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Signs, Memory and History:
A Tantric Buddhist Theory of Scriptural Transmission

by Janet Gyatso

Within the broad group of Buddhist sacred scriptures loosely characterized as the canon of the Mahāyāna are included, by some, the scriptures of the Vajrayāna, the tantras. These are in turn classified into two canons by Tibetan Buddhists, the Old (nying ma) and the New (gsar ma), the former of which spawned yet another genus of scriptures called Treasures (gter ma). Not strictly to be considered a canon, and in fact not compiled into one collection until the late nineteenth century, the Treasures are nonetheless accorded the same status of “word of the Buddha” (buddhavacana) as are the classical texts of the Sūtra or Vinaya Piṭakas, and sometimes even bear the hallmark introductory line “Thus have I heard at one time.”

The Treasures are texts of mystical revelation. Tibetan visionaries, particularly of the rNying ma School, have been producing them since the tenth century A.D. They are in most cases said to have been revealed to the visionary by Padmasambhava, the Indian teacher who brought Tantric Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century A.D. According to tradition, Padmasambhava and others concealed in Tibet texts and other items for future “discovery.” The number of texts said to have been found in a Treasure cache and attributed to Padmasambhava in this way is now considerable. The Treasure cycles preserved in the current edition of the Rin chen gter mtšod collection alone fill 111 volumes, and there are many others published independently.

Although differing in content with regard to divinities, pract-
It is during the last cited phase that three further stages of transmission, unique to the Treasure scriptures, take place. These concern the special measures taken by Padmasambhava to conceal certain texts in Treasure caches until the time is right for their revelation. First he conveys such texts in a Tantric Empowerment Ceremony (smon lam dbang bskur, Skt. abhishekapranihāna?), and appoints (gld rgya), or confers upon one of the recipients the responsibility to discover the Treasure at a determined time in the future. Then he utters a Prophecy of the Revelation (bka’ rabs lung bstan) in the future. In the third phase, Appointing of Dākinīs (mchha’ ‘gro gld rgya), he identifies the protectors who will guard the Treasure during its interment. Then Padmasambhava or one of his disciples, often his consort Ye shes msho rgyal, commits the text to writing. Finally, the text is buried somewhere in Tibet, in a statue or stūpa, under the ground or in a mountain, in the elements, or even, simply, in the mind.

The story does not end here. In a second segment of the Treasure’s historical section, the account of the revelation resumes centuries later, in the biography of the visionary. Here we are given an intimate portrayal, often in poetic and candid language, of the discoverer’s personal struggles in the visionary quest. There are the search for the requisite confidence that he or she is indeed the appointed individual, the search for the concealed Treasure itself, and, once it is found, there is the search for the understanding of the content of the revelation. Finally, the discoverer or a disciple codifies the Treasure as a cycle of texts to be disseminated to students, and later to be published.

Before attempting to unravel this complex account of scripture generation, a few remarks are in order concerning views on the source of scripture in Buddhism as a whole. In the Pāli tradition, the word of the Buddha is what was preached by the specific historical personality Sākyamuni Buddha (or certified by him), and which was uttered during the finite period of Sākyamuni’s lifetime. Traces of the idea that scripture has an historical source can still be found in the early Mahāyāna sūtra, the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, where it is proposed that the disciples who preach the Prajñāpāramitā studied that very teaching with Sākyamuni in previous lives. By and large, however,
the necessity of an historical origin of the word of the Buddha was discarded by the Mahāyānists. As the Aśva itself asserts, "Whatever, Venerable Śāriputra, the Lord's disciples teach, all that is known to be the Tathāgata's work." Here no stipulation is made about time, place or explicit certification. The rise of the Mahāyāna marks the dawning of such notions as the "Buddha-nature," with full Buddhahood possible for anyone, at any time. Another claim, known best from the Lotus Sūtra, is that the Buddha remains present in the world—and therefore would theoretically always be available as a source for authentic scripture. In any case, the Mahāyāna expansion of the pantheon of buddhas renders obsolete the necessity to ascribe a sacred text to the historical person of Śākyamuni himself, because there would be countless buddhas in countless realms who are constantly preaching the Dharma. In short, a number of doctrinal innovations of the Mahāyāna effectively demolished the old notion of a closed canon and radically reoriented the generation of the Buddhist truth to an ahistorical, atemporal dimension.

Thus, it is striking to discover that the proponents of the Treasures, late Mahāyāna Vajrayānists, were not content to call upon the timeless presence of the ubiquitous Buddha-nature as the source of revelation. The teachings of the many Tibetan masters who are said to have attained Buddhahood, even those of the closely aligned Pure Vision (dag snang) tradition, would, strictly speaking, be differentiated from the revelations of a Treasure discoverer. The distinction consists precisely in the claim that the latter is the reincarnation of a historical person of the eighth century who was a disciple of Padmasambhava, and who was appointed to reveal the Treasure. The Treasure tradition is preoccupied with pinpointing the source of scripture in a specific historical event. It does not really matter that this event, indeed the entire story of the introduction of Buddhism during Tibet's Yarlung Dynasty, was largely recast and mythologized in the tenth to twelfth centuries, to the point where fact in the modern scientific sense of the word can barely be separated from fiction. For Tibetans, regardless of education or sophistication, Padmasambhava's sojourn in Tibet is a constituting event of the national heritage. As an historical personage, significantly eulogized as "the second Buddha," Padmasambhava comes to offer the same sort of authority for the Treasure tradition as does the historical Buddha Śākyamuni for the Pāli canon.

And so the Treasure tradition is concerned with history, the passage of text through a temporal progression of epochs, in which changing circumstances of author, place and audience are mirrored in the evolution of the text itself. For the discoverer of Treasure, the dimension of the past is anchored in the numinous moment when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, a Golden Age. In the present time of the discoverer, which is the degenerate age, it is the connection to that previous period that makes for a weightier and more authentic revelation of truth than what is available to enlightened insight alone.

An important corollary of the emphasis on history in this tradition is that revelation comes to be understood as memory. This memory is diachronic, a recollection of times past, in this case of that significant moment when the Treasure was transmitted by Padmasambhava. This notion of memory can readily be identified with the early Buddhist view that the scriptures recited at the First Council were memorized renditions of Śākyamuni's previously delivered sermons. There are other dimensions of memory here, however. In the most general sense the Treasure tradition as a whole is seen as a commemoration of Padmasambhava's dispensation, with the lineage of discoverers characterized as a "reminder [lit. list that prevents forgetting] of that teacher from Uḍḍiyana." The Treasures are also, in a very general way, reminders of the Dharma: it is explained that the Tibetans, new at Buddhism, tend to forget even Avalokiteśvara's mantra; thus their memory needs to be jogged by the periodic appearance of new Treasures. Taken more individually, memory refers to the discoverer's recollection of the events of a past lifetime. It is precisely the personal memory of being an appointed discoverer that inspires sufficient confidence to proclaim a visionary revelation as genuine Treasure scripture. Furthermore, and most importantly, revelation itself is an act of memory, an event of evoking, through a set of hints and codes, the actual content of the Treasure previously received at Padmasambhava's Empowerment rite. As stated in the prophecy of the discoverer Jigs med gling pa: "Using the essential key, which is the six nails, the dhāraṇī for remembering and not forgetting, open the door to the Klong gsal dgongs pa Treasure."
Having observed that the source of the Treasures is characterized in terms of history and memory, I will devote the rest of this essay to a factor that appears repeatedly in this literature, and is thematic of that very characterization. I am referring to the factor of semiosis in the Treasure tradition. The use of signs seems to be intrinsic to the process of Treasure dissemination, at virtually every step described above, be that function explicit or implicit. In the following I will consider the principal segments of the Treasure transmission where semiosis is specifically identified as such.

It must be noted that the Tibetan terms for the various kinds of signs used in the Treasure literature are not always rigorously distinguished. Drawing upon the Peircean convention that the symbol, icon, and index are the three main types of signifiers, I will use the words “sign,” “semiosis” and “signify” in a general way to refer to the function as a whole. The Tibetan brda is appropriately rendered “symbol” in the phrase Transmission in Symbols (brda bgyud), since here a variety of codes, utterances, or gestures convey a message not physically connected or iconically similar to the sign itself. brDa grol, which translates as “breaking the code,” is used in a number of contexts in this literature. The phrase “symbolic script” (brDa yig) refers to inscriptions that signify in several ways at once, and I will also adopt the more general “literal signs” in discussing this phase of the Treasure semiosis. RTags is another term often employed here, and can safely be rendered simply as “sign,” although it frequently has the specifically indexical function of being connected with or pointing to the indicatum. mTshon, which literally means pointer, has a range of senses, sometimes in fact meaning “symbol,” and sometimes referring to signification more generally. ITas here means “portent” or “omen” in most instances, and we also come across mtshan, best translated as “mark.” Since all of these translations are contextual, I will supply the original in parentheses whenever I am drawing a semiological term from the Tibetan texts.

Within the general setting of Tibetan Buddhism, where aspersions have often been cast upon the Treasures as authentic “words of the Buddha,” the Treasure signs function most overtly as legitimizers. Even writers of the rNyung ma school, the principal holders of the Treasure lineages, stress the need to subject any cycle to scrutiny, and cite instances of frauds and charlatans. As I have discussed elsewhere, the primary function of the historical section of the Treasure cycle is to present evidence—precisely in the form of signs—that the Treasure is an authentic Buddhist scripture preached first by an ādi-buddha, later concealed in Tibet by Padmasambhava, and then actually discovered by the predestined individual. These narratives are thus thought to “engender confidence” (nges shes bskyes pa). The sixteenth-century Tibetan historian Dpa’ bo gtsugs lag phreng ba, notably judicious in his treatment of the Treasure tradition, affirms this function: “In general, if you investigate the Treasure signs (gter rtags), you can ascertain if the Treasure has an authentic source. Even if not found today, the signs and names of the discoverer and place of the Treasure should all be fairly definitely identifiable—even if just roughly.” Or as the discoverer Jigs med gling pa recalls, “Through examples one understands meanings; through signs (rtags) one becomes confident.”

But there is a far more profound role for semiotics in the Treasure tradition than legitimation, one that is germane to the very process of textual transmission itself. For the rNyung ma school, semiosis is the stage next to the first in the generation of all Buddhist scripture, not only Treasure. This stage, already named above, is the Vidyādhara’s Transmission in Symbols. But here we must first take into account the very primary, or original moment, the Transmission of the Realized, which is explicitly asemioticized, i.e., deprived of all sign vehicles. The Transmission of the Realized is also, I might add, ahistorical (dus gsum ma nges pa’i dus). This is important, because despite our initial remarks about the peculiarities of Treasure transmission, the ultimate source for these scriptures is very much in line with the Mahāyāna’s pervasive and timeless ground of enlightenment.

Firstly, therefore, there is the asemioticized text. The Transmission of the Realized is set in the buddha-field. As gTer bdag gling pa describes it, this is “the realm of the uniformly pervasive dharmatā from which there is no falling away, in the center of the palace of the unpolluted dharmadhatu, transcending
measurement." The language of nonduality is everywhere in these descriptions. The teacher is “immersed in the equanimity of neither light nor dark, standing without coming or going, beginning or ending.” Taking on the guise of a body, he teaches the Dharma. This teaching is the “Great Speaking, in which nothing at all is said”. It is an “expounding by [the Buddha himself] in his own nature, to his own retinue, where the audience is but a manifestation of the teacher.” Of course, strict nonduality is somewhat difficult to maintain if there is discourse. There is, in some accounts, a second, sometimes the consort Samantabhadri, at whose behest the teaching was initiated. Then as the teacher devolves from the svābhāvikāya and the dharmakāya, there appear the bodily marks (sku mthun) and the exemplary form (dpe byad) of the sambhogakāya. But even in the teachings of the nirmanakāya of the Transmission of the Realized, gTer bsdg gling pa maintains that neither words nor symbols (brda) are used. Rather, there is a “speaking without speaking, in which the own-voice of primordial awareness appears effortlessly and spontaneously.”

The Symbolic Conveying of the Dharma

Although many of the descriptions of the Transmission of the Realized have at the end of that narrative some incursion into what we might identify as a human or a deva world, the main thrust of the initial dissemination of scripture to human disciples occurs in the second phase, that of the Transmission in Symbols. At this point, when the self-realized Dharma is first conveyed with some duality between teacher and student, semiosis is the manner in which that takes place.

The semiosis of the Transmission in Symbols takes many forms. It can even consist in the chirping of a bird, as when Vajrasattva assumes the form of a swallow and sings to the rNying ma patriarch dGa’ rab rdo rje, “Ka la ping ka, ka la ping ka.” An exemplary narrative of the Transmission in Symbols is found in the teacher Śrī Simha’s response to Padmasambhava’s request for “an introduction to the meaning of the Letterless Teachings.” Here we can see how the semiotic transmission proceeds through several acts of sign production and deciphering, in which both verbal and non-verbal signs are employed.

Śrī Simha’s transmission is cryptic: “Within the fence of the four elements there is a red cow, in whose stomach there is a crystal that radiates a five-colored light. Put your hand over the cow’s right eye, and say ‘Come out of the left!’” It then becomes Padmasambhava’s task to decipher the meaning. This is effected when he meets a woman, who points to her heart, covers her right eye with her thumb and middle finger, peers with her left eye into space, and freezes her gaze. Seeing this, Padmasambhava understands the Transmission in Symbols. Then he asks the woman to “break the code” (brda grol). There follows her verbal and discursive explication of her symbolic actions, called “meeting with the meaning of the symbols” (brda don spad pa), which consists in a series of correspondences. The fence of the four elements symbolizes (mthun) the body, the arena for wisdom and skillful means; pointing the finger at the heart symbolizes the self-born buddha, which is obscured by ignorance, in turn symbolized by the cow. The covering of the right eye symbolizes the cessation of attachment to skillful means. The five-colored light of the crystal symbolizes the natural play of awareness (rig pa). Gazing into space with a frozen stare symbolizes the appearing of self-born primordial wisdom which abides in limitless space; and so on. Then when Padmasambhava returns to his teacher, Śrī Simha uses these “symbols (brda) of awareness to transmit the Dharma into Padmasambhava’s heart.” The episode ends with Padmasambhava’s exalted visions and Buddha-hood.

The Semiotic Reduction of Scripture

The specialized mode of Treasure dissemination begins in the next phase of the transmission paradigm, the Transmission into the Ears of People. Here, semiosis has an even more complex and finely defined function, although it remains analogous to the basic pattern of sign presentation and deciphering that we saw in the Transmission in Symbols, where both the intention of the transmitter and the interpretive response of the receiver are key.

Ironically, just when the text has entered the fully historical
and human plane, when Padmasambhava is openly teaching (at least to his circle of students) a determinant text in a discursive, exegetical manner via the Ear Transmission, there dawns the necessity to conceal the text again. Padmasambhava has in mind Tibet's future: adverse political and social conditions in which the practice of Buddhism will be difficult. Inspired by a compassionate teleology not unlike that which underlies the Vajrayana as a whole, Padmasambhava identifies certain tantras whose teachings and practices will be particularly efficacious in the degenerate times that lie ahead. He proceeds to convey these texts using the three stages of transmission particular to the Treasures: the Empowerment Ceremony, the Prophecy of the Revelation, and the Appointment of Dakinis. Among these, the Empowerment comes to the fore as the critical moment when Padmasambhava selects the individual with the appointment (gtad rgya), i.e., the responsibility and obligation to discover the Treasure at the prophesied time in the future. And it is at this juncture that the relation between history, memory and signs becomes clear.

One of the principal acts in the Empowerment rite is the guru's enscoping of a condensed form of the teaching (in this case the Treasure) in the student's stream of consciousness. The site of enscoping, equated with the place where the Treasure abides (ger gnas), is rendered variously as "the adamantine body, the essence of enlightenment," or "own mind abiding in its own aspect of dharmadhātu." Here, during the Empowerment, the germ of the teaching is "placed in the mind as a lot for future accomplishment." It would seem that the reduction/enscoping of the Dharma conveyed in Empowerment is what facilitates the Treasure mode of transmission—it allows the text to be easily preserved in memory over time. According to rDo grub chen Rinpoche, the content of the Empowerment becomes an "indestructible point of space that is the clear light of primordial intelligence." In this form the Treasure cannot be "stolen," and is impervious to the vicissitudes of the "winds of karma" during the appointed individual's series of lifetimes before discovery. Thus, we can say that the Treasure is transformed into a mnemonic device of sorts. This condensed seminal teaching granted in the Empowerment becomes the basis for semiosis

that which is pointed to by the signifying symbols (gal la phib brda) later employed by the dakinis who control reveal the Treasure. But there is also a medium that carries the semioticized Treasure over time and induces the appointed discoverer to remember the Treasure at the appropriate moment. This is usually conceived of as the "yellow paper" (shag ser), also called "paper scroll," shag dita. rDo grub chen, whose brilliant and original essay informs the following several paragraphs, refers mostly to this yellow paper in his discussion, but actually his own analysis shows that there can be many other types of media, such as the physical elements, or random mental events. However, the yellow paper is the most concrete medium; it is the manuscript, written by Padmasambhava or a disciple, that is physically buried: it is the Treasure substance itself. It is also one of the few material traces whose existence is sometimes cited as actual evidence of a Treasure discovery.

The text inscribed on the yellow paper or other medium is a brief and specially coded form of the Treasure. This code corresponds to the condensed teachings granted in the Empowerment, although the precise nature of this correspondence is not specified. Somehow, however, the appointed discoverer "holds the Dharma of the previous period's yellow paper as marks (mtshan ma), so that later, depending on that (same) yellow paper, it is like a reminder (dmar pa gso bta) of the full Treasure teaching."

The discovery of the Treasure in its encoded form in the subsequent life is of course the climactic revelation event. However, what is considered to be a complete revelatory transmission (gan phe, lit. "definite descending") actually has more to do with the internal state of the discoverer, when he or she can reconstruct and understand the full Treasure scripture. According to rDo grub chen, the discovery of Treasure really involves a replay of all three paradigmatic stages of scripture transmission: "The Transmission of the Realized of Padmasambhava's realization of clear light descends in a sudden jump (thod rgyal) into the heart of the discoverer; when the symbolic letters (brda bgy) are found, there is the awakening of the propensity (rjes ma) to reveal Treasure that was established during the Empowerment by Padmasambhava, which constitutes the Transmission..."
in Symbols; and when the code written on the yellow paper is broken, the Ear Transmission is obtained.\footnote{46}

Thus, just as Sri Sinha's Symbolic Transmission was disclosed to Padmasambhava in stages, the semiotic Treasury revelation proceeds gradually. In the first place, the discoverer is put directly and instantaneously in mind of the Treasure in its most basic form; then follows the presentation of its symbols in the form of the discovered Treasure medium, and finally the decoding. Each of the latter two steps can involve considerable difficulty. Just to attain a clear perception of the symbolic letters can be elusive, with the text on the yellow paper changing or even disappearing before the discoverer's eyes. And once the encoded text reaches “stabilization” (gtan khel), there remains the complex task of deciphering it, which can require months or years of reflection.\footnote{47} It is only at the point that the encoded text can be translated into the fully remembered Treasure scripture that rDo grub chen can properly equate a medium such as the yellow paper with the discursive Ear Transmission.

The Encoded Treasure: Literal and Other Signs

The text inscribed on the yellow paper or other medium has the dual role of concealing the Treasure in code, and of revealing the Treasure by means of that same suggestive code. rDo grub chen identifies three aspects of this encoding/reminding feat of semiosis.\footnote{48}

1. The first concerns the “type of letters” (yig rigs), i.e., the script in which the encoded Treasure is written. This is usually some form of the “symbolic script of the dākinīs” (mchags 'gro brda yig). There are many varieties, such as thang yig, spung yig, bsan yig, and so on, but rDo grub chen also admits that non dākinī alphabets and even some of the Tibetan scripts can be used.\footnote{49}

2. The second aspect of the encoded Treasure's semiosis concerns the means by which the discoverer breaks the cipher of the dākinī script and comes to “meet with” or be “introduced to” (ngo spod) the literal encoded Treasure.\footnote{50} Three possibilities are listed:

2.a) There can be a manifest script that is encoded ac-


cording to a “key” (bde mig can), such that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the symbolic script and the letters of the Tibetan alphabet. In this case, access to the key would enable the discoverer to read the text given on the yellow paper.

2.b) Alternately, the discoverer can perceive the encoded Treasure text as a result of some external prompting. In this case, there does not seem to be a yellow paper as such. Rather, the discoverer will see something in the environment, which serves as the encoding medium, and which presents the dākinī cipher. An example given by my consultant, mkhan po dpal ldan shes rab, is a goat nibbling grass: the discoverer sees this visual configuration as a letter of sorts, which then brings the encoded Treasure's textuality to mind.\footnote{51} This is labelled “certainty through circumstances” (bri yen las nges); in rDo grub chen's words, “without (reference to) an alphabet, there is a spontaneous knowing (of the encoded Treasure) as a result of some sort of circumstance in the environment involving either inanimate objects or animate beings.\footnote{52}

2.c) Thirdly, the “face value of the letters” (yig ngo) of the encoded Treasure text can simply become clear to the discoverer, “without regard for either (an alphabet or external circumstances)” (gnyis la mi los). Again, there would not seem to be a yellow paper involved. Rather, the medium is a spontaneous vision or some other internal prompting, which results either in a direct perception of the encoded Treasure text, or consists in a gradual process, in which repetition of the internal clue or image finally evokes a perception of the text.

3. Not only is a cipher script employed, and that script presented in a variety of media and with a variety of modes of correspondences to Tibetan, but thirdly, what is “set out” (god tshul) can be semioticized. This refers to the content of the encoded text, and how that relates to the content of the full Treasure scripture. Again rDo grub chen identifies three possibilities:

3.a) In the case of “just an appearance” (sngon sna), there will appear a single symbol, or a character or two, not necessarily completing a phrase or even a word. We might understand this mode as a mnemonic cue of sorts; the discoverer is given the opening letters of the Treasure, which serve to evoke in his memory the full text.

3.b) In the second way of setting out, “just a support”
(rten 'tsam), there are two options: the memory of the full Treasure may be “evoked by a section of the actual text” (dngos skul byed), or “evoked through a recollection” (rjes draw skul byed).

3.b.1) The first, like the appearance mode, functions as a mnemonic cue: it consists in the presentation of the title of the actual Treasure, or a portion of the introduction, or a history of the text. This brief section is like a “tiny seed that suffices to produce a huge nigrodha tree”—it encourages the full flowing forth of the Treasure in the discoverer’s memory.

3.b.2) The second type of support consists of a statement that causes a recollection of the full Treasure. We should note that here, the meaning (tshig zin) of what is written on the yellow paper is said to have determinant significance (dan rtags).53 Its meaning must be understood by the discoverer in order for the reminding to occur, whereas in all of the previously discussed modes, despite some ambiguity, merely the literal or phonetic value of the text of the Treasure code may be sufficient to evoke the memory of the literal surface of the Treasure text proper. There are two types of evocation of recollection:

3.b.2.1) In the first case, the determinant significance of the content of the Treasure medium is unrelated to the content of the full Treasure. Instead, the encoded text reminds the discoverer of the peripheral circumstances of the time and place in the previous life when the Treasure Empowerment was received. As rdzogs grub chen explains, this memory enables the discoverer to recall the Treasure itself: “For example, on the yellow paper it may be written, ‘when the cuckoos first arrived, the Guru and his disciples were all at Brag dmar mtsho mongul. Every day in front of the canopy of the tent where they were sitting, ducks, cranes, cuckoos and all sorts of birds gathered and played—an extremely pleasing (sight).’ Seeing that, the (discoverer) thinks, ‘At that time Guru Rinpoche gave us disciples such and such teaching.’ And then that teaching in its entirety appears (to the discoverer).”54

3.b.2.2) The second way in which the recollection of the Treasure is evoked is vaguer: “In the actual contents conveyed in the symbolic characters, there is nothing explicit about the past, but rather it seems to be a random statement. However, as a result of (reading that statement), it is said that (the discoverer) remembers how the (Treasure) was explained in the past, and is able (to cause it to) come forth (lit. ‘descend,” ’bsh) in just the way as it was previously.”55 An example of this mode offered by my consultant, mkhan po dpal kha shes rab, is a statement containing the word “diamond,” which reminds the discoverer of a Treasure concerning Vajrasattva, the “Diamond Being.” In this mode, again, it is clear that the discoverer comprehends the meaning of the inscription in the Treasure medium.

3.c) Finally, there is a third type of setting out, which is not semioticized. Rather, the full Treasure text is simply “freely put forth” (thar chags). We might note that in such a case, the text may still be given in symbolic script, and be “introduced” to the discoverer through a semiotic medium.

If the semiotics of the encoded Treasure were not intricate enough, it is striking to realize that the process of receiving the full revelation is not limited to the reading of the yellow paper or other medium and the bringing forth of the full Treasure on its basis. There are many other acts of decoding that occur both prior and subsequent to the discovery of the Treasure. On the posterior side, there is the further task of translating the Treasure. As already noted, the scripture that the discoverer retrieves from memory as prompted by the Treasure medium may only be a literal document, i.e., something the discoverer could recite without necessarily understanding it. Indeed, Treasure texts are often said to be written in the “symbolic language of the dakhinis” (mka’ ye brda shal),56 to be distinguished from the symbolic script of the dakhinis discussed above. Further, after the language is deciphered, there is an even more critical act of decoding in order to be able to translate the Treasure, the discoverer must come to understand its content, its philosophy and practices. It is said that if one attempts to render the Treasure prematurely, the correct grammar, order of concepts, and appropriate style may be elusive.57 Finally, the rendering also involves the codification of the Treasure cycle into the various ritual and doctrinal genres, the forms of which are determined by the needs of the discoverer’s own followers.

All of these acts of deciphering, translating and interpreting are thought to require maturity and wisdom. A teacher often advises the discoverer to wait some time before committing the
revelation to writing or making its contents known to others. The discoverer typically enters a meditative retreat, prays to Padmasambhava for inspiration, and develops spiritual insight and agility in yoga. A necessary ingredient in the decoding of Treasure is said to be the union in sexual yoga with a consort, a “secret friend” (gsang grags), or “female helper” (pho nyag mo). This facilitates the breaking of codes (brda grub), here a metaphor for the loosening of the psychic knots that bind the cakras, necessary for the mature rendering of the full Treasure scripture in determinative form.

Signs Before the Signs: The Personal Signs

The active participation and spiritual development required for the work of deciphering is just as pronounced in the period prior to the discovery of the encoded Treasure text. The discoverer-to-be has a variety of experiences that seem to indicate an impending Treasure revelation, yet there is uncertainty. The location of the hidden Treasure, the way to reach that location, and the method of extraction must all be determined. Instructions received in dreams, however, are cryptic, images are blurry, and visions disappear into thin air. Most important, the young visionary is beset by doubts that he or she might not be the appointed discoverer. This last is critical, for without the requisite confidence, a Treasure cannot be found, much less deciphered.

The perplexity, as might be guessed by now, is resolved by the recognition and interpretation of yet another cluster of signs. Highly diverse in form and content, these signs have not been systematically analyzed in the literature, but they are labelled with the same semiological vocabulary that we found in the other portions of the Treasure narrative, and they constitute a rich dimension of the tradition's semiotics. I label this category "personal signs" because of the special significance such configurations have for the discoverer's personal development.

We read of the personal signs in two genres of the Treasure literature: the biographies of the discoverers, and the prophecies. This is in itself of interest. The biography is written after the events of the revelation, whereas the prophecy is supposed to have been uttered by Padmasambhava before those events occur, during the transmission of the Prophecy of the Revelation. The text of the prophecy usually appears in a dream or is discovered as an antecedent Treasure text; its receipt and effect on the visionary is recounted in the biography. When the prophecy is read, what it predicts has either transpired already, such as the discoverer's birth, identity of parents, early visions, etc.; or it lies ahead in the future, such as the circumstances and location of the full revelation. Those of the predictions that have already occurred are for that very reason to be understood as signs: the corroboration confirms that Padmasambhava's intended plan for the Treasure discovery is now being fulfilled in the discoverer's own life. As for the events that have not yet occurred, they become indicative signs. The discoverer looks for the predicted places and circumstances, and when they are recognized, they thereby become confirming signs that encourage the discoverer to proceed with the quest. In this way, biography becomes a sign or confirmation of the truth of the prophecy, and the prophecy a sign that the biography is one of an authentic Treasure discoverer.

Not all of the factors that are taken semiotically in the discoverer's life appear in the prophecy, however. Events or configurations that in any case are interpreted in the Tibetan milieu as auspicious also concatenate as confirmations of the individual's identity as an appointed discoverer, or of the appropriateness of the time or place for Treasure revelation. When contiguous with overt Treasure signs, anything that is normally taken as a propitious portent tends to be appropriated as a Treasure sign as well. These signs are of such wide variety that they belie comprehensive description. 'Jigs med gling pa, pondering the significance of his own personal signs, such as his bearing of the name Padma, and the thirty red spots marked (mtshan) with rajas on his chest, recalls another Treasure text that lists the three main signs (brda rtags) of a genuine discoverer: "On the body, flesh marks at the heart, navel, and on moles. In speech, there should be facility in teaching and singing; and one should bear the name of Padmasambhava. The mind should be one-pointed and strong in remembering me (Padmasambhava)."

In particular, the concreteness of physical marks, always
sought eagerly by Tibetans, is noted significantly on the bodies of discoverers. The biography of Nyang ral nge ma 'od zer reds off numerous such marks that were visible when he was born: "As a sign (rtags) of being of the Padma family, his flesh had a reddish cast.... As a sign of possessing the qualities of an embodiment of the tathāgatas, there was a white flesh mark in the shape of an ohu in the parting of his hair.... As a sign of having completed the five mārgas and the ten bhūmīs, there was a picture of an eight-spoked wheel on his foot...." and so on. Letters or bija syllables on the body are especially favored; in his prophecy, 'Jigs med gling pa is predicted to be recognizable by the presence of a bya in his thumb print, and an a in the grain of a tooth.  

Signs not only mark the individual; equally significant is the time, which refers both to the period of the discoverer's lifetime as a whole, as well as to the precise moment of the Treasure's extraction. The major prophecies, such as those in the Padma thang yig, allude to events of national importance such as political, military or astronomical situations that will mark the era of the Treasure. dPa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba cites these cryptic references, and links them with actual historical events during the period when the specified Treasures were revealed. For example, the prophecy states punningly that the sign of O rgyan gling pa's time is that "the pig (phag) eats up the earth (so)." And in fact, as the historian points out, Phag mo grus pa's defeat of Sa skya (1358) did occur during O rgyan gling pa's lifetime. Again, Guru Jo rtse's discovery took place when dPan chen kun bzang was executed by the Mongols (c.1280), this event is referred to in the prophecy as "the time when Hor pa troops arrived at Bya rog rdzong in lower Myang."  

Signs of the time can also be local and specific. For Rig 'dzin rgod Idem can, the appearance of the star rGyal phu on the horizon was the indication to proceed with a Treasure revelation. 'Ja' tshon snying po's prophecy warns of the danger in ignoring his predicted temporal signs when they appear: "There will be an epidemic in that country. You will almost die. At the site of the Treasure, a monastery with a school for Buddhist studies will be flourishing. Inside a lake there will be a burning fire that all can see during the day. When such signs (rtags

\[\text{mthun}\] appear, take out the Treasure! Without the temporal signs (dus rtags), it is not permissible to take it out... Yet if you ignore (the signs), and the master of the Treasure flees, his powers will dissipate. Therefore it is advisable to be cautious in what you do."  

The site of the Treasure is also recognized by signs of various sorts. The prophecies typically liken the appearance of the place to anthropomorphic or animal shapes, or to ritual objects. 'Ja' tshon snying po is instructed to seek a "mountain shaped like the swirl on a gtor ma for wrathful deities." Nyang ral is given this description: "Here in your country there is a red mountain like a lion leaping into the sky. In the four directions are four great ministers, from the center of which the light of the shining sun radiates, and into which the rays of the setting sun collect. At that place is the Secret Mantra Treasure."  

The place where the Treasure is hidden will often be specifically pinpointed by theophanic figures or inanimate mechanisms that direct the discoverer to the site. Such phenomena are also taken as indicative signs by the discoverer: Rig 'dzin rgod Idem can writes that he sighted "a sign (rtags) in the form of a light ray, like the trunk of the kalpalttha tree, that struck Mt. bKra bzangs. When he reached that spot on the mountain, a rainbow appeared in the sky as a sign of confirmation."

Another sort of confirming sign is experienced in a concretely physical way. rGong Idem can, praying with his disciples for revelation, feels the cave in which they are sitting begin to shake. This shocks and frightens them, but it is interpreted as a portent (dus) of the arrival of the Treasure's discoverer. Decidedly somatic signs are predicted to accompany 'Ja' tshon snying po's discovery: "When you find it without mistake, you will experience a sudden rush (ut). Your body will be trembling. You will start sweating, and frightened, you will lose your memory (of mundane matters). According to rDo grub chen, the feelings of rushing, heat and bliss are standard signs of the inner experience of all discoverers at the time of revelation, an experience that is also often described in specifically yogic terms.

Other events of personal significance to the discoverer may not be explicitly labelled as signs. Of particular importance are the overt confirmations of being the reincarnation of the ap-
pointed individual. A theophanic figure of some sort, or even an appearance of Padmasambhava himself, will address the discoverer as such.  
Both the visionary figure and the certificate will also convey specific information on the location of the Treasure and the procedure by which to extract it. But the connotative implication of such divine intervention is of far greater significance for the discoverer than is the specific information conveyed, critical as that is. In brief, all of these “miraculous appearances” (chos phrul) are interpreted as evidence of Padmasambhava’s active agency. By recognizing the pattern of events as an instance of the paradigmatic mode of Treasure transmission, the conclusion, by a kind of abductive logic, is that a discoverer’s life, and a Treasure revelation, is in progress. This conclusion, in turn, supplies the critical confidence for the discoverer to label his vision and revelations as Treasure scripture.

Finally, the semiotic reading of the discoverer’s life becomes so thick that, at some level, every experience becomes a sign. We have already noticed above the sense in which the discoverer’s biography itself becomes a confirmation of the veracity of Padmasambhava’s prophecies. On another, more general level, it might simply be a sign of being a Treasure discoverer to interpret everything as a sign. Jigs med gling pa, introducing his own account of his Treasure revelation in terms of the Vajrayana path, explains, “When one assimilates the blessings and compassion of the buddhas into one’s own discursive thought, all appearances that are reflected in the incipient great magical show are symbolic significations (brda brtags pa) of the circle of pure awareness.”

On a larger scale, the very geography of Tibet is seen as being covered with the signs of the legacy of Padmasambhava. To begin with, there is the widely held belief that Padmasambhava left footprints and handprints in the mountains and rocks of Tibet; these traces are sought eagerly by the discoverers. More importantly, according to the Treasure tradition, Padmasambhava transformed the entirety of Tibet into a place for Buddhist practice, a repository of the Vajrayana; in this view, the Treasures deposited for discovery throughout the country are signs of Padmasambhava’s pervasive blessings and guidance. As the prophecy of Ratna gling pa states, “In each great valley there is a great Treasure; these also are reminders of the one from O-rgyan. In each minor place there is a minor Treasure; these also are reminders of the one from O-rgyan.”

Ultimately, any instance of Treasure discovery is itself a sign. For Jigs med gling pa, this significance is personal, as he reflects when handed the gSol 'dels le ’u bzhun ma Treasure, “The dākini must have given me this as a sign (brda) of my mastery of this teaching in many past lives.” But especially in the case of a Treasure such as the gSol 'dels le ’u bzhun ma, which in varying recensions was revealed by a number of discoverers, its revelation also signifies the continuing vitality of the Treasure lineage as a whole. And that, as we have already seen, is a commemorative sign of Padmasambhava himself.

The Treasure discoverer’s preoccupation with recognizing signs is, of course, continuous with a general Tibetan obsession. Propitious portents, omens, and signs of good karma (or, to use the classical Buddhist term that is commonplace in colloquial Tibetan to refer to a confluence of destiny and good timing, “a fitting interdependent origination” [ten 'brel khrigs pa]) are always sought as confirmations of time, place, persons, and so on, in undertakings ranging from a day’s journey to a state ceremony. However, it is clear that for the Treasure discoverer, signs have a dimension beyond the mere indication of a general state of auspiciousness. Rather, what is signified is a specific and determinate moment in history, a moment that is constitutive of the discoverer’s very destiny and being.

Given the gravity and importance that the Treasure tradition assigns to the past historical moment, however, a critical question arises. Why are signs necessary at all? If Padmasambhava’s intention is so all-determining, why doesn’t he simply appear at the right time and hand the discoverer the manifest Treasure cycle in its proper form? Why does the discoverer have to wrestle with a complex series of signs in order to receive the revelation?

The answer to these questions involves a paradoxical conclu-
sion: the very signs that point to the authoritative past also undermine the authoritativeness of that past. The presence of semiosis in the transmission of scripture ensures that the discoverer's ability as interpreter is necessary to the process. Rather than being a passive conduit for a divine teleology, the discoverer is called upon to exercise his or her own talents. In recognizing bodily signs, reading the shape of landscapes and the tenor of the times, in pondering the internal signs for a clue to scripture hidden in memory, and certainly in undergoing the rigorous meditative training that is always part of the discoverer's life, the discoverer's own spiritual powers and creativity are surely essential. Thus, despite the fact that all of these signs are ultimately thought to be produced by Padmasambhava, it is precisely because the signs conceal, because they must be interpreted, that the Treasures can never be entirely determinant scriptures, frozen in content and format, or truly canonical in the classical sense.

As much as the Mahāyāna grounding in a pervasive, timeless enlightenment has been set aside in the Treasure tradition, it also remains as the very basis upon which the historical transmission can take place. This becomes clear when we consider some of the earlier stages in the Treasure's semiosis. In the Transmission in Symbols, and also in the Treasure's reduction to code in the Empowerment rite, what is being signified is indeed indeterminate and ahistorical. It is the very essence of the Buddhist teachings, which, as we know, is no essence at all. Ultimately, the nondual Transmission of the Realized stands as the ground of all scriptural transmission. In some sense every revelation is a synchronic memory of that ground. But if there were only the ubiquitous Transmission of the Realized, and never the introduction of duality or history, creativity and newness would be rendered just as impossible as they are by a totally determined revelation of an omnipotent Padmasambhava.

Signs, after all, mediate. They are the media that convey the Dharma of the teacher to the student. They also mediate between the discoverer and the diachronic memory of the past, and between the adept and the synchronic memory of ever-present enlightenment. As the central element in a theory of sacred scripture transmission, the presence of semiosis places the Treasure tradition in a mediate position between the completely closed canon of the Hinayāna and the completely open canon of the Mahāyāna.

* * *

I would like to thank mKhan po dPal ldan shes rab and mKhan po Tshe dbang don rgyal for their erudite assistance and for kindly discussing this essay with me at length.

NOTES

1. The principal comprehensive description of the Treasure tradition in Tibetan is Kong spuri blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899), Zab mo'i ger dngos brtan grub thub zhe la bsam pa'i to rgyus von dor bu las bka' pa rin chen padma'g ye shes kyi 1 phe brgya rgyal ba'i brtan pa rin chen padma'g ye shes rdo rje'i sgron me (Paro: Ngodru dp & Sherap Drimay, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 291-759. This forms the basis for bDud 'joms 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje'i 1994- ) account in the sixth chapter of his Gangs byongs rgyal byed byrgyud kyi skyes ma sngags 'gyur rdo rje theg pa'i bsam pa rin chen padma'g ye shes rdo rje'i sgron me (Kahloppong, 1967). bDud 'joms Rinpoche's text has been translated into English by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein, and is to be published, along with extensive notes and indices, as The History and Fundamentals of the Nyingma School, by Wisdom Publications in winter 1986. Parts of the sixth chapter were translated previously by Eva Uygar in her The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1977). An important essay on the Treasure tradition, not previously noticed by Western scholars, is rDo grub chen 'jigs med bsam pa nyi ma (1856-1926), "Rtsa 'pho ger bgyud kyi rnam bsdud rtsung gsal ngo mtha' bsam pa's kyi sgron me (albbr. gTer tu mtha' bsdud), in The Collected Works of rDo grub chen 'jigs med bsam pa'nyi ma (Kangtik: Dordrup chen Rinpoche, 1975), vol. 4, pp. 377-417. This work has been translated into English by Tülku Thondup, and will also be published by Wisdom Publications in 1986, as Hidden Teachings of Tibet. I have had the opportunity to consult Tülku Thondup's translation for the purposes of the present study, although I have used certain sections of rDo grub chen's work herein.

Among the few Western studies of the Treasure tradition and related matters, the following are particularly noteworthy. By Anne-Marie Blondaud: "Le bKa'-ba' l-rjat," in Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Labou (Paris 1971), pp. 29-126; “Analysis of the biographies of Padmasambhava according to Tibetan tradition: classification of sources,” in Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San San Su Kyi (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980); Comptes rendus de conférences.
7. Note that the term *gawo rgya* is being used in two instances: the appointing of the individual who will discover the Treasure in the future, and the appointing of the guardians of the Treasure. See Do grub chen, *gtar bya rnam lhalu,* p. 382.


11. Although the term “Buddha-nature” seems to have been used most in East Asia (Ch. *fo-bian*), it can be traced in early Buddhism and is a seminal Indian Mahāyāna doctrine (*Skt. buddhātāta*). See entry “Buddha-nature,” in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism,* edited by G.P. Malalasekera (Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1973), vol. III. See also Edward Conze, Buddha Thought in India (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), pp. 198 and 225 ff.


13. The Pure Vision revelations also yield texts which are assigned a status akin to sacred scripture, and the formal distinction that I am identifying is sometimes ignored in practice. By and large, however, Pure Visions are teachings of Dharma received spontaneously from buddhas, bodhisattvas, or, as Kong sprul notes, birds, trees, the sky, etc. See Kong sprul blo gros mtha’ ’gyur, *gtar bya rnam bshad,* pp. 683 and 297, where he is clear in identifying dag snang as a mode distinct both from bka’ ma and gter ma. A classical instance of Pure Vision is Asanga’s revelations from Maitreya.

14. With regard to the date of the development of the Avalokiteśvara cult, in which King Srong btsan sgam po is cast as an emanation of the bodhisattva, see Ariane Macdonald, *Le Lecteur,* Yoshito H Numata, “Note préliminaire sur la formule Om Mani Padme Hum dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang,” in *Constitutions et textes sur Touen-houang (Genève-Paris: Droz, 1979)*, pp. 71–96; and Matthew Kapstein, “Remarks on the Mani bKa’...

15. *Do grub chen, gTer kyi rnuu bsod*. p. 381. *brjod thos = mi brjod pa'i dran theo*. Gene Smith, *Introduction*, p. 12, translates this term alternately as "testimony" and "sign." For the various terms I have employed for types of memory, I am grateful to Edward Casey, whose forthcoming book *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1987), is illuminating for the present topic.

16. *gTer kyi rnuu bsod*, pp. 401-2.


18. See Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), p. 178. Symbols are arbitrarily linked with their object (e.g., letters, which signify sound); icons are similar to their object (e.g., pictographs); and indices are physically connected with their object and point to the object as a whole (e.g., a book that represents a scholar).

19. For an example of the criticisms levelled against the *Treasure* scriptures, see Matthew Kapstein, "A dGe-lugs-pa Defense of the Gter-ma Tradition."

20. See my "The Logic of Legitimation."


22. *Jigs med gling pa, sNyin thug rtags brjod*, p. 13, quoting *sGrun ma rnuu pa bzhod pa.*


27. *gTer dbag gling pa, A ti zab don lo rgyus*, p. 10, *ci yang mi gsung ba'i gsung ba chen po.*


30. A ti zab don lo rgyus, p. 9: *gro 'gyur dags las lugs pa las phyis su med pa'i ngo bar gnas byang phyis su snying ba rgyal ba thams cad skyes pa byed pa'i yuan . . . .*


33. *dGongs pa zang thel lo rgyus*, p. 11. For example, Vajrasattva's granting of various boxes *dersi* to the *sNying ma patien dGa' rab rdo rje* is included in the Transmission of the Realized.


36. According to mKhahn po dPal ldan shes rab, in an interview in May 1986, there is a greater tendency to be attached to *upa'ya*, which is analogous with the view of realism (*tsad po*), than to *proja'i*, analogous with the view of nihilism (*nod po*).

37. The importance of the Empowerment transmission is emphasized by *Do grub chen, gTer kyi rnuu bsod*, p. 383.


39. *dPa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba. Chos byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 296: *sphun las zang la cho pa nyid rtags chos su 'gtsun pa.*

40. *Jigs med gling pa, Klong chen saying gi thig le las dbang gi sphyi don snya'i gro don grol, p. 123 and throughout, in his Klong chen snying thig, vol. 1: *... grub pa'i chod thal rgyud la bzhag.*

41. *Do grub chen, gTer kyi rnuu bsod*, p. 383.


44. See, for example, mNga' ris pa'i chen padma dbang rgyal rdo rje's (1487–1582) account of his search for the actual paper of the Treasure (gter skog dangs) of Nyang ral's bKa' brgyud bde bsgags 'dus pa cycle, which he finally finds in Lho brag: *bKa' brgyud bde bsgags 'dus pa' chos thabs man sel nyi sla' dkar lo*, p. 210 seq., in Nyang ral sByin ma 'Od zer. bKa' brgyud bde bsgags 'dus pa' chos skor, vol. 1. Is it just this yellow paper that is also identified as the original "Kagye Desheg Dupa," as reproduced in Lopen Nado, "The Development of Language in a Buddhist Kingdom," *Drak Losel*, iv no. 2 (August 1982), p. 37? I am grateful to Michael Aris for bringing Lopen Nado's article to my attention.

45. *gTer kyi rnuu bsod*, p. 383.


49. The following scripts are listed (explanations in parentheses are based on the comments of mKhahn po DPal ldan shes rab in a conversation in February 1986): *thang yig* (letters with long ligatures, used in records and old documents); *sphung yig* (abbreviated letters); *bshad yig* (an old term for Tibetan dbu can); *idem yig* (cursive script); *spe yig* (an even more abbreviated script than *sphung yig*); *mkhas bshad yig* (letters that resemble architectural structures); *sphul le'i yi ge* (rounded letters); *khryil chen* and *khryil chung* (both are curved letters). *Do grub chen* also mentions styles of writing the conventional Tibetan
alphabet omitting prefixes, headletters, suffixes, etc., which are also ways of encoding the text. *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 404.

50. That only the literal surface of the encoded Treasure is being (un)coded in this category is clear from DDo grub chen's closing statement for this section: “All of the above is an analysis only of the dhikiri letters.” *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 405.

52. *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 404: ka dpe med la bstan gnyi yul skyen rgyes med la bten nas sde gsal dbubs sa shes pa.

53. *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 405. However, as pointed out below, the meaning in this case unrelated to the actual content of the Treasure scripture.
54. *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 406.
56. *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 406. According to DDo grub chen, this language can only be understood by the discoverer. The encoded Treasure text may also be written in other languages, such as Tibetan, Sanskrit, or the “language of Udādayana.”

57. See *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 408 seq.

58. See my “The Logic of Legitimation.”
59. Mentioned in many of the accounts of Treasure revelation. See *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 108. Referred to by Jigs med gling pa, *sNyen thug rig rgyud*, pp. 11 and 13. I have not seen such terms applied to the male consort of female discoverers, however.
60. For a fuller discussion of this problem, see my “The Logic of Legitimation.”

61. *gTer kyi rnam bshad*, p. 414, merely calls them the “symbols that are secondary to the symbolic script” (brda yig gi kor du gu yar ba'i brda), referring briefly to the animate and inanimate forms that function as the blessings of dhikiris and vayādhāras, etc., which are in the breaking of the Treasure code.


63. Mi 'gyur rdo rje, *sPhur shu snying bzhing chen po'i skyed rabz rnam thar du ma med pa'i bka' rgya can* (abbr. *mNgas* bdag rnam thar), p. 87 ff., in Nyang ral ngyi ma 'od zer, bka' brgyad bde gzhung 'dus pa'i chos skor, vol. 1.

64. gNed byang thugs kyi sgron bu, p. 73, in his *Klong chen snying thug*, vol. 1.

65. See U rgyan gling pa (= O rgyan gling pa, b. 1329), *U rgyan gnas padma byang gnas kyi skyed rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bzhod pa padma bka' thang yug* (Leh, 1968), chapter 92 (ff. 218b–225b).

66. dPa'l phug tseg lag phreng bs, Chos byang mkhas pa'i dga' ston, p. 635.


69. Rig 'dzin rgyud kyi skem phru can, *gTer gnas pa'i lha rgyv*, p. 28 in his *Byang gter rigs chen dbongs pa zang thal and Thugs sgrub skor* (Sumra: Orgyan Dorji, 1978), vol. 1.
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