phreng Chen-po, p. 406-407.


27. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, *A Brief Account*, p. 20, and *Blue 
Annals*, p. 672.

68.


30. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, p. 177.

31. Was he naming the area or the actual monastery (before 
the fact)?


34. Snellgrove, *Cultural History*, p. 137. Note that it was in 
rGya-ras-pa's thirty-third year that he founded the previ-
ously mentioned 'Brug Monastery, placing its founding 
circa 1192, four or five years after gGling-ras-pa's death.

35. sNa-phu, gGling-ras-pa's customary place of meditation, was 
set 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-rtses in gTsang province. Later 
he returned to sNa-phu and stayed at a monastery there. 
*Blue Annals*, p. 664.


37. gGling-gi Lung-bstan ltar Ra-lung-gi gDan-se bTabs. Ye-'les-
chos-'dar, mNyAm-med Dvags-po bk'a'-brgyud, p. 97 and Padma 

38. Refer to footnote 7.

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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 1035 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 (Dgyongs-geig Yig-cha), strongly implies that Gshen-chen died an especially horrible death, “accompanied with various insidious signs,” as retribution for his alleged scriptural deceptions. 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 Gshen-chen’s life is the 1917 history by Mkhals-grub Lung-rtsos-rgya-ntsao, 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
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-phudön of Sgro-ba Doö and, carrying with him the six tantras of Dbyang-chen, he went accompanied by his Newari (Bal-mi) attendant Lha-btsanö to a place in Shangs where Khyung-byid-mu-thurö was said to be staying, intending to exchange the six tantras for the Zhang-zhung Gser Dzawa. When they had been on the road for one day, a frightful white figureö came to them and said, “Klu-dgaö, although you have been granted the great spiritual powers,ö all the Bon teachings have been scattered like chicken down. If even the slightest command of the Motherö 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-thurö, 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 am able to launch the Red Dzawaö in public. I will not trade it for a Bon text you extracted from under the ground.ö 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 Dzawa-baö's Spur Snagsö declined and came to an end.

On the return journey, the Gshen stayed for one day at a trade fair.ö 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-'lchas Mtha'-dkarö!

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

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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 Doö, which might be intended here (the sixteenth century Mas-pa Do-pa came from this place). The word doö may mean an island in a lake (KARMAY, Treasures, p. 350).

5 This proper name is otherwise unknown to me, except as the name of a 'treasure protector' (gter btag). See, for example, SFHH, pp. 755.5, 760.5.

6 His story, as transmitter of the oral teachings from Zhang-zhung known as 'Fire Mountain' (Mo-ri), is briefly told in SFHH, p. 704.5. See also DPALTSHUL, G.yung-drung Bon-gyi, vol. 2, p. 331.6-332.2. Klu-dgaö's journey was quite a lengthy one from 'Brig-nmtshams 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-harö, 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 Dbyos-grub chen-poö, here referring to the excavated texts.

9 No doubt Srid-paö'i Rgyal-moö ('Queen of Existence') is intended here.
very ill and was unable to proceed. Then a Tangut Bonpo
took them in. When word reached Zhu-yas Legs-po at Sngon-
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 bshad), I did not un-
derstand it.”
When [Legs-po] later asked how many treasures were at ‘Bri-
’tshams Mtha’-dkar, the Gshen-chen replied, “The teachings of
Everlasting Bon are as many as the hairs on the body of a pie-
bald (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-po in Dga’-ldan Padmo-
bkod-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-rgyur’s Great
Earthquake’.

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.

Among the texts which had earlier been entrusted to Rong-gu,
it has been said that a few were destroyed. The gshogs-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-rgyal-
mtshan 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 khangs bzang).

So, the Sprul-skhu Gshen-chen Klu-dga’ was first in the patriline
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
decided in Tibet, the Gshen extracted the Southern Treasures.
If one checks the commentary on the Dbyang-chen tantra 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-bsad-po.

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 avail-
able to us. We cannot for this reason simply discount it. The
author may have had access to older materials not now available
such as the biography (rnam-thar) of Gshen-chen Klu-dga’
known to us only as a rumor. The next most puzzling thing is

13 This might be a reference to the Gshen-chen’s first disciple Me-nyag Na-
gu. 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. xxi–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 sutra
accounts of the death of the Buddha.
16 According to the Gshen-chen’s first-person narrative, this should be
eleven years.
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. Soon after his ordination he returned to Gtsang and founded a hermitage near Zhwa-lu monastery in 973. 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. 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, in the time of the suppression of monastic vows, Mu Zi Gsal-bzang completely cut-off his thoughts, and went into suspended animation. Eight hundred years later, a horse keeper for the Tanggut King Rab-rtsse-'dus by the name of Sog-po Sprel-slog-can.

21 See, for instance, PADMA-DKAR-PO, Chos-byung, p. 349.3. 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 ROERICH, Blue Annals, p. 6.
23 KULIP, Contributions, p. 6.
24 ROERICH, Blue Annals, p. 6.
25 ROERICH, Blue Annals, p. 6.
26 Following the Zhang-zhung glossaries, this Zhang-zhung language name ought to correspond to Tibetan Nam-mi/ka’ Sangs-rgyas (‘Sky Buddha’).
27 ‘Suspended animation’ here translates ‘gog-pa (Sanskrit nirodha), ‘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 Mahayana re-readings of the Arhat ideal.
28 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 karna; 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 inferior 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 Khi-rbar-tshul-khrims. He ordained Dan-ma G.yag-slog-can and named him Gtshug-phud-tshul-khrims. The latter ordained Shing-slog-can and named him Gtshug-phud-tshul-khrims. He, in turn, ordained Bla-ma Mu-thur Dgongs-pa-gsal, whose ordination name was Shes-rab-tshul-khrims. 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-rdo 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-chhen said to them, “Generally there is no difference between Bon and Chos. My own lineage of discipline (’dul
Dgpsa-pa-rab-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. The four men of Gtsang were Lo-ston Rdzod-pa-rab-gsal, Sras-rab-seng-ge, 'Asha Blo-gros, and Ye-shes-snying-po. The three men of Dbus were Klmes Tshul-khrims-sras-rab, Rgshi Tshul-khrims-byung-gnas, and Rba Ye-shes-blo-gros. Later on when Jo-bo Rje [Atiśa] came to Tibet, they abandoned the vows that they had previously taken 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.

This general Bonpo explanation for the common origins of Bon and Chos monastic vows in the Later Spread 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-gsal 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-gsal) was the son of a Bonpo, and received his copy of the 'Dul-ba 'Od-lidan from a Bonpo. The Red Annals and other histories call him the son of a Bonpo as well. The late thirteenth-century history of Mkhhas-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 Ch'i-med-gtsug-phud. The same history says that his lay name was Ka-ra-pham, that he studied Bon, and took the Bon name Mu-zu Gsal-bar. Mkhhas-pa Lde'u even supplies one of the first monks with the nickname Shing-

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 SFIHB, pp. 698.7ff, the names of the monks are listed as Lo-ston Rdo-rje-dbang-phug, Tsong-kha Sras-rab-seng-ge, 'Asha Rgyal-ba-blo-gros, and Bre Ye-shes-snying-po – the four from Gisang; and from Dbus – Sla-mes (= Klmes) Tshul-khrims-sras-rab, Rgshi Tshul-khrims-byung-gnas, and Rba Ye-shes-blo-gros. Although most later histories mention five men each from Dbus and Gisang, TSHAL-PA, Deb-ther Dmar-po, p. 41, for example, lists seven (or six, depending on the reading).

34 Translated passage found in the Rigul-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-rda's retelling of the same events (with some curious additions and differences) in KARMAY, Treasury, pp. 105–108. It is also interesting to compare the story of the 'obs-zhu in KARMAY, Treasury, p. 109, with its parallel story in PADMA-DKAR-PO, Chos-byang, p. 341.6 (also, ZHE-CHEN, Chos-byang, p. 82.6).

35 Other Bon histories tell the same story with differences in the details. Spastson, however, denies that Mu-zi entered into suspended animation in the time of Dri-gum-byas-po, arguing that this happened much later, after the suppression by Khri-srong lde-btsan (SEHB, p. 676.5ff), making the length of his trance about two hundred (SFIHB, p. 697.2) rather than eight hundred years. For one author who argues for a 1,800 year period, see DPAL-TSHUL, G.yang-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 NEU' PANITTA, Sngon-gyi Glan, p. 30.6ff. LDEU, Chos-byang, p. 391, says that this same text, the 'Dul-ba 'Od-lidan, was given to him by the monks from Central Tibet. This would refer to the Vinaya commentary by Sākya-prabha, the Prabhāvatī.

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

40 MARTIN, Mandala Cosmography, p. 24.

41 LDEU, Chos-byang, p. 390. Note that the Lde'u history was composed by an adherent of the Ruying-ma-pa school.
glang-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 ordinances. 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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TREES SOURCES. Three Sources for a History of Bon, Khedup Gyatso, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre (Dolakha 1974).


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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 rjes of Nı 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 Bsa'i-las Li-ka'i Chos-po, contained in: Tibetan Thang Zhung 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 gyugis-po, 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’ (gshen sde) who, they say, took their vows from Bla-chen Mu-thur was one Lo-ston Rdol-rje-dbang-phyug. Since he was the Gshen’s ‘treasure demon’ (gter brtud), 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-ldag) to whom several Bon ritual texts have been devoted (for example, Shar-rdzas-Bkey-shis-rgyal-ntsang, Nam-mkha’ Mdzod, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre [Dolanji 1973], vol. 1, pp. 300–332). 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 (Phyig 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 Dgyong-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-ntsang. 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’ (blo 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 rdo rje dbang phyugis dagis 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. 1035, thus it appears that Nako monastery was constructed after that date. The survival of the reversed ki-gyu in an inscription in the Lo-tas-ba'la lha-khāi indicates that the monastery was constructed in a period when the practice of using the earlier method of reversed ki-gyu was not altogether abandoned. Other paleographic peculiarities of early Tibetan dmaw-can script including ya-brugs, so frequently repeated in the inscriptions of the gTug-lag-khāi 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 treasures 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-gye kingdom.

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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 bodies remain, 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' I mean the deliberate, culturally sanctioned, 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 Indus 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 theologists, 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 kind 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-bewn 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; Labbo 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 1967 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 Gyantso (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.

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 sarcophagus. 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 choptens (chos-skuns). 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 chapel. (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 rgya stey, 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 usual form of corpse disposal, and he cites an earlier work (China Illustratae by Athanasius Kircher, published in 1667) to the same effect (Desideri 1721: 195; see also Wesel 1952: 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 disintegrated, and the limbs divided, they are left a prey to ravens, kites and other carnivorous birds'. Less frequently, bodies were thrown into the rivers. 'Burial', he adds, 'is altogether unpractised' (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 1683, 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 phang-chos bya gon, 'scattering the body to the birds', and bya khyer sten-ka, 'to give to birds [and] dogs'. The Tibetan cabinet minister Rdo-rjng 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 Tibetans'. Out of deference to the Manchu generals, who had fought on Tibet's behalf with the Gurkhas of Nepal, Rdo-rjng Pandita was cremated, but with the offerings to the deceased made in the Chinese way (Rdo-rjng 1987: 840-41).

In fact, immediately after Rdo-rjng 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 Tang (i.e. in Tibet) that after a person has died, his remains are carved up and fed to vultures [3]
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 Chub-spel 1991: 234-59).

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 Odorico (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 in this way the son desteems 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 beard and straightway cooks it and eats it, and then the skull he makes 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 1899: 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 (1899: 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 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 (Reh-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 allow 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’ (’phu-dar) or ascended a ‘sky-cope’ (dmugs-dag). 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-gyas (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: Zarathustrian 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, Ctesias and many other classical sources have attested it (Louis Gyu in Hastings 1961: IV 302, Duchenne-Guillen 1973: 80-81). Some scholars have pointed to Zoroastrian 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 Kvaerne 1987), and one Paris 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 Kvaszne 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 Kotwal (1982: 76 ff.), Masani (1982: 99-103) and Duchesne-Guillemin (1973: 78-79).

0. A drink of consecrated Häm, 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. Circulars are traced in the ground around the corpse to 'isolate' it. The 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 paivismād 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.


0. Water mixed with consecrated pellets is administered to the dying person.

1. The corpse is bathed, the coffins 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 removed by 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-hatag) held in his left hand (the other end tied to the bier).

10. Brought to a level rock shelf in a high place apart from the purpose, the corpse is stripped, the flesh skinned. After the flesh is devoured by the vultures, the bones are pulverized and mixed with barley flour. This is then also consumed by the birds.

It is not sufficient simply to isolate these 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 Häm, 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 funeral rites. The specific instances in which the Hindu practices contrast with Tibetan-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 paivismād in Parsi and kha-hatag in Tibetan has no parallel, as far as we know, in Indian funeral observances. While usages and rationales differ, both have uses in their respective cultures which are distinct from their use in the funeral procession. Paivismād means 'connection' or 'bond' and is employed in a large number of ritual contexts to signify the bonds which bind the Persians into a community. The kha-hatag, in terms of its etymology, may mean 'tied mouth' and hence 'agreement', or 'woven surface'. Kha-hatag 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 paivismād to kha-hatag 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 Habitats

The general assumptions, the ethnological generalizations, that lie behind the following considerations reflect those of Sahlin (in Manns & 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 demographic diachronically (Ekwall 1972; Petch 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.

Ekwall (1972) follows this thesis that Tibetan population underwent decline through his 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of census or estimate</th>
<th>Anderson</th>
<th>Goldstein</th>
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<tr>
<td>7th century</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1268 (Mongol census)</td>
<td>223,000 (Central &amp; W. Tibet). Petch (1950) agrees with this figure.</td>
<td>215,000 (Central Tibet excluding monks as well as E. &amp; W. Tibetan populations).</td>
</tr>
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360 [8]
We may add to this figure 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 Qinghai and of western Sichuan.

1974 1,400,000 (total according to official estimate — C.I.A. 1979: 15).
1977 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 1,750,000 (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 cavalrymen. 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 G İnsan 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 purposes, 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 in 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 150 days per year (World Atlas 1973: I, 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 132).

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 summarise. 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 Poplar. 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 neighbouring 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 Bogie who led a British political mission in Shigatse in Central Tibet in 1774-75.

On a hill-top below the above barming is 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: 131, 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 (Elvall 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 (Sahlin in Manners 1980: 370). I find this correlate within a certain stream of Buddhist religious doctrine and ritual practice called Gcod (pronounced 'Chod'). (For recent works on Gcod, see Schnier 1937; Lauf 1971; Tuyl 1979; Pacchioni 1983; Gyatso 1985; Orofino 1987; Storrs 1991; Sawas 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, Kagyudpa, Sakya and Gelugpa, as well as in the Bon (Fên) school, a school believed to preserve facets of the ancient pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. An Indian teacher of the late 11th century named Phagspa Sangye (Pha-dam-pa Sang-nags) introduced a system of Buddhist teachings called Zhi-hyed, 'Pacifying'. It is possible that Phagspa introduced the practices later to be known as Gcod, but it was probably his female follower named Macig Labdron (Mey-rgyal
Lab Sngon, 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 Good). In this way, the Indian practice of ‘body donation’ (lha Skyen) 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 Good. The Good 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 rent (Hoffmann 1973: 148-49; Dorje 1979: 69-74).

The actual rite of Good, 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; Tuisci 1980: 91).

David-Neel (1958: 157-64) has very vividly described her personal observation of a Good 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... East etc... (David-Neel 1958: 160).

Non-Tibetans who read 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 Good rites with the practice of sky burial is proved in a simile employed in a 14th century liturgy used in Good 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 Good work by Twangshupa, the founder of the Gephug school (Savvas 1990: 364).

The professional practitioners of Good moved about Tibet as mendicants, alone or in small groups, doing very little directly to benefit the larger society. They did at times act as alms-collectors and weathemakers, 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, Good 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; Tuisci 1980: 92). Allione (1984: 246-47) translates an account of a group of Good practitioners asked by a widower to dispose of the corpse of his 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 Good rites.

While the Good practice above observes an in-depth study, I believe even this superficial account would contribute to an understanding of sky burial. I believe that sky burial as a Tibetan cultural phenomenon explains why Good, 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 Good practitioners by the Tibetan people helped them to psychologically adjust to the extremity of their own, and their close relations', ultimate death and dismemberment. Certainly, it had that effect for the individual Good practitioner. If so, it was surely of 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 diversity 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. Clarity, 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 filmmaker (meaning 'cemetery') in ordinary speech. (Unlike a great many other travellers, I was not impelled by a 'nordic' 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 apparently 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.

[15]
Ürdhvatāṇḍavam in the Art of South India

by RAGHUL KALIDAS

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 (Vatsayan 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 Natarāja 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 śāstra and codified the rules governing it. Bhartṛsā Nāṭṭāḷaṇa and Nandikēvūra's Abhināvagītā are among the literary classics of the world. These texts visualise 108 'kāṇer' which are illustrated in sculptural form in many of the abodes of Tamil art, especially the Natarāja temple at Čitāsāram and the Kāmpaṭhēvar temple at Tīrūppuravām. The ānandatāṇḍavam of Ārūḍh Śiva was immortalised by a school of Gōla bronze makers, adequately illustrated in a monumental work by the British art historian, Douglas Barrett, entitled Early Chola Bronzes. Perhaps there is no famous museum in the world which in its catalogue fails to have an entry under the head, Nāṭṭāḷaṇa. Credit goes to the Tamil artists because the four-handed dancer, bearing the dāntā, agni, gōta hāsa and abhaya mūrdh and lifting the left leg in kūntīlaka attitude, called Nāṭṭāḷaṇa, is a typical Tamil contribution to the art heritage of the world.

Another significant contribution of ancient Tamil Nādu is Úrdhvatāṇḍavam (hereinafter UT). It purports to portray the dancing Lord with one of the legs in ṣūrdhi 'erect perpendicularly' attitude, otherwise called kūntīlakāṭam. 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 Cakāk and post-Cakāk Tamil classics have references to it (infra). The Kāḷāśāṇikāṭa temple at Cōḷ allūḍur features a specimen on the subject in one of its devakūṭās (Fig. 2). However, it was during the Vijayanagaras-Rāyak 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 pillar stages or group. The ērā or rathas

Moran 1998: Neuenschwiler 1999), although given the nature of our sources of such studies in the general Tibetan tradition, see Huber 1999: 128-152, would nowadays be termed a "culture contact zone" for recent examples of hybridising cultures around the year 1100 as something like what played in the Tibetan-Indian interface. In effect, we will consider the

In this brief paper, we will focus on what roles, if any, race and ethnicity play in the encounter between culture and of Indians as its active transmitters, basically unaffected by the idea of "views about Thibetans as passive receivers of Indian Buddhism in Thibet." (say, "views about Thibetans as passive receivers of Indian Buddhism in Thibet.")

I would argue that evidence that leads to understanding later simplicistic and even I would argue, race all played some part. Moreover, the Peace-making Collection contains (with several examples) castes, geographical conceptions, customs, ethnotypes, and central to some factors, geographical conceptions, customs, ethnotypes, and central to some.

In this essay, although more remainings to be said. Another lost aspect of the spiritual potential of women, I have already written about in a

account. One of the aspects, the attitudes Pha dam-pa and his circle had towards the Peace-making Collection, are not very evident in later literature associated with his Peace-making (Zhi-byed) Movement, which

portrayed Pha dam-pa that emerge while reading the earliest body of work in Tibet for nearly nine hundred years. Still, certain aspects of the Pha dam-pa Sange ye (Pha dam-pa Sangs-rgyas) has been a household name.

Introduction

Dedicated to Leonard Mandell III.

Language.

Note: This is a preliminary draft only, and the concluding

Race and Ethnicity as Issues for the Circle of Pha dam-pa Sange ye at Tingri.
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 Peace-making Tradition, its existence has scarcely been mentioned in contemporaneous academic literature. I would like to discuss briefly both

works, a kind of holy relic, in the temple associated with Phadampa.Manuscripts inscribed in this, until recently, it was an object of worship, a kind of holy relic, in the temple associated with Phadampa. Published with the title, The Tradition of Pha Dampa Sangs Á’s: A reproduction of a five-volume manuscript from Tibet which had been smuggled over the border into Nepal by Tibetan refugees. It was published 20 years ago, Barbara Nairz, published a five-volume

A Few Words on the Main Source:

A rich source of information of other kinds, a paper, it isn't because I am uninterested in the Peace-making Collection as margin, as it were, of their interests. If I choose to focus on them in this ethnic differences did not merit much attention. They appear at the passages of significant length, race and ethnicity were not. Religious and gender were an issue for the Dharma circle, as evidenced by texts and

initially may be partially and roughly answered in advance. While

stresses that so often emerge in cultural encounters. The question asked forward that might seem to indicate in some greater or lesser degree the

South Indian native speaker of Telégu, concentrating on the significance

new source, we will immediately look into the life of Phadampa as a

and the kinds of information they were designed to supply we cannot hope
his most popular work, the Diṅge-līṅ Ngag-tsha (followed by the last will
advise for the laity, people of Tibet, although not dedicated to what became
with the last will and testament of Phadampa (in fact, final words of
before Phadampa’s death in 1117. In fact, this group comes to an end
answers. With one exception, they must have been put down in writing,
responsa texts, since they are nearly all in the form of questions and
by his chief Tibetan interpreter named Kūnja. We will call these
B. The second layer represents oral statements by Phadampa transcribed
these texts may be dated roughly prior to the year 1100, with most of
known as dohas. Overall (with the exception of a commentary by Pāṇḍapa),
works and the spiritual songs of Phadampa’s forty teachers, some
commentaries on those texts. These include stilted, lengthy, Maṇḍrakuta
Phadampa brought with him to Tibet and translated there, as well as
transcendent inscriptions. It also includes all the Indian texts that
text is the famous Heart Sūtra, a short sutra belonging to the set of
A. The first level includes a few canonical Buddhist scriptures. The first
are ignored for present purposes.
instance, there is a commentary by Pāṇḍapa in level A; these commentaries
precede immediately following the texts on which they comment (for
were there on occasion somewhat later commentarial works have been
manuscripts. The following outline is rather rough and one ought to be
are several layers of growth in the age of the sources combined in the
13th century. However, one may, with close study, determine that there
The manuscript itself may be securely dated to no later than the end of the
Reasons why it’s important

Why it is important and why it hasn’t yet been utilized for its historical
made the physical manuscript. I believe it is Nyendo Thamchephypenga
by 1910 by Zhippo himself in what was probably
know that the volume up to this point was redacted into a gold-lettered
later bringing lineage by Zhippo, one of the two Kgo brothers. We
phadampa. The second work is a very important until the history of the
Kunga, and therefore actually belongs to the 3rd level. It is half responsa
Historical section. Here there are two works. The first is put down by
Tenne. Vol. 3, pp. 191-496, Vol. 4, pp. 1-301 (there are 3 sub-sections:
Sifher. It was put together from the words of Kunga by his disciple
D. 3rd layer is nicknamed DFR-IsiHaga which might be translated 'Cloth
Vol. 4, It was put together from the words of Kunga by his disciple, KUNGA
C. The 3rd layer is nicknamed PHRA-118, which might be translated 'Inse\ndeath 7 years later.
by Kunga. Probably between the death of Phadampa in 1117 and Kunga's
up the original manuscript collection, no longer existent of course. Redacted
and together (with some minor exceptions that are clearly later) make
This identity might perhaps be supported by reference to Blau, Anna (p. 992).

This is list of titles, not the actual texts. Some of the individual texts is transmitted through three other disciples of Phadamba, but we only know that there were at least three other collections of Pemaquish literature that formed part of the body of early Pemaquish literature that has survived. We know the main importance of the Peaquish Collection is that it is the only written of the Kaqapa Tradition.

Works of the Kaqapa Tradition, and with the late 12th-century collected vocabulary is has even more in common with late 11th-12th-century orthography share elements with the Dunhuang manuscripts. But in its volumes compared to well over 4000 volumes of later Tibetan literature, it still amounts to a little more than about 50.

These misspellings are actually not so difficult to read through, but it has been used by researchers so far. First, it is has many bad spellings.

If the Peaquish Collection is such an important source, why hasn't it

Obstacles.

To identify him as the author.

Suye-mdo Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa, 1217-1277, since other sources seem
issue for Finns, and if so, what kind of issue?

Immediately confront some of the questions of whether or not this blackness was an

general awareness about Phadnam’s life, which brings us to another

contradiction, and awareness of ethnic differences. But first, a few
different moments, the occasional stilted, the initial cultural
contrary, it is only to locate within passages that may have entirely

seamless fabric representing Phadnam’s full range of discourse. To the

The present goal, we should emphasize once more, is not to present a

To entertain Phadnam’s work, we

hope we have of hearing Phadnam’s true voice, the closest we may come

most memorable statements, and his transitions are after all the
original oral events. After all, Kunea would have written down only the

circumstances of their transitions rather than the character of the

character of the written version in some part results from the

significant evidence. It is still quite probable that the written telegraphic

that Phadnam was rather incisive, even if he knew how to deploy

joined down after the interviews sessions were over. It is often remarked
made aware that the notes were being taken, although they were most likely

within these texts, there are several points where we are

understand Phadnam’s metaphors and other symbolic

Translator interviewed, his services were required because he was the only

Indian language, and the responses I chose often expressed that no

other people, while Kunea acted as an interpreter of sorts of Phadnams

Some of the questions were asked by Kunea, but most were asked by
be said about just how well they represent the original speech events.

considerations. Being basically translated oral texts, a few words should

level B, the responses texts, will form the main core for our

cases of difficult readings.

contains have been published elsewhere, which is sometimes useful in
Phaddampa, the Indian


... which didn't harm him, although it did turn his skin black (A'izi).

1996: 33-34.

... the passage translated in Edo

as soon as he is born (for a story that accounts for Phaddampa's
13th-century text have him sing the same verse of praise to his mother
he is born with a complete set of 40 teeth. Both the modern legends and
Reddish cast. There is no story of his making a footprint in the rock, but
abolition. The medicine has no effect except to turn his body black with a
has conceived a child without a father, so she takes a medicine to induce
13th-century Reesakakha History. Here the mother is ashamed that she
is institutional to contrast this modern legend with the story told in the

Phaddampa's, whom Phaddampa himself calls Carasingh (Tsa-ra-sin-naga),
been a native of present-day Arunachal and a speaker of Tungu. His
Amratavan (Lo Bu 1997: 249). Following this, Phaddampa would have
whose ancient capital, Kundapura, is about sixty kilometers from
Phaddampa was born in South India in "Beja — the district of Peeter,

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
years on a voyage, his mother aged 88, conceived him miraculously on

Tell a very improbable story that, while his father was absent for three
and father were Brahmins. Modern legends, as told to pilgrims at Tirner,
while his mother belonged to an increase-making sub-caste, both mother
must have been located on the coast, because his birthplace was a sea captain's
birthplace, which Phaddampa himself calls Carasingh (Tsa-ra-sin-naga),

A very different way, see the passage translated in Edo

13th-century text have him singing the same verse of praise to his mother
he is born with a complete set of 40 teeth. Both the modern legends and
abolition. The medicine has no effect except to turn his body black with a
has conceived a child without a father, so she takes a medicine to induce
is institutional to contrast this modern legend with the story told in the
When the first took novice vows, he was probably given the name of Emphasize his blackness. These names became rare as time went on.

including the 12th-century Kamaśīla names, continue to use names that
century. He achieved the status of a proper name. While earlier sources,
other epithets, among which Phadampa Sangye has, since the 12th
Nagchung, "Little Black Indian." In Tibet, he was known by a number of
91.6: "Kamaśīla’s Kramaśīla, Avināśita and, in Tibet, Overgar
Conceivably, this was the four names for us (Reemakih Collection: 1V
Kamaśīla or Kamaśīla. Let me quote a 12th-century text, which
Kamaśīla,

when the first took novice vows, he was probably given the name
of Holy Man or simply, Holy Man, quite frequently. These names occur in
Phadampa to refer to himself. We also find Black Asia and Indian
commonly. Asia (a borrowing from Sanskrit Ārāṇyga) is used, even by
Phadampa, to mean Holy Man Buddha, and more rarely as second Buddha.
Most

Peemakih Collection never uses this exact title; but sometimes refers
to him as Holy Man Buddha. The
Phadampa Sangye would seem to be his Tibetan name, but it is in fact, in

Arjadeva, and Vītupā
sometimes singled out. Their names are Mahāyānadharmaram, Bhrammar,
are usually numbered at 64, both male and female, although three men are
Līvyān (the Swat Valley) in what is now northern Pakistan. His teachers
He traveled all over India, even as far as Kashmir and beyond. Karmat to
century by Hartbhakta, a specialist in the Transcendental Insight Sūtras.
northern Bihar (a monastery founded in around the beginning of the 9th
monastic university of Vikramashila in

He started his travels after his father died, at age 15, by going to obtain
Despite the widespread belief that he received a prophecy while he was a young man in India, after he returned, it is given the age of 72 in the Peasemaking Collection (VI.251), while in the Peasemaking Collection (VI.3.42), his age is given as 99 in the same collection, and this is in one of the later levels where the question would have been raised. Although we must come immediately to his defense by assenting that quite impossible stories about him, but this is not to deny that Phramapisa was a teacher named Aryadeva, and there are several instances of this name in the Buddhist literature of this period.

Probable reasons for the story being told there are easy to see. His material circumstances were not over the range of 517, 370, or 727 years old when he died, and the Blue Annals of P. 72(3) say he was asked how old he was. He replied, "My age is 99," and then the author of the Blue Annals immediately qualifies this by saying, "But in the annals immediately after he arrived in the 15th century history, the Blue Annals (p. 72(3) say he was 72 years old, as it was written in the 15th century, after the Blue Annals were written, the author of the 15th century history says that he was 99 years old."

Although we must come immediately to his defense by assenting that quite impossible stories about him, but this is not to deny that Phramapisa was a teacher named Aryadeva, and there are several instances of this name in the Buddhist literature of this period.

I would argue that his very celebration in the Buddhist literature of this period, outside of system, is not to deny that it Phramapisa was a teacher named Aryadeva, and there are several instances of this name in the Buddhist literature of this period.

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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

suffer from the fuzziest approximations (p. 426) that did not
this process in culturally appropriate translations (p. 427) refer to the
world and knew many different languages, but adds that he pronounced
commentary (p. 149) referred how he traveled over two-thirds of the
1153 years he knew 55 different languages and scripts. A 13-14th-century
number of nationoalities could also find support in this statement (p. 111:
I. 324). The Asiaas has viewed the nationalities of
Tibetan, less (p. 324). The Asiaas has viewed the nationalities of
However, one text, in which Phadampa lyrically refers to himself as
the case situation in Phadampas native land (p. 111: 17 33-4). Peacekeeping Collection, and when it is, is more often with reference to
criteria behind the classification. The world is not often used in the
case where a particular type of human is in question. Regardless of the
call race, caste, ethnicity, and nationality. Still, if may be used in any
GLOSSARY OF HUMAN, as such it may be employed for what we would
call 'race'. But there is a broader term meaning (p. 114-125) which might be
English.

Einthony at the Margins

answered.

When he died in 1117 is another question. I believe it cannot be
where he lived out the remaining 20 years of his life. Just how old he was
he returned to Tibet and wandered some years before he settled down.
Years. He then left Tibet to spend eleven-years in China. In about 1091
He then went back to India, returning to Tibet for a stay of about five
first stayed in Tibet for a period of unknown duration shortly after 1064.
We may say, provisionally, following the Blue Annals (pp. 72-73), that he
Kdza-spur 1972: 22 agrees that he in fact records Tibet only three times.
Pasang Nyima (a.d. 208), patronage of the Tangula King in Monge Gi (we-yang, Ga) and died in the name of Shongnga-pa (shong-ba-mo-pa) went to serve as priest under the disciples. In the early 12th century, one lama attached to the name of his few occurrences as an ethnic label attached to the name of his唐朝.

There is no reference to Tangula contemporaneous with Phadampa apart from Tangula.

narrowing senses, the Tangula and the Hot (Likhini) people.

Indian, and finally, Tibetans themselves. We start with the two most rare responses lexical among them, beginning with the more exotic peoples, then epithets on the positions of the Peace-making texts, in particular the into this here. What I would like to do now is to look at the various disciplines a very refined understanding of General Seal, and will not go further.

Communication in conventional language, I do not believe this would Great Seal would be more sensivile to the problem of direct

We might find it ironic that advocates of the ultimate perspective of the

The Great Seal.

Those three also had in common that they were all teachers of Mahamudra,

2000: 129; Schaeffer 2000a). Besides their Tibetan language abilities made his own translations of the songs of the Mahamudras (see Schaeffer phreu-n (phan-yul). The other was the Orissan Vajracanadita, who One was the Neverasser (v-sun), who settled down with his Tibetan wife in Tibet. During the 11th-12th centuries, I can only point to two others, those were quite rare skills among South Asian Buddhist teachers in translations (even if subsequently edited to some degree), but also that
disciples in Tibetan who he could and did make his own literary

should strongly emphasize not only that Phadampa spoke directly to his
the presence of any Chinese at Timur’s Pharamapa was speaking to

Chinese persons. I would suggest, 100, that there being no indication of
gold. All these examples promote an image of Chinese as consummate
seen a Chinese carthas person, an illusionist, turning metal powder into
Peacocking History (P: 17 350) recognizes Pharamapa’s experience of

and that this can promote understanding better than words. The
parable for aspiring mediative knowledge by sitting next to the teacher
the Chinese woman (巍aga-mo) is the master. "This of course serves as a
know how. If one wants to learn how this is known, the experience of
know how it is done. If you try explaining it to a Tibetan they cannot
reveal a rainbow of colors, said: "If you sit next to the teacher you will
offered Pharamapa a ball of brocade. Pharamapa, opening up the ball to
achieve the desired results. In another passage (P: 163-4), a Khampa
how, in a single vessel they can place many different colors and still

that we ought to consider for example the Chinese cloth dyers women;
according to their levels into one or another of the three vehicles. It says
attempts to make a parable for how it is that teachers can instruct people
is almost always in the role of carthas persons. One passage (P: 143)
sojourn will not be recognized here). When Chinese people are mentioned,

years in China not many years before he settled in Timur’s China

There ought to be expected since Pharamapa, by all accounts, had spent 12
References to China and the Chinese are of course much more abundant.

Chinese.

Pn (P: V 36).

of words in different languages for 'fire'. In Hoti, the word for 'fire' is "r-
not be able to help" (P: II 43 6). The other (later) occurrence is in a list
even [all] the doctors of India, Tibet and Hot (Rëga Bod Hot 891m) will

Pharamapa in a "response text", "In that time [i.e. at the time of death]
The Hot are only mentioned twice that I know of, once in a statement by

Hot (U’ghurit)
Once toward the end of his life, the border (tshong, 532, read-po cil). people call their doors (p. 159, Chos-kyi-seng-te et al.: 97).

People called their doors. There are nunneries, but Phadampa said, "That's just the way Mon and the door got up and were led into a hall. Padma_the_Imagined_one immediately rolled over and died. Phadampa said the words so-11 so-11, immediately rolled over and died. Phadampa made an interesting gesture at Badaraksha's door, which food and gave it to some of those who arrive at their doors. Once there are households in Mon, Khams and so forth. The nuns prepare poison for honey. Still earlier in that text (p. 142) we are informed insatiability. Saying how they will even leave their offspring after getting community (p. 143). There are the bears of Mon as an example of the swampy areas in all parts of Mon and India (p. 143). The same a monastic tradition holds that it is not the need to explain that becomes (ca-dpa) and (p. 423). The same primarily associations with poison and wild animals. One community on Tibel, taken together, we find in the reference to Mon and Mopas assortment of folk tales and house stories on the border between Mon and

In the Peaceeating History (p. 1350), Tubten yulsky is depicted as an be applied to a wide variety of peoples ranging from Ladhaki to Aymara. assimilated (this means that a Tibetan-language Ethnonyms, Monpa may of civilization of Tibetans, who have only to some degree become territorities of peoples who might approach but have not attained the level from a Chinese term. In Tibet, Mon generally refers to the southern frequently mentioned in the Peaceeating Collection. Originally derived The Monpas are—apart from Indians of course—the foreign people most

Monpas, proximally to, Tibetan of Indians and Mon people. Unlike Chinese, we do find indications of the presence in, or close Tibetans mean experience with Chinese, as consumers of Chinese luxury goods. Unlike Chinese, we do find indications of the presence in, or close
no wealth, no desires (p. III 34)

concerned in his cave and they didn't notice him. No dwellings, no life,
their wealth. They were defeated and reduced to ashes. The Asuras was
Khotan, destroyed the neighborhoods, killed the people and carried away
Khotan, destroyed the neighborhoods. After they were built, four large armies came from

"Why is it that?" asked the disciple. "This village of Phungraba included
finds (3). Even if I haven't helped these people they are good friends."
are the Asuras' patrons. These people come with offerings of butter
Once Phadampa said, "All these people of Phungraba (Phungr[kha]-pa)
Khotan (Li-yul) as such, rather than Khotanese (Li-yul-ba), is mentioned.
I could localize only one place in the Phungraba Collection where

Khotanese (Li-yul-ba).

himself a Khotanese.

bult polymorphic even more surprisingly, he was, at the same time, calling
years of his life, Phadampa called himself a Monga chief of the border,
themsevles; also, somehow Mongas. It is clear that, probably in the later
implication of this calling himself, chief is that his followers are
reading mage-ro, "black", in place of reاغ-ro, "chief", 355. One
Phadampa's spoken word (that I have localized (p. II 148, 340 there)
occurrence of this phrase (all in direct or indirect quotations of
Phadampa's spoken world) that I have located (p. II 32). The
meaning of "a Monga chief of the border" may not be self-evident, but it,
the sun had set, the moon [the moon is Kungra will rise" (p. II 32). The
Phadampa who would die soon thereafter. "Kungra," he says, "although
Phadampa the sun that went down in the center of the sky, is of course,
however, an esoteric empowerment, in which he curtails his influence to
perform a ritual. The ritual that Phadampa goes on to perform is,
something bad will happen to a Monga chief of the border, so they must
sun had set in the center of the sky. Phadampa says the dream means that
Phadampa told his disciple Kungra about a bad dream he had in which the
In the moment, they carry what they know in their mouths and the
nose, and they are ready to say what they think on the spur of
the moment. They carry with them things they have observed.

The key to succeeding in compassionate activities is to see

Not all the examples are from the section called the Fine Cloth
Differ,

Do you understand these symbols, friends?

Since it will transform (turn) in the direction of Shreya Kuna,
and when the moon is in its third day of waxing, then it will be
good,

This illusionary body is essentially located in the natural place.

Does this religious practice exist in this natural place?

This religious practice [function] on the mountain.

Do the religious people make a prayer.

The Lord of a thousand troops disappears without a trace.

37). The discussion requires an independent study, and no more

opens Phadampaa's last will and testament (p. 11, 12). With parallel in 17

will be said about it now. Here is the heavily symbolic passage which

(Dharm-Pa-Na). This discussion requires an independent study, and no more

form, with the last line always ending with the words "friends,

works have only a little in common apart from the (mostly) two-line verse

later work is not to be found in the Rebecca Kirana Collection, and the two

the Dharm Kirana, or Dharm Kirana (Dharm-Pa-Na), but in fact the

This work only to correspond to the most popular work attributed to him,

The most interesting context is in Phadampa's last will and testament.

A Dharm Kirana...
people were certainly familiar with Indians in the form of the Traveller
Although divided from them by the people they called Monpas, Tungi

A Tibeleanized Indian.
Tungri views on Indians. Phadampas view on Tibelegans, and Phadampas as

personal ethno-hybrids.
attitudes Phadampas had towards Tibelegans, and the question of Phadampas

first a brief discussion about the Tungri peoples' view of Indians, the

We will return to the question of what these examples mean shortiy. But

Intermediate. The untoward circumstances transform into fictions.
when you escort the disease to the
Phadampa (Tibetan) hospital. When you escort the disease to the

of assistance or not. There is a knowledge unconscious. You refer to
or not. The words, observe whether the sickness grants comfort or

The words [of Phadampa], examine how the potions of the
The Khonanese refer to

(especially in Padma's oral commentary, evidently) to whom the words "a" connotes,

The fourth example (p: 1797) is the only one in which we are told

Tenth century settled.
monks who returned from northeastern Tibet to Tsang at the end of the

well-known trading market in Tsang province, and it was here that the first

place-name Chum (Chu-mo, generally Mchu-mo) refers to the most

even though not thinking to benefit others, does it help them. Here the

benefits to others occur, does it make them happy. A Khonanese person,

The third example (p: 1795): "A Khonanese person, even though

recommends understanding the dramatic arts (rgad-mo) of the Khonanese.

in fact, so difficult to explicate that I will leave it aside for now. If

If this example is rather obscure, the second (p: 1790) is still more so,

(rgad-mo) towards the objects he encounters.
friends who can help; he keeps to the roots of nondiscrimination

A Khonanese knows to rely on
Faith in their beliefs. The question very often came up, why aren't
Dharma? Tibetans mean have faith in their monasteries. Tibetans women have
are these people doing?" "They are showing their faith in you, on
very touchy edge. Once Phadampa asked his disciple (P: 226), "What
idea what it refers to in Tibet." At other times his commentaries could have a
"In our country it refers to the purity of the very mind. I don't have any
someone asked him, "To what does the word, Buddha, refer?" He replied,
critical commentaries can be quite subtle, as for instance (P: 181), when
selfishness (or lack of independence) and lack of courage. Some of these
so-called commentaries that he most often singles out for comment are their
whole, generally framed in terms of their lack of spiritual potential. The
where he expresses negative opinions about Tibetan people of Tibetans as a
rather ambivalent, as might only be expected. There are many passages
But Phadampa, relationship with the ethically that surrounded him was
very much as he did when he called himself a Khonqebe or a Khonqa CheL,
rather ironically, placing himself within a stereotype of the local Indian.
Tibet." In a very clear sense, Phadampa is self-consciously, if periphras
that (gold is unnecessary. Focused on this desire, they seek wealth in
Alisara, among the other Alisara, there are very few for whom it occurs.
another passage (P: 266) a generalization is made about the other
probably Tibetan people's most common personal experience of Indians. In
begetter (a-las-ra spangs-po), and the Alisara in the role of begetter was
Phadampa also refers to himself most often as Alisara, but also as Alisara
It, and it's an inconvenience..."

"I have no desire for it, so what do you do with it? I don't want
get rid of it. Phadampa likes to hand out gold and says, "Here is your
some. I don't recognize him." "Where do you keep your
card?" Since I have a lot of gold I gave him
there was no reason for him to come. He came to beg gold.
"Did you give him any?" "Yes."
didn't, but he is certain that a pundit who knows a lot of Dharma.
No."
"Did you recognize that Alisara who came yesterday?"

visited Phadampa (P: II 222), and afterwards Kunga asks him:
memorials they called Alisara. On one occasion an unnamed Alisara
enlightenment. He made use of ritual items whose Indian analogues are
disciple who had been possessed by spirits that provided her

Tibetan ritual for the Ivan (bja-sran) for the purpose of exercising a woman

ritual contexts. In one place (p. 212-6), we find Phadampa doing a
was able to make use of culturally embedded Tibetan concepts, even in
Tibetan language for his everyday communication purposes, but that he
more passages could be cited to demonstrate that he not only used
monarch doesn't need a partial ritual protection group” (pp. 221). Many
Phadampa's response was: "The lion doesn't need the pack. The universal

Phadampa's response was: "The lion doesn't need the pack. The universal
following example. His disciple Kunzang would often ask what they would
could bring together for purposes of defining clear interests, as in the
he uses the idea of pha-ri-ma, which means a partial ritual alliance which

A few times

perspective (the advocates neither allegiance nor rebellion). A few times
express a mild disapproval of government and rulers from a spiritual
dozens of mentioning of the Western Tibetan King Rise-de, which mostly
the harvest festival) is held every year the profit from the harvests. There are

factions about Tibet and Western Tibet. We have just seen a reference to
culture was considerable. He was quite aware of the political and social
good arguments that the degree of Phadampa's enunciation into Tibetan

But along with his negative views about Tibetans, we can also make very

that these were, and were in some manner intended to be, ethical strips.
intention of a mahasiddha. It is still difficult to escape the conclusion
237). Although one certainly ought to think twice before judging the
spe,na-byin-pa: p. 222, 228) and the nouns (pa-ma-ba-pa: p. 222)
places where Phadampa calls Tibetans, to their faces, "monkey children",
examples could be given, but most surprising, at least at first, are the
but it's all used up in the harvest tax (byin-sha-pa). Dozens of other
will pluck out and eat in their mouths. They do a quick bit of farming,
others. What is known as the 'eye', necessary for looking at things, they
221). "They don't take chance of hemalaves, but prefer to be slaves of

these many Tibetan siddhas" One of Phadampa's typical answers (p. 22
The examples we have given show that it did make quite matters. But it is a quite different question if we ask: Did ethnicity are forced to recognize about in the margins of passages about unrelated even no passages (devoted to ethnicity as there are about women, so we classifications from Machiavellian perspectives). There are no texts (and implication in passages on the Generally problematic nature of labels and about how these might have been considered problematic (except by ethical stereotyped and even ethnocentric), but I could find no discussion household roles. If it is true that these are things that look very much like the degree they made an issue of their opposition to women's rights did not make an issue of ethnicity or ethnocentric stereotypes, certainly not to to answer the question implied in the title: No, Phandampa, and this circle.

Phandampa's unique responses require considerable explanation. wonders of the world, a topic I hope to go into elsewhere, since is emphasized in passages in which his disciples ask him to tell about the singularity, they hardly ever asked him how things were in India. Thus the world with experiences quite far beyond their own horizons (and, Tebhan followers in Tibet seem to have seen him primarily as a man of cultural hybrid. Was he a Tibet? By birth, yes. By the education and there are so many ways that we could characterize Phandampa as a

Dharma centers in Europe or America.

intercultural dynamics as the transmission of the Tibetan Buddhism in audience. In short, the scene at Türgi shared much of the same so much of what he said was tempered to the worldviews of his Türgi whether or not Phandampa was transmitting the mere Indian Dharma, since Tibetan delirium. These sources might even give rise to questions about (Ge-sar), Nyamchen Thangla (Gyanyuen Thang-ba) and other local doubtful at best or nonexistent, and invoked from spirits including Cesar.
There are no things in India, but still they may come in very useful in
delusions dissolved.

there is no thing to help with Padmapa's symbolic mode of expression and her
have such things (as light) "The woman understood the
cold [lit. could be cause for a warm fire] in our India we don't
could reason for this happening. We cannot comprehend how this
does through conditions. It's so amazing we cannot follow up on
poor ill-omened fire," he says. "It's across thorough conditions and it
with the fire, and it starts to die out. "These
"God's sky (De-go-dun-skyy), come bring your fire. He brings a
then all things are emptiness, how is it that emptiness comes
Magad Choed (Ma-jo-cho-gna) asks, "If it is true, as they say,
following ethnographic impulses in the following story (p. 293):
that are often used to define anthropological fieldwork, he was surely
although Padmapa did not employ any of the systematic methodologies
contrasts between the ethnographies has been perceived as being of interest
encounter has been, and is, taking place, and that some differences or
Ethnography, to exist as such, must presume that some kind of ethno-

exceptional realizations.

instance, had samadhis, feel strong faith or renunciation, had great faith or
some cried, others laughed, some were frightened, some were driven
everyone who met him understood remarkable behavioral transformations.
worth of reverence. One interesting passage (p. 320) states that
woody, his blackness and his role as spiritual leader is a single package
peacekeeping collection accept Padmapa's Indian ethnicity, his Ashara-
way, rather they were part of his attraction. The basis of the
Padmapa's ethnicity and race certainly mattered, but not in a negative
while Indians on the local scene were seen as little more than beggars.
neighbors, the Chinese, were better known for their export products
and the Mongols, were primarily seen as threats, their more foreign
a bit of difference. The Lungtsi people's ethnic neighbors, the Khonsean
In the case of the Tibetan Phadampa and the Tibetans of Tibet, the
Porterland implicit in the term culture contact zone was not located

Dampa is said to have been displeased with Translators in general.

of the [indic] Tibetan word for Translators (lo-loishing-pa) are always formed by placing the clan name in front

There are consistently studing the lechum (na-pa) a word not

This usual picture has a very prominent place in hieratical Translations. This usual picture has a distinctly different

and so forth. He said, “I’ve brought these just now from Kashmir.”
Bibliography:


Bibliography:

This is likely a page from a book discussing the foundations of culture, philosophy, and cultural exchange. The text references works by various authors, including a discussion of a particular textual work (possibly in the Tibetan language) and a cultural practice involving a video, mentioned as a reference for understanding the Tibetan language and culture. There is also a note about the English language and its role in understanding cultural practices, as well as a mention of related works by other authors, such as those on the culture of China and India, and the influence of these cultures on modern Tibetan scholars.

Tenth-Century Indian Buddhist Master from Aftarkhana Kosala: A Scholar's Journey (Cambridge, University Press, 2009) and the Religious Career of Vajracakara, Harvard


Kunsang Tobgyé (Thimphu, 1979), in 5 vols.

Preceding Collection [P]: The Tradition of Pha Dampa Sangphas: A


Towards a Definition of Style, Lawrence King Publishing (London),
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 Bstd-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 sms-can thams-cad-la byin-gyis brlab-par mdzad-du gsol [1v.4].
   Note: Not located in Samdo A.

2) T: None (dkar-chag: Gnadm-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 / ShākyāIGHLIGHTEDI 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 btan-ta 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-shri-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 mshan mi mnga' yang [5r.7].
   E: bdag sogs skal-ladan-rnams-la byin-gyis rlbs [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 dbying-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-snags sdong-po sde-snod kun-gyi bdag [8r.2].
   C: Shâkyâ'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 / Bsil-o-ba Tshal-gyi dur-khrod-na [8v.4].
    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 shok-dpon rim-po-che [9v.6].
    C: Sna-nam-gyis Stab-dpon Dwags-po-ba 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 skies-bu ya-mtshan-can [10r.5].
    C: Dpal Rgwa Lo-la Sna-nam-gyis bstod-pa u-dum-bar-ba zhes bya-ba'o [10r.4].
    Note: Compare Part 5: A) 14.

13) T: Dpal-la Bstod-pa Gnyis-pa [I 11r.4-5].
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: Shâkyâ'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 Gsos-'debs [I 15r.3].
   B: bdag gosol-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 gosol-ba btab-pa [15v.1-2].
   Note: Compare Part 5: A) 9.

19) T: Rje-la Rigs Gsum-po'i Sgo-nas Bstod-pa [I 15v.2].
   B: skal-ldan-rnams-la byin-gyis rlobs [15v.2].
   E: gzhan don gzugs skur bsgyur-du gosol [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: bdag 'dra blo dman sdig-can 'dis [15v.6].
   E: da-dung byin-gyis brlab-tu gosol [17r.1].
   Note: Compare Part 5: A) 21.

21) T: Rje-btsun Rin-po-che Sku-mched-la Bstod-pa [I 17r.1].
   B: 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 / Shâkyâ'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]
Note: The date Wood Female Sheep (equivalent to 1175) is given, the same year the foundations of the monastery of Tshal were laid. Compare Part 5: A) 23.

22) T: Rje-la Bstd-pa Sho-lo-ka Gnyis-pa [I 17v.2].
   B: sku-la bde-chen rgyas-pas gzi-mdangs-ladan [17v.2].
   C: Rje Rin-po-che-la Zhang-gis bstd-pa’o [17v.4].
   Note: Compare Part 5: A) 22.

23) T: Lhan-skyes Don Bstd [I 17v.4].
   B: <P> <P> <P> dgos-po kun-gyi rang-bzhin mchog [17v.4-5].
   C: dpal-ladan lhan-cig skyes-pa-la gnas-lugs-kyi sgo-nas bstd-pa / lhan-cig
      skyes-pa’i tshig-nies-par mthang-ba, rnal-byas-nyi/thang-phuyug
      Bde-rje-rab-nies mthun-lar/ rje’i dkar-thang, rnal-byas-nyi
      dog-can-du mdzad-pa [18v.2-3].
   Note: Compare Part 5: A) 24.

24) T: Nyid-la Nyid-kyis Bstd-pa Dgos-’dod Re-bskong-ma [I
   18v.3].
   B: dgos-'dod re-ba skong mdzad-pa’i [18v.4].
   C: nal-byor-gyi dbang-phyug chen-po Bde-ba’i-rdo-rje-la / "Dod-chags-
      rdo-rjes nam-thar-gyi sgo-nas bstd-pa [19v.1].

   B: <N> sgrub-pa gtsor mdzad Rje-btsun Bya-mkhar-ba [19v.2].
   E: khyed-kyi thugs-rjes rjes-su gzung-du gsol [19v.6].

B) Mdzad-pa Rnam-thar-gyi Skor.

1) Dpal Ti-lo-pa’i Rnam-thar [I 19v.7].
   B: <P> gang-gi drin-gyi bde-chen-po [19v.7].
   E: rdo-rje-'chang nyid-kyi sprul-par thag chod-do [21r.2].

2) T: Dpal Ná-ro-pa’i Rnam-thar [I 21r.2-3].
   B: de’i sras-su gyur-pa ni Dpal Ná-ro-pa-ste [I 21r.3].
   E: s longitudinal [?] gshogs-pa’i lo-rgyus 'og-nas ston-no [26v.1]
   Note: fol. 24 is missing from our photocopy.

3) T: Rje-btsun Mar-pa’i Rnam-thar [I 26v.1].
   B: de’i sras-su gyur-pa ni / Rje Mar-pa Lo-tså-ba yin [26v.1].
   E: spyi-bo tshangs-pa’i bu-gar khrul-la 'od-zer-du rgyangs-kyis
      gshogs-pa yin [28r.7].

4) T: Bla-ma Mi-la-ras-pa’i Rnam-thar [I 28v.1].
   B: Mar Rngog gnyis-kyi sras Rje-btsun Mi-la lags [28v.1].
   E: chos-nyid-kyi bden-pa gzigs-pa dang / sprul-pa’i gang-zag yin gsungs
      [31v.7].

5) T: Bla-ma Dwags-po Lha-rje’i Rnam-thar [I 31v.7].
   B: de’i sras-su gyur-pa bla-ma rin-po-che dge-ba’i bshes-gnyen [31v.7].
E: mdo-rna rtag-pa dang byin-rabs 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 Dvag[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'hi sku bka'-drin-can de'i sku'i dkon-po-la thugs-kyi sras-su gyur-pa ni [35r.3-4].
   C: byin-rabs-kyi brgyud-pa 'di-nyid-kyi ram-par thar-pa / gong-ma gongs-mas gsungs-pa'i phyogs zur mtshan tsam re smos-pa / Shākya'i Dge-slong Brtson-grus-grags-pas / rang-gi dran-pa slong-ba'i ched-du phyogs tsam gcig bchod-pa / iti [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 sms '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-rigs,'dzin-par gyur-cig [49r.5].

8) T: Bla-ma Gshen-pa'i Rnam-thar [I 49r.5-6].
   B: <N> gang-zhig nyo-ma'i dkyi-l'khor 'od-zer du-ma rab 'phro-bas [49r.6].
   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-bsun Rin-po-che Yer-pa-ba'i ram-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.] brtl-zugs spyod-pa'i rnal-'byor-gyi dbang-phyug chen-po Shri 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 / iti [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-rangs / go-rim med-par mthann-nas smos-pa ni [73r.6-7].
    E: 'brel phran-tshegs byas-pa yan-chad smos-pa'o / iti [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) Bslab-byed 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-gyi nhogs bcu dus gsum-gyi bla-ma-rnams 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: Spyan-'dren Chen-mo [I 91r.1-2].
   B: <P> bla-ma rje-btsun-pa-rnams spyan 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-rnal-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-mkhâ'-la bla-ma-rnams dang sans-gyas dang
   hyang-¢bub-sems-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-ngel-'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 'Brin Gsum-gyi Mgon-rtoogs [I 98v.3].
   B: <P> Bcom-ldan-'das Dpal Lhan-cig Skyes-pa'i man-ngag dbang-po
   'bring-gi ting-ngel-'dzin ni [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 [102v.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-sgres-la brten ci nus bri [103v.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-brlabs dang dkyil'-khor gzhan-gyi dbang-bskur dang tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo'i dus-su sgrub-pa'i mandal dang [107r.4-5].

10) T: Gsang-sngags Lag-len [I 109v.2].
    B: <P> tshul-bzhin don-grub rje-btsun mchog-mams dang [109v.2-3].

11) T: Bdag-nyid Chen-po'i Tshogs Gsog Dpal Nå-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 sdu-g-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 Bdzun-gyi Dang-po [I 123v.1].
    B: <N> Rdo-rje-'chang dang mi gnyis-pa' [123v.1-2].
    E: rkyen ngan grols-su 'char-ba'i le'u'o / ithi [129v.7].
Note: Contains seven numbered sections.

15) T: Thun Bzhis'i Nyams-len [I 129v.7].
    B: <P> bsgrub-pa-po brygyud-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 bzhis'i gams-pa ma nor-ba [131r.2].

16) T: Rgyun-du Bya-ba'i Chos-spyod Spyi'i Lag-len Dpal 'Dus Nya-ga Che-ba [I 131r.2-3].
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 bying-gyis brlabs pa'i sa phyogs Lha-sa sde bzhi'i yul Dor-te Sgo-phu'i Mchoor-nag-tu slob-ma skal-lan-kyi don-du bkod-pa // ithi [fol. 142r.4-5].

18) T: Gnas-brtan Mgon-po'i Don-du Mdzad-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 semi-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 Inga'i ngyi-ma sngadro-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-yes mdzad-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-phya (i.e., Abhayakaragupta).

22) T: Gshin Bsngo [I 160r.2].
   B: gshin bsngo-ba ni [160r.2].
   E: zhes lan gsum-gyi rjes-la sangs-rgyas rkang-nyis gtsos 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].
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-sgrs-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 ñam-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 ljion-shing-dag [166v.3-4].
   C: byang-chub-tu sems bskyed-pa'i nam-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
   Rtswa-mi Lo-tsha Sangs-rgyas-grags-pas bsgyur-nas / Dpal Chen-
   po Rgwa Los Rgya-gar-yul-nas Bod-yul-du spyan-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 myed 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 Spyi'i Stong-thun Gleng-gzhi Chen-mo Rgyas-pa Bsdus-pa Gnyis [I 178r.4-5].
   B: <P> sphyir rgyu sms-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-rgje'i ngor / Sgrags-kyi G.yu-brag-tu
   bkod-pa'bo [185r.3-4] ... de-lta-bu'i lta-ba nmam-par dag-pa'i don
   gdamgs-ngag phyin-ci-ma-log-pa 'di-na mar-la zhes-pa so-so'i
   gzhung thog-tu bab-pa'o // itheri [185v.2-3].

2) T: Gzhi Lam 'Bras-bu dang bcas-pa Gtalan 'Bebs-pa Grub-mtha' Tshig Gsum [I 185v.3].
   B: rnam-par rtog-pa mi mnga'-ba'i [185v.3].
   C: Dge-slong Ghi-rtsi-sing-has dbu mzdad-pa snod-laden 'ga' zung-gi don-du
   / Dge-slong Brton-'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 Mzdad-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 gzung-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].

Volume 2 (KHA)

4) T: None (dkar-chag: Grub-tha'i Skor-gyi Bden Gnyis Zung-
   'brel).
   B: <P> gang-zag thub-dbang sras bar 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 rnam-grangs che-long / zur mthson 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 (?)-rnam-kyis
   btegs-pa'i dus-su tshar-bar bkod-pa rdzogs-s.ho // su mkhas kyang
   bsr bslad mi mzdad-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].

10
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 bs dus-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-byai 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-sgon-du Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas nye-bar
      sbyar-ba'o [88v.7-89r.1].

10) T: Lam Mchog Bdu-drtsi'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
        brt sams-te 'bras-bu rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas-kyi bar-gyi lam ma nor-
        bar bkod-pa / chu pho spré'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].
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].

B: <P> khyed-rnams-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].  

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].  
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 Gdam-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].  
Note: Since this work was finished at Tshal Yang-dgon (founded in 1175) and it was started a 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 / gdam-ngag lag-len cung-zad brj [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 Gdam-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 bs kang-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 bskarangs / Sgrags-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-rnams-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 spyan-ltan 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.

Volume 3 (GA)

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> gdam-ma 'di'i lugs-kyis gsum-ste [1v.1].
   E: mkhan-po rang-yang bshad-pa shog-lag sgoms dang zer-nas mkhan-pos gsum-pa-pa 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 Gsron-me [III 6r.1].
   B: <P> rang-ngam gzhon-la gsum 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-gyis nmam-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 Mtshan-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 Mdur-bs dus-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 mtshan-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 Gnag-kyi Man-ngag [III 21v.4-5].
   B: om swa-sti / kun khyabchos-dbyings nam-mkha'la [21v.5].
   C: pha-spad gnyis-kyi snying-gtam yin [22v.2-3].

9) T: Gtsang-pa Jo-btsun Sku-mched-lla Gsungs-pa Gnag-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 ram gnyis-kyis / yab rgar 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: Gnag-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].

11) T: Gnag-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-bar 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-sgros [III 27v.2-3].
B: <N> spyir dngos-po'i gnas-lugs zhes kyang bya [27v.3].
C: Shākyā'i Dge-slrong Ri-khrod-pas / gzhan-gyi gSol btab brjed-byang 'di
bris pas / 'gro-ba-rnams-la phan-thogs 'gyur-bas / bla-ma-rnams-
kyis bzod-par mdzad-par zhu / iti [29r.1-2].

15) T: Dge-bshes Mkha'-ru-bar Gsungs-pa'i Snying-gtam [III
29r.2].
B: tshe 'di'i bya bzhag / 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 gungs-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-rt'en dang bcas-pa / Ral-nag Ston-pa'i Don-du
Mdzad-pa [III 31v.7].
20) T: Thog-babs-kyi Rtsa-ba [III 34r.1].
B: gang rab rin-chen snod-du boud mchog blug / rdo-rje-'dzin sras Blo-gros-rin-chen dang / de'i gcung 'Gos Ri-khrad-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 mgon-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 sms rig-pa'i ngo-bo 'di ye-naschos-sku yin-pa-la [42v.5].
E: hril-gyis dril-bas de-las med-khyis gsum / 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].
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 [mch-an: 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’-gdam-skyi 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: Gnas-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-ryas 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 cha-dp-a’i gdam-
gag-go ces gsum-po’i ddi 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 rongs-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’i 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 gdam-nag / 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].
B: yum chen-mo shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa’i mngag-bdag [59v.1].
C: skal-med-mams-kyis mthong-na byin-rlabs nyams-te cha-bas gzhana-
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 bzhil-
a 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 Mdzad-pa [III 62v.6].
B: &P& rnal-b’byor rnam-bzhi’i char lugs ni [62v.6-7].
C: rnal-b’byor rnam-pa bzhii sa-mtshams t’i Khams-pa Ston-pa Mgon-
ston-gyi zhus-nas Sprang-ban Zhang-gis rang-gis bsgoms-pa’i
nyams thog-nas phy-e-ba / Skyi-shod-kyi Tsha-rgang-du dbyu
btsugs-nas / zhal-gyi ri’u gdong-du stag-gi lo’i ston zla ‘bring-po’i
tshes bzhii’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 Dbyae-ba [III 66v.4].
   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 bzhag / rnal-'byor bzhii dbyae-ba
   [68r.2].

34) T: Rnal-'byor Bzhi'i Nyams 'Char Tshod [III 68r.2].
   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-kis 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].
   B: <P> sde-snod rgyud-sde thams-cad-kyi yang-snying [70v.4].
   C: nyams rnal-'byor rnam-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 rnam-pa
   bzhir 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-nga-'dzin 'di gol-sa rnam-pa bzhir 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'lo / 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 Lnga) [III 97r.5].
B: "di-la bzu-ste / zug byung-ba'i rgyu / zug-gi dbye-ba dang [97r.5-6].
E: dgon ma 'khyags-pa 'tshal-lo / zhal-gdams lags-so / [smaller letters:] zhal-shes gzhon-nams 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.'


1) Mi-rtag-pa Bsgom-pa'i Chig-lab Ring-mo [III 113r.4].
B: <P> khams gsum '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 bsregs-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-p Chu'i Rgog-po-brag-tu bkd-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) [III134r.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: Gcres-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: gcres-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]. گَا ༣ ལ་བ།
B: <P> skye-bo rong-pa khyim-thabs 'damyi (?) du bying [156r.6].
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: Iha-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
      gsung-po 'di bskur-ba lags [159v.2-3].
   C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi snying-gtam Gnas-brtan Dpungs-pa-la gnang-ba
      T'shal-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 spyan 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-glangs (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 rnam-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 btag rdza [170v.3].
    C: Dge-slong Ri-khrod-pa'i mchod-tshig-gi bshad-pa lags / iti [172v.5].

13) T: Yon-tan Rtsal Chog (dkar-chag: Yon-tan Rtsal Mchog) [III
    172v.6].

20
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 / Sni'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 bzhî'i nang / Dor-te-phu'i Mtshar-nag-tu Yon-bdag Phug-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 Btson-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 Gnads-kyi Gdams-pa [III 198r.7].
B: bka'-drin-can-la skyabs-su mchi / rdzogs sngas-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-brant 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 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-lang) [III 208v.6].
   B: <P> bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-'gro-la'o / yos-bu'i rnal-po'i zla-ba-la [208v.7].
   C: bla-ma dngos-su byon-pa'i gleng-lang / 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[po] [210v.1].

24) T: Sgrub-rgyud Lam Mchog 'Phreng-ba [III 211r.6].
   B: <P> deng-sang rtsod-dus snyigs-ma 'dir [211r.6].
   Note: Mention of Rje-btsun Ba-ri Lo-tsa 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-lidan 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].
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].

Note: The colophon gives a Hare year date of completion (probably 1159).

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-rnam 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].

29) T: Man-ngag Snying-po Gsal-ba [III 227r.3]. [A 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 Shâkya'i Dge-long Sna-rnam Btson-'grus-grags-pas skal-ba dang Idan-pa'i slob-ma dbang-po yang rab-kyi don-du Tshal-rgang-gi Yang-dgon GSo-pa'i nang-du bkod-pa / man-ngag-gi snying-po gsal-ba zhes bya-ba / iti [230r.2-3].

30) T: 'Chi-ba Grols-su 'Khyer-ba'i Snying-gtam [III 230r.3]. [A 496]
   B: <N> sku-nas sgres-nas gda'-tsa-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].

   B: om swa-sti / bsod-nams-kyi las-’phro mthong-ba do-nub bya sang-nub bya snyam-nas [230v.4].
   C: bsdud-kyi mda' nyi-shu-rtsa-Inga-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]. [A 499]
   B: <P> 'brug-gi lo-nas bsgoms-pas lo sum-bcu-so-Inga lon-pa yan-chod-du nyams-myong 'phel 'grib la zad-pa med [231r.5].
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 Yerpak given as a Tiger year (probably the year 1158).

33) T: Yon-tan Ngom-pa [III 235r.7].  IEnumerable<Dictionary<string, string>>
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 'trod 'byung / iti [237r.5-6].

34) T: Brtsad-po Khri-rtshe-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].  IEnumerable<Dictionary<string, string>>
C: Brag-dmar Bsam-yas-kyi Rgyal-po Khri-rtshe-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-btren Seng-ge-grags-la Bka'-phrin Brdzangs-pa [III 238v.6].  IEnumerable<Dictionary<string, string>>
B: om swa-sti / slob-dpon-gyis dge-'dun Drug-gu-sgang-pa'i Gnas-btren Seng-ge-grags-la bka'-phrin brdzangs-pa / bstan-pa'i gzhis-mo sagsa-lta-bu ni / dge-'dun ptsun-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang 'di lags [238v.6-7].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Chu-shul Gru-gu-ngang-gi Gnas-btren 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].  IEnumerable<Dictionary<string, string>>
B: <P> chos-mams ma-lus ngo-bo-nyid med-pas / rkyen-gyis rten-'bred gang-ltar sgrigs-par snang [240r.5-6].
C: rig-pa dang rkang-par Ldan-pa zhes bya-ba / Bsam-yas Phu'i Brags-sngon-du Bsam-gtan-seng-ge spun-gyis pha-ma rgyan-rgon-gyi sgon zhe'i dus-su bteg-nas bkod-pa [244r.6-7].

37) T: Lha-rje Srabs-sman Grags-seng-la Gsungs-pa'i Drin-lan Sobs-pa'i Snying-gtam [III 244r.7].  IEnumerable<Dictionary<string, string>>
B: dam-pa drin-can-mams-la skyabs-su mch'i / bsnyon-pa chos dred-po-la nams kyang ni [reading uncertain, 244r.7-244v.1].

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].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi ting-'dzin-lags / Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas dri-med bya-ba / Lhasa 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-bzh'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-gtan thor-bu-ba / Lha-sa Sde-bzh'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 Dor-sde Sgo-phur bkod-pa'o / iti [18r.2].
B: <P> rtag-ladan don-gyi rgyud-pa-yi [18r.2-3].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas nyams-su-myong-ba zhes bya-ba / byin-gyas brlabs-pa'i sa-phyogs Lha-sa Sde-bzh'i Dor-sde Sgo-phur bkod-pa / iti [18v.7].
B: <P> bla-ma re-bisun bka' drin che [18v.7-19r.1].
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi zhi-gnas kyi rgyal-po kun thang-nam-mkha' zhes bya-ba Lha-sa Sde-bzh'i Dor-sde Sgo-phur Chor-nag-tu bkod-pa'o / iti [22r.5].

40) T: None (dkar-chag: Bdzud 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-bu byas-pa / Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Skyud-shod nga dam Byad-phyi '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-rams [28Br.4].  
C: gnyen-po lhan-thabs zhes bya-ba / iš [29v.1].

44) T: None (*dkar-chag*: 'Khoro-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 / iš [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].  

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 / iš [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 kham ssum '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 bdyar zla 'bring-poi nyi-shu-lnaga'i nyin-par / G.yu-brag Gzims-spyil-du bchod-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 / iš [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 gzhis rtsa 'khrugs / sa log gnam log gzhis rtsa 'khrugs [39r.3-4].  
E: nga dang nga-yir 'dzin-pa'i thsogs / ma tshor rang-gis mchad gyur-nas [113v.5].  
Note: The colophon seems to be missing in this example. There are several numbered chapters.

G) Gsung-sgroś 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 so'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 Brton-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-mka' 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-mams-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 bsdus 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 / iti
      [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-mams-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 Inga-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-pa la gsungs-pa [138r.1-2].
   C: Slob-dpon Dwags-po Bsgom-pa-la / Zhang Rin-po-ches zhus-pa'i zhus-
      lan / iti [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 lcaqs-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-sgres 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-sgres rin-po-che'i dum-bu lta-bu tshogs res
      kyang 'gag mang-po khrum-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-sngrar de-ltar bsad-pa'i dus nams dran-pa 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-bya yin-pas [163v.7-164r.1].
   E: gnangs skyabs-'gro sems-bskyed chen-mo rgya-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 ngyi-ma'i dkyil-'khor mtha'-yas-pa [176v.3-4].
   C: Zhang Rin-po-che'i gsung-sgres / Shākyā'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 rgyud-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 gege sel / rdo-rje'i tshig-rkang lhad
      med-par dran-pa gso-ba'i ched-du / Shākyā'i Dge-tshul Bla-ma-ye-
      shes-kyis gsal-byed yi-ger bstan-pa / ithi [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].
H) Mgur-gyi Tshogs.

1) None (dkar-chag: Bsam-yas Brag-sngon-du Gsungs-pa'i Mgur Bco-Inga) [VI 189r.3].
   B: <P> kwa snying-nas suns mdzod dang [189r.3-4].
   C: brtson-'grus-kyi lcag zhes bya-ba Sprang-ban Zhang-gis Bsamyas Phu'i Brag-sngon-du bkod-pa / iti [189r.3-4].
   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-ladan bdag-la byin-gyis brlobs [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 bsom spyod-pa dam-tshig mchog [206v.2-3].
   C: phya'o-lung-du bkod-pa'o [210r.6].
   Note: There are supposed to be 2 parts included.

4) T: None (dkar-chag: Mon-gdong-ma Bcu-bzhi) [IV 210r.6].
   B: <P> Zhang-gi Sprang-ban srad 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 / Bsamyas 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].
   B: <N> 'gro-ba'i mgon-po Zhang G.yu-brag-pa des Tshal-gyi Yang-dgon Ka-dgu-ma'i rang-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].
8) T: None (dkar-chag: Phyag-khri-mchog-gis Zhus-pa'i Khrel-dod [IV 220r.3].
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 Grat-thang-du shin-tu brnyas bsos-kyi sgo-nas bstod-pa / shi ngan rong 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].
B: 'das dang ma-las rtag-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-Inga-ma) [IV 222r.5].
B: 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].
B: bdag ban-chung Rgya-gar Rdo-rje'i-gdam drung cig lags [222v.4-5].
C: Senga Rgyal-po'i bsgrub-thabs Dge-slong Brtson'-grus-grags-pas mchod-pa'o [223r.5-6].

12) T: None (dkar-chag: Byang-phyi 'Brong-bur Gsungs-pa'i Skuru'i Phreng-ba Dum-bu Bzhi) [IV 223r.6].
B: bdag-rang Zhang-gi Sprang-ban 'dis / 'bka'-rgyud mam-pa snatshogs 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-ch'en Spros-bral-ma) [IV 231v.3].
B: 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].

B: 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]. \[\text{B: }<\text{N}> \text{ ri-khrod dgon-par 'grim tsám-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]. \[\text{B: }<\text{P}> \text{ mi na-re mi tshe mi tshe zer [232v.4].}
E: lings-kyis bzhag-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]. \[\text{B: }<\text{N}> \text{ 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: \[\text{B: }<\text{N}> \text{ gnas mi med khyi med-kyi lung stong-du [234r.7].}
C: Sprang-ban Zhang-gi glu-chung [234v.6]. \[\text{Note: Between this and the preceding 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]. \[\text{B: }<\text{P}> \text{ rang-la rang-gis gros gcig 'debs [234v.6-7].}
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]. \[\text{B: }<\text{N}> \text{ don-gyi bshags-pa / dus gsum bde-gshegs-rnams-kyi spyan-lam-du [235r.6-7].}
E: thugs-rje'i spyan thag-chad-pa mthol-lo bshags / iti [235v.3].

21) T: None (dkar-chag: Rat-mda'-ma) [IV 235v.3]. \[\text{B: bdag-rang Zhang-gi Sprang-ban 'dis / dal-'byor gru 'di rnyed rnyed-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: \[\text{B: }<\text{P}> \text{ khyi khyi-gu'i lo ma thul-ba [236r.5].}
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]. \[\text{B: }<\text{N}> \text{ Bla-ma Zhang-ston-kyis / Bla-ma Zhang-ston rang-nyid-la / shin-tu ngo-mtshar-ba'i sgo-nas bstod-pa [236v.2].}
C: Ngan-lam Byang-phya'i yon-bdag Gu-rub Re-bo-skyid-kyis / Bla-ma Zhang-ston-la / khyed-rang nyid-kyis khyed-rang nyid-la bstod-pa
24) T: None (dkar-chag: Rang-gi Ye-shes-ma) [IV 238v.6].
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].
B: <P> bu Sprang-ban bdag-la byin-gyis rlabs / tshe snga phyi med-par tshogs bsags-pas / da-lta 'gro-ba' 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].
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-zhung bu rol cig med [240r.5].
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].
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].
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].
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].
E: Shes-rab mig-gis snang-ba rang rgyas gdab [242r.5].

32) T: None (dkar-chag: Bye-ma-can-du Gsungs-pa Gnyis) [IV 242r.5].
B: bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-gro-rnams / spyi-gtsug brgydan-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]. waporation awat sgom 'i chu
B: <P> bdag-rang ma-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 rgar-mo shor [247r.1-2]. waporation awat sgom 'i chu
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]. waporation awat sgom 'i chu
B: yang mchog mda' bsun dongs-pa 'di [247v.1-2].
E: skal-ladan gdung-ba'i smre-bsngags gsol [247v.4].

36) T: None (dkar-chag: 'Be-nag Brag-ma Gsum Bka'-rgya dang bcan-pa) [IV 247v.5]. waporation awat sgom 'i chu
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 gdamgs-nag smras-pa langs-so [249v.6].

38) T: None (dkar-chag: Sku-gshegs Gting Dge-bshes Brag-nag-pa-la Gsum-pa'i 'Chi-med Chos-skur Gsung Nam-mkha'-ma yang zer) [IV 249v.6].
B: Dge-bshes Brag-nag-pas / slogo-dpon dug-gis grongs-pa'i gtam ngen / kha-mchu dang / las-ka kun thos-nas yid ma bde-nas [249v.6-7].
E: ces skyar-gyiin skyar-gyi gsum-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 zhig-gi rtsa-nas tong [250r.6-7]. waporation awat sgom 'i chu
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].

41) T: None (dkar-chag: Bla-ma Dpal-la Shis-par Brjod-pa Gnyis) [IV 251v.2].
B: <P> bka'-shis mchog-ladan 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].
42) T: None (dkar-chag: Tshal-sgang Rang Bre-ba'i Dus-su Mdzad-pa'i Bkra-shis Gnyis) [IV 253r.3].
B: <P> bde-legs thams-cad-kyi 'byung-gnas / rin-po-che ltu-bu'i dam-pa skyes-mchog-rnams-la phyag-tshal-tu [253n.3].
C: Shākya'i Dge-slong Brtson-'grus-grags-pas / lug-gi lo-la Mitshal rmang bre-ba'i dus-su bchod-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 bzhis. (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.,
ever 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 bzhis.
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
13. gces bs dus rin chen phreng ba. 409-416.
14. gces bs dus rin chen phreng ba. 417-453.
15. rin chen btse 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 durya'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 pa
mdzad pa. fol. 2 is missing. 603-606.
23. dpal phag mo gru pa 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. khrus phu ba'i dge bshes rgyal tshas zhus pa
rab gnas tshig don. fol. 7 is missing. 673-
686.
26. rab gnas gsang sgags 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 pa mdzad pa'i bkra shis.
fol. 2 missing. 723-728.
29. rigs lnga phar phyin lta sgom spyod 'bras kyi
bkra shis. 729-731.

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Following is a preliminary catalog-listing of the
works contained in what I call the "Golden
Manuscript" of the Bka'-'bum of Phag-mo-grupa.
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
nondescript (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 chenchos kyi rgyal mtshan (1446-
Golden Manuscript

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 gshogs 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 sgRom ma zhes bya ba / dge slong dpal chen chos kyi ye shes kyi gzhon la phan pa'i don du yi ger bkod pa'o // rdzogs so...].

2. MTSHON CHA GSANG BA'I MDZOD SGO DBYE BA. Opening the door to the treasury of secret weapons. About his prior rebirths.

3. SKU LUS KGY BKOD PA BCU GNYS [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 msho'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 GNYS '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 SKYEY 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 MUTIG 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'T GREL PA. Colophon: byang chub sems dpal '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'T 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 girogs su bsgyur ba'i le'u ste bcu bzhis pa [180r.3].
Chap. 16. sgrub pa gnyis spangs pa'i le'u ste bcu drug pa'o [181v.5].
Chap. 18. ye shes rang snang gi le'u ste bcwa brgyad pa [183r.3].
Chap. 20. snang srid 'khül 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 / phyang rgya chen po nyams kyi man ngag bstan bcos blo gros la 'jug pa 'di bshad na...].
13. BSTAN BCOS BLO GROS 'JUG PA [44v.4].
14. DET' 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] sog rab gnas kyi yig chung lnga.
19. BSTAN BCOS MAR MEI 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 KHAMS GSUM DBYER MED [255v.4].
24. ZUNG GSUM YA DRUG [258v.3].
25. RTSWA LTUNG GI RNAM BSHAD DON GSAI SGRON ME [259r.2].
26. CHOS SPYI DANG MTHUN PA'I ZHAL GDAIMS [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 MTSHE [288v.2: bstan bcos gnas lugs bjod pa].
32. RGYAN MDZES PA GSER GYI COD PAN.
33. BSTAN BCOS GNAS LUGS BRJOD PA.
34. GCES BSDUS RN CHEN PHRENG BA NAS BSDUS PA BDE GSHEGS CHEN PO NAS MDZAD PA [289v.5: gces bs dus rin chen phreng ba bs dus pa bde gshegs chen pos mdzad pa].
35. RANG LA BRJED BSKUL.
36. RDO RJE'I MGUR GSUM [292v.1].
37. CHAD GSOI TSHUL [294r.2: chang gsoi tshul dang bde bdun maf'i 'gur ma].
38. GSOL 'DEBS RGYU GZERO ZHI BA MA.
39. NYE GNAS LA GDAIMS PA.
40. BDE GSHEGS SGAM PO PA'I BSTOD PA CHEN PO BCU GCIIG [297r.6].
41. DUS MCHOD CHEN PO BZH'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. GEKS SEL ZHA SDAI MA.
49. RNAL 'BYOR ZS BDUN BSTAN PA'T MAN NGAG [323r.6: mal 'byor pa zas bdun dud bsten pa'i man ngag].
50. ZHABS RJE BZHENG P'A'I BSTAN BCOS.
51. BKA' RGYUD KIYI BKRA SHIS [336v.5: dpal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa'i bkra shis].
52. YANG BKRA SHIS GCIG RIGS Lnga 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 [143-1524/5] 'i zhul snga nas mdzad pa'i SMON LAM DON THAMS CAD GRUB PA zhes bya ba. "dpal phag mo gru pa nyid kyis dus kun tu rjes su 'dzin pa dang / de nyid kyi dag pa'i zhing mgon par dga' ba zhes bya bar skye ba 'dzin pa'i ched du smon lam sbyar ba rnam 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 bskyor teachings, completion stage practices, but also Mahâmudrâ 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 RUNG 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. LNGA LDAN SHTOG KHIRA MA [47].
9. BLA MA'T 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: RNAL 'BYOR BZHI CHEN MO 'BRING PA. Colophon: rnal 'byor bzhis chen mo rdzogs pa yin [78r.4.] New title: Rnal 'byor bzhis 'bring po [78r.5.].
13. RNAL 'BYOR BZHI TSHIGS BCAD MA NYANG SGM GYIS ZHUS PA [83v.2.].
14. YANG TSHIGS BCAD MA CHUNG BA [95v.6.] rnal 'byor bzhis tshigs bcad ma chung ba.
15. SUM SGM RIN CHEN RGYAL MTSHAN GYI CHED DU MDZAD PA'I RNAL 'BYOR BZHI.
16. LHA RJE RIN PO CHE LA PHAG MO GRU PAS ZHUS PA'I RNAL 'BYOR BZHI DANG ZHAL GDAMS. Colophon: zhus lan yid bzhi nor bu [108v.1.], zhus lan yid bzhi nor bu. Begins: bla ma rin po che phag mo gru pa dang / rne rje sgrang po pa dang / rin po che phag mo gru pa gnyis kyi 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 // rtag ldan rin po che la - 'dud // rje rin po che sgrang po pa la // bla ma rin po kham pas gsal 'gag thams cad dri / 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 BZHN GYI NOR BU [108v.1.].
21. YANG ZHU LAN YID BZHN GYI NOR BU [108v.1.] zhus lan yid bzhi nor bu. Begins: bla ma rin po che phag mo gru pa dang / rne rje rin po che gnyis kyi zhus lan // rdzogs s.h.o / mam gha lam [112v.5.].
22. PHYAG CHEN GNYUG MA'I CHUG CHOD [112v.5.].
23. DON SPYI ZIL GNON [115v.3.].
24. SNANG BA RANG SEMS KYI NGO SPROD [rang ba rang sems kyi 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.].
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: mam rtog ser sring zhe sdom gog 'pho tshig rtsub 'brug sgra chem chem srgros... [142r.2.].
30. RIN CHEN RGYAN DRA [216v.6.]. Begins: dam pa mams kyi rjes 'breng nas // sems can blo'i mun sel zhir // dad lhan sgr'o 'dogs good pa'i phyir // gdam nag rin chen rgyan 'dra bri [216v.6-217r.1.].
31. RIN CHEN SGRON ME [225r.4.]. Colophon: bla ma dam pa'i gdam nag // rang gi nyams su myongs ba'i man nag / rin chen sgron me zhes bya ba rdzogs swo [247r.6.].
32. RIN CHEN BRITSE BA'I SGRON ME [247r.6.]. Begins: bdag 'dra nari rol 'byor pas / bu slob mams la byams pas'i yid / brtse ba'i sems kyi 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 ma 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.h.o / shu bham [257r.2-3].
33. BSTAN BCO'S RIN PO CHE'I BANG MDZOD [257r.3-]: bstan chos rin po che'i bang mdzod]. Begins: snag bsgs 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 zhab ba 'dud // makha' 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 gsar gyi ska rags]. Colophon: bstan bcos rin po che gsar gyi ske rags zhes bya ba // shakya'i dge slony rdo rje rgyal pos sbyar ba rdzogs s.ho [269v.6].

36. RIN PO CHE'I SKA RAGS. 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 // shakya'i dge slony rdo rje rgyal la // yang dang yang du gsal btob nas // kun la phan pa'i don du zhus // dge ba byang chub chen por bsnog // rin po che'i ska rags zhes bya ba rdzogs s.ho [287v.2-3].

37. RIN PO CHE'I DURAYA'I THEM SKAS / ZHES PA RIN CHEN THEM SKAS KYI GDAM NGAG [287v.3]. Colophon: de tshogs riung 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 na ro pa'i bka' rgya gnad kyi gdams pa // dbang bzhig gsum gyi gnad // bstan bcos rin chen them skas kyi gdams ngag / rin po che bai durya'i them skas zhes bya ba // slob ma bzang po bku shis dpa'i gnyi don du // shakya'i dge slony 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 bzhig beu rtso 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 LUI TSHOGS SOG [300r.5; ku su luir tshogs sog]. Colophon: ku su luir 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 // bsogm chen pa nams 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 dgos grub kyis // '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 zags mams // bla ma grub thob mi tshol bar [302v.6-307r.1]. Colophon: rje grub thob rin po ches mna 'byor pa mams la gdams pa [303r.5].

42. GLING RAS KHYI ZHU LAN LE TSHO KHRIGS DMIGS SKOR ZHAL GDAMS [begins 303r.5? ends 329r.1]. Begins: <N> nam 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'IT BZLAS PA [332r.6]. "zha ma dmar cod pan 'dzin pa bzhig pa dpal chos kyi grags pa ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal snga mdzod pa'i SMON LAM DON THAMS CAD GRUB PA zhes bya ba // dpal phag no gru pa nyid kyis dus kun du rjes s'udzin pa dang / de nyid kyi dag pa'i zhih mngon par dga' ba zhes bya bar skye ba 'dzin pa'i ched du smon lam sbyar ba mams bzhugs.ho..."
2. Dpal Phag mo grub 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.
2. 59r.4.
3. 60v.2.
4. 61v.3.
5. 62r.3.
6. 63r.2.
7. 65r.3.
8. 70v.3.
9. 70v.6.
10. 72r.2.
11. 73r.1.
12. 77r.4.
13. 79v.1.
14. 84r.5.
15. 85r.5.
16. 86r.1.
17. 89v.4.
18. 91r.2.
19. 92v.1.
20. 94v.4.
21. 95v.3.
22. 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.
4. 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 brungs ma'i tshogs la bzod par gsol // dpal ldan phag mo grub pa'i tshogs chos zin bris yongs su rdzogs s.ho.

5. Tshogs chos gces bsdu s rin chen phreng ba [140r.6]. The colophon seems to be at 164r.2: dam pa rin po che'i gdam ngag lhung ba bzhis spong ba'i thabs la sos pa tshogs chos chen mo rhes bya ba rdzogs so.

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 grub pas mdzad pa'i tshogs chos gces bsdu phreng ba'o.

7. No title given. Colophon at 192v.6.: rje rin po che dpal ldan phag mo grub 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 / tje sp[y]an snga / rgyal ba / bceu gnyis pa / 5 dbang bsod / 6 grags she ba / tshul rgyal ba / 8 grags byang ba / 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 preceded 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 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 dpa'i ldan phag mo grub pa'i rdo rje' gi gsung mams bris pa'i dge bas 'gro rams chos rje'i gdel byar gyur par shog.

1. 196v.5.
2. 198v.5.
3. 205r.1.
4. 207r.5.
5. 209r.4.
6. 210v.4.
7. 213r.3.
8. 214r.3.
9. 215r.4.
10. 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 / dpa'i ldan phag mo grub pas bsgrigs lagsö // rad na'i ming can yi ge pa yis bris

10. No title. This text begins at fol. 236v.
Colophon is at 239r.4: dpa'i ldan phag mo grub po de / snyigs dus sens can mgon du byon // bsgrub brgyud bstan pa rgyas par mdzad 'gro rams smin grol bde la bkod // de sog dge ba rgya chen dang / phyag dpe mthong ba don ldan 'dis // rab 'byams mtha'

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1(Tshe-bzhi) (Gsrar-ma-ba) GRAGS PA BYANG CHUB
Also called Spyan-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 brtsems 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.yen ba can cig gis mkhar rtsigs pa la... [242v.2-3]. Ends at 243r.5.


17. Untitled song. Ends at 244r.2.

18. Ends at 244r.6.

19. Begins: ngo mtsar rmad kyichos [244r.6]. Ends at 244v.6.

20. Ends at 245r.1.

21. Colophon at 247r.1: sh’k’jya’i dge slong rdo rje rgyal gyis nye bar sbyar ba’o.

22. Ends at 247v.6.

23. Begins: <N> gol sa thams cad good mdzad cing [248r.1]. Colophon: bla ma mnyam med rin po che // gdams pa khyad ’phags phyang rgya che // bshes gnyen myang la gdams pa’i dis // sems can kun gyis thob par shog [250r.6-v.1].


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 Mahâmûdrà meditation begins at 253v.3. Colophon: rje rin po che phag mo grub pas mdzad pa’o [254v.2].

27. No title. Colophon: rje phag mo grub 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 bsdkur ba’i gdam ngag bzhed bsdkur lam phrin yi ge tshul du mdzad.


31. Begins, 263r.4. Colophon, 265r.5: chos rje rin po che phag mo grub 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 grub pas thugs la bcags pa’i mched mog chen po la mdo khams su bsring s pa’i yi ge.


34. No title. Begins, 273v.2. Colophon: dbang gzhon la bsdkur ba’o [273v.5].

35. No title. Begins, 273v.5. Colophon: dbu sgom la bsdkur ba’o [274r.2].

36. No title. Begins, 274r.2. Colophon: dar ma mchog la bsdkur 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 grub 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 gdamng yak yon bdag shes rab mkhar la bsdkur 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 grub pas ga zi byang seng la gdams pa rdzogs.ho [278v.1].


47. No title. Begins, 283v.5. Colophon: gdams ngag byin rabs kyi get mdzod // rje rin po che la mal ’byor pa gnyis med rdo rjes zhus pa // rdzogs.ho // llangs seng ge rgyal mtschan 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
no gru pas // lha bsun ma ral pa'i don du mdzad pa rdzogs.ho [296v.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.
   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 bzhii'n
   ylugs bstans na. Colophon: Nyag ston shes rab 'od la gdams pa / rdzogs so
   [313r.6].
65. Title: mal 'byor bzhii' zing ris chung ngu (zin ris chung ngu) [313r.6].
   Colophon: de re la gsum gsum du byed pa de bla ma rin po ches gsungs pa'o [314r.6].
66. Title: mal 'byor bzhii' 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 gzhann 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 thal 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 litar mthong ste don de
   rab tu tag 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
gsros yi ger bkod pa mi thad yang // skyes bu dam pa bkur gsung pas // yi ger bkod pa ... [321r.3-4].

73. Bdu d rtsi gsum gyi gdams ngag [321r.4].
Colophon: phyag rgya chen po rdo rje thig gsum gyi man ngag 'di bandhe rdo rje rgyal pos mos gus can gyi slob ma rnam kyi don du sbyar ba'o // bdu d rtsi thig 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 gdam pa [324v.4].
Colophon: 'bu 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 zhung 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 litar yin // mangga lam [327r.5].

88. Rgyu 'bras gtsor 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 bkur ba'i gdams lags so [329r.4].

90. Begins: li khrta ba'i spyod pa des [329r.4].
Colophon: stag bsgom la gdams pa bkur ba // mangga lam [329v.6].

91. Begins: <N> sgrub pa phun 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 [323r.3].

94. Begins: om svasti / dus gsum sangs rgyas bla ma la [323r.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 bkur ba'o // mangga lam [336r.6].

97. Begins: thog ma med pa'i sinon rol nas [336r.6].
Colophon: bstan bcos sms 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 boos ma rig mun sel [338v.6].
Colophon: lag bde'i bstan cos mun sel sgrom 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 nams dad par byed [342r.5-6].
Colophon: bstan chos gser phreng zhes bya ba / bla ma 'kham pa rin po ches // dge bshes 'bar ba'i rgyal mtshan la springs pa'o [345r.4]. The volume ends with the Pratityasamutpadå 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 geogs sel zhal gdams [194r.4]. B: <bp> spiyi ting nge 'dzin la geogs 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 yid ger bkod pa las // mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad mi 'byung 'tshe / la ba po yi nyin khu 'di // gzhahn la yod na ngor mtshar chung // shin tu gsang ba'o [205r.3].

4. Begins: <bp> gnyis pa gnyid dang rmigs pa yin [205r.3-4]. Colophon: rmi lam sbyang pa'i gdams ngag // i ti [207r.5].

5. Begins: <bp> 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: <bp> slob dpon chen po la ba pa'i // bar do rnam 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 bar dge bai' 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: <bp> <N> rtsod idan brgya ba'dus su ni [211v.4]. Colophon: las rgya'i zhal gyi gdams pa 'di / yi ger bkod par i rigs kyang / lung thob gsung gsros ma nor bris / rang la zhe 'dod ma mcis pas / mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad mi mdzad zhu / la ba pa'i gdams pa nyin khu / i ti / rab tu gsang par bya / rgya rgya rgya [217v.4-5].

8. Bde mchog lha drug bceu rtsa gnyis kyi stod pa [217v.5]. Second title: dpa'i 'khor lo sdom pa'i bstd pa rnam dag yid zhes nor bu klags pas grub pa [217v.6]. Colophon: dpa'i 'khor lo bde mchog gi bstd pa don thams cad grub pa'i dpogs nor bu rin po che zhes bya ba / klags pas grub pa dge slong rdo rje rgyal pos yis tshig don 'brel pa snyen dngags kyi tshigs su bead pas bstod pa / shu lo ka brgya sum bceu 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 // gshu nya [228v.2]. Colophon: bla ma rin po che kham pas yon bdag yangs rings kyi don du dus bzhhi'i mchod pa bya thabs bts rms // tshe 'dir mchog la reg par shog // mangga lam [230r.6-v.1].

Colophon: bla ma kham pa rin po che / 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 bs dus pa ni [234r.2]. Ends, 234v.3.

10. An untitled explanatory work on Cakrasamvara [begins, 234v.3]. nam mkha' dang mnya m 'khor lo sdom pa yi / rgyud don nram 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: dpa'l mgon po'i stong thun chung ba rdzogs so // mangga lam [251v.3].

12. Begins: <bp> dpal nag po chen po'i bsgrub thabs 'di la spyi don nram 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 gnam ngag loga na gda'o // dir mangs kyis dogs pas mgo smos tsam las ma bkod do // 'di bris dge bs tan pa rgyas gyur cig / 'bal 'khrul gyur na nag pos bzdor bar bzhes / dpal nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs kgod dbub [phag] mo gru pas bkod pa'o // mangga lam [259v.1-3].

13. Dpal nag po phyang bzhis pa'i sgrub thabs [259v.3, note the Sanskrit title also given]. Colophon: dpa'l nag po chen po phyang bzhis pa'i bsgrub pa'i thabs / slob dpon chen po 'phags pa klu grub kyi rjes su 'brens te / slob dpon ary a de bas mdzad pa / rdzogs swo // de nyid kyi steng nas dpa'l phag mo gru pas / bsgrub thabs 'di mdzod / mang ga lam [260v.2-3].

14. No title, begins: <bp> dpa'l nag po chen po bsgrub par 'dod pa'i rten gyi gang zag dbang bsuk 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
15. No title: <P> डकुर दुबुल दांग गंधर्दु मा श्व / ब्यूनै पारी द्रजस दांग ग्सुम पा 'दि / नग पो चेन पो द्रजसो [262v.5-6].

    चोलपौन: 'दि त्भो भाल त्यात ग्या ग्दाम्स पा / क्हो बो गङ गि म्योंग र्टोग्स 'बि छिक लासो / मांग्गा लाम [267v.3].

16. द्पे ब्स्ने म्स्रो म्दो क्हाम्स सु स्प्रिंग्स जा / नग पो चेन पो द्प्रो ब्स्कुर थाब्स [276v.3].

    चोलपौन: द्पल दांग थाग मो ग्रु पस द्पाल / द्पाल ब्यो रोग मिंग चान ग्सुन त्यात मा / नग म्दाड पा / र्द्म्सो सो [279r.1-2].

17. द्पाल म्सों पो द्गाम्स पा ला भ्योर ग्यो न्दाम [279r.2].

    चोलपौन: द्पाल नग पो चेन पो ब्यो रोग ग्यो ग्सांग स्बा पा / ब्ला मा / द्पाल चेन जो ल्हात ग्सुंग्स पा ल्हो न्तात / द्गे लोंग ब्स्कुर रा द्सा द्गाई छ ल्हात दाङ / ब्ला मा च्योंग लार / ग्सु मा ल्हुन पस ग्सोल / ब्टान नस / द्गे ब्ला ब्स्ने ग्सुन ब्सा / मा चेन पो द्गुक्ल बसा / ब्स्ता त्यात ल्हांस नस / त्यात भ्कोल पा लांस प्स / थुग्स र्त्सिस चेर / म्दाड पार झुङ्गो 'ग्रो म्सांग स्बा / ट्यांस नस / ब्संग्स र्स्तान ल्हान ल्लाब ल्दे / द्कौन म्वो ग्सुंग्स मिं न्म्सांग पो दांग / न्म्थार भ्मांग सुंग्स ब्संग्स त्झोब झोब / मांग्गा लाम [283v.3-5].

18. स्कु राग्स मा त्यात ग्स्रुब ग्यो ग्जां झोन ब्दसु पा मा न्गाग [293v.5].

    चेन पुंक्ला मह: द्पाल नग पो चेन पो द्पु ग्स्रुब थाब्स / द्पाल थाग मो ग्रु पा / स्कु राग्स माद्य 'दि यिम ग्स्रुब पा / ब्दे बर ग्स्थेर्ग्स पा ल्याङ न्धाद / न्यिद 'द्राल / ब्दे बर ग्स्थेर्ग्स पो च्यांस / द्रो जे निम पो च्यांस / 'ग्र्याल ब्अ निम पो च्यांस / न्ते ब्ला मा ल्लाब त्न म्लान जखंग [ending in] / ब्दाग न्ता त्यात मा रा [284r.2].

    चोलपौन: म्सों पो द्गाम्स ग्संग ब्लां त्यात मा न्गाग / त्यात भ्कोल पा ब्दो ग्सो / ब्काल 'ग्र्याय यो / ग्संग ग्याय / सामा ल्यात / न्ते सामा ल्यात / 'दि यिम ग्स्रुब पा द्रु / 'फ्हाङ्ग पो क्लु ग्सुंग स्नाङको / द्रो जे निम पो च्यांस / ब्दे बर ग्स्थेर्ग्स पो च्यांस / द्रो जे निम पो च्यांस / न्ते ब्ला मा ल्लाब त्न म्लान जखंग [290v.3].

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 hūm skyes ma [330v.1]. Colophon: bya rog ming can phyag bzhi ba'i bstod pa rdzogs s.ho [331r.1].

29. Smön lam thams cad grub pa [331r.1]. This is an aspiration prayer by the patron of this particular manuscript. Colophon: zhes pa'i smön lam don thams cad grub pa ni / 'gro drug sems can rams kyi don phyir du / 'gro ba'i mgon po mchog gi bka' 'bum dang / dpal idan bla ma gzhan dag gi gsung rab mang po bzhengs nas / de'i dge ba smön lam du byed pa'i ched du bskul ba'i ngor / shākya'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 'tsh'e'u khar bris pa'o // // magha lam / dge'o / bkr shis so / zhal gros // [ends with Ye dharma, 332r.2-5].

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D Martin, 9/96
Six Main 'Layers' of the Peacemaking Collection
(shorter listing)

D. Martin, March 2003

A. Scriptures, Mahâmudrâ works and songs. This first layer includes a few canonical Buddhist scriptures. The first text is the famous Heart Sûtra. 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 Sûtra, tantras, Mahâmudrâ works and the spiritual songs (dohâ) 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

(1) Mi-pham Mgon-po Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas [Phadampa]  
   b. Iron Bird (601), d. age 517, Fire Bird (1117)

(2) Kun-dga' [Kunga]  
   b. Water Tiger (1062), d. age 63 (1124)

(3) Pa-tshab Sgom-pa [Patsab]  
   b. Fire Snake (1077), d. age 82 (1158)

(4) Rgyal-ba Rten-ni [Tenne]  
   b. Fire Sheep (1127), d. age 95 (1221; other sources differ).

(5a) Rog Shes-rab-'od Lcags-so-can [Rog Sherab Ö].  
(5b) Zhig-pa Nyi-seng  
(5c) Mkhas-pa Brtson-seng.  
   [Zhigpo].  

(6b) His son, Gnye-mdo [i.e., Snye-mdo-ba]  
   Thams-cad Mkhyen-pa Bsod-dpal.

(6a)[missing person]  

(7f-h) His 3 sons, youngest being Kun-dga'-don-grub.

His 5 sons: (7a) Dpal-chen.  
(7b) Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.  
(7c) Spyan-snga Mishal-pa.  
(7d) Tshul-rgyal-ba.  
(7e) Bya-bral Chos-rje.

(8a-c?) His 3 sons, Kun-rgyal, Yon-rgyal, and Drin-chen-pa.  

(9a) Drin-chen's sons, Ye-shes-bzang-po &  
(9b) Gtugs-rgyan Kun-dga'-don-grub.  

(10a) His sons, Don-rgyal & (9b) Chos-rgyal.

(11a-g) 7 sons, the youngest being Chos-rje  
   Sman-gcig-pa Shes-rab-bzang-po.
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.

(1) Mi-pham Mgon-po Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas.
   b. Iron Bird (001), d. age 517, Pine Bird (1177).

(2) Kun-dga'.
   b. at Tsha-gung in Tingri area, Water Tiger (1062), d. age 63 (1124).
   [BA 920: Met Phadamps 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 (1138).
   Kun-dga' is not included in the years 1117-1121; BA 923. In 1121, returned to General Tibet & practiced meditation 13 or 15 years; BA 929. In PC, often called Bha-ma Ska-drin-can.

(4) Rgyal-ba Rin-ne.
   b. in lowlands of the Yao-lang valley, Fire Sheep (1127), d. age 95 (1221); other sources differ; BA says d. age 91, 1217.
   In PC, often called Bha-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 Sun-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-chens-rab, younger brother of Met Rten-ne in 1196 (BA 950). Author of the Zhi-byed History.

(5c) Mkhlas-pa Brtson-seng, aka Smra-ba'i-seng-ge, 1186-1247, installed at Sne-y-mdo in 1207. 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 Mkhyen-pa Bso-d-'nas-
   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 Sne-y-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.

(7a) His son, Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen, BA dates 1245-1302.

(7b) Sphyan-snga Dpal-chen.
   BA dates 1249-1325.
   Appointed abbot of hermitage in 1266.

(7c) Dus-gaum-mkhyen-pa, BA dates 1252-1322. Made an abbot in 1303.

(7d) Sphyan-snga Mtshal-pa, =Shakya-rgyal-nyin-mtshan.
   BA dates 1258-1330. Appointed to the hermitage in 1271.

(8a) His sons, Kun-rgyal
   BA dates 1269-1303.

(8b) Bya-bral Chos-rje, =Kun-dga'-rgyal-nyin-mtshan.
   BA dates 1299-1374.

(9a) Drin-chen-pa's 2 sons, Ye-shes-bzang-po;
   BA dates 1300-1341.

(9b) Gtsug-rgyan Kun-dga'-don-grub;
   BA dates 1300-1341.

(10a) His 2 sons, Don-rgyal
   (=Don-grub-rgyal-mtshan, 1337-1378)
   BA: Kun-dga'-lhol-grub, 1313-1384.

(10b) Chos-rgyal-[ba]
   (1340-1409).

(11a-g) His 7 sons, the youngest being Chos-rje Sman-grig-pa Shes-rab-bzang-po (BA, b. 1386). [The 7 sons are listed in BA 970.] Teacher of Gos Lo-tsas-ba (1392-1481), the author of the Blue Annals, and probably of Dge-ye-ba as well.

1 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 Sutra. In 1210, he visited Tingri Langkor, taking this manuscript with him.

2 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" (tri-khrod) means Gwa 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 'Khru-l-zhig Rin-po-che, Solu) from the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.


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 bzhugs ('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.
[A1b2] Á-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] Pratīṣṭhāparamitā 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 doḥā 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.


[??????] Thugs-kyi Gsang-ba Glur Blangs-pa [or, Thig-le Dag-pa’i Phreng-ba]. An account of 80 male and female Siddha’as. This brings the subgroup of texts called Don Skor Chen-mo to an end. Vol. 1, pp. 317-330.


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.


[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 be put down in writing before Phadampa's death in 1117. Vol. 2, pp. 138-484, vol. 3, pp. 1-92.


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 bsad-'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[i]Hjig). In 5 parts. It was put together from the words of Kunga by his disciple Patsab. Vol. 3, pp. 92-205.


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.


[D1f] Dar-tshags De-nyid Brgya-rtsa (also known as Phrul-gyi Spyan-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-bzhii Bshad-'dus, Bla-ma Rje-bsun-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.


[D3a] Zhal-gdams Thu-ru'i Skor (?). This text is full of Nyingma terminology. Vol. 4, pp. 249-286.


[D3c] Bla-ma Sku-drin-can-gyi Gsung-sgos Lnga Chos-kyi 'Khor-jo. There are two brief texts here, both devoted to the five Paths of Mahâyâna 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-bzhii 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.


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-bsun). Identifying this Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (full 'title' and name as it is consistently given in all but one of the signed works: 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-rhya-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 comundrum 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 Dharmaśāla 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 Dharmaśāla’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, Dharmaśāla 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 Dharmaśāla 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 Dharmaśāla’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 Dharmapāla’s ordination of the Three Pālas, Sadhūpāla, Gunapāla and Prajñāpāla, 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 Prajñāpāla accompanying Dharmapāla on his entry into Western Tibet,\textsuperscript{11} but his brief paragraph otherwise seems nothing more than a severely condensed paraphrase of Zhing-mo-che-ba’s work.

Of the Three Pālas, it was Prajñāpāla 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 Dharmapāla, although it is said that he learned the practices of Dharmapāla. 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,\textsuperscript{12} it seems that he could have attended. Dharmapāla, 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,\textsuperscript{13} where Zhang-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.\textsuperscript{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),\textsuperscript{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-phug-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, 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 Nyima-'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 dharmāḥ pā la spyan drangs 'dul ba'i bstan pa spel ba las / mkhan bu pā la rnam gsum ste / sa dhū pā la / gu ṇa pā la / pradzyā pā la'o / pradzyā pā la'i mkhan bu zhang zhung pa rgyal ba shes rab ste / des
dharma pada nyams len dang / bram ze 'dul 'dzin pre ta ka ra la phyag len bslabs pas sgrub brgyud kyi bla ma rnam pa gnyis |

shri dnya bha ra dang / shri 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 rnam 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 rnam ni / gzus dang bla ma rnam 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 zhi ngo 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 gysis / /
slob dpon med phyir gzhung rnam la / /
lta rtog byas nas bshad pa mdzad / /
de la slob pa rnam pa bzhith / /
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 bsdus don bam po gsum / /
blo yis brtags nas yi ger bkod / /
de dag slob ma che ba ni / /
ye shes rgyan gyis mgo bsgrue 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 /

{PAGE}
Deb-ther Sngon-po [Kha], p. 76.4 [fol. 76, line 4]:

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 dang ni
  bshad pa’i brgyud dang nam pa gnyis
  sgrub pa’i brgyud pa ’di lta ste
  lha rgyal bla ma ye shes ’od
  ’jam dpal sprul par rab grags pa
den 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 kyiis spyan drangs nas
thugs rje ngyi mas rgyud skul nas
bstan pa rin chen gnas bya’i phyir
mkhan po mdzad nas sgrub brgyud spel
de yi mkhan bu’i gtsos bo gsum
dge slong sa dhu pâ la dang
jo bo gu na pâ la dang
dge slong pradznya pâ la’o
pradznya pâ la’i mkhan bu ni
zhang zhung yul gi ’dul ba ’dzin
dge slong rgyal ba’i shes rab ste
tshul khrims g.yag gi rnga ma dang
mig gi ’bras bu bzhin du brungs
yon tan rang bzhin 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 ltar yin no

[End of Mang-thos account; Blue Annals continues:]
paṇḍi ta ni mang du bsten / /
de yi yon tan dpag med pas / /
rtse su dran na mchi ma bku / /
ba spu ldang zhung dang ba skye / /
skyes mchog de dang phrad par smon / /
de yis dharma pā la yi / / /
nyams len bslabs nas phyi nas ni / /
ne pa la yi yul gnas pa / /
tshul khrims shin tu gces mdzad pa / /
mkhas par rab grags bram ze yi / /
’dul ’dzin pre ta ka ra la / /
’dzul ba’i phyag len thams cad bslabs / /
sgrub brgyud bla ma rnam pa gnyis / /
bshad pa’i brgyud pa rnam pa gnyis / /
’dzam gling grags pas khyab gyur pa / /
mkhas pa mang las brgyud pa can / /
dznyā na shri zhes grags pa las / /
so so thar dang de yi ’grel / /
’dul ba bsdu 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 / /
shri su bhū ti shāñti 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 rams kyi kā ri kā / /
sa manta shri dznyā 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] spyan drangs tho ling byon pa na / /
dharma pā 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 / /
English translation.

[Introductory words by Mang-thos pre-facing 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 Dharma-pa was invited and furthered the vinaya teachings. His ordinands were Sadhu-pa, Guṇapāla and Prajñāpāla. Prajñāpāla’s ordinand was Zhang-zhung-pa Rgyal-ba-shes-rab. He studied the practical applications with Dharma-pa 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 Śri Jñānadha and Śri Subhūtiśānti. 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, the Three Lamas (bla-ma nam gsun), Rgya 'Dul-'dzin and others, they had no reliable source. It says:

Of the three learnings, 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. He had four students — the Bhikṣus Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas and Tshul-khrims-byang-chub were of Dbus province, while the Bhikṣu Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Shes-rab-'od were of Gtsang province. The student of the latter was Tshul-khrims-bla-ma, 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. 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. Their better student, Ye-shes-rgyan, 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.
After he built the Dpe-med-lhun-grub Gtsug-lag-khang, he invited Dharmapâla, an eastern Indian, 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 Gunapâla and Bhikṣu Prajñâpâla. The ordnand 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 Jhânaśri 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 Subhātisānti
and the Bhikṣu Dge-blo\(^{33}\)
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
Samantaśrījāna
the Verses of Novices (Dge-tshul-rnams-kyi Kā-ri-kā)
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,
Dīpamkaraśrījāna.
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 Kā-ri-kā)
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 Sutra 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—Paraheṭa,\(^{41}\) the Kashmiri scholar pundit, and Mahājana,\(^{42}\) who had many lineages from his ancestors.

From him the teacher Dpal-gyi-'byor-shes-rab\(^{43}\) learned it properly. So it says. It would appear that Dharmapāla and Pretaka passed on the practice transmission, while Subhūtisṛiśānti and the rest passed on the explanation transmission.

This was the section on the history of vinaya holders.

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* 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.

1 Martin, Tibetan Histories.

2 These 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-twelffh-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).

3 Apart 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.


‘It 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 Jānāśrībhadra, 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 Bston, *Las*, p. 844.

‘See 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 Śākyaprabhā under this Legs-pa-bzang-po, and that from him he received the name Rin-chen-bzang-po. In Tucci’s study (*Rin-chen-bzang-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 — Paṇḍita Zla’-od-bzang-po, Bhina-se, and Ka-ma-la-ra-ksñi-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-rabgsal). Given the evidently Indian identities of his ordinators, this would hardly seem possible.

‘Even 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 Prajñāpāramitā practices and tantric transmissions continued without break. In short, the ‘eclipse’ of Buddhism has been outerrated, in part in order to overemphasize the victorious nature of its ‘revival’, and in part because lay Buddhism has almost always been underrated.

Few if any works of 'Brom-ston-pa seem to exist outside the Bka'-gdamgs 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.

Here 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-dkar, 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.


Bu-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 Dharma-pāla. The Dge-ye history (fol. 7) does say that Dharma-pāla and Jñānapāla were together invited to Tibet by King Srong-nga (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 Prajñāpāla, rather than Jñānapāla (or this could be a later scribal transformation; Bu-ston, Chos-'byung, p. 273, has Dharma-pāla and Prajñāpāla invited together). Still more recent sources state that Dharma-pāla and all Three Pālas were invited as a group, even though there is no such clear statement in the earlier sources.

Vitali, Kingdoms, pp. 319-20, note 496. On the Dharma conference of 1076, see Shastri, ‘Fire Dragon.’

The 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 Zhingmo-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.

Si-tu, Sde-dge, p. 329. Despite its brevity, this is the longest narrative about Zhingmo-che-ba we could locate, but even so it unfortunately does not supply any clear way to anchor him chronologically (the Gnas-btban 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 Gnas-btban Darmaseng-ge, at La-stod Ol-rgod temple, was erecting [a manuscript of] the four main vinaya scriptures, the vinaya holder Zhingmo-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 Zhingmo-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, Zhingmo-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).

Well, 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 Zhingmo-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 Zhingmo-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).

These 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.

18Mkhas-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 mgon). 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 Pan-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-mda’-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-dpon Kun-dga’-dpal (1345-1439). The complete lineage linking Dharmapāla with Red-mda’-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-rtsa-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-lladan-bla-ma. 15. Mdog-lho-pa Mkhas-chen Kun-dga’-dpal-bzang-po. 16. Red-mda’-pa, etc. Numbers 6 and following were not possible to positively identify, unfortunately for our efforts to date Zhing-mo-che-ba.

20Mkhas-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."

Gzus 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).

This 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.

The 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.

The 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 Rlungs 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.


For reference to a biography of Rgya 'Dul-'dzin Dbang-phyug-tshul-khrims-'bar, and his dates, 1047-1131, see above.

So 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.

It 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.
Here 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.

Tho-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-ling 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 Mthoolding, '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 Dharma-pāla.

This Dharma-pāla should not be confused with a number of other Buddhist figures by this name. Vitali, in his index (Kingdoms, p. 608) makes the present Dharma-pāla 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 Dharma-pāla as contained in Hoffmann, Religions, p. 116, must be corrected to 'Nepal', since the sources he used all agree that Dharma-pāla was in Nepal (Bal-po) when he was invited to Tibet. There is a tendency in some sources to connect our Dharma-pāla with translations of Yogatantra works. There is a work listed in Derge Tanjur catalog, a Yogatantra cremation ritual, translated by the Indian Master Teacher Dharma-pāla (Rgya-gar-gyi Mkhan-po Á-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 Dharma-pāla, but then there seems to be no way of knowing how long our Dharma-pāla worked in Tibet, or even how long he lived.

According to Tucci (Rin-chen-bzan-po, p. 51), the Vinaya-samgraha was translated at the order of King Rtsel-lde (who took the throne shortly after the death of Rin-chen-bzang-po in 1055) by Jñānaśrībhadra, 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 Jñānaśrībhadra and the translators Bhikṣu Rgyal-ba-shes-rab and Shākya-bshes-gnyen.

Rma 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., Śākyaprabha).

Byang-chub-'od, whose dates should be 984-1078, began ruling in 1037,
succeeding his elder brother 'Od-lde. See Vitali, Kingdoms, p. 294. Rtsa-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 Dharmapāla, 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 Śākyaprabha and Dharmapāla are divided by only one generation.

33The Help for Students is an explanation of the Three Hundreds composed by 'Dul-ba'i-lha (i.e., Vinītādeva). It was also translated by Dge-ba'i-blo-gros, but in conjunction with the Indian ordinatar Buddhaśānti. Derge Tanjur catalog: “Tshig-le'ur Byas-pa Sum-brgya-pa'i rnam-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-shānti dang / Lo tsā-ba Dge-slong Dge-ba'i-blo-gros-kyi 'gyur-rnams bzhugs-so.”

34Here Kha-che Pan-chen is a name of Śrī Subhūtiśānti (i.e., Subhūtiśriśānti); see Blue Annals, p. 69, which says he was invited in the time of Lha-sde (i.e., Lhalde).

35Derge Tanjur catalog: “Dge-tshul-gyi Dang-po'i Lo Dri-ba / Kha-che'i Mkhan-po Na-ra-sa-de-wa dang / Lo-tsā-ba Dge-slong Rgyal-ba'i-shes-rab-kyi 'gyur.” Tōh. no. 4132 supplies the name Narasadeva, while Ngor-pa, Chos-byung, p. 264, reads Na-ra-ma-de-wa.

36Derge 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 Di-pam-ka-ra-shri-dznyā-na dang Lo-tsā-ba Dge-slong Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba'i 'gyur.” According to this, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba translated it together with Atiśa at the temple of Lha-sa (Ra-sa). Tōh. no. 4133. One source (Malalasekera, Encyclopaedia, vol. 3, p. 52) says that, even though no author is supplied, this particular work (in Sanskrit, Bhikṣu-varṣāgra-prcchā) has been attributed to one Mkhan-po Padma-'byung-gnas-dbyangs (*Padmākaraghoṣa).

37The only work which, according to the Derge Tanjur catalogue (compare Tōh., no. 4123), was translated by Prajñākirti and Jayākara is the 'Dul-ba Tshig-le'ur Byas-pa (Vinaya-kārikā), composed by Sa-ga'i-lha (Viśākhadeva, on whom see Tāranātha, History, p. 197).

38Śrāmaṇera-śikṣāpada Sūtra. Tōh. no. 4130.

39Tāranātha (History, pp. 284, 424-425) tells us that Parahita lived during the reign of the Pāla king Mahīpāla. 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-di-ta Ya-thang-he-ha-ra (another manuscript, 'manuscript B', has the same spelling).
“Tāranātha, 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 Nāropā.

“TThe 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.
Bibliographical Key


Derge Tanjur catalogue — This refers to the catalogue of the Sde-dge Bstan-'gyur made available in electronic format by the Asia Classics Input Project. This is based on Zhu-chens's work, which was also consulted in the following published form: [Zhu-chen] Tshul-khrims-rin-chen, Kun-mkhyen Nyi-ma'i-gnyen-gyi Bka'-lung-gi Dgongs-don Rnam-par 'Brel-ba'-i Bstan-bcos Gangs-can-pa-pa'i Skad-du 'Gyur-ro-'tshal-gyi Chos-sbyin Rgyun Mi 'Chad-pa-pa'i Ngo-mtshar 'Phrul-gyi Phy-i-mo Rdzogs-Ildan Bskal-pa-pa'i Bsdon-nams-kyi Sprin-phung Rgyas-par Dkris-pa-pa'i Tshul-las Brtsams-pa-pa'i Gtam Ngo-mtshar Chu-gter 'Phel-ba'-i Zla-ba Gsar-pa, Lhasa: Bod-ljongs Mi-dman Dpe-skrun-khang, 1985.

Dge-ye — Dge-ye Tshul-khrims-seng-ge, Chos-'byung Thos-pa-pa'i Rgya-mtsho Dad-pa-pa'i Ngang-mo Rnam-par Rtses-ba. This history is located in the catalogue of the Otani University Library, no. 11847, a 46-folio work bearing the front-title Rgya Bod-kyi Chos-'byung Rin-po-che, but with the colophon title Skyes-bu Dam-pa-pa'i Rnam-thar Thos-pa Rgya-mtshor Dad-pa-pa'i Ngang-mo Rnam-par Rtses-ba (see Martin, Tibetan Histories, no. 140).


New Red Annals (Tucci edition) — Pañ-chen Bsod-nams-grags-pa (1478-1554),
Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma: Tibetan Chronicles by Bsod nams grags pa.


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Si-tu, Sde-dge — Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas, Sde-dge'i Bka'-gyur Dkar-chag.
Chengdu: Si-khron Mi-rigs Dpe-skrun-khang, 1989.


Sopa, Lectures — Geshe Lhundup Sopa, Lectures on Tibetan Religious Culture.


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)

“When people who have, like myself, taken [rebirth] in ‘low’ bodies realize the meaning of the Mother of [All] Buddhas (Prajñāpāramitā), 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, exercises all illusions.’ The Supreme Bliss says, ‘Of all illusions, the woman illusion is particularly sublime [holy].’”

(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.

1 It is quite impossible to convey the pregnant sense of this passage. Gautama Buddha’s mother had a name that means [projected] ‘Illusion’ (Sgyu-phur[-ma], Māya or Māyādevī). Insight is primarily gained through illusion. Insight (the main emphasis of the Prajñāpāramitā) is the Mother of All Buddhas, the source of all Enlightenment. These associations are clearly intended (Lab-sgron even identifies herself with Māyādevī 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: 1302).
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 biography 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

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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 Sgro-ma, Sanskrit Tārā). Unless unambiguously feminine-gendered terms like lcem 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 bhikṣunis? 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-sgon. Lab-sgon, 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’-bgyud-pa and, still later, the Dge-lugs-pa sects. All her teachings were ‘received’ Buddhist teachings, conveying the esoteric sense of the Perfection of Insight, 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. 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.

4 The 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).

5 The 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-sgon 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-tsa-ba (brother of Ma-gcig Zha-ma, on whom more shortly), is available in English in Edou (1996: 15-23).

6 The 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 religions 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-ma\(^{10}\) 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-tsa-ba Seng-ge-rgyal-po, a translator responsible

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\(^7\) A 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 Orofin (1987), where there are Italian translations of the Bka'-tshoms Chen-mo and the Insight’s Hair-Tip (Shes-rab Skra Rtshe, 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 reprints of the Gdams-ngag Mdzod. According to Choskyi-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-rgo, 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).

\(^8\) English literature on Ma-gcig 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.

\(^9\) The Path Including Result teachings originated in a vision of the divine consort of Hevajra, named Na-ratmya (in Tibetan, Bdag-med-ma, [f.] ‘Non-Self’), beheld by the Mahasiddha Virupa. It was first taught by a divinely 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.

\(^10\) The 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. From age 16 through 21, she was a phyag-rgya-ma (a mudrā 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 Mahāsiddhas. 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). 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 Phagmo-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.

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11 Feigning 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.

12 On Vairocana (AKA Vairocanarakṣita or Vairocanavajra), see Martin (1992: 254-5) and Schaeffer (forthcoming).

13 His 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-phuyg-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).

14 One brief passage has been identified in Stearns (forthcoming). I have noticed two further quatrains in 'Jig-rt'en-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.\textsuperscript{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-rte). Her story has been summarized and translated a number of times.\textsuperscript{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 in-laws 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.

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.

• [1] Prophets:

Primarily known for her prophetic role is one Dngul-mo Rgyal-le-lcang. 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,
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 Dnung-mo, which included the ‘Four Statements’ (Yi-ge Bzhis-pa) and the Great Perfectedness. 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.

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. 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-brag, the region surrounding the the famous lake by that name, he met two lamas of from E-mnyal 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-rtens-grags. When they met with Rgyal-le-lcam she didn’t speak to the other two men, but grabbed ‘Jig-rtens-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 Zerm-o. Ma-joa 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 ‘abess’ 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’-bgyud-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 appellative khrul-zhiq[pa], ‘one who has dissolved erroneous appearances,’ further interpreted as one who has realized Emptiness (cf. Roerich 1976: 960).


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.' On the basis of this prophecy, Rten-ne eventually located his teacher Pa-tshab 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 siddhā 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.

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 siddhā known as Jo-mo Bgres-mo.'

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.

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21 The implication of this story is, according to my current understanding, that Rgyal-le-lcam had been Rten-ne’s sister, in his previous live as Mal Brtsun-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).

22 His biography is found at Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1992: 205), where his name is spelled Batshab 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 yoginī, 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).

23 Roerich (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 Rtag-tshag (1994: 55).

24 Rwa-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 appellative siddhā, 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).
Vimalamitra. 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…” 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. 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 Yogini Me-tog (‘Flower,’ perhaps her real name was *Puspâ). A story of her prophetic statements made during her visit to Tibet in about 1160, may be found in English elsewhere. 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.

(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 literally) 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 'Bro-gmi. His full name being 'Bro-gmi Lo-tsâ-ba Shâkya-ye-she, 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-rje, Shab-mo Lcam-cig and ‘Chad-mo Nam-mkha’.

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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 Jomo 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 Mahâmudrâ 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, Dbhard 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-Inga, 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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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 Lhalunpa (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 siddhas (grub-thob-ma).

32On Gshen-rdor-mo (“Shindormo”), see Chang (1977: 11-2, 23, 33, 552-557); called Rdormo in Roerich (1976: 434) and “Shen Dormo” in Lhalunpa (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 (“Lesebom”; 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 siddhas who kept the appearance of being householders”; also mentioned, without listing, are the “twelve cotton-clad women” [ras-ma bcu-gnyis]).

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-bzhes.
Of other early Bka'-brgyud-pa teachers — two of Ras-chung-pa’s women disciples have been mentioned already — 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-brag-mo). Since these texts include quite advanced Mahāmudrā instructions, we may assume that she was among his more spiritually advanced students. Her’s would seem to be just one among a number of other stories of remarkable women unfortunately left untold.

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. Also in the Cutting lineage, we might mention Lcam-mo La’-dus, AKA Grub-chung-ma, born to Ma-gcig Lab-sgron when the latter was in her 30th year; and Lan-thog-ma (Lan-to-ma), daughter of Thod-smyon Bsam-grub. We save our comments on the largest group of women disciples, totalling 24, for later discussion.


35 Although 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).

37 Their names are listed in Good 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).

38 On 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 siddhas,’ and says that from them the Women’s Cutting (mo spyd, 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.

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 Kālacakra 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, both of them very important figures in the early history of Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra commentary known as the Vimalaprabhā 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 (mites) 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 yoginis.

She appears in a, for most part, quite standard lineage of the 'Bro system of Kālacakra 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 dākinīs], [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.' 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.

Yu-mo studied directly with the Kashmiri Kālacakra master Somanātha. Some of Yu-mo's Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra 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-l Lo-'bum").

Based on 'Gos Lo-tsā ba (1974: 675-6); see the English translation in Roerich (1976: 768).

Tshe-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-skhu 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 Kālacakra, Phags-pa (1968: 191, column 3), also excludes Jo-'bum.

Roerich (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 Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra history by Tāranātha (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-rije Jo-'bum was renowned as being the emanation body of Indrabodhi's lady Laksmināra. She had such great knowledge that she had thoroughly mastered the tantras and commentaries of the Kālacakra. 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 Yamāntaka Gesture of Vanquishing and beheld his visage. She coerced Life Lord (Tshe-bdag) and Great God Blazing Glory (Lha-chen Dpał-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 siddhā (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-

\(^{44}\)Indrabodhi, although the name often appears so in Tibetan sources, ought to be corrected to Indrabhūtī. For Laksmināra, "one of the founding mothers of Tantric Buddhism," see Shaw (1994: 39, 110-13, \textit{et passim}).


\(^{46}\)Klong-chen-pa (1977: 168). Despite the tone of the discussion here, there is evidence that the Kālacakra 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.
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). This lineage included two women, Ma-gcig Ong-jo and Kun-Ildan-ras-ma (Aka Ye-shes-kun-Ildan, daughter of Dha-ra-shri). 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, we will not translate it once more, but rather summarize and add some further sources.

The Ras-chung Earwhispered Transmission was a special tradition centered on Cakrasamvara and Vajrayārāhī. Some of its teachings were received by Ras-chung-pa from the Indian Tiphu-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. 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. 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, 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

47 There 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.

48 The story of Kun-Ildan-ras-ma has been translated in Alione (1986: 221-231).

49 Allione (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.

50 See Martin (1996: 33-34) for Chag Lo-tsā-ba's polemic.

51 I 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 Mka'-gro (1973: 175-176). The latter source, which is the one used by Allione, is somewhat less detailed.

52 The 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 Mahâyâna, she actualized within the tantric realm of the Vajrayâna.

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-tsâ-ba (d. 1237). Zhang Lo-tsâ-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, Dges-dings-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-tsâ-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

53 It 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” (bhrse-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.

54 This statement, which appears in only one of the manuscripts, is quite significant, since the word dge-long (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 bhikṣuni 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 “volkommene Nonne” (Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 142).


56 Rta-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-cigig 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 Šâkyaśrî (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.

\^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-ma, re-dom, 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 yoginī 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. The morning that child was born, she carried him to the first feeding ceremony 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’-skyon 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 Treasures of Dohâ [songs singlehandedly translated by Vairocanâ] were obtained from Bla-ma Zhang by Tshongston Sgom-pa and, just like the latter, this one [Lce-sgom] mastered them. When it is said that this person [Lce-sgom] met with Gtsang-pa Ga-sras, 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 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’-gdam-pa. This person had many students including ’Brom-ston Lha-ri-ba, Sangs-rgyas Bal-ma-pa, Sangs-rgyas-dul-ba, and the siddha Hûm’-bar-ba. Hûm’-bar-ba had a transmission lineage [list of names omitted]. There were many other transmissions as well, but they are not recorded.

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61 I 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 or Rngog Mdo-sde.

62 Called 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.

63 A 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 Tsho-jingston Sgom-pa. The Bla-ma Zhang mentioned here is of course Zhang G.yu-brag-pa (1123-1193), on whom more later.

64 This 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-tdsâ-ba, as the spiritual son of Kun-ldan Gtsang-pa.

65 Ba-lam-pa was a renowned teacher of the Tshal-pa school born at the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th.

66 That he was a student of Lce-sgom-pa is confirmed in Roerich (1976: 1025)

67 Rta-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
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, 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.

Teachers:

There would seem to be little point to this 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-Iidan (or Skal-Iidan-mtsho), daughter of Rten-ne. Two sources tell us that she passed teachings on to Rog Shes-rab-'od (1166-1244). 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. 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.


70 Roerich (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: 1311-378), 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.\textsuperscript{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 bhikṣunī *Prasannāśīla who became the mother of Vasubandhu and Asanga,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{73}

\textbullet [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.\textsuperscript{74} We have already seen that Ong-jo did become a fully ordained nun, a bhikṣunī. If we may be permitted to use an example that lies outside our time frame, in a history of his monastery Rtsa-le, Rtsa-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-zhab, and became an actual bhikṣunī (dge-longs-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

\textsuperscript{71}I 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-yé (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.

\textsuperscript{72}Her story, although quite fascinating, belongs to an Indian Buddhist context. For English-language sources, see Tāranātha (1990: 155) and Tsonawa (1985: 26-27, 33).

\textsuperscript{73}Most 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).

\textsuperscript{74}For 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.  

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'-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.

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-ma 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-gzha’ 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.’ 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. 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.

• 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). 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’

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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.”


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 Rtsi-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

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80 We 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.

81 There 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-du rus-pa cig) plays with the Tibetan word for ‘courage’ (snying-rus).

82 Rtsi-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.

83 It 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 woman 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

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84 The 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.

85 The 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 (sky-e-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 samsara, 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,

86 A 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)."

87 The words sky-e-ba dman would appear to provide an etymology of an ordinary Tibetan word for 'woman,' sky-e-dman (sometimes spelled skyes-dman). Pha-dam-pa never seems to use the word sky-e-dman, preferring bud-myed instead, as is true also of the earlier Dunhuang documents. Therefore it might seem that the word sky-e-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 nitiśāstra,

“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.”

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 (Mahāmudrā) or Great Perfectness, 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. 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. Guru Rinpoche

88 Kun-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-chu-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 nitiśāstra verse. A nitiśāstra is a text of advice in favor of ethical conduct in worldly affairs, frequently addressed to members of royalty.

89 A separate text on the practice of ‘taking happiness and suffering on the Path’ (skyid sdrug lam-khyer) attributed to Shākyashri 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.

90 Thondup (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.”

• 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 of 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 area to think about 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

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subsequent rebirth, into bodies of men. 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.

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.

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92 A 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 Jirm 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.

93 For 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 Mahāyāna 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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