

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE  
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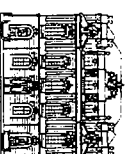
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Nr. 12

DAVID JACKSON

Enlightenment by a Single Means

TIBETAN CONTROVERSIES ON  
THE "SELF-SUFFICIENT WHITE REMEDY"  
(DKAR PO CHIG THUB)



VERLAG

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Drawing of the Indian siddha Kojali (Tib.: Tog-tse-pa) "The Mallock-man":

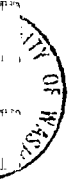
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Illustrations of two plants and one mineral sometimes identified as *dkar po chig thub* appear at the bottoms of pages 90, 154, and 175. In *Tibetan Medical Paintings* (London: Serindia, 1992), pp. 217 and 223, one plant is identified as *Panax pseudoginseng* and the stone as white pyrolusite or zeolite.

## INTRODUCTION

In the history of Tibetan Buddhism, the metaphor of the *dkar po chig thub* has generated a surprising amount of controversy. In the 12th and 13th centuries it triggered serious doctrinal discussions, and in the subsequent centuries the inter-sectarian controversies that it occasioned took a long time to die down. The Tibetan expression *dkar po chig thub*, however, would seem to be innocuous enough. It can be translated as "singly efficacious white [remedy]" or "self-sufficient white [simple]," and it was derived from Tibetan medical or pharmacological terminology—the phrase originally signifying literally a white (*dkar po*) herbal drug or simple that by itself alone (*chig*) was capable (*thub*) of effecting the cure.<sup>1</sup> But it was as a doctrinal metaphor that these words provoked disagreement, for any religious doctrine or practice characterized by this metaphor of self-sufficiency was implicitly said by its proponents to be capable of bringing about by itself alone the complete spiritual cure: perfect Awakening or Buddhahood.

The Tibetan school best known for using this metaphor was the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud. The expression *dkar po chig thub* is found in the writings of its founder, rJe sGam-po-pa (1079-1153), as well as in those of bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa (1123-1193), an influential disciple of sGam-po-pa's nephew sGom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-1169). The corresponding doctrinal notion of a soteriologically self-sufficient teaching or factor was viewed with strong disapproval by some other Tibetan religious scholars already in the time of bla-ma Zhang. Its best-known critic, however, was the later scholar Sa-skyā Paṅdita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), who referred to it and rejected it in several different

<sup>1</sup> See S. Karmay (1988), p. 197f; D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), p. 100f; and D. Jackson (1990), pp. 26f and p. 73, n. 20. I use the word *simple* as a noun in the sense of "a medicine of one constituent, a medicinal herb." In *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, Second Edition (Cleveland & New York: 1971), the second definition for *simple* as a noun is: "a medicinal herb or medicine obtained from a herb: so called because each vegetable was supposed to possess its particular virtue and therefore to constitute a simple remedy." The medical meanings of this word are sometimes considered archaisms.

works including two of his major doctrinal treatises, the *sDom gsum rab dbye* ("Discrimination of the Three Vows") and the *Thub pa'i dgongs gal* ("Elucidation of the Sage's Intention").

Some aspects of this later Tibetan controversy and its background have already been discussed in recent studies.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the relevant passages from sGam-po-pa, Zhang and Sa-skya Paṅdita's writings have not yet been systematically gathered together and translated. I would therefore like to present below a translation of all known passages from these masters' writings that mention the *dkar po chig thub* metaphor directly. And since the historical and doctrinal contexts of these discussions in Tibet have also not been investigated in any detail until now, I would like to begin by explaining more about those three masters, their careers as teachers, and their doctrines connected with the *dkar po chig thub* metaphor.

One of the special Great Seal (*phyag rgya chen po: mahāmudrā*) teachings for which sGam-po-pa was best known was his so-called "introduction to the [nature of] mind" (*sems kyi ngo sprod*), by which the disciple was led to confront and directly recognize the nature of his or her mind. sGam-po-pa is said to have given such Great Seal instructions sometimes not as secret Vajrayāna precepts in connection with initiation and special yogic practices, but rather as a Sūtra-based Great Seal instruction, or even as a doctrine going beyond both Sūtra and Tantra. Later critics such as Sa-skya Paṅdita (or Sa-pan, as he was known for short) maintained, however, that all true Great Seal instructions were Mantrayāna teachings that necessitated full, formal Tantric initiation into a maṅḍala. These masters denied in general the existence of any Sūtra-based or non-Tantric Great Seal, and in particular they considered the

<sup>2</sup> See especially D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), pp. 100ff, *et passim*. Other studies include Roger Jackson (1982); Leonard van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 102 and 304, n. 302-3; (1984), p. 155, n. 6; and (1986); Michael Brodio (1987); and S. Karmay (1988), pp. 197-200. The first brief discussion of the *dkar po chig thub* controversy in Western scholarship was given by R. A. Stein (1971). For its English translation, see: R. A. Stein (1987), p. 58, n. 15. Another study that is useful for understanding the background of the discussion is the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of Jared Douglas Rhoton, "A Study of the *sDom-gsum* of Sapan," (Columbia University, 1985).

I have already touched on many of the same topics and sources in the article D. Jackson (1990), though there I approached the subject from a different point of departure. I have also investigated several related themes in the paper: "Birds in the Egg and Newborn Lion Cubs: Metaphors for the Potentialities and Limitations of 'All-at-once' Enlightenment," which appeared in the proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Tibetan Studies (Narita: 1992).

existence of any Mahāyāna doctrine outside of the classes of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna to be impossible. Sa-pan himself also within the context of the general Mahāyāna criticized the notion that any one teaching or single spiritual factor could claim to be self-sufficient, including any meditative stoppage of conceptual processes in the name of "seeing the nature of mind." What especially infuriated the bKa-bryud-pa opponents of Sa-pan was that he went on to deny in his writings that the doctrine in question originated with the Indian adept Nāropa, but asserted rather that it was in fact the teaching of the Chinese master Mo-ho-yen, which according to long-standing Tibetan tradition had been refuted by the Indian paṅdita Kamalaśīla at the bSam-yas debate.

The historical bSam-yas debate—which probably took place in some fashion in Central Tibet during the reign of the great Tibetan king Khri Strong-lde'u-btsan (d. 790s)—together with the Chinese and Tibetan sources on it, has recently inspired a large amount of modern scholarship, and here is not the place to survey it all.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it has become clear that the doctrines at issue at the original debate were not quite as simple or clear-cut as some later Tibetan restatements of them—including the historical summaries by Sa-pan and the sources he based himself on—would have us believe. Still, the accounts upon which Sa-pan and others based themselves were not mere fabrications, either. They seem in fact to go back to sources that include a version of the *sBa bzhed* history,<sup>4</sup> and similar traditions were familiar to Tibetan scholars before Sa-pan such as Nyang-ral Nyi-ma'i-'od-zer (1124-1192 or 1136-1204) and Lha-'bri-sgang-pa (fl. late 12th c.).<sup>5</sup> Moreover, one crucial Chinese source

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the sources listed by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), p. 65 and notes 127 and 128.

<sup>4</sup> See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> On the history of Nyang Nyi-ma-'od-zer, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), p. 74ff, and L. van der Kuijp (1986), p. 148f. For the relevant texts of both 12th-century sources, see also H. Eimer (1991), pp. 168-172. Lha-'bri-sgang-pa learned this tradition from Jo-bo Se-btsun, who was connected with Aśiśa's three main disciples; this may therefore represent a mainstream bKa-gdams-pa tradition. Lha-'bri-sgang-pa characterizes the Chinese master Mo-ho-yen as having advocated the cultivation of *prajñā* at the expense of the other perfections, using the metaphor of the soaring king of birds and the person who reaches the peak of the king of mountains. Kamalaśīla is said to have criticized these metaphors, saying that a bird flies by beating his wings stroke by stroke, and that one reaches the top of the highest mountain by taking one step after another. Just so, the understanding of Empleness by a person of highest capacity also arises from having cultivated compassionate means.

recovered from Tun-huang agrees with such sources in mentioning that Mo-ho-yen used a panacea or single self-sufficient medicine metaphor for his instantaneous, non-conceptualizing method.<sup>6</sup> Doctrinally, too, the points at issue in the original bSam-yas debate did have some strong parallels with the later Tibetan *dkar po chig thub* controversies.<sup>7</sup> The main Indian paṇḍita at the debate, Kamalaśīla, was evidently attempting to refute the claim of soteriological self-sufficiency for a single method, and this was at the heart of the controversy addressed by his closely related *Bhāvanākrama* treatises and not for instance "subitism."<sup>8</sup> This

<sup>6</sup> See P. Demiéville (1952), pp. 122f, who quotes Wang Hsi's *Cheng-ti chieh*. Here Mo-ho-yen responds to the question of whether more than one "medicines" are or are not necessary to remove separately the three distinct "poisons", i.e. kleśas. The translation of the question concludes:

Si'l en est ainsi, comment donc voulez-vous extirper les passions en cultivant l'abstention des notions de l'esprit? Les rendre temporairement invisibles, ce n'est pas un moyen de les extirper radicalement.

[Mo-ho-yen's reply begins:]

D'après le *Nirvāna-sūtra*, il y a un médicament, nommé *agada*, qui guérit de toute maladie les êtres auxquelles il est administré. Il en est de [p. 123] même du sans-réflexion et du sans-examen.

See also L. Gómez (1983), p. 92, quoting the same passage from the *Cheng-ti chieh* of Wang Hsi, p. 146b:

According to the *Maṅgalaparinirvāna Sūtra*, there is a certain medicinal herb that will cure all diseases in those who take it. It is the same with this absence of reflection and inspection.

This passage had been available in English translation since the appearance of E. Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures* (London: 1959), p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> Some traditional Tibetan histories, including Nyang-ral's (*Thos byang*) and the "alternative tradition" of the *sba bzhed*, indeed attribute the use of the *dkar po chig thub* image to the Chinese side of the debate, who are said to have employed it to refer to their own special teaching. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> In the *cig car ba* manual recovered in Tun Huang (Pelliot Tib. 116) entitled the *dmYigs su med pa tsul geig pa'i gzhung*, the very first objection ("adduced by those who since beginningless time have been attached to entities and language") answered is that one cannot awaken to perfect Buddhahood by cultivating the equipment of Gnosis alone: *ye shes kyi tsoggs geig po bsgom pas! bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub du sangs myi rgya bas!*. On this work see L. Gómez (1987), pp. 96 and 153, n. 123. And in the *Bhāvanākramas* (Peking vol. 102, *dbu ma a*), from the very first Kamalaśīla addressed this same point, stressing that other factors—compassion, Bodhicitta and skillful means—must by all means be cultivated. More than once (ff. 56b and 73a.6) he denies specifically that insight into Emptiness alone will suffice: *song pa nyid 'ba' zhig ma yin no!*. E. Obermiller suggested already in 1935 the relevance of the third *Bhāvanākrama* to the debate. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989), pp. 63-4, and note 121. On Kamalaśīla's criticism of an isolated "emptiness principle," see *ibid.*, pp. 184 and 190.

would accord with the general thrust of Sa-pan's critique of a self-sufficient or singly efficacious method.

As one modern scholar has put it:

The question is not whether enlightenment is sudden or gradual, but rather whether the different elements of the path should be analyzed, defined and practiced separately. [If Kamalaśīla is right,] ... it is obvious that *upāya*, the altruistic aspect of Buddhahood, is not merely an automatic fruit of understanding or enlightenment, and that it should be practiced separately.<sup>9</sup>

This also agrees rather closely with the understandings of the later Sa-skyā-pa learned tradition as represented by Go-rans-pa (1429-1489), who summarized the main thrust of the *dkar po chig thub* controversy similarly in his general exposition of Madhyamakā, the *dbu ma'i spyi don*:<sup>10</sup>

The 'Self-sufficient White [Remedy],' which maintains that one can achieve omniscience by meditatively cultivating [insight into] Emptiness alone, has been refuted through numerous reasonings and scriptures by those who see reality without error—such as the great scholar Kamalaśīla and the glorious Sa-skyā Paṇḍita—who said that you cannot achieve perfect Buddhahood without bringing to completion the aspect of [compassionate, skillful] means.

To the masters of the so-called "simultaneist" (*cig car ba*) traditions, however, this was all a fractious tempest in a single, capacious teapot. If a person possesses the insight into Emptiness, they asserted, there is not a single thing that is not included within this factor.<sup>11</sup> The path to liberation, consisting of the Six Perfections, is also completely present in

<sup>9</sup> L. Gómez (1983a), p. 424. See also L. Gómez (1987), p. 97f, where the focus of the debate is summarized. For a synopsis of Kamalaśīla's three *Bhāvanākrama* treatises, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), pp. 96-99.

<sup>10</sup> Go-rans-pa, *rGyal ba thams cad kyi thugs kyi dgongs pa zab mo dbu ma'i de kho na nyid spyi'i ngag gis ston pa nges don rab gsal*, vol. 12, ca 173a.1: *dkar po chig thub ces bya ba stong nyid kho nar bsgoms pas thams cad mkhyen pa sgrub par 'dod pa la ni mkhas pa ka ma la shi la dang! dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita la soggs pa don ma 'khrul par gzigs pa nam's kyis thabs kyi cha ma tsang bas rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas sgrub par mi nus sol! zhes lung dang rigs pa du ma'i sgo nas sun phyung zin pas 'thir 'bad pa ma byas sol!*

<sup>11</sup> *sGam-po-pa, Dam chos... [thar pa rin po che'i rgyan]*, p. 265.6 (133a): *de lta bu'i stong pa nyid kyi don dang ldan nal chos 'di la ma dus pa cig kyung med do!*. See also H. V. Guenther (1971), p. 220.

this very thing, for as the Sūtra of the Vajra Concentration (*rDo rje ting nge 'dzin gyi mdo: Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*) states: "If you do not waver from Emptiness, this includes the six Perfections."<sup>12</sup> If you dwell within the insight into the ultimate—Emptiness—for even a single moment, this is immeasurably more meritorious than studying, reciting texts, or performing such meritorious deeds as practicing generosity.<sup>13</sup> Opponents may well ask: "If all those excellent virtues and merits are really included within cultivating simply the nature [of mind] or 'Mind Itself (*sens nyid*), then why did the Buddha teach so many times the stages of skillful means?" The answer is: He taught them in order to guide people of inferior capacities who cannot understand ultimate reality.<sup>14</sup>

\* \* \*

My treatment of these topics in the following pages is an outgrowth of a wider investigation into the life and thought of Sa-skya Paṅdita that I have been pursuing over the last few years. Here I have tried to establish Sa-pan's understandings on these subjects and to ascertain what was at issue when he criticized his doctrinal opponents in these connections. I have also tried to investigate the opposing doctrines in their original writings, to see to what extent Sa-pan's characterizations of their positions were accurate or appropriate. I have not, however, succeeded in presenting the Great Seal masters or their teachings with anything like their original striking power and appeal. The soaring, utterly non-worldly viewpoint from which these masters often spoke is difficult to reduce to a doctrinal system. The Great Seal and similar teachings by their nature do

<sup>12</sup> sGam-po-pa, *Dam chos...* [Ihar pa rin po che'i rgyan], p. 267.5 (134a): *lan pha rol tu phyin pa drug kyang 'di nyid la tsiang stiel rdo rje ting nge 'dzin gyi mdo las/ stong pa nyid las/ ma gyos nal/ pha rol phyin pa drug 'dus sol/ zhes gsungs sol*. See also H. V. Guenther (1971), pp. 221-22.

<sup>13</sup> sGam-po-pa, *Dam chos...* [Ihar pa rin po che'i rgyan], p. 264.2 (132b): *de Ihar don dam shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa de'i ngang la Ihar cig tsam gias na bskaI pa'i bar du nyon pa'ani/ klog pa'an dge ba'i rsa ba sbyin pa la sog's pa byas pa bas bsod nams dpag tu med pa che ba yin nol*. See also H. V. Guenther (1971), p. 219.

<sup>14</sup> sGam-po-pa, *Dam chos...* [Ihar pa rin po che'i rgyan], p. 270.1 (135a): *'o na ngo bo'an sens nyid gcig pu bsgon pa la de dag thams cad 'dus nal/ thabs kyi rin pa mang du gsungs pa dag byung ba ci Ihar yin zhe nal/ gnaa tugs la mongs pa'i skad pa dman pa mams khrid pa'i phyin tel...* See also H. V. Guenther (1971), p. 224. Cf. L. Gómez (1987), p. 113, who has studied the remarks of Mo-ho-yen that skillful methods were taught for those of dull faculties.

not lend themselves easily to discursive description and historical analyses of the sorts I have attempted.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the traditions themselves insist that these are secret insights which are only conveyable directly—with-out words or thoughts—by an accomplished master to a qualified disciple.

The Tibetan Great Seal and similar traditions did, however, compose their own written manuals. Such manuals and other doctrinal and historical writings have therefore been the main sources for my depictions of the traditions. Nowadays a number of publications devoted specifically to the Great Seal and the Great Perfection traditions are beginning to appear, including a few translations. I will therefore leave it to people with more insight to point out where my word- and concept-bound analyses have missed the mark!

When quoting from the original writings of sGam-po-pa (and for some of bla-ma Zhang's works, too), I have mainly given the text as it stands. I have not attempted to "correct" the spellings of the published manuscripts I used (which presumably derive ultimately from 12th-century originals) or to bring the text in line with more recent conventions, except where the sense might otherwise be completely unclear. Studies on the early Dwags-po hKa'-bryud-pa will become much easier when careful editions become available.

The present study on these topics was made possible in part by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, a research fellowship from which enabled me to begin the relevant research while at Hamburg University in 1988-89. I am also obliged to Prof. D. Seyfort Ruegg for his helpful comments in 1989, when I presented some of the translated passages from Sa-pan's works in a seminar at Hamburg University's Institute for the Culture and History of India and Tibet, and also for his later remarks. I could do some further work while on a fellowship from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science while at Kyoto University in 1990-91. Finally I revised and completed the main body of this study in 1991-2 while working at the Institute for the Culture und Intellectual History of Asia of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna. I am thankful to Mr. H. Lasie for proofreading the Tibetan texts by Sa-pan presented in the appendix and for much help in compiling the indexes. I am also indebted to Prof. John Clayton, Prof. Lambert Schmithausen, Mr. Burkhard Quessel and Dr. Dan Martin for reading this work and offering numerous valuable

<sup>15</sup> L. Gómez (1987), p. 114, has expressed the predicament well: "...The subtleties fixation with making statements from the point of view of absolute truth is inherently disconnecting to anyone seeking doctrinal orientation."

comments. I would like to thank Mr. Burkhard Quessel once again for much help in preparing the final camera-ready copy for publication.

The main task I have undertaken here has been historical. I hope that by my gathering and interpreting these sources, interested readers will be able better to understand a few aspects of the difficult and subtle doctrinal problems faced by Tibetan Buddhists in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Tibetan Buddhist traditions concerned have almost all survived down to the present day (only bla-ma Zhang's tradition has died out, at least as an institutional entity). This means that to some extent the issues, too, live on and are not of purely historical interest. In fact, some of my findings may now and then touch a sensitive nerve of the traditions concerned or seem to verge on the controversial. This is not always easy to avoid when one presents in detail the contents of a controversy! But I should stress that the present study is merely one person's attempt at historical exploration and investigation, and it is by no means the last word. I therefore look forward to the comments of those who come to the subject from other viewpoints.

D. Jackson

Hamburg, August 1993

## 1

### SGAM-PO-PA, SEEING THE MIND, AND THE WHITE SELF-SUFFICIENT REMEDY

Some of the doctrinal roots of the later Tibetan *dkar po chig thub* controversy lay in the revolutionary reclassifying and synthesizing work of the mature rJe sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153), founder of the Dwags-po bka'-bryud tradition within the Mar-pa bKa'-bryud.<sup>16</sup> sGam-po-pa originally had been trained as a physician (*tha rje*) and had begun his adult life as a married layman. Indeed, he entered into intensive religious practice only after experiencing the shock of his young and beloved wife's sudden death, which had occurred when he was still in his early twenties (ca. 1100). He became one of the foremost disciples of rJe-btsun Mi-la ras-pa (1040-1123), but only after extensive studies in other traditions. Before meeting Mi-la, he had already undergone full monastic ordination at the age of twenty-five (1104) and had sought out Tantric initiations in Lower Dags-po from the master Mar-yul Blo-ldan. He had also studied intensively in 'Phan-yul under masters of the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition such as Bya-yul-ba, sNyug-rum-pa and lCags-ri Gong-kha-pa. He met Mi-la ras-pa only later, and finally received instructions from him (especially on "inner heat" *gtum mo*) for thirteen months in 1110-11. Only then, after meditating for an additional three years, did sGam-po-pa attain Awakening. He tried to return to see his master Mi-la twelve years later in 1123, but Mi-la had already passed away. He continued a primarily contemplative life for some years, but then later in the 1220s he began his teaching career, which became more and more illustrious with the passing years. In 1126, he met his nephew sGom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po, and in 1132, when the latter was sixteen, he had him ordained and instructed

<sup>16</sup> The following sketch of sGam-po-pa's life is based mainly on the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) of 'Gos lo-tsa-ba, *nyuz* 21b-26a; G. Roerich, transl. (1976), pp. 451-462. For some information on sGam-po-pa's life, see H. V. Guenther (1955), pp. 90-96, and Guenther (1971), pp. xi-xii.



him. In 1150 at the age of seventy-one, sGam-po-pa handed over the leadership of his monastic community to that same nephew.

In his maturity, rJe sGam-po-pa exhibited a penetrating, reappraising genius in the realm of doctrinal formulations, and when it came to method, here, too, he was not afraid to reevaluate, adapt or innovate. Like all skillful teachers, he compassionately tailored his instructions to the needs and abilities of his specific students—a fact that probably accounts for many of the seeming inconsistencies or differences of approach in his writings.<sup>17</sup>

In the later part of his life, he gave increasing attention to transmitting directly the highest Great Seal insight, perhaps in part also as an outgrowth of his own deepened and intensified spiritual insight. What was somewhat revolutionary about the approach sGam-po-pa adopted was that he sought ways to transmit this insight outside of the traditional Mantrayāna method, which treated it as an ultimate and highly secret "fruit" instruction to be conveyed only after full, formal tantric initiation and in connection with special yogic practices. Certain historians or scholars in the bKa'-bryud tradition portrayed sGam-po-pa's Great Seal teaching method as having been in this way a significant innovation within their lineage. The bKa'-bryud-pa historian 'Gos lo-tsa-ba (1392-1481), for instance, stated:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> It should also be pointed out that many of sGam-po-pa's "writings"—including the collections of replies to students—were probably never corrected or arranged by him. They are groups of replies to questions given at various times and in various contexts, apparently surviving from the notes or memorics of the students, and later thrown together in a fairly random order. This probably accounts in part for the situation described by M. Brodo (1985), p. 13: "In this [*Phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*] and in the similar *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan* nothing seems to have been further from sGam-po-pa's mind than propagating a single unified theory about something." In his formal treatises such as the famous *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*, however, he was setting forth a unified system.

The uneven quality of the collected writings of the early Dwa-gs-po bKa'-bryud-pa masters and the presence of later interpolations within them were noticed for instance by Cang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, p. 459, 1 (*cha kha* 200): 'on kyang 'di dag gi bka' thun miams su slob ma mkhas pa dang ni mkhas pa du mas zin bris nyag nyog mang po bcag 'dag pa la yid brtan ni smang ngo!.

<sup>18</sup> 'Gos lo-tsa-ba, p. 400 (*nyu* 25b); G. Roerich, transl., pp. 459-60. See also sGam-po-pa, Writings, vol. 1, p. 271.7: *yid ma ches na byin brlads mi 'byung! yid ches pa cig la chos mang po ni dgos! chos re re kha yar la rten nas bsgom pa yin*. "If you do not believe, [the master's] blessing will not occur. One who trusts does not need many religious teachings. One meditates based on individual, separate teachings."

Concerning that [teaching of the Great Seal], rJe-btsun Mid-la had not given the Path of Means (*thabs lan*) and Great Seal [instructions] separately from one another. But [sGam-po-pa] taught the instructions on the Path of Means to those who were suitable recipients of the Mantra teachings, and he gave instructions on the Great Seal to those who were suitable as recipients of the Perfection-Vehicle (Pāramitāyāna) teachings, even though they had not received tantric initiation. He composed then a step-by-step manual of practical instruction called the *Lhan cig skyes sbyor*, which became popularly known also as "Dags-po's Realization Teaching" (*dags po'i rogs chos*).<sup>19</sup> He taught that although the scriptures mention many essential qualities of teacher and student, a student need not have many qualities; it is enough if he just has devotion. He quickly produced a realization of the Great Seal even in the minds of some unintelligent, poverty-stricken or evil persons. He also composed a treatise on the stages of doctrine of the bKa'-gdams tradition,<sup>20</sup> while teaching many practical instructions too. Therefore it was famed that from this time the two rivers of bKa'-gdams-pa and Great Seal became blended.

The 16th-century master sGam-po spyen-snga bKra-shis-rnam-rygal (1513-1596?) similarly explained:<sup>21</sup>

Though in the practice-lineage down to the great Reverend [Mi-la] they mainly cultivated in meditation the instructions of the Mantrayāna and taught the practical instructions on the Great Seal appropriately at the times of [instructions on] Inner Heat (*gtum mo*) and Luminous

<sup>19</sup> The *Lhan cig skyes sbyor* is an instruction which on several levels applied (*sbyor*) Emptiness as imately and simultaneously arisen (*lhan cig skyes*). See sGam-po-pa's Collected Writings, vol. 1, p. 219-224, which is identified as this work by S. Karmay (1988), p. 144, n. 39. It is explicitly said to be a high Tantric instruction.

<sup>20</sup> Evidently this refers to his famous *bsTan rin* treatise, the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*.

<sup>21</sup> bKra-shis-rnam-rygal, sGam-po spyen-snga, p. 216 (108b): 'on kyang rje btsun chen po yun gyi sgrub bryud la gsang sngags kyi man ngag miams gso bor sgom zhing! gum mo dang 'od gsal la sogs pa'i skabs ci rags su phiyag rgya chen po'i gdams pa ston par mdzad pa las! rje sgan po pa de lshad med pa'i thugs rjes kun nas bsilang stel' gdui bya mchog dhan thams cad kyiis rogs sla bat' ched dul sying po don gyi gdams pa phiyag rgya chen po 'di nyid tsal du phuyog ste bsTan pas shin tu 'phel zhing rgyas pa dang! skal pa can thams cad kyiis bgyod pa gcig pa'i lam du gyur pa yin nol/. Cf. the English translation by L. Dhalingpa, p. 119.

Awareness (*'od gsal*), nevertheless the Lord sGam-po-pa, motivated by unlimited compassion, singled out and brought to the fore this instruction of the Essential Sense, the Great Seal, in order that all disciples—superior and inferior—could easily realize [it]. And by so teaching it, [this instruction] increased very much and became widespread, and it became the sole path used by all people of fortunate endowments.

Later in his life, sGam-po-pa stressed more and more to his students the simple, direct insight into the nature of mind, and he preferred to teach them just that. Other spiritual attainments such as learning in the scriptures and purity in monastic discipline were unimportant if they were not accompanied by the crucial liberating insight. As he said: "Without the insight into the nature of mind, one will not attain the awakening of Buddhahood. As for me, I value the realization of the nature of mind as better than excellent meditation."<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere he is recorded to have said:<sup>23</sup>

If one understands the nature of the mind of the individual to be not established as anything at all, there is nothing higher than to place the mind concentrated in that. If a slight conceptual thought occurs, it doesn't hurt. Having looked right at it, return back hither. There is nothing better than the nature of mind which is nothing...."

The 16th-century historian dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba, for instance, described this emphasis of sGam-po-pa's in the following way:<sup>24</sup>

In the latter part of his life, he made his main instruction just the

<sup>22</sup> sGam-po-pa, Collected Writings, vol. 1, p. 453: *rang gi sems ma rogs na sangs ni rgyal nga ni bsgom bzang ba bas kyang sems rogs pa la rtis che gsung!*.

<sup>23</sup> sGam-po-pa, Collected Writings, vol. 111.7: *gung zag gi sems kyi ngo bo cir yang ma grub par shes nal/ de'i ngang [112] la bzhag pa de las thag pa ci yang med del man par rogs pa phra mo byung yang ni [s]hol/ de rang la btas pas ishur log nas 'ongsi/ sems kyi ngo bo ci yang ma yin pa las thag pa gang yang med del/....*

<sup>24</sup> dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba, vol. 1, p. 799f.: *sku tshé smad la sems [800] kyi ngo bo ston pa phyug rgya chen po chig chod kho na gso bor mtzad del.*

pointing out of the nature of mind, i.e. the "[singly and] instantaneously decisive" (*chig chod*) Great Seal.<sup>25</sup>

Some other masters of the Dwags-po bKa'-bryud likewise specified that this direct pointing out or seeing of the nature of mind was sGam-po-pa's specialty, and that this was his *dkar po chig thub* that later scholars such as Sa-pan criticized. The 13th-century 'Brig-gung-pa commentator rDo-rje-shes-rab, for instance, stated in his *dGongs gcig* commentary:<sup>26</sup>

The Lord sGam-po-pa, using an example from medicine said: "This 'seeing of the nature of mind' of mine is called the 'self-sufficient white [remedy].'"

Bla-ma Zhang (Zhang gYu-brag-pa brTson-'grus-grags-pa, 1123-1193), too, indirectly alluded to the important role of the "pointing out" or "introduction to" (*ngo sprod*) in sGam-po-pa's method by characterizing the Dags-po system as "The introduction to the Great Seal in the tradition of Dags-po-ba," contrasting it with the other lineages of the Great Seal Instructions (*phyug rgya chen po'i man ngag*).<sup>27</sup> A little later (p. 557.4), he characterized it as "the pointing out of 'original mind,' Dags-po's making it seen in its naked [essence]" (*gyug ma'i ngo sprod dags pos gcer mthong byed*).

That sGam-po-pa had laid a special emphasis on the direct introduction to mind was stressed even more strongly by sGam-po-pa's "grand-pupil" 'Brig-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po. The latter stated once that from among the many Indian mahāsiddhas, Tog-rtse-pa ("Mattock-man" \*Kotālipa?) was the only one in India who directly pointed out Mind. In the same way, from among the numerous Tibetan adepts, sGam-po-pa was the only one to do likewise.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The term *chig chod* was used in sGam-po-pa's Great Seal (Phyag-chen) tradition along with *chig thub*. It also occurs in Great Perfection (Dzogs-chen) writings with reference to their theory (*lta ba*) such as in the Great Perfection tantra the *Seng ge rtal rdzogs chen po'i rgyud*, 'Nying ma'i rgyud bcu bdun, vol. 2, p. 247.3: *dgongs pa rang grags ye shes chig chod kyi lta ba*, and p. 248: *chig chod kyi lta ba*.

<sup>26</sup> rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Khyad par lta bsgom spyod pa'i tshoms*. [dGongs gcig 'yel pa rdo shes mnl, dGongs gcig yig cha, vol. 2, p. 407 (22b): *rje sgam po pas sman la dpe byas nas ngd'i sems kyi ngo bo mthong ba 'di dkar po gcig thub bya ba yin gsung!*

<sup>27</sup> Zhang, Writings, p. 550.2: *dags po ba'i lugs kyi phyug rgya chen po ngo sprod*.

<sup>28</sup> 'Brig-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, Works, vol. 5, p. 510.

A telling event from very late in sGam-po-pa's life is also recorded in the *Blue Annals* in this connection.<sup>29</sup>

In the end, when [sGam-po-pa] was passing into Nirvāṇa in the water-female-hen year (1153), two monks each holding a sacrificial cake (*bañ*) in their hands approached, calling out: "We two request instructions on the Path of Means, so pray compassionately accept us!" "Don't let them come near," sGam-po-pa replied. Then one of his attendants advised them: "You should call out saying you are requesting the Great Seal!" Accordingly, those two also shouted out for a long time: "But we are requesting the Great Seal, sir!" Therefore sGam-po-pa said, "Now send them in," and he let them in, and also bestowed upon them the instructions of the Great Seal. In this way he brought up the Great Seal alone from among his teachings.

The sGam-po-pa had discovered within himself the treasure of innate wisdom, and for him it was also essential to try to convey it to others. And convey it he did, on a scale never before attempted within his lineage. To do so, he bent the traditional rules restricting how certain Vajrayāna teachings could be transmitted. He did this out of compassion for his students, in order to establish them in what was most important: profound meditative practice and insight. As he once remarked to his disciple Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa:<sup>30</sup>

"I have broken the command of my master, Mi-la." "How so, sir?" asked [Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa]. "By expounding all the teachings to people." On another occasion he remarked: "I have obeyed the command of my master." "How so, sir?" asked his student. "By devoting this entire life to practice."

### sGam-po-pa's Classification of the Great Seal

sGam-po-pa did not, of course, completely reject the old tantric classifications of the Great Seal or the traditional methods for introducing

<sup>29</sup> Gos lo-tsa-ba, p. 402 (nywa 26b); cf. G. Roerich, transl., pp. 461-2.

<sup>30</sup> sGam-po-pa, Writings, vol. 1, p. 446.4: *ngas bla ma mi la'i bka' bcag gsung/ de gsung legs zhus pas/ ngas chos thams cad mi la bshad pas gsung/ yang dus cig isa nal' ngas bla ma'i bka' bzhiñ sgrub gsung/ de tsug legs zhus pas/ ngas mi tshē zad mar sgrub pa byas pas gsung ngol.*

it. Some of his teachings given in the more usual tantric doctrinal context follow the standard formulations, as for instance his public lecture entitled *Tshogs chos legs mdes ma*, in which he contrasts the Paramitāyāna as a "path of accumulation" (*ishogs kyi lam*) with the Mantrayāna, which is a "path of means" (*thabs kyi lam*). There he gives what must have been for him a very standard and doctrinaire summary outline of Buddhist systems.<sup>31</sup>

- I. Vehicle of the Śrāvaka (*nyan thos kyi theg pa*)
- II. Vehicle of the Pratyeka (*rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa*)
- III. The Great Vehicle (*theg pa chen po*)
  - A. The Perfections [Vehicle], the Path of Preparatory Accumulation (*pha rol tu phyin pa ishogs kyi lam*)
    1. Mind-Only (*sens tsam*)
      - a. The scriptural tradition maintaining that the cognitive image is true (*nam par بدن pa'i gzlung lugs*)
      - b. The scriptural tradition maintaining that the cognitive image is false (*nam par rdzun par 'dod pa'i gzlung lugs*)
    2. Madhyamaka (*dbu ma*)
      - a. "Like an Illusion" (*sgyu ma lta bu*)
      - b. "Not stationed anywhere" (*rab tu mi gras pa*)
        - i. "Integration in which one does not station oneself anywhere" (*zung jug rab tu mi gras pa*)
        - ii. "Interruption in which one does not station oneself anywhere" (*rgyun chad rab tu mi gras pa'i gzlung*)
  - B. The Mantra [Vehicle], a Path of Means (*gsang sngags thabs kyi lam*)
    1. Old versus New [Tantras] (*gsar ma/ nying ma*)
    2. Outer versus Inner [Tantras] (*phyi pa/ nang pa*)
    3. Father Tantra versus Mother Tantra (*pha rgyud/ ma rgyud*), etc.

<sup>31</sup> See sGam-po-pa, *Tshogs chos legs mdes ma*, Writings, vol. 1, pp. 171-2. ...jug pa'i sgo bstan gyis mi khyab pa cig yod kyong/ bsdu na gsum yin nyan thos kyi theg pa'i sgor zhus pa dang/ rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa'i sgor zhus pa dang/ theg pa chen po'i sgor zhus nas nyams su ten pa'ol/ de ltar jug pa'i sgo theg pa gsum yod kyong/ da res nyan rang gi theg pa de mi ston/ theg pa chen po'i sgor zhus na nyams su ten pa'i thabs cig ston/ de la yang dbye na gzlung lugs mang du yod del' sens tsam nam par بدن pa'i gzlung lugs dang/ nam par rdzun par 'dod pa'i gzlung lugs dang gnyis/ dbu ma la sgru ma dang [sic] lta bu dang rab tu mi gras pa'ol/ de las zung jug rab tu mi gras pa dang/ rgyun chad rab tu mi gras pa'i gzlung dang/ gsang sngags la yang [p. 170] gsar ma dang/ nying ma dang/ phyi pa dang nang pal pha rgyud ma rgyud la sogs pa mang du yod kyong/ bsdu na rgyis pha rol tu phyin pa ishogs kyi lam dang/ gsang sngags thabs kyi lam mol.

In this discourse, sGam-po-pa in the end set forth the tantric path, which he characterized as "the tantric path of means that makes one realize through direct cognition the innate simultaneously arisen gnosis, having identified the correct gnosis on the basis of the 'warmth' of the guru's sustaining spiritual impulse."<sup>32</sup>

In another discussion, he enumerated a series of pairs of usual doctrinal classifications, showing the place of both the Great Seal (Phyag-chen) and the Great Perfection (rDzogs-chen: an old Tibetan "innateist" and "simultaneist" tradition) at the pinnacle of Mantrayāna Completion Stage (*rdzogs rim*) practice. The scheme he utilized could be outlined as follows:<sup>33</sup>

- I. Interpretable meaning, conducive to good rebirths
- II. Definitive meaning,<sup>34</sup> conducive to clearing away being born
  - A. Vehicles of the Śrāvaka and Pratyeka
    - B. Great Vehicle
      1. Perfection
      2. Resultant Mantra
        - a. Production Stage
        - b. Completion Stage
          - i. Great Perfection (rDzogs-chen)
          - ii. Great Seal (Phyag-chen, Mahāmudrā)

<sup>32</sup> sGam-po-pa, vol. 1, p. 172.2: *bla ma'i byin brlabs kyi dnod la rten nas/ yang dag pa'i ye shes ngos zin tel/ than cig skyes pa'i ye shes mngon sun du rtags par byed pa'i gsang sngags thabs kyi lam.*

<sup>33</sup> sGam-po-pa, Writings, vol. 1, pp. 219-220: *bka' sde snod rin po che nman pa gsun gyi chos sro ti ri rgyud tsam pa cig yod kywag/ de thams cad kyi brjod bya'i don bstu na gnyis/ drang don skye bar [=bal bzang bar byed pa'i chos dang/ nges don skye ba 'dag par byed pa'i chos sol ... nges don la dbye na gsun yod pa las/ nyun rang gis [=gi] theg pa mi ston/ theg pa chen po'i gdams ngag cig ston/ de la gnyis/ pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa dang/ gsang sngags 'bras but/ theg pa'o/|| da res dang po de mi ston/ gnyis pal gsang sngags [220] 'bras but'i theg pa de ston/ de la gnyis/ bskyed pa'i rin pa'i gdams ngag dang rdzogs pa'i rin pa'i gdams ngag gnyis yod pa las/ 'dir bskyed rin mi ston/ rtags pa'i rin pa'i gdams ngag ston/ de la gnyis/ rdzogs pa chen po'i man ngag dang phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gnyis yod pa las/ 'dir phyag rgya chen po'i gdams ngag ston/ de la yang dri bcas dang dri ma med pa gnyis yod pa las/ 'dir dri ma med pa'i gdams ngag cig ston/.* This work is identified as the *Lhan cig skyes sbyor* by S. Karmay (1988), p. 144, n. 38.

<sup>34</sup> In another context, sGam-po-pa linked the distinction between provisional and definitive meaning to that between method and discriminative understanding. See his Writings, Vol. 1, p. 241: *drang don thabs kyi lam nyams su len pa dang/ nges don gas lugs rtags par byed pa shes rab kyi lam/.*

- (A) With Impurities (*dri bcas*)
- (B) Free from Impurities (*dri ma med pa*)

Here the Great Seal and Great Perfection are found as instructions of the Tantric Completion Stage, and this classification scheme would accordingly have been more or less acceptable to followers of the mainstream "New-School" (*gsar ma pa*) Mantrayāna traditions such as Sa-pa, since it was in harmony with some of the main gSar-ma-pa systems of tantric practice, such as the "Path with its Fruit" (*Lam 'bras*) instructions. sGam-po-pa expressed similar ideas elsewhere too, sometimes portraying the Great Perfection as occupying a parallel doctrinal position to the Great Seal as one of two practical instructions (*man ngag*) of the Mantrayāna completion stage (*rdzogs rim*).

#### A Sūtra-Tradition Great Seal

One of sGam-po-pa's departures from tradition was apparently his propagating a Sūtra method of the Great Seal, as distinct from the above-mentioned Tantric Great Seal.<sup>35</sup> One of his bKa'-gdams-pa contemporaries is said by later authorities to have maintained that the Sūtra basis for sGam-po-pa's special Great Seal teaching could be found in the *Samādhirāja Sūtra*.<sup>36</sup> (sGam-po-pa himself was traditionally recognized as being the rebirth of the Buddha's disciple Zla-'od-gzhon-mu, or Candraprabha Kumāra as he is known in Sanskrit, who pledged to

<sup>35</sup> This is also implied by the statement of 'Gos lo-tśā-ba quoted above: "... He gave instructions on the Great Seal to those who were suitable as recipients of the Perfection-Vehicle (Paramitāyāna) teachings, even though they had not received Tantric initiation."

<sup>36</sup> 'Gos lo-tśā-ba, *nya* 21b-22a; G. Roerich transl, pp. 451f. The first Paṇ-chen Rin-po-che likewise held that the Sūtra basis for a Great Seal teaching could be found in this Sūtra, in the line: *chos nyams kun gyi rang bzhin phyag rgya che* ||. See Gung-thang dKon-mchog-bstan-pā'i-sgrom-me, vol. 3, p. 578.3 (8b): *pan chen rin po che*! *mdo ting nge 'dzin rgyal por/ chos nyams kun gyi rang bzhin phyag rgya che/ zhes pa klungs su mdatā nas mdo lugs la tang phyag chen gyi tha snyad zhal gyis bzhes lal*. The word in the Sūtra, however, is simply *mudā*, and not *mahāmudā*. See Peking no. 795, vol. 31, p. 275.1,5 (*mdo thu* 7a) and vol. 32, p. 33.3.8 (*mdo thu* 182a.8): *de la chos thams cad kyi phyag rgya gang zhe nal*/. See also Dutt, Skt. ed., pp. 21.15 and 643.1; cf. pp. 234.11 and 249.3, where the word *mudā* also appears.

become that Sūtra's later propagator.)<sup>37</sup> Such a Sūtra-based method would have the advantage of avoiding the complicated ritual and practical preparations required for both Vajrayāna teacher and student, and it would widen the range of those who might be taught. But on the other hand it would require the lengthy training of students through the gradual stages of the Mahāyāna.

The later sympathetic dGe-lugs-pa master tCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786) accepted that sGam-po-pa had taught both Sūtra and Tantra methods.<sup>38</sup>

The one who made very famous the terminology of practical instructions called the "Great Seal" was the matchless sGam-po-pa. In the latter's writings there are mentioned two methods for introducing the theory: (1) the tradition of the Perfections Vehicle and (2) the tradition of Mantra, and indeed he applied the term "Instruction in the Great Seal" to both. He also composed treatise[s] that demonstrated, through the quotation of many Sūtras, such points as how within the tradition of the Perfections Vehicle there exists the [authoritative, canonical] teaching of Emptiness as being the Great Seal.

And this was also the opinion of certain bKa'-bryud-pa masters, with whom bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal disagreed.<sup>39</sup> One finds the 15th-century

<sup>37</sup> Gos lo-tśā-ba, *nyā* 21b-22a; G. Roerich transl., pp. 451f, and bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal 109a; L. Lhalungpa (1986), p. 119.

<sup>38</sup> tCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, p. 458.2 (*cha kha* 20b); cf. D. Lopez (1988), p. 266. S. Karmay (1988), p. 197, n. 97, notes that the Sūtra/Tantra distinction was applied to the Great Seal by some later Tibetan writers, particularly by certain later dGe-lugs-pas. He quotes Gung-thang dKon-mchog-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me and the 5th Dalai bla-ma. Such a distinction was convenient for certain dGe-lugs-pa who were trying to advance their own "dGa ldan phyag chen" or "dGa' ldan bka' bryud." The Great Fifth Dalai bla-ma, however, was opposed to this eclectic movement (in his opinion, the dGe-lugs should stick to their true dGe-lugs roots). And Gung-thang dKon-mchog-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me, vol. 3, p. 566 (2b), admitted that in Tsong-kha-pa's time this particular tradition was never called the "Phyag rgya chen po." Instead it was known as the "Great Madhyamakā" (*dhu ma chen po*): *nye'i sku dus sul dhu ma chen po bya ba lasl' phyag chen gyi tha snyad dngos su ma mdatad kyangl'*. On the Fifth Dalai bla-ma's views, see *ibid.*, p. 578.2 (8b): *rgyal dbang gis dge lugs dge lugs rang byas pa bzang modl' bka' bryud pat' khrod du 'i shang nas ci bya zheal' dge ldan bka' bryud kyi tha snyad isan yang mi bzhed lal'*. On the term "Great Madhyamakā" (*dhu ma chen po*), see D. Seyfort Rucgg (1969), p. 60f; L. van der Kuip (1983), p. 37; and S. Karmay (1988), p. 197.

<sup>39</sup> See also sDe-gzhung Rin-po-che, p. 27: *lmyam med sgam po pa'i*... *ges 'jig mkhas grub gong nas ndo lan phyag chen dangl' sngags lam phyag chen gyis su dbye ba mdatad*

translator and scholar 'Gos-lo gZhon-nu-dpal concluding his history of the Mar-pa and Dwags-po bKa'-bryud with precisely a discussion of this point.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding the realization of the Great Seal, during the time of Mar-pa and Mid-la, [the masters] produced first the Gnosis of inner heat, and then by virtue of that, the realization of the Great Seal. And hence they held it also to be the Perfection Stage [of the Anuttarayoga Tantras]. Dags-po rin-po-che [sGam-po-pa] producing a realization of the Great Seal even in those beginners who had not received Tantric initiation was the tradition of the [general Mahāyāna] Perfections. Moreover, Dags-po rin-po-che said to Phag-mo-gru-pa, "The basic text of this Great Seal of ours is this *Mahāyānottaranta Śāstra* [*Ratnagotravibhāga*] composed by the Lord Maitreya." The illustrious Phag-mo-gru-pa too stated the same thing to 'Bri-khung-pa, and consequently in the writings of Lord 'Bri-khung-pa ['Jig-ten-mgon-po] and his disciples there appear many expositions of the *Mahāyānottaranta Śāstra*.

In sGam-po-pa's writings a few clearly non-Tantric or "Sūtra-class" instructions of this nature can be located. One example is found among his minor works. It is a teaching that he classified from the beginning as "gradualist" (*rin gyis pa*), though not specifying at the outset whether it belonged to Sūtra or Tantra.<sup>41</sup> From several later passages of the work

*lal'*. The same author, *ibid.*, points out that sGam-po-pa clearly did teach a Great Seal tradition which did not rely on the Mantrayāna.

<sup>40</sup> 'Gos lo-tśā-ba, p. 632 (*nyā* 141b): *phyag rgya chen po'i hogs pa de yang mar pa dang rje btsun mtid la gnyis kyi nng lal' sngon du giun mo'i ye shes bsyed nast' de'i stobs kyes phyag rgya chen po'i hogs pa bsyed par mdatad pas rdozgs pa'i rin par yang bzhed doll' dags po rin po che nil las dang po pa dbang bskur ma thob pa dang la yang phyag rgya chen po'i hogs pa bsyed par mdatad pa ni pha rol tu phyin pa'i lugs tel' de yang dags po rin po ches dpal phyag mo gru pa lal' 'o skol gyi phyag rgya chen po'i gzhung ni bcom ladan 'las byans pas mdatad pa'i thag pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan boas 'tā yin zhes gsungs shingl' dpal phyag mo gru pas kyang rje 'brt khung pa la de skad du gsungs pasl' rje 'brt khung pa dpon stob kyi gsung rab manas su thag pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bshad pa mang du 'byung ba de yin no!*

See also M. Brodo (1985), p. 12f. Cf. the comments in G. Roerich transl., p. 725, probably originating from dGe-'dun-chos-'phel, that "Present day Tibetan scholars, especially those belonging to the dGe-lugs-pa school, do not admit the mahāmudrā doctrine as belonging to the Sūtra class." But he mentions the existence of the "dGe-ldan phyag-chen."

<sup>41</sup> sGam-po-pa, Writings, vol. 1, pp. 203.7ff. This instruction is noteworthy for the

