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**Between History and Biography:
Notes on Zhi byed ri pa's *Illuminating Lamp of Sun and Moon Beams*, a
Fourteenth-Century Biographical State of the Field***

Andrew Quintman (Yale University)

I. Introduction

he text entitled *The Life of Rje btsun Mid la ras pa: An Illuminating Lamp of Sun and Moon Beams* (Rje btsun mid la ras pa'i rnam par thar pa gsal byed nyi zla'i 'od zer gyi sgron ma) formed a landmark in the development of one of Tibet's best known literary traditions: the corpus of materials depicting the life of acclaimed yogin and poet Mi la ras pa (1028/40-1111/23).¹ The work appeared more than a century prior to Gtsang smyon Heruka's (1452-1507) famous 1488 version of the life story, and for nearly five hundred years it remained an important source for Bka' brgyud authors recording the yogin's life. Its author, one G.yung ston Zhi byed Ri khrod pa (born ca. 1320), did not simply craft a life story after the fashion of early works in the biographical corpus, although the text exhibits influence from numerous such sources. Rather, he has produced a composite survey of the entire biographical tradition itself, incorporating historical analysis, chronological clarifications, literary criticism, question and answer records, an atlas of sacred sites, an assessment of existing oral traditions, documentation of transmission lines, as well as a smattering of biographical narrative, all mixed together with a good deal of autobiographical reflection. The composition has the appearance of a work compiled from notes gathered over a long period of time, a process that Zhi byed ri pa himself describes in some detail. The text forms what in modern parlance might be called a "state of the field" survey of Mi la ras pa studies in the late fourteenth century, reading not unlike a somewhat rushed, and at times rather disorganized, graduate thesis.

* A brief synopsis of this paper was presented at the workshop New Directions in Tibetan Literary Studies: Perspectives and Prospects in Auto/Biography held at Columbia University in November 2008.

¹ The original manuscript is listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang 2004): *phi ra* 72, 017188, 105 folios, 45 x 8 cm. The edition in my possession is based on an edited version of the original manuscript. This was reportedly edited once and in the process much of the original orthography, including spelling deviations, were "corrected." The work therefore contains many inconsistencies, retaining, for example, the old spelling *mid la* on some occasions while using the more common *mi la* in others. The version has numerous typographical errors and several folios were reportedly entered out of their proper order. Unfortunately, original page numbers are not recorded in the printout and it has not been possible to compare the computer text with the original manuscript.

The *Illuminating Lamp* has come to light only recently, although translator Lobsang Lhalungpa previously described its author as a contemporary of the polymath Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1377-1451).² A few scholars have since echoed Lhalungpa's remarks, but the present study stands as the first extended review of Zhi byed ri pa and his composition. Even as the early literature of Mi la ras pa's life story was largely superseded by the standard version, and the *Illuminating Lamp* has remained in the dark for contemporary scholarship, Zhi byed ri pa clearly maintained his status as a significant and authoritative voice in the tradition.

Zhi byed ri pa's contribution is noteworthy for several reasons. First, the work attests to the vibrancy, the complexity, and the sheer breadth of Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition—and of the Tibetan tradition of life writing more broadly—at a relatively early moment in its development. By the late 1300s, more than a century prior to Gtsang smyon Heruka's canonical versions of Mi la ras pa's biography (*rnam thar*) and collected songs (*mgur 'bum*), Zhi byed ri pa repeatedly claims to have seen 127 different versions of the yogin's life. While such a claim may not be ruled out as pious fiction, if accurate it would increase nearly tenfold the number of sources known in the tradition at the time of his writing.

Zhi byed ri pa also records a wealth of information regarding Mi la ras pa's life lacking elsewhere. We find, for example, a detailed reckoning of genealogy and marriage codes that recasts Mi la ras pa's loss of patrimony and descent into poverty as a study of regional social relations. We read of the yogin's travels to eastern Tibet and his visionary encounters with great Indian Buddhist masters of the past. We see also a comprehensive reckoning of the author's sources, from oral accounts to obscure written materials including catalogues of the yogin's favored childhood songs.

The *Illuminating Lamp* is perhaps most remarkable in that it makes transparent many editorial decisions faced by the would-be biographer: How to mediate the often conflicting concerns of voice, story, and structure? What information constitutes necessary, or even valid, biographical detail in an effort to balance comprehensiveness on the one hand with narrative clarity on the other? Tibetan biographical narratives frequently maintain a feeling of incontrovertibility, seamlessly smoothing out the wrinkles of conflict and contradiction found in earlier works of the tradition. Here, Zhi byed ri pa takes an unusual approach to the process of biographical writing, in some instances employing traditional narrative storytelling, but more frequently resorting to forms of historical documentation and polemic.

In what follows, I first introduce the author Zhi byed ri pa and his *Illuminating Lamp*. I then survey the terrain of his account, highlighting several of its more important and revealing features. I conclude by briefly addressing some of the questions that this remarkable text raises: What are Tibetan authors looking for when they write biography and, in turn, what are we as critics looking for when we read them? I want to specifically address how the author employs particular literary terms as a means of legitimizing his work within the broader corpus of literature on Mi la ras pa's life. The *Illuminating Lamp* leads us to raise fundamental questions

² This is in the introduction to his translation of *The Life of Milarepa*. See Lhalungpa 1977, xxx.

about how Tibetan authors understood the biographical enterprise, what such literature required, and how it might be presented. It is hoped that this will lead us to further interrogate the ways in which Tibetan authors employ the terminology of literary genres, and how we might develop a more nuanced understanding of them.

To that end, a few broad observations will be of use before turning to the author and his work. The lines dividing Tibetan literary genres are neither clearly defined nor indelibly drawn; they blur even further when comparing works of biography and religious history.³ While a more detailed discussion of the fluid nature of Tibetan genre categories is beyond the scope of the present paper, there is some evidence that *Zhi byed ri pa* may have self-consciously conflated narrative modes witnessed in other works of *Mi la ras pa*'s biographical tradition from the same period. Although the author adopts in his title the term for biography most often associated with the *Mi la* corpus (*rnam thar*), the text consists of a simple and highly abbreviated narrative core describing the life story proper surrounded by an extensive yet discrete body of secondary historical and literary information.⁴ The result is a record of *Mi la ras pa*'s life unlike any other in the corpus.

Zhi byed ri pa refers to the work as a "biographical record" or collection of "biographical documents" (*yig cha rnam thar*), perhaps in reference to the variety of information it contains. Indeed, with the text's attention to lineage records and chronological analysis the term appears to mark an emphasis on a historical rather than the more fictional approach to life writing encountered in many other versions and culminating in Gtsang smyon Heruka's literary masterpiece.⁵ Even *Zhi byed ri pa*'s fictionalized narratives, especially those describing of *Mi la*'s early life, seem to stress a documentary approach to life writing.

Indeed, at one point early on, *Zhi byed ri pa* refers to the text as a "historical account of the lama widely renowned by the name *Mi la ras pa*," (*bla ma mi la ras pa zhes mtshan yongs su grags pa de'i lo rgyus*) and in several instances describes it as a *rnam thar lo rgyus*, a term that might be translated as "historical biography."⁶ The use of the term *lo rgyus* in this context is of particular interest and while its translation here as "history" or "historical" may be controversial it is, I think, not unwarranted. The word has been rendered variously as "history," "chronicle," and "annals," in some cases it

³ Tibetan literature, it is now generally understood, knows of no single term that translates the entire semantic range of broad genre categories such as "history" or "biography," or for that matter, the notion of "genre" more generally. See, for example, the discussion in Cabezón and Jackson (1996, 20ff.).

⁴ It is well known but perhaps worth reiterating that *rnam thar* is only one of many terms used to designate forms of Tibetan life writing. Others include *rang rnam* (autobiographies); *rtogs brjod*, a term translating the Sanskrit *avadāna* (literally "expressions of realization" but perhaps rendered here more generally as "biographical narratives"); *skyes rabs / 'khrungs rabs* (accounts of previous lives, lineage biographies), and *byung ba brjod pa* (literally "descriptions of [family] origins," perhaps rendered as "personal histories"). We might further consider various forms of daily chronicles and diary writing as autobiographical in nature. On the latter, see Gyatso 1997.

⁵ I use the term "fictional" here after Natalie Davis, referring not to the story's falsity but to its coherent and crafted sense of narrative development. See Natalie Davis, *Fiction in the Archives* (Stanford University Press, 1987), 3.

⁶ NDO, 41. See the colophon translated in Appendix 1.

is better understood more generally as “story” or “account.” Leonard van der Kuijp has noted that the term—in his rendering, literally “tidings of the year[s]”—frequently refers to works that “do not fulfill what is promised by such a rendition, that is to say, they do not at all give a year-by-year account of their subject matter, but rather present a narrative of events, historical, quasi-historical, or even ahistorical, in rough chronical sequence.”⁷ Dan Martin makes a similar point, invoking A. I. Vostrikov’s classic study *Tibetan Historical Literature*, which is worth citing in full:

Lo-rgyus (‘history’ or ‘story,’ although in its etymology it apparently means ‘years familiarity’)...is by far the broadest genre-term that we might translate as ‘history,’ covering as it does both the secular and the religious, but as pointed out long ago by Vostrikov (THL, p. 204), *lo-rgyus* are often simply narrative works, or ‘stories,’ that may have little to do with history as such.⁸

The term *lo rgyus* is also found in the titles of some biographical works, where indeed it seems to imply a narrative account in the most general sense. I do not wish to make a general claim here on the semantic range of the compound *rnam thar lo rgyus*, although I will later return briefly to the question of this term and the category of writing it might describe. Here, I will simply note that Zhi byed ri pa’s emphasis does not seem to rest on understanding *lo rgyus* as simply “story” or “narrative.” The *rnam thar lo rgyus* is not simply a collection of “biographical anecdotes.” Rather, he uses the term to make a specific claim on the veracity, and therefore the authenticity and authority, of his biographical account vis-à-vis the wider biographical tradition.

II. The Author

Little is known about Zhi byed ri pa apart from the information he presents in the text itself. Near the end of his work, he notes, “Just after I was born, when I was eleven months old, I received Rje btsun Mi la ras chen’s songs of realization from my kind mother. Thereafter, for fifty-three years I systematically requested Rje btsun Mi la ras chen’s dharma cycles, his biography, and collected songs....”⁹ This would make him at least fifty-four years old (fifty-five according to Tibetan reckoning) when he wrote the text in 1373. Zhi byed ri pa was thus likely born sometime around 1320.

The author frequently identifies himself as a Śākya *bhikṣu*, referring to his status as a fully ordained monk, and also as G.yung ston, “the teacher from

⁷ van der Kuijp 1995, 43.

⁸ Martin 1997, 14-15.

⁹ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 44. *de yang thog mar skyes nas zla ba bcu gcig lon tsa na | ma sku drin can de'i drung na rje btsun mid la ras chen gyi mgur rnam thob | de nas lo ngo gsum pa'i dus na . . .* The passage continues by recording his sources for Mi la ras pa’s doctrinal and biographical traditions. See note 24 below.

G.yung,” emphasizing his status as a scholar.¹⁰ Indeed, he describes his accomplishments as a student of the Buddha’s teachings in no uncertain terms when he declares, “In general, among the Victor’s teachings—sūtras, tantras, oral transmissions, and instructions—as many as exist in India, China, and Tibet, there are none that I have not seen or heard.”¹¹ The author, however, most consistently uses the name Zhi byed ri khrod pa, the mendicant (*ri khrod pa*) of the Zhi byed lineage. The name Zhi byed ras pa, occasionally seen in references to this work, appears to be a corruption of the abbreviated form Zhi byed ri pa.

Hyperbole aside, the author does appear to have trained under a great number of religious masters representing a broad range of lineages and traditions. But he identifies himself most closely with the early masters of the Sa skya and Bka’ brgyud transmissions. In several instances, he describes the way in which he received the transmissions of Pacification (*zhi byed*), from which his name is derived, and Severance (*gcod*), as well as the Sa skya Path and Fruition (*lam ’bras*) instructions.¹² He repeatedly refers to the Powerful Lord of Hermits Maṇi pa, who may perhaps be identified with the Sa skya master Legs pa rgyal mtshan.¹³ He pays special attention to his reception of and dedication to the Bka’ brgyud aural transmissions (*snyan brgyud*) stemming from Mi la ras pa’s disciples Ras chung pa Rdo rje grags (1085-1161) and Ngan rdzong Byang chub rgyal po (b. 11th century). He also notes that he received instructions directly from Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan (1290-1360), an important figure in the Ras chung snyan brgyud transmission lineage.¹⁴ The author later records his place in a number of tantric transmission lineages, many of which have their Tibetan origins in the early Bka’ brgyud masters Mi la ras pa, Ras chung pa, and their followers. (See Appendix 2.)

Zhi byed ri pa also appears to have encountered a number of influential religious figures of his day, including the founding ruler of the Phag mo gru hegemony Ta’i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364).¹⁵ He also met with the renowned Sa skya master Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan Dpal bzang po (1310-1358), the first incarnation of the Sa skya Lha khang bla brang and the twelfth Ti shri prelate who apparently vouched for the author’s credentials

¹⁰ He should not, however, be confused with G.yung ston Rdo rje dpal (1284-1365), a disciple of the third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339), whose dates are incompatible with those of this text. See Roerich 1949, 149ff, 493.

¹¹ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 44. *spyir yang rgya gar nag bod gsum du ’gyur tshad kyi rgyal ba’i bka’ mdo rgyud lung man ngag gi rigs la ngas ma mthong ba dang ma thos pa tsam med....* He later repeats this claim in the colophon.

¹² See, for example, his statements in the colophon, translated in Appendix 1.

¹³ See TBRC database (P4022). However, Zhi byed ri pa later lists Maṇi pa as a member of an unidentified *snyan brgyud* transmission line following Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan, described below.

¹⁴ Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan is the author of one biography, and the subject of another, in the *Snyan brgyud yig cha* of Byang chub bzang po. See Byang chub bzang po, DKN, vol. 1. The dates tentatively provided for him in that publication (1230-1300) appear to be off by one sixty-year cycle. In order to fit with Zhi byed ri pa’s dates, they should be corrected to 1290-1360, which corroborates the evidence provided in Roberts 2007, 52.

¹⁵ On the life of Ta’i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364), see van der Kuijp 1991, 1994, 2001.

and helped inspire his biographical project.¹⁶ Zhi byed ri pa records his meeting with this Sa skya lama in the following way:

... Then at Dpal Din ri Glang skor [Kun dga' rgyal mtshan] took my hand in his and said, 'From Gangs Ti se to Ri bo rtse lnga in China, there is no one with a greater knowledge of Lama Rje btsun Mi la ras chen's life story and history than you. Therefore, you should set down an extensive biographical record (*yig cha rnam thar*) about him.' Thus he urged me with great insistence.¹⁷

III. The Text

Zhi byed ri pa notes that he completed the text in the southern border region of Skyid grong while residing in the hermitage called Gra'i rtse mo ngang. He dates the composition to the eight day of the waxing moon of the horse month of the water-ox year (*chu glang lo*), 269 years after Mi la ras pa's death.¹⁸ Only the year 1373 plausibly fits both with the time frame of Mi la ras pa's life and the dates of Zhi byed ri pa's teachers. The text was thus completed in 1373 and then, according to the colophon, revised eight years later in 1381.

The author famously claims to have seen 127 different versions of Mi la ras pa's life story, but he appears to have relied on two principal sources in crafting his study, neither of which has yet come to light. In the colophon, he notes:

In general, I have seen some one hundred and twenty-seven different attempts at the biography of Mid la ras chen. In particular, I have made [my version] taking as a basis the accounts of (1) Lord Khyung tshang pa Jñānaguru, and (2) the Dharma Lord Zhang Lotsāwa Grub pa dpal bzang who is unmistakable in his knowledge of the five sciences.¹⁹

Zhi byed ri pa repeatedly refers to these two masters throughout his study. The first, Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma (1115-1176), is counted among

¹⁶ Little seems to be known of this individual's life; the most extensive known account of his activities has been described as "miserably short." See van der Kuijp 2004, 28. A brief biographical sketch is recorded in Grags pa 'byung gnas and Blo bzang mkhas grub, MD, 705.

¹⁷ Zhi bye ri pa, NDO, 41. See Appendix 1.

¹⁸ The horse month (*rta zla*) refers both to the fifth lunar month in the Tibetan calendar, as well as the period from the sixteenth day of the twelfth month to the fifteenth day of the first month of the new year. An extended examination of Mi la ras pa's dates is beyond the scope of the present discussion, but I am currently preparing a detailed study of the confusion within the tradition surrounding the yogin's chronology. See Quintman forthcoming b.

¹⁹ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 42. *spyir mid la ras chen gyi rnam thar la mdzad pa mi cig pa brgya dang nyi shu rtsa bdun tsam mthong ba dang | khyad par du rje khyung tshang ba dznya na gu ru dang | lnga rig shes bya'i gnas la ma rmongs pa | chos rje zhang lo tsha ba grub pa dpal zang po dang | de rnams kyi gsung gros la gzhi blangs nas byas pa lags cing |*.

Ras chung pa's closest disciples.²⁰ The *Blue Annals* (*Deb gter sngon po*, completed 1478) recounts Mi la ras pa's life based in part upon Khyung tshang pa's account, indicating that the latter was still considered an authoritative work even a century after Zhi byed ri pa's remarks, and a mere decade prior to Gtsang smyon Heruka's completion of Mi la ras pa's standard *Life and Songs*.²¹ Zhang Lotsāwa himself codified several lines of the Ras chung snyan brgyud transmitted by three of Khyung tshang pa's principal disciples. The two works that appear to underlie much of the *Illuminating Lamp* thus represent some of the earliest, though unrecovered, sources in Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition.

Zhi byed ri pa further refers to the literary work of one Byang chub rgyal mtshan, an unidentified individual described simply as a teacher the line of aural transmissions (*snyan brgyud ston pa*).²² In certain cases, the author seems to draw upon the work of Don mo ri pa (b. 1203), whose writings were compiled in the mid-fourteenth century.²³ Zhi byed ri pa also claims to have relied heavily upon oral accounts from living masters, including members of the most important Bka' brgyud religious institutions of the day.²⁴

The close ties between the *Illuminating Lamp* and the early Bka' brgyud aural transmission lineages witnessed here is no accident. Much of the early literature of Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition explicitly identifies itself as part of the aural transmission cycles.²⁵ Indeed, Zhi byed ri pa here explicitly

²⁰ On his life, see Roerich 1949, 441-443.

²¹ Roerich 1949, 435.

²² Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 6. In Byang chub rgyal mtshan's account, upon meeting Mar pa for the first time Mi la ras pa presents offerings of balls of hard molasses and a fine wollen blanket. After recording this narrative fragment, Zhi byed ri pa comments, "But he likely did not have anything to offer."

²³ Don mo ri pa's account appears in the collection of biographies by Rdo rje bdzes 'od, a 'Bri gung master active in the fourteenth century. See Don mo ri pa, JMN. On Rdo rje mdzes 'od, see Roberts 2007, 9.

²⁴ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 44. Zhi byed ri pa includes the following individuals among his sources: Bla ma ri pa Dkon rgyal, Bla ma ri pa Padma dbang po, Bla ma ri pa Byang bsod pa, Ris pad ye ba, Bla ma Nam mkha' snying po, protector of beings Thugs rje ye shes, Bla ma Chu ras pa, Chu dbon pa, Hor dkar reg bshes, Lha rje bde ba, Ri pa Dbang bzang, Bla ma Bde mchog dpal, Bla ma Rgyal dgon pa, Dge bshes Stabs dgon pa, Bla ma Nam mkha' rdo rje, the abbot of the glorious monastic seat of Sho dgon pa, La pa mkhan chen, Dge bshes Gu ru mdo pa, the Stag lung bla ma 'De bde ba, Bla ma Kam tshang Byal ba dpal, Bla ma Ru shal ba, Lama Nam dgod pa, the kind Dpal sgra ras chen, the kind Bla ma Gcod pa, the Karma pa'i ri pa Dge 'dun gzhon nu, Dge bshes Ye 'bum, Dge bshes Sher bzang, Rgu lung dge bshes, Ras pa Bzang rna ba, Bla ma Mog ston 'Jam pa'i dbyangs, and Bla ma Lha stong ro dpon. He concludes this list by noting, "I had detailed discussions about this with the precious teachers of Karma, Brag mkhar, Sga lung, Sprung [spung] ri, Yul phug, Rta rna, 'Bri khung, 'Tshal gung thang, Mthur phu, and 'Ur ri [monasteries], as well as scholars and their assembly of disciples such as Ri dge. We have [discussed these matters] in detail."

²⁵ The earliest of Mi la ras pa's great biographical compendia, the so-called *Twelve Great Disciples* (*Bu chen bcu gnyis*), concludes with the statement "This Transmission Wish Fulfilling Gem / of the Cakrasaṃvara Aural Tantra / Has been put into writing according to the lama's words / for fear that it might be forgotten by those of inferior minds / for future holders of the family line." See Ngan rdzongs ston pa Byang chub rgyal po, BCN, 243b.1 Here the "Transmission Wish Fulfilling Gem" refers to the first of three main divisions of the aural tantra curricula, a collection of literature devoted to recording the

follows this tradition, concluding his work with the following remark: “The *bhikṣu* Zhi byed ri khrod pa has finished laying out the lineage of masters of the of the Wish Fulfilling Gem Aural Tantra and the activities of the Great rje btsun Mi la ras chen and his sons.”²⁶

If Zhe byed ri pa's *Illuminating Lamp* reached the hands of contemporary scholars only recently, it seems to have gained widespread acceptance by Tibetan authors as an authoritative work soon after its completion. And there is strong evidence that it maintained its influential status long after Gtsang smyon Heruka's standard *Life and Songs* were published. One early comprehensive biography of Mi la ras pa, tentatively dated to the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries, identifies Zhi byed ri pa's text as one of its three principal sources.²⁷ The *Illuminating Lamp* seems, however, to have served more frequently as a source for historians than for biographers per se. One of the earliest works to reference this text may be *Brilliant Light Rays Opening the Eyes* (*Mig 'byed 'od stong*), an important Bka' brgyud history composed in 1418 by Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1386-1434), an abbot of Gdan sa thel Monastery.²⁸ The influential 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud historian Padma dkar po (1527-1592) relied on the *Illuminating Lamp* for the brief biographical sketch of Mi la ras pa in his *History of the 'Brug pa* (*'Brug pa'i chos 'byung*), completed in 1581.²⁹ The supplement (*kha skong*) to Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi byung gnas's (1699/1700-1774) extensive Bka' brgyud history *The Fine Crystalline Gem* (*Nor bu zla ba chu shel*) refers to Zhi byed ri pa and his work directly.³⁰ Kaḥ thog rigs 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755) includes Zhi byed ri pa's calculation of the yogin's birth year in his chronological study of several early Tibetan figures, including Mar pa and Mi la ras pa.³¹ Tshe dbang nor bu's disciple and historian Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug (1775-1837) mentions having seen a synopsis of Zhi byed ri pa's work in the biography of Sgam smyon Phyag rdor nor bu (active 17th century), who in turn saw a copy of the text in the famed retreat center in Chu bar.³²

lives of masters in the lineage. An overview of this system is given in Zhang Lotsāwa Grub pa dpal bzang, TY, and is further discussed in Toricelli 2001 and Sernesi 2004.

²⁶ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 51. *snyan rgyud yid bzhin nor bu'i bla ma rgyud rim dang | rje btsun chen po mi la ras chen yab sras kyi mdzad pa | dge slong zhi byed ri khrod pas bkod pa rdzogs so |*

²⁷ This is one of the various works identified as the so-called *Black Treasury* (*Mdzod nag ma*), attributed to the editorial hand of the third Karmapa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339). I have tentatively dated this version to the period 1373-1451. For bibliographic details on the two extant editions, see DNM. My book on the literary history of Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition examines these texts in detail. See Quintman forthcoming a.

²⁸ Sørensen and Dolma 2007, 64 [folio 12a of the Tibetan text]. On his life, see *Ibid.*, 21-28; and Roerich 1949, 589-595. The author, also known as Chos rje Nyer gnyis pa, here refers to the “biography written by bla ma Zhi byed pa” (*bla ma zhi byed pas mdzad pa'i rnam thar*) in determining Mi la ras pa's dates.

²⁹ Pad ma dkar po, DCJ, 353-4. Padma dkar po's reliance on Zhi byed ri pa (or perhaps one of his sources) is apparent in at least one part of his narrative: when Mi la ras pa's mother rejects the suggestion of marrying Mi la's cousin, a narrative thread (discussed below) that Zhi byed ri pa describes in detail and found only in his version.

³⁰ Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas & 'Be lo tshe dbang kun khyap, CSK, 81. The author notes, however, that he has not incorporated Zhi byed ri pa's many unusual stories into his own account.

³¹ See Tshe dbang nor bu, SDN, 692. This text is translated in Quintman, forthcoming b.

³² Chos kyi dbang phyug, DTL, 22b. Sgam smyon Phyag rdor nor bu was the younger brother of the third Yol mo sprul sku Bstan 'dzin nor bu (1598-1644). Chos kyi dbang

IV. The Story

The narrative core of Zhi byed ri pa's text, though brief, generally conforms to the structures found in the earliest strata of the biographical tradition, forming what may be understood as a proto-*rnam mgur*—an early form of combined biography (*rnam thar*) and song anthology (*mgur 'bum*). Such works employ a brief biographical sketch of the early life and the final passing (proto-*rnam thar*) to frame a series of abbreviated anecdotes recording songs or, more frequently, song fragments (proto-*mgur 'bum*) from the yogin's later teaching career.³³ As with most proto-*rnam mgur* texts, here the yogin's life is organized around an outline identifying two broad qualities (*yon tan*) evident in the life story: (1) the quality of his family lineage (*rigs dang rus kyi yon tan*) describing the period of his childhood, early religious training, and first retreats, and (2) the quality of his practicing austerities for the sake of dharma (*chos phyir dka' ba spyad pa'i yon tan*), which recounts various episodes of his life as wandering yogin. The latter section is further divided into seventeen "qualities," each each of which records several song-cycle fragments. (See Appendix 3.) Zhi byed ri pa concludes the proto-*rnam thar* with an extensive account of Mi la ras pa's poisoning and death, finally recording that,

On the fourteenth day of the tiger month of a bird year, just as the sun was rising on the peaks of the mountains, Mid la ras chen, universally known as lama rje btsun Mi la, Lord of Yogins, Dpal Bzhad pa'i rdo rje, departed into the *dharmadhātu*. He was eighty-four years old.³⁴

Of particular note in this narrative section is Zhi byed ri pa's extensive description of Mi la ras pa's youth and the misfortunes he suffered at the hands of his relatives, which constitutes nearly half of the core narrative. Many works in the early biographical tradition treat the yogin's childhood in perfunctory fashion, describing the events in only a few lines; others leave out the episode altogether. Here, the author sets forth in painstaking detail the anguish Mi la ras pa suffers at the hands of his relatives. Moreover, Zhi byed ri pa's text is perhaps the only version of the life story to provide a substantive rationale for the infamous conflict between the maternal and paternal sides of his family. The episode is rich in ethnographic details about social and marital relations in early Tibet. A complete translation is provided

phyug elsewhere identifies him as a reincarnation of Mi la ras pa's disciple Bse ban ras pa. Thanks to Ben Bogin for this reference. See Chos kyi dbang phyug, DKS, 51.

³³ Here, I use the term *proto* in its sense of "an early or preceding state of development," specifically locating such works as precursors to the larger, more mature biographical compendia produced later in the tradition. This form was widespread throughout Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition. It should be noted, however, that proto-*rnam mgur* texts continued to appear long after the biographical tradition had coalesced. In these cases, *proto* refers instead to the truncated structure of such works, regardless of when they were actually produced.

³⁴ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 40. *bya'i lo rta pa zla ba'i ye tshes bcu bzhi'i nyi ma ri rtse la se lhag shar ba dang | dus kha mnyam pa la bla ma rje btsun mi la rnal 'byor dbang phyug | dpal ldan bzhad pa'i rdo rje mtshan yongs su grags pa'i mid la ras chen de | chos kyi dbyings su gshegs so | dgung lo bco brgya bcu rtsa bzhi pa yin no |*.

in Appendix 4. Although an extended analysis of this material lies beyond the scope of the present study, it is taken up in the subsequent short essay "Marriage, Kinship, and Inheritance in Zhi byed ri pa's Account of Milarepa's Early Life." What follows is a brief summary.

In Zhi byed ri pa's reckoning, the family wealth had been split between the two brothers of Mi la ras pa's paternal side—that is, Mi la's father Sher rgyal and his paternal uncle Rin rgyal. The first share went to the yogin's uncle, who was older, married earlier, and thus had a larger family by the time the father came of age. When Mi la ras pa's father Sher rgyal turned eighteen, he received the family's remaining assets. Rin rgyal's wife (the infamous aunt) appears to have been dissatisfied with these arrangements, arguing that her own family was larger and thus deserving a greater share. When the father died, the uncle planned to marry Mi la ras pa's mother to his son (i.e., the mother's nephew through marriage), as a means of keeping the family's estate intact.³⁵ This appears to have been a traditional practice in the region at that time. Indignant at this request, the mother refuses. Uncle Rin rgyal then appropriates the mother's material wealth that, in his view, should have rightfully returned to his household. Mi la's family is thus cast into a life of poverty and servitude. At one point, after they have become destitute, Mi la suggests to his mother that they would all be better off if she would just comply with local conventions: "You, mother, could live with Uncle's son, and you could obtain a share of his possessions. Then we, mother and children, would have the strength to escape on our own. Wouldn't it be better if you did that?" The mother replies by throwing a handful of dirt in her son's face, screaming, "If I lived with Rin rgyal's son, when the time came for me to take a share of his possessions I would be carrying another child, and you two—brother and sister—would starve to death, wouldn't you?" The point seems to be that the extended family and local villagers clearly view the mother's actions as contravening traditional social relations and thus she is thought to deserve the fate that befalls her and her children. This stands in marked contrast to Gtsang smyon Heruka's standard version in which Mi la and his family are cast simply, if more poignantly, as the unwitting victims of their relatives' avarice.

This episode gives a clear indication of Zhi byed ri pa's concerns. The author is careful to document with great precision the origin of the yogin's family conflict even when it serves no clear didactic or narrative goal. In doing so, his version preserves an unprecedented record of Mi la ras pa's early life. Indeed, eminent historians such as Padma dkar po and Si tu Paṅ chen refer to this seminal episode in the context of their extensive studies of the Bka' brgyud lineage. One contemporary Tibetan scholar displayed his surprise to me upon reading this work noting that, unlike the standard version, "Everything happens for a clear reason with clear causes." But this

³⁵ Polygyny became normative in Tibet beginning in the seventeenth century, in association with the land tenure system instituted under the Dga' ldan pho brang. (Personal communication, Geoff Childs, May 2011.) However, I know of no examples describing this particular kind of arrangement, perhaps a form of levirate marriage in which the nephew (i.e., the brother's son) takes the place of the brother. See Stein 1972, 98; Childs 2004, 135-9. According to the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1949, 427), the arrangement was an actual levirate marriage in which Mi la's mother was forced to marry her deceased husband's brother.

is the sort of detail that would bog down the elegant narrative in Gtsang smyon Heruka's rendition of Mi la ras pa's life. In his canonical version, Gtsang smyon replaces this extended account with the simple gloss, "My uncle and aunt never agreed but were reconciled in their greed, and I was an only son while my uncle had many sons."³⁶ Zhi byed ri pa here fills the role of genealogist, more interested in the comprehensive accumulation of granular detail than the crafting of narrative through character development or story arc.

With this episode of Mi la ras pa's early life completed, Zhi byed ri pa abandons all pretense of narrative life writing altogether, turning instead to a long string of discrete story fragments joined together without transition. Some of these accounts attack what the author appears to view as scurrilous oral tradition; others add minor points of clarification to well-known episodes in the yogin's life. Almost none of Zhi byed ri pa's extensive record appears in the later biographical tradition or in Gtsang smyon Heruka's standard version of the *Life*.

First among his many fascinating claims are the descriptions of the places Mi la ras pa visited. Apart from many of the locations well known in the biographical tradition, he is said to have traveled to Tsong kha in Smad where he met the King Dar ma 'bum.³⁷ Zhi byed ri pa also records a curious conversation between Mi la and Ras chung pa, describing the yogin's travels to India:

When [Mi la] was imparting the vase initiation of the five families Vajrasattva to Ras chung pa, Ras chung pa asked, "How many times did the Rje btsun go to India?"

"Six times," replied [Mi la ras pa].

"During those times, what sort of buddhas or accomplished masters did you meet?"

"The first time, I met Master Ārya Nāgārjuna in pure vision and I received many dharma teachings on Madhyamaka and so forth. The second time, I met Ārya Āryadeva in Sri Lanka and he taught the *pāramitās*. During the third trip, I met the great master Lawapa on the banks of the Gāṅga in India and he taught "phenomena like an illusion." During the fourth trip, I met Candrakīrti and he taught the *sādhana* for Māricī Devī (lha mo 'od zer can). During the fifth trip, I met Matangi and he taught on Amoghapāśa. The sixth time, I met Ḍombipa and he gave the instructions on the Path and Fruition of the Powerful Lord of Yogins, the glorious Birwapa."

Ras chung pa asked in response, "Did the Rje btsun travel by means of miraculous manifestation or did he actually go himself?"

Mi la replied, "Whatever you like to believe is okay."³⁸

³⁶ de Jong 1959, 33. *a khu dang a ne gnyis ci la mi 'cham rung lto la 'cham pa dang | nga bu gcig por song ba dang | a khu la bu mang po yod pa'i stabs kyis |* Cf. Quintman 2010, 24.

³⁷ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 23-24, 43. This is perhaps the source for Lhalungpa's comment that Zhi byed ri pa's text described Mi la's visit to eastern Tibet. See Lhalungpa 1977, xxx.

³⁸ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 31. *yang ras chung ba <pa> la | rdo rje sems dpa' rigs lnga'i bum dbang dngos su gnang dus na | rang <ras> chung pas rje btsun gyis rgya gar du lan du byed zhus pas | thebs drug phyin gsung | de'i dus na sangs rgyas sam grub thob ci 'dra dang mjal zhus pas | dang po re la slob dpon 'phags pa klu grub dang dag snang gis mjal | dbu ma la sogs chos mang po*

Zhi byed ri pa repeatedly argues against what appears to have been an oral tradition critical of Mi la ras pa. In several places he counters the notion that the yogin survived as something of an outlaw: "Some people say that lama Mi la was a thief or a bandit between Mang [yul] and Gung [thang], but those are foolish stories."³⁹ The author later repeats this criticism adding a brief timeline of the yogin's life as further proof of the claim's implausibility:

Some foolish people tell absurd stories that the great Rje btsun acted as a bandit and thief between Mang [yul] and Gung [thang]. Such are crazy stories of those whose merit has been exhausted.

The Rje btsun was three years and four months old when his father died, and then lived with his mother until he was seven. He lived with Dge bshes Tsa pa for seven years and then again with his mother for four years. In his eighteenth year he went to Rta nag and Yar lungs, and he stayed practicing magic for eight years. He spent one year with 'Dre ston lha dga' and other gurus. He stayed in Lho brag for nine years. He spent a little over a year in Gzhung [with Rngog]. He spent a winter in Tswa, and twelve years at Brag dkar. From the age of fifty he worked for the benefit of beings. At the age of eighty-four, he departed into the pure *dharmadhātu*.

Where in those periods could he have acted as a bandit or in a deceitful way? This outline of Mid la ras chen's biography has been written down by the *bhikṣu* Zhi byed ri khrod pa.⁴⁰

In other cases, he is concerned with clarifying oral accounts of what appear to be minor, perhaps even trivial, details:

That Rje btsun Mi la ras pa requested the *sādhana* of Glorious Vajrasattva together with its oral instructions from the guru Ba ri Lotsāwa is a crazy story spread by everyone. It is said that the young man Zhi ba 'od crossed the Bong River (Bong chu) and that Rje btsun

thob gsung | lan gnyis pa'i dus su | rgya gar seng ga la na 'phags pa aya de ba dang mjal nas phar phyin gnan gsung | lan gsum pa'i dus na | rgya gar gang ga'i 'gram na slob dpon chen po la ba pa dang mjal nas | sgyu ma lta bu'i chos gnan gsung | lan bzhi pa'i dus na | zla ba grags pa dang mjal nas | lha mo 'od zer can gyi sgrub thabs gsungs | lan lnga pa'i dus na ma tang gi dang mjal nas don zhags gnan gsung | lan drug pa la dom bhi pa dang mjal nas | rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug dpal ldan bir wa pa'i lam 'bras kyi gdams ngag rnams gnan gsungs | der ras chung pas rje btsun chen pos rdzu 'phrul gyis byon pa lags sam | dngos su byon la <pa> lags zhus pas | mi la'i zhal nas de ci yin 'o na yang khyod rang gang dga' ba byas pas chog pa mi 'dug gam gsung |

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3. *mi la la na re bla ma mi las mang gung bar du rku jag 'ga' re byas zer te de ni blun gtam yin |*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29. *yang mi blun pa la la smyo gtam la la bla ma rje btsun chen pos mang gung bar du ar jag byas zer ba yang yod par 'dug ste | de bsod zad kyi smyo gtam yin no | rje btsun gyis <gyi> yab grongs dus na lo gsum dang zla ba bzhi pa yin de nas yum gyi rtsar lo bdun gyi bar bzhugs | dge bshes rtswa <tsa> pa'i drung du lo bdun bzhugs | yang yum rtsar lo gsum bzhugs | lo bco brgyad pa la rta nag dang yar lungs su byon nas mthu mdzad tsho lo brgyad bzhugs | 'dre ston lha dga' dang gzhan bla ma rnams kyi drung du lo gcig bzhugs | lho brag na lo dgu bzhugs | gzhung na lo gcig lhag tsam bzhugs | de nas tsawa na dgun gcig bzhugs | de nas brag dkar na lo bcu gnyis bzhugs | dgung lo lnga bcu nas 'gro don mdzad nas | brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi la dag pa chos kyi dbyings su gshegs pa yin no |*

Mi la rode on the rear of his horse, but people who say that are crazy. What would be the point of crossing the Bong River to go south from Chu mig dngul bum? One would need to cross the Ra River (Ra chu). Those who tell crazy stories without checking them even once are laughable.⁴¹

Another interesting point of contention Zhi byed ri pa wrestles with is the question of Mi la ras pa's sexual activity. In one instance he records an exchange between the yogin and his disciple 'Bri sgom ras pa:

'Bri sgom ras pa said to the Rje btsun, "People say that Lord Mar pa's wife Lady Bdag med ma and Lama Rngog gzhung pa's lady gave the maṇḍalas of their bodies to the Rje btsun. Is that true or not?"

The Rje btsun replied, "The talk of bad people and the whirlwinds of spring have no stable point of reference. If you have such thoughts about me, you'll bring about the *dākinīs'* punishment."⁴²

Zhi byed ri pa comments on this directly, arguing against what appears to have circulated as part of an oral tradition:

Some people ask, "Did Lady Bdag med ma give her body to Mi la ras pa?" but such conjecture is foolish talk. When Rje btsun Mi la was fifty-three he had the powerful lady of [long] life and so forth, emanation heroines, for physical consorts (*phyag rgya rten*). Did he rely upon any human women prior to that time? He said that up to that point he was untainted by sexual activity.⁴³

Zhi byed ri pa also comments on Mi la's physical appearance, near the end of the text while describing the visualization for ritual practices commemorating the yogin's life. It is an unflattering portrait, at odds with the pious iconography that would become standard following Gtsang smyon Heruka's work:

Yearly offerings should be made on the fourteenth day of the waxing period of the horse month. If you wish to visualize him in meditation: On a squarish body, not really tall, he has a round face with a flat nose, narrow eyes, bloodshot and glistening. His hair goes

⁴¹ Ibid., 30. *bla ma ba ri lo tsha ba'i drung du yang rje btsun mi la ras pas dpal rdo rje sems dpa'i sgrub thabs man ngag dang bcas pa zhus | yang mi thams cad kyi smyo gtam la | khyi'u chung zhi ba 'od kyi <kyis> bong chu brgal ba la | rje btsun mi las rta 'phangs g.yar zer ba ni | mi tsho smyo ba yin no | chu mig dngul bum nas shar rtogs su 'gro ba la bong chu brgal don ci yod | ra chu brgal dgos pa lags so | btag zhig ma byas pa'i smyo gtam byed pa dgod bro bar 'dug go |*

⁴² Ibid., 33. *yang rje btsun gyi drung na 'bri sgom ras pa mi rnams na re | rje mar pa'i jo mo yum bdag med ma dang | bla ma rngog gzhung pa'i jo mo dang | de bas rje btsun la sku lus kyi dkyil 'khor gnang ba yin zer ba yang 'dug ste | de 'dra bden nam mi bden lags zhus pas | rje btsun gyi zhal nas mi ngan pa'i kha dang | nam zla dpyid ka'i rlung tshub la gtad sa med pa yin | nga la de 'dra'i sems yod na mkha' 'gro ma'i bka' chad yong gsung |*

⁴³ Ibid., 7. *yang la la na re yum bdag med mas mi la ras pa la sku lus gnang ngam zer ba yang 'dug ste | de'i tshod kyi blun skad yin no | rje btsun mi las dngul lo lnga cu rtsa gsum pa'i dus na | sprul pa'i dpa' mo tsho'i dbang phyug ma la sogs pa phyag rgya rten gda' | de man chad mi'i bud med kyang brten nam | sngar yan chod grong chos kyi ma gos gsungs so |*

straight up and back from his hairline. His teeth, from corner to corner, are even and bluish-white. There are moles half the size of beans on the left and right sides of his face. His hair is brown on yellowing-black [?]. His flesh is dark green but with a ruddy complexion. Since this description is genuine, anyone who adds or takes away anything in an improper manner, or does anything falsely without basis in tradition, will have his bloody heart torn out by Mahākāla with his iron chopper.⁴⁴

The final line of this passage seems to elevate the proper recording of historical detail to the level of *samaya*, a sacred commitment whose transgression will entail the wrathful punishment of the dharma protectors.

Finally, Zhi bye ri pa devotes a good portion of his text to recording various transmission lineages, frequently instruction cycles that originate with the Bka' brgyud founders and culminate in the author himself. As we have seen, he is even careful to record the lineage through which he received the transmission of Mi la ras pa's life story itself. The story thus also serves in part as autobiography, recording its subject's life while simultaneously documenting the author's own credentials as biographer.

Among the rare pieces of information Zhi byed ri pa records is a transmission history of the songs and stories that Mi la sang in his early years.⁴⁵ These were not the songs of realization (*mgur*) for which the yogin became famous later in his life, but the traditional Tibetan tunes he learned in his youth. After surveying the subject and titles for many of these stories and songs, Zhi byed ri pa describes the transmission lineage for the song books (*glu yig*) that transcribe either the titles or perhaps the songs themselves. These texts appear to have circulated widely among the masters of the early Bka' brgyud lineage, and continued to be passed down in the period leading up to Zhi byed ri pa's writing. Regarding their transmission, Zhi byed ri pa states:

An old woman from Lcags yul living in Lho brag had his song books (*glu yig*) and she offered them to Rje btsun Ras chung pa rdo rje grags pa. He gave them to Lord Khyung tshang pa, who gave them to Ma cig ong jo, Mar ston tshul 'byung, and Star sgom Zhig po. All three of them gave them to Dharma Lord Zhang pañ chen, who gave them to Dhara shri, who gave them to 'Gro mgon Bsod rgyal, Drin can ras ma, and Dharma Lord Bde legs rin chen. The two relatives (*ne dbon*) gave them to Lama Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan, who gave them to Lama

⁴⁴ Ibid., 44. *dus kyi mchod pa byed na | rta pa zla ba'i yar tshes bcu bzhi la yin no | mngon rtogs sgom par 'dod na | sku lus gru bzhi la sku bong ring rgyu tsam med la | zhal ras khyil le shangs leb leb | spyan dkyus phra se ba la spyan rtsa dmar chil le ba | dbu'i skra mtsham yar la zhur bag tsam yod pa | tshems zur dum sngo rtsal dkar se ba | zhal gyi g.yas g.yon steng na sme ba sran ma phyed tsam yod pa | dbu skra ra tsa pa khrin bu se le ba nag la smug pa | sku sha sngo smug la dmar ba'i mdangs chags pa | 'di rnams gsung lhad med yin pas da man chad yi ge la phri bsnan la sogs dang | tshul ma yin pa'i dbe rkun nam | bka' lung med pa gnyid chod dang gzu lims sam | ma rabs pa'i bya ba byas na dpal ma hā kā la gri gug lcam dral 'khor bcas kyiis snying khrag thon cig |*

⁴⁵ Ibid., 50. *thog mar mi la thos pa dgas | glu sgrungs blang pa'i lo rgyus.*

Skye mchog chen po Maṇipa, who gave them to [me] the Śākya *bhikṣu* Zhi byed ri khrod pa.

'Gro mgon Rtsang pa rgya ras pa, Dharma Lord Rgod tshang pa, and Dharma Lord Lo ras pa, all three masters, found them in Lho brag and gave them to the accomplished master Me long rdo rje. [They then passed to] his son Blo ldan seng ge, the accomplished master O rgyan pa, and Dbu mdzad Bkra shis dpal. There is also a lineage from them.

Lord Khyung tshang pa gave them to Khams pa Dar ma dpal, who then gave them to 'Dul dkar ba bla ma Ro bhe ba. Lord Khyung tshang pa also gave them to Rje btsun Mnga' rigs pa Ye shes grags, who gave them to Zhig po rdo rje, who gave them to Rog rab 'od zer, who gave them to the accomplished master O rgyan pa, who gave them to Dharma Lord Kun dga' don grub, who gave them to Lord La stod pa, Mkhas btsun Bsod 'od, and Lama Zla seng.

At first, I considered such things unimportant and so did not pursue them. Later, Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan, Lama Skyes mchog chen Maṇipa, and Lord La stod pa, the scholar-adept, said that they were indispensable for [writing] Mi la ras chen's biography. I then eagerly received [the transmissions] from them.

[In another lineage, the transmission passed through] Rje btsun Ras chung pa, Dwags po lha rje pa, Dags po sgom tshul, and Zhang g.yu brag, who gave them to both Rtogs ldan Jo gdan rin ring and Glorious Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po. Dharma Lord 'Bri lung pa requested them from both of these masters and passed them to Dbon rin po che, Rin sing pa, Ratnaśrī, and Lama Bsam gtan byang chub. Lama Skye mchog Maṇipa requested them from both of these masters, and he gave them to [me] Zhi byed ri khrod pa.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Ibid., 50. *khyung pa mi la thos pa dga' l de'i glu yig rnam lho brag na bzhugs pa lcags yul ba rgan mo cig la 'dug pa l rje btsun ras chung pa rdo rje grags pa la phul bar 'dug l des rje khyung tshang pa l des ma cig 'ong co dang l mar ston tshul 'byung dang l star sgom zhig po dang gsum khar la gnang l de gsum kas chos rje zhang pa chen la l des dha ra shri la l des 'gro mgon bsod rgyal drin can ras ma chos rje bde legs rin chen l de dbon gnyis kas bla ma gzi brjid rgyal mtshan l bla ma skyes mchog chen po ma ni pa l shākya'i dge slong zhi byed ri khrod pa l lho brag na 'gro mgon rtsang pa rgya ras pa dang l chos rje rgod tshang pa dang l chos rje lo ras pa dang l slob dpon gsum kas rnyed nas grub thob me long rdo rje dang sras blo ldan seng ge dang l grub thob o rgyan pa dang l dbu mdzad bkra shis dpal dang l de nas rim gyi rgyud pa cig kyang 'dug l rje khyung tshang pas khams pa dar ma dpal l des 'dul dkar ba bla ma ro bhe ba l yang rje khung tshang pa l rje btsun mnga' rigs pa ye shes grags des zhig po rdo rje dpal l des rog rab 'od zer l des grub thob u rgyan pa l des chos rje kun dga' don grub l des rje la stod pa dang l mkhas btsun bsod 'od dang l bla ma zla seng dang l de rnam la gnang bar 'dub ste l dang po bdag gi ni de 'dra la dgos pa med bsam nas don du ma gnyer ba lags te l dus phyis bla ma gzi brjid rgyal mtshan pa dang l bla ma skyes mchog chen ma ni ba l rje la stod pa mkhas grub chen po de dang l khong rnam pa'i zhal nas rje btsun mi la ras chen gyi rnam thar la l de rnam med thabs med thabs med pa yin gsung nas l der dang du blangs pa yin no l yang rje btsun ras chung pa l dags pol ha rje pa l dags po sgom tshul l zhang g.yu brag pa l des rtogs ldan jo gdan rin ring dang l dpal phag mo grub <gru> pa rdo rje rgyal po dang l gnyis ka la gnang l de gnyis ka'i drung du chos rje 'bri lung pas zhus l de nas dbon rin po che l rin sing pa l rad na shi ri l bla ma bsam gtan byang chub pa dang gnyis ka'i drung du l bla ma skyes mchog rin chen po ma ni bas zhus l des zhi byed ri khrod pa la gnang ngo l .*

Here, it is not only religious instructions that require a record of transmission. Even the catalogue of folk songs *Mi la ras pa* is said to have sung as young child rises to the level of sacred literature, “indispensable” for the accurate documentation of the yogin’s life story.

V. Reflections on History, Biography, and Historical Biography

I would like to conclude here with a few brief remarks on how Zhi byed ri pa might have located his own work vis-à-vis the corpus of *Mi la ras pa*’s biographical tradition, and perhaps the genre of *rnam thar* more generally. To reiterate the preceding discussion, the *Illuminating Lamp* does not follow the narrative conventions witnessed in other examples of life writing produced around the same time.⁴⁷ Indeed, Zhi byed ri pa’s text clearly emphasizes unvarnished documentation over crafted narrative exposition, so that it reads more like a collection of discrete historical notes than a life story per se. This raises several questions: Is Zhi byed ri pa’s departure in style and approach meaningful—that is, does it represent a conscious effort to reimagine the function of *rnam thar*, at least within *Mi la ras pa*’s biographical tradition? And if so, what can it tell us about the way that Tibetan authors such as Zhi byed ri pa use certain Tibetan terms for marking particular forms of literature?

To start, I would like to suggest that the unusual features of Zhi byed ri pa’s text indeed point to a unique approach to life writing, one that deviates from that found in, say, *Mi la ras pa*’s biographical compendia or in the well-known standard version. In some respects, the author’s emphasis on the myriad details and general disinterest for the literary craft of story telling reflect the form of proto-*rnam mgur* described earlier. As noted above, one portion of the *Illuminating Lamp* follows the model of such works, copying the structure of other proto-*rnam mgur*. However, such texts usually form part of a combined lineage record, recording a single bead in the string of a so-called golden rosary (*gser ’phreng*) of lineage masters. Zhi byed ri pa’s work is instead a long autonomous text constituting a meta-reflection on the biographical tradition itself. The *Illuminating Lamp* is less a biography than a critique, clarification, and correction of *Mi la ras pa*’s extant biographical record. Where biography may serve a variety of programmatic agendas—legitimizing an important founding figure, authorizing a lineage of doctrinal instructions, or even inspiring followers to practice the path of liberation—the *Illuminating Lamp* is meant primarily to “get the facts straight” (at least as the author sees them) and to provide his credentials for doing so. It thus diverges significantly from other proto-*rnam mgur* works in terms of both form and function.

To consider the second question, how Zhi byed ri pa defines his own text, we need to return to the descriptive terms mentioned earlier: *rnam thar lo*

⁴⁷ In addition to comprehensive versions of the yogin’s life story such as *The Twelve Great Disciples* and various forms of the so-called *The Black Treasury*, mention might also be made of the extended narrative by the second Zhwa dmar Mkha’ mchod dbang po (1350-1405), Zhi byed ri pa’s contemporary.

rgyus, which I have chosen to translate in this context as “historical biography.” As noted in the introduction, I do not want to generalize too broadly about the intended meaning of either *lo rgyus* or *rnam thar lo rgyus*. It remains to be seen how such compound genre designations function in other literary works and during other periods.⁴⁸ But in this text at least, it seems clear that Zhi byed ri pa uses the term in order to affirm the veracity and legitimacy of his account vis-à-vis the rest of Mi la ras pa’s biographical tradition.

For brevity’s sake, a single episode from the life story should suffice to foreground Zhi byed ri pa’s position: Mi la ras pa’s loss of patrimony in his youth at the hands of his paternal relatives, an event discussed above. In Gtsang smyon Heruka’s standard version, this scene forms an emotional turningpoint in the story crafted for maximum dramatic effect. But as characters, the aunt and uncle seem formulaic; in Gtsang smyon’s words the pair were simply “reconciled in their greed.” Their rapaciousness is more a textbook model for the workings of *kleśas* than the product of genuine human interaction. Indeed, the entire scene appears to serve a single narrative conceit: to propel the yogin-to-be along a new path, first in the direction of black magic, and ultimately toward his guru Marpa. The yogin’s later career can then be understood retrospectively as a model for escaping the misery of *samsāra* through the purification of negative karma. Gtsang smyon Heruka has effectively “fictionalized” the account of Mi la ras pa’s life, stretching what may have been known about the yogin’s childhood in order to craft a more elegant—and expedient—narrative.

For Zhi byed ri pa, however, this period of the yogin’s life serves neither as a morality tale nor a metaphor for the workings of karma. There is no sense of the author “stretching the truth” as a function of either literary prowess or skillful means. Rather, the *Illuminating Lamp* forms an elaborate and exacting accounting of social and marital relations, describing their effects on a female actor (the mother) who disregards prevailing social norms. The author, in short, appears more concerned with documenting the cause of Mi la ras pa’s misfortune than with establishing a coherent narrative arc. Where Gtsang smyon Heruka’s version (the *rnam thar*) forms an evocative tale, Zhi byed ri pa’s account (the *rnam thar lo rgyus*) is a historian’s reckoning. The relationship between *rnam thar* and *rnam thar lo rgyus*, in this case at least, seems close to that posited elsewhere between biography (*rnam thar*) and religious history (*chos ’byung*), with each serving different, but complementary, aims.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ For a useful study of genre terminology used in the titles of Tibetan texts, see Almogi 2005. I agree with her call to pay close attention to the various contexts in which descriptive genre terms can appear: title page, text body, colophon, printer’s colophon, marginalia, etc. It is not uncommon for a text to have multiple designations in various locations. One well-known example, perhaps relevant here, is the early-twelfth-century *Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas* (*Grub thob rgya bcu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus*, *Caturśītisiddhapravṛtti*), designated a *rnam thar* in the title page and a *lo rgyus* in the colophon.

⁴⁹ See Decler 1992, who argues that religious history (*chos ’byung*) is primarily “a concern for scholars” interested in the details of lineage transmission, translation, and so forth. Biography (*rnam thar*), on the other hand, “directly evokes, [and] by glimpses ‘shows us the Mystery’” (23). The latter seems particularly apt in describing the standard version of Mi la ras pa’s life.

The work of later Tibetan authors bears this relationship out. In some situations, scholars drew upon the *Illuminating Lamp* as a principal source for their record of Mi la ras pa's life. This was the case for later historians, who clearly viewed Zhi byed ri pa's extensive research (the *rnam thar lo rgyus*) as a superior source as they incorporated details from the *Illuminating Lamp* into their accounts. Yet as a proper liberation tale—that is, a model of the religious life and a blueprint for progress on the path toward Buddhahood—the Tibetan world has ubiquitously turned instead to Gtsang smyon Heruka's standard version. For a general audience, readers valued the dramatic power of a simpler cohesive story (the *rnam thar*), which rejected and perhaps even contradicted many of Zhi byed ri pa's claims.

We might reasonably wonder how Tibetan authors, and their readers, reconciled the contradictions apparent in these two approaches to Mi la ras pa's life. The solution lay in a form of liberal hermeneutics that recognizes and accepts the diversity of written lives. In describing the biographical tradition of Padmasambhava, for example, Padma dkar po suggests that all versions of the life story—descriptions both of the master's birth from a human mother and of his miraculous emergence from the center of a lotus—should be understood as being equally valid and true.⁵⁰ In a remark that seems to anticipate Padma dkar po's sentiments several centuries later, Zhi byed ri pa describes his own sources in this way: "Throughout their writing a few things may seem in error and there may seem to be minor variations. However, we can not know for certain an accomplished master's sphere of activity, so from here on [the story] should not be altered by intellectuals or its blessings will be corrupted."⁵¹ It is not implausible that Padma dkar po's comments were in fact influenced by his reading of Zhi byed ri pa's work.

Zhi byed ri pa thus argues for as inclusive an editorial standard as possible, even as he positions his composition as *the* authentic record of Mi la ras pa's life, incontrovertible by virtue of its definitive sources. Although Gtsang smyon Heruka's *Life of Milarepa* largely eclipsed the *Illuminating Lamp*, later readers seem to have understood and accepted the blurred boundaries between the biographer's and the historian's project. As the meaning of genre terms may shift according to an author's particular aims, our understanding of such terms should be informed by a close reading of them within their specific textual frames. It is hoped that a more nuanced understanding of how Tibetan authors located their work within a given literary context, and the terms they used to do so, will help bring such blurred boundaries into sharper focus.

⁵⁰ Padma dkar po's comments appear in the famous pilgrimage guide to the Kathmandu Valley by the fourth Khams sprul Bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma (1730-1780). See Macdonald 1975, 119 (29a of the Tibetan text). These two descriptions of Padmasambhava's birth are further discussed in Blondeau 1980

⁵¹ Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 44. See Appendix 1.

Appendix 1: Colophon and End Matter*Translation*

[On developing the intention to compose]

[41] I have seen in detail what are definitely the instructions taught by Lama Mi la ras pa himself and the extraordinary sayings including those of the great son Ras chung Rdo rje grags. In general I, Zhi byed ri khrod pa, in my wanderings around the snowy land of Tibet, have seen and heard the Buddha's teachings to the extent they have been translated: sūtras, tantras, oral transmissions, and instructions. In particular, [these include instructions on] Pacification (*zhi byed*) to the extent that they exist in the world, the dharma cycles of the lord gurus of the 'Khon Sa skya pa in their entirety, and the instructions of the supreme individual Mar pa Lotsāwa in their entirety. It has been the fortunate karma of this Śākya *bhikṣu* Zhi byed ri khrod pa to make unprejudiced supplications to [the masters of] those oral transmissions and others. In particular, I hold the transmission of Lama Mi la ras pa's teaching tradition exactly as it is. There is nothing more than what I myself [possess]. . . .

In general, I have seen and heard the Buddha's teachings to the extent they have been translated in India, China, and Tibet—sūtras, tantras, oral transmissions, and instructions. At the center of my practice, I received in their entirety the Path and Fruition (*lam 'bras*) and Pacification (*zhi byed*), the ritual practices of Lord Kha rag sgom chung,⁵² and the instruction cycles of the supreme individual Lho brag pa. I have seen some 127 written versions of the Life and Songs (*rnam mgur*) of the powerful lord Mi la ras chen. With the hope that I would realize them, it has been the fortunate karma of the Śākya *bhikṣu* G.yung ston Zhi byed ri pa to renounce this life and to spend it wandering in mountain retreats. Therefore, my own attitude and that of individuals who aspire for this life are in fundamental discord. I intended to make this biography of the great Lama Rje btsun more extensive than it is, but for fear of excess verbiage, I have left it at just this.

Many years before my present age, the Dharma Lord Rin chen dpal ldan⁵³ gave advice at Glang 'kor, and I repeatedly visited Mkhan chen Dbang phyug shes rab of La shing,⁵⁴ emanation of Ārya Avalokiteśvara. I repeatedly requested teachings from Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan, versed in the meaning of the aural tantras and who has the distinction of being learned, disciplined, and noble. I repeatedly visited the lama, powerful lord of hermits, the great supreme being Maṇipa and received advice. Furthermore, I was urged by mountain hermits (*ri pa*) of the three regions. In particular,

⁵² This appears to be the Bka' gdams pa master Kha rag sgom chung Dbang phyug blo gros (b. 11th century).

⁵³ This is perhaps Dpal ldan rin chen (b. 14th century), a Sa skya master and guru of Maṇi pa Legs pa rgyal mtshan.

⁵⁴ This likely refers to a disciple of Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan, noted in the TBRC database (P10547), which would identify him as a teacher within the Ras chung snyan brgyud tradition. It might also be Mkhan chen gtsang pa Dbang phyug shes rab who is listed as a disciple of Chag Lotsāwa Chos rje dpal in the TBRC database (PORK1575). He does not appear to be the individual noted in the *Deb gter sngon po* as the long-time abbot of Rte'u ra Monastery, or the abbot of Tshogs pa bya rdzong. See Roerich 1949, 1059, 1072.

the great Ti shri Rin chen grags pa and Go shri Cho lo official, the emanation body Lama Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po said he renounced the world and wandered among great sacred sites and mountain retreats and then came down from Gangs Ti se to 'Brog La phyi; he also resided at Ri bo rtse Inga in China. Then at Dpal Ding ri Glang skor he took my hand in his and said, "From Gangs Ti se to Ri bo rtse Inga in China, there is no one with a greater knowledge of Lama Rje btsun Mi la ras chen's life story and history than you. Therefore, you should set down an extensive biographical record (*yig cha rnam thar*) about him." Thus he urged me with great insistence.

Then at a later time, *bhikṣu* Byang skyabs, on his way to make offerings at the *dharmacakra* of Swayambhū, presented me with a footprint of the authentic lama Dharma Lord Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po from Dbus, [42] and a letter from lama Kun rgyal ba himself. At that time, as well, he urged me with great insistence.

The powerful lord of hermits, Lama Byang sems Sangs rgyas dpal, resident at the seat of the Glorious Heruka's Palace in Sman lung Chu dbar also put me in charge [of such a project]. The master Ta'i Si tu Byang rgyal further entreated me [to do so], three times presented letters together with sacred supports. Many encouraged me in addition, and eventually I wrote this biography recollecting the kindness of Lord Rje btsun Mi la ras chen.

In general, I have seen some 127 different attempts at the biography of Mid la ras chen. In particular, I have made [my version] taking as a basis the accounts of (1) Lord Khyung tshang pa Jñānaguru; and (2) the Dharma Lord Zhang Lotsāwa Grub pa dpal bzang who is unmistaken in his knowledge of the five sciences. Throughout their writings a few things may seem in error and there may seem to be minor variations. However, we can not know for certain an accomplished master's sphere of activity, so from here on [the story] should not be altered by intellectuals or its blessings will be corrupted. There is no doubt that poetry and prose compositions that are not the sayings of previous [masters] have corrupted blessings.

[On the text's composition]

[45] . . . This historical biography of the precious lama, the supreme individual, the Glorious Bzhad pa rdo rje called Mid la ras chen, powerful lord of yogins free from all opponents who is like the second buddha, is titled *An Illuminating Lamp of Sun and Moon Beams*. It has come about in a female water-ox year, 269 years after the Great Rje btsun's passing into nirvāṇa. . . . The Śākya *bhikṣu* G.yung ston Zhi byed ri khrod pa has put this into words on the eighth day of the horse month of the female water-ox year (1373), in the Gra'i rtse mo ngang hermitage of Mang yul Skyid grong, abode of Ārya Avalokiteśvara Wati bzang po.

[Second colophon]

[46] . . . First, 269 years after the Great Rje btsun died, I put into words both an extensive and abbreviated *Sun and Moon Beams* in the Rtse mo ngang pa hermitage of Mnga' ris Mang yul Skyid grong. Then, 277 years after the Great Rje btsun died [i.e., eight years later], I [met] (1) Lama Ri khrod pa ,

the vajra holder Bsod nams rin chen who resided at Lama Mid la ras pa's seat at the great sacred site called Heruka's Palace of Sman lung Chu dbar; and (2) the kind lama, powerful lord of hermits endowed with supreme realization, the authentic being known as Rin chen gzhon nu.⁵⁵ They carried out their intentions with utter purity, and in this way I was encouraged by the hermits of the three sacred sites. In particular, I was rendered assistance by Bsod nams mgon po, a dharma protecting minister for the one called Ta'i Si tu Chos kyi rin chen, an official endowed with faith toward the noble three jewels and a *bhikṣu's* attitude of enlightenment. Maintaining a totally pure mind stream focused on the happiness of beings, he encouraged me with great earnestness. Then, based upon the completely pure [attitude of enlightenment in its two modes of] aspiration and application, I expanded upon my previous [composition] a little bit. . . .

To summarize all of this: Wherever Lama Mid la ras chen's feet trod and whatever he said during the course of his entire life, I G.yung ston Zhi byed ri khrod pa have been able to put into words without leaving out so much as a hair's tip.

Tibetan Text

[41] bla ma mid la ras pa rang gi zhal nas gsung nges pa dang/ bu chen ras chung rdo rje grags pa la sogs pa rnams kyi gsung sgros khyad par can rnams 'phra <phra> zhib tu mthong ba dang/ spyir yang zhi byed ri khrod pa bdag gis/ bod gangs can khrod na 'gyur tshad kyi bka' mdo rgyud dang/ lung man ngag rnams phal cher mthong zhing/ thos pa dang/ khyad par du zhi byed ni sa steng du 'gyur tshad dang/ rje bla ma 'khon sa skya ba'i chos skor rnams yongs su rdzogs pa dang/ skyes mchog mar pa lo ts.tsha ba'i gdams ngag rnams yongs su rdzogs pa dang/ de la sogs pa'i bka' brgyud rnams la phyogs ris med par gsol ba 'debs pa no/ shākya'i dge slong zhi byed ri khrod pa bdag gi las skal yin pa dang/ khyad par du bla ma mid la ras pa 'di'i bka' srol gyi brgyud pa ji lta ba bzhin du 'dzin pa ni/ kho bo rang tsam mang po yang mi 'dug go/ . . . spyir yang rgya dkar nag bod gsum na 'gyur tshad kyi bka' mdo rgyud dang/ lung man ngag rnams phal cher kho bos mthongs zhing thos pa dang/ rang gi nyams len gyi mthil la lam 'bras dang zhi byed dang/ rje kha rag sgom chung ba'i phyag len dang/ skyes mchog lho brag pa'i gdam bskor rnams yongs su rdzogs par thob cing/ shākya'i dge slong g.yung ston zhi byed ri khrod pa nga'i las skal ni/ tshe 'di blo s btang nas mi tshe ri khrod la skyal ba de rang yin pas na/ gang zag tshe 'dir don du gnyer ba rnams dang/ nga'i blo sna rtsa ba nas mthun sa rang med do/ bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar 'di la/ 'di las [thams] cad las rgyas pa cig byed bsam pa yin na'ang/ yi ge mangs pas 'jigs nas 'di tsam la bzhag pa yin no/ 'di ni da lta'i lo grangs mang rab kyi

⁵⁵ Rin chen gzhon nu (b. 1333) was a 'Bri gung meditator who spent some thirty years in retreat at Kailāsa and Chu bar. For a brief biography, see Roerich 1949, 730-1; and Grags pa 'byung gnas and Blo bzang mkhas grub, MD, 1608. This figure is likely identical to Rdor 'dzin Gzhon nu rin chen, mentioned in Bstan 'dzin Chos kyi blo gro's guide to La phyi and Chu bar (LNY, 37). *Rdor 'dzin* is a term referring to religious administrators in both Kailāsa and La phyi/Chu bar affiliated with the 'Bri gung institution. On the *rdor 'dzin* see Petech 1978.

gong nas chos rje rin chen dpal ldan glang 'khor ba'i drung nas kyang zhal ta gnang ba dang/ 'phags pa spyang ras gzigs kyi sprul pa rhe la shing gi mkhan chen dbang phyug shes rab pa'i drung nas kyang yang yang byon pa dang/ bla ma mkhas btsun bzang gsum dang ldan pa'i khyad par yang snyan rgyud kyi don la sbyangs pa'i gzi brjid rgyal mtshan pa'i gsung gis kyang yang yang du bskul ba dang bla ma rin khrod kyi dbang phyug skyes mchog chen po ma ñi pa'i drung nas kyang/ zhal ta yang yang byon pa dang/ gzhan yang sa gsum gyi ri pa rnams kyis yang bskul ba dang/ khyad par du yang ti shri chen po rin chen grags pa dang/ go shri chos blo'i dbon po <cho lo'i dpon po?>sprul pa'i sku bla ba kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po des 'jig rten blos btang nas gnas chen dang ri khrod 'grims nas gangs ti se nas mar byon na 'brog la phyi na tshur la byon te/ rgya nag ri bo rtse lnga la bzhugs pa yin gsungs nas dpal ding ri glang 'khor du khong gi phyag gis nga'i lag pa la bsung nas/ bla ma rje btsun mid la ras chen gyi rnam thar lo rgyus la/ khyed las rgyus che ba ni gangs ti se man chad/ rgya nag ni bo rtse lnga pa yan chad na mi 'dug pas 'di la yig cha rnam thar rgyas pa cig khyed shes [?] gsung nan cher mdzad pa dang/ yang dus phyis dbus nas kyang bla ma dam pa chos rje [42] bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhabs rhes gcig dang/ bla ma kun rgyal ba rang gi gsung shog cig dang/ dge slong byang skyabs 'phags pa shing kun gyi chos 'khor 'bul du yong pa la bskur byung nas de dus kyang gsung nan chen po mdzad 'dug pa dang/ dpal he ru ka'i pho brang sman lung chu dbar gyi gdan sa pa/ bla ma ri khrod kyi dbang phyug byang sems sangs rgyas dpal gyis yang do dam cher mdzad pa dang/ slob dpon ta'i si tu byang rgyal bas kyang gsung shog rten dang bcas pa thebs gsum bskur byung ba dang/ gzhan yang mang rab kyi <kyis> skul cing/ lar yang rje btsun mi la ras chen 'di'i sku drin dran nas/ rnam thar 'di byas pa yin cing/ spyir mid la ras chen gyi rnam thar la mdzad pa mi cig pa brgya dang nyi shu rtsa bdun tsam mthong ba dang/ khyad par du rje khyung tshang ba dznya na gu ru dang/ lnga rig shes bya'i gnas la ma rmongs pa/ chos rje zhang lo tsā ba grub pa dpal bsang po dang/ de rnams kyi gsung sgros la gzhi blangs nas byas pa lags cing/ tshig la gong 'og nor ba 'dra ba dang 'dra min dum re snang ste/ grub thob kyi spyod yul la nges pa med pa lags pas/ da man chad rtog ge pas ma bcos cig/ byin rlabs nyams pa yin no/ gong ma rnams kyi gsung sgros ma yin pa'i snyan ngag dang sdeb tshig ni byin rlabs nyams dogs ma byas pa yin no/

[45] . . . bla ma rin po che skyes mchog mid la ras chen zhes bya ba'i dpal ldan bzhad pa'i rdo rje rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug rtsod zla thams cad bral ba/ sangs rgyas gnyis pa lta bu'i lo rgyus rnam par thar pa/ gsal byed nyi zla'i 'od zer gyi sgron ma zhe bya ba 'di no/ rje btsun chen po mya ngan las 'das nas lo grangs gnyis brgya dang drug cu rtsa dgu/ chu mo glang gi lo 'dis 'gro bar 'dug cing/ . . . shākya'i dge slong g.yung ston zhi byed ri khrod pas 'phags pa spyang ras gzigs wa ti bzang po'i bzhugs gnas mang yul skyid grong gra'i rtse mo ngang pa'i ri khrod du/ chu mo glang lo rta pa zla ba'i yar tshes brgyad kyi nyin mo nas/ yi ger bkod pa'i dge bas . . .

[46] dang po rje btsun chen po grongs nas lo nyis brgya dang drug bcu rtsa dgu zong ba'i dus na nyi zla 'od zer ma rgyas bsodus gnyis/ mnga' ris mang yul skyid grong gi rtse mo ngang pa'i ri khrod du yi ger bkod pa yin la/

yang rhe btsun chen po grongs nas nyis brgya dang bdun cu rtsa bdun song dus na/ he ru ka'i pho brang sman lung chu dbar zhes bya ba'i gnas mchog chen po/ bla ma mid la ras pa'i gdan sa yi/ bla ma ri khrod pa rdo rje 'dzin pa bsod nams cin chen pa dang/ de'i <de?> yang sku drin can gyi bla ma ri khrod kyi dbang phyug rtogs pa mchog du gyur pa dang ldan pa'i mtshan rin chen gzhon nur grags pa'i skyes bu dam pa des kyang/ thugs dgongs yongs su dag par mdzad pa dang/ de bzhin du gnas gsum gyi ri pa rnam kyis drag du bskul ba dang/ khyad par du yang rigs rgyud can ta'i si tu chos kyi rin chen zhes bya ba/ 'phags pa dkon mchog gsum la gus pa dang ldan pa de'i chos skyong ba'i blon po rin po che lta bu'i dge slong gi byang sems dang ldan pa'i dpon bsod nams mgon pos kyang brtan pa'i zhabs tog dang/ sems can gyi bde skyid la rgyud dkar po yongs su dag pa bzung nas/ 'bad pa chen pos bskul zhing/ smon 'jug gi rnam par dkar ba la brten nas sngar bas kyang cung zad rgyas su btang ba yin la/ . . . da ni don hril gyis dril na/ bla ma mid la ras chen gyi sku tshe gang la/ zhabs kyi gom pa gang du byon pa dang/ gsung tshig gang du byon pa rnam la/ lhag lus skra'i rtse mo tsam cig kyang ma lus par g.yung ston zhi byed ri khrod pa bdag gis yi ger bkod nus pa yod do/.

Appendix 2: Zhi byed ri pa's Transmission Lineages of Mi la ras pa's Teachings

Yab bka' [tantras]: buddha Vajradhara > Lus med pa > Te lo pa and Nā ro po > Mar pa > Mid la ras pa > Ras chung pa Rdo rje grags > Khyung tshang pa > Mnga' rigs pa Ye shes grags > his son Zhig po rdo rje dpal.

Yum bka' tantras: Khams pa Dar ma dpal > Rje 'dul dkar ba > Mkhas grub Ram bhe pa > Bla chen Rog shes rab 'od gser > Chos rje Nyi seng and Chos rje Brtson seng > Chos rje Thams cad mkhyen pa > Chos rje Kun dga' 'od zer and Kun dga' don grub > Rje La stod pa > Rje Glang skor ba sku mched > bdag Zhi byed ri pa.

One tradition: up to Ras chung pa, same as before > Rgyal ba ten ne (at 80 years old) > Chos rje Thams cad mkhyen pa (at 9 months old) > Kun dga' 'od zer and Kun dga' don grub > La stod pa > Glang 'khor ba sku mched > bdag Zhi byed ri pa.

Lung gi snyan rgyud: up to Mi la, same as before > Ngam rdzong ras pa > Gung thang Ras chung pa > Rgya 'pho ba lung pa > Rje btsun 'Phrang ba > Chos rje Thams cad mkhyen pa > after him is same as before.

Another tradition: up to Khyung tshang pa, same as before > Ma cig ong jo, Mar ston tshul 'byung, and Star sgom zhig po > from all three to Zhang Lotsāwa Grub pa dpal bzang po > Tsho byed dha ra shri > 'Gro mgon Bsod rgyal > Ye shes mkha' 'gro Kun ldan dpal > Chos rje Bya bra ba Bde legs rin chen > Mkhas grub Gzi brjid rgyal mtshan ma > Skyes mchog ri khrod pa dbang phyug Ma ñi ba > bdag Zhi byed ri pa.

Nāro pa'i 'pho ba don gyi grong 'jug, Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu, and Nā ro sdig brdugs kyi brgyud pa: Vajradhara > Lus med pa > Telopa > Nāropa > Mar pa > Mid la > Dwags po lha rje pa > Ka la dung mtsho ba > Mkhas btsun Dmogs ston pa > bdag Zhi byed ri pa.

Bdag med ma lha mo bco lnga'i brgyud pa: Vajradhara > Nairātmya > Telopa > Nāropa > Mar pa > Rngog Gzhung pa > Rngog Kun dga' gzi brjid > Lho skyid pa Khams pa rin rgyal > Bzhi zhing dhe pa Grags pa shes rab > Rtsang ston Bla ma rgyal mtshan > Brag gdeng pa Rdo rje dpal > Zhang ston Dkon mchog dpal > Zhang ston Mchog ldan > Pañ chen Tshul khriims 'od > Chos rje glang 'khor ba sku mched > bdag Zhi byed ri pa.

Tibetan Text

bla ma mid la ras pas gsungs pas chos 'di'i rgyud pa ni | sangs rgyas rdo rje 'chang | lus med pa | te lo pa nā ro pa | mar pa | mid la ras pa | ras chung rdo rje grags pa | khyung tshang pa | mnga' rigs pa ye shes grags | sras grub chen zhig po rdo rje dpal | yab bka' yin | yum bka'i rgyud pa ni | khams pa dar ma dpal | rje 'dul dkar pa | mkhas grub ram bhe pa | bla chen rog shes rab 'od zer | des chos rje nyi seng dang | chos rje brtson sens gsnyis ka la gnang | des chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa la gnang | de chos rje kun dga' 'od zer dang | kun dga' don grub la gnang | des rje la stod pa la gnang | des rje glang 'khor ba sku mched la gnang | des bdag zhi byed ri pa la gnang | yang lugs gcig la | ras chung pa yan chad gong dang 'dra | ras chung pas rgyal ba ten ne la sgos skyel mdzad nas gnang bar 'dug ste | gnas lugs kyang | sprul sku jo sras skyabs pa la | ras pa dang dags po lha rje gnyis kas khyed gyi sras 'di la grub thob chen po rnams kyi nang nas khu rgyan cig 'byon par 'dug pas nged khyi yang rgyud pa 'dzin par zhu gsung nas bla ma mid la ras pa'i chos rnams gnang gda' 'o | rje btsun rgyal ba ten ne dgung lo brgya rtsa la nye bar byon dus na | chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa sku 'khrungs nas | zla ba dgu songs ba de la gnang gda' | des chos rke kun dga' 'od zer dang kun dga' don grub la gnang gda' | des la stod pa la | des chos rje glang 'khor ba sku mched pa | des bdag zhi byed ri pa la gnang | yang lugs gcig la mid la yan chad gong dang 'dra | des ngam rdzong ras pa la | des gung thang ras chung pa la | des rgya Æpho ba lung pa la | des rje btsun 'phrang ba la | des chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa la | de man chad sngar dang dra | 'di rnams lung pa'i snyan rgyud yin | yang lugs gcig | khyung tshang pa yan chad gong dang 'dra | des ma cig ong jo dang | mar ston tshul 'byung dang | star sgom zhog po dang gsum ka la gnang | de gsum ka'i zhabs la mnga' rigs zhang lo tstsha ba grub pa dpal bzang pos thug gda' | des tsho byed dha ra śri la | des 'gro mgon bsod rgyal la | des ye shes mkha' 'gro kun ldan [48] dpal la | des chos rje bya bra ba bde legs rin chen la | des mkhas grub gzi brjid rgyal mtshan la | des skyes mchog ri khrod kyi dbang phyug ma ñi ba la | des bdag zhi byed ri pa la gnang ngo | nā ro pa'i 'pho ba don kyi grong 'jug dang | sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu dang | nā ro sdig brdugs kyi brgyud pa ni | rdo rje 'chang | lus med ma | te lo pa | nā ro pa | mar pa | mid la | dags po lha rje pa | ka la dung mtsho ba | mkhas btsun dmogs ston pa | des bdag zhi byed ri pa la gnang ngo | bdag med ma lha mo bco lnga'i brgyud pa ni | rdo rje 'chang |

bdag med ma | te lo pa | nā ro pa | mar pa | rngog gzhung pa | rngog kun
dga' gzi brjid | lho skyid pa khams pa rin rgyal | bzhu zhung dhe pa tshul
khrims 'od | chos rje glang 'khor ba sku mched | des bdag zhi byed ri pa la
gnang ngo |.

Appendix 3: Rnam thar Outline

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 1.25 | I. rigs dang rus [kyi yon tan gyi gsal byed] |
| 11.27 | II. chos phyir dka' ba spyad pa'i yon tan gyi gsal byed |
| 11.29 | i. 'khor ba la snying po med par gzigs pa'i yon tan |
| 12.10 | ii. ting nge 'dzin shar ba'i yon tan |
| 12.34 | iii. dka' bas gtum mo bde drod 'phrod pa'i yon tan |
| 14.33 | iv. zas gos kyi 'dun pa rang grol ba'i yon tan |
| 17.32 | v. nyams myong bde bar shar ba'i yon tan |
| 18.3 | vi. rtogs pa lam mkhan du shar ba'i yon tan |
| 18.12 | vii. snang ba mthun rkyen du shar bai yon tan |
| 18.17 | viii. nye 'brel chos brgyad rang grol ba'i yon tan |
| 18.26 | ix. chos brgyad rang grol ba'i yon tan |
| 18.31 | x. pha ma'i drin lan gsab pa'i yon tan |
| 19.6 | xi. lha'i lha gyur pa'i yon tan |
| 19.27 | xii. rtsod pa mi brdzi ba'i yon tan |
| 20.4 | xii. ye shes sgron me brtams ba'i yon tan |
| 20.20 | xiv. spyod pas ches ba'i yon tan |
| 20.39 | xv. nus pa che ba'i yon tan |
| 21.7 | xvi. byin rlabs che ba'i yon tan |
| 21.22 | xvii. ting nge 'dzin gyi rtsal gyi che ba'i yon tan |

Appendix 4: Zhi byed ri pa's Record of Mi la ras pa's Early Life

Translation

One of the eighteen family lines (*gdung rgyud*) is Be ri. One sub-division of that is Khyung tsha, among which there are both Khyung tsha stod and smad. From among these [Mi la ras pa's] paternal ancestry (*phu bo'i rgyud*) was the Khyuung tsha stod. To a nomad family in that line was born a small child⁵⁶ [named] Mid la, afflicted by the ill omen of a *cakra*. [The parents] consulted a Bon po scholar and by giving him the name Mid la chu sel, the ill omen was averted, the small child's body grew larger and he turned out well. He was then given the name Mid la G.yang blon rgyal po, so it is said. His son was Mid la G.yu rung rgyal and in turn his son was Mid la Bkra shis rgyal po. The latter went to La stod Byang and established a home at a distance from Bcung pa'i 'og skyid pa phug.

To him was born a son, Rdo rje rgyal po, who had a naturally pleasant disposition and was well liked among his friends. He lost all of his wealth through gambling at dice. He then befriended a man from Mnga' ris Gung

⁵⁶ *Bu chung*, in this case, perhaps premature and hence "underdeveloped."

thang Tsa pa nyang with whom he returned. In Mkhār Sgong thang in Tsa rong of Rgyal Inga yul [2] he was given a niece (*dbon mo*)⁵⁷ of Dge bshes Tsa pa Grags pa bsod nams [as a wife] who gave birth to five children: the oldest son was Mid la Rin rgyal, the younger son was Mid la Sher rgyal. The eldest daughter was Sgron skyid, then next was Sgron chung, and then Sgron ne.

Rin rgyal took a maternal cousin (*sru chung*) as his wife⁵⁸ and had some six sons and three daughters. [His family] had commissioned many religious objects, including golden statues, extensive, medium-length, and [abbreviated] scriptures, and the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*. Many such items in their possession, the extensive, intermediate, and [abbreviated] scriptures foremost among them, were given to Rin rgyal.

When Sher rgyal turned seventeen, Dge bshes Tsa pa had a grand-niece (*dbon mo*)⁵⁹ named Nyang bza' dkar legs and since she was a maternal cousin

⁵⁷ For a detailed examination of the kinship terms found in the translation, see the following essay "Marriage, Kinship, and Inheritance in Zhi byed ri pa's Account of Milarepa's Early Life." See also the genealogy chart at the end of this appendix. In general, the term *dbon* can refer to either nephew or grandson, and likewise *dbon mo* to niece or granddaughter. In very early Tibetan texts, it seems to have exclusively referred to a nephew or niece on the sister's side, although that may have changed in latter periods when the term became somewhat more flexible and referred instead to paternal relatives more generally. See Uebach 1979.

⁵⁸ She is later referred to as Smon skyid.

⁵⁹ In this story, Dge bshes tsa pa Grags pa bsod nams appears as the benevolent relative identified later as a maternal uncle (*zhang po*) who aids Mi la, his mother and sister, during their plight with Mi la's paternal relatives. In Gtsang smyon Heruka's account, this figure is identified as Mi la's maternal uncle (i.e. his mother's brother), although here he seems to be a grand-uncle. In addition, the Dge bshes is later described as Mi la ras pa's earliest tutor, from whom he received instruction in both logic and Rnying ma doctrine. (In Gtsang smyon Heruka's version, the early tutor is described as a Rnying ma master living in Mi thod gad kha of Rtsa.) Zhi byed ri pa records the precise lineages for those doctrinal transmissions as follows: (1) Ras chung pa made the request, "Please impart to me whichever lineages of madhyamaka and pramāṇa you possess." The Rje btsun replied, "The chief teachings of the Buddha [passed through] the brothers Maitreya and Asanga, Nāgārjuna, father and son, Dignāga and Candrakīrti, Guṇaprabha and and Śākyaprabha. From them and others, [they passed] to Jo bo chen po rje, the sole divinity Atisha, Nag tsho paṅ chen, Dge bshes 'Bron. And from them to Byang sems Zla ba rgyal mtshan and Dge bshes tsa pa Grags pa bsod nams. The latter gave them to me and I will teach them to you. In the future, these will be our own streams of explanation and the lineage will remain unbroken. (Zhi byed ri pa, NDO, 34. *yang ras chung pas dbu ma dang tshad ma'i rgyud pa gang lags | de yang gnang bar zhu zhus pas | rje btsun gyi zhal nas | sangs rgyas bstan gtso | byams pa | thogs med sku mched | klu grub yab sras | phyogs glang chos grags | yon tan 'od dang shakya 'od la sogs nas | jo bo chen po rje lha gcig a ti sha dang nag tsho paṅ chen dang | dge bshes 'brom dang | de nas byang sems zla ba rgyal mtshan dge bshes tsa pa grags pa bsod nams | des nga la gnang ba yin la ngas khyod la bshad pa lags pas | spyir rang re bshed rgyun pa yin yang rgyud pa ma chad tsam gyi gsung l.*) (2) [Ras chung pa] asked, "Is there a difference between the Vajradākinī of the old-translation teachings and the Vajradākinī of the new [translation school]?" The Rje btsun replied, "There [are differences in terms of the] stages of the activities of Buddhas, and the levels of capability among individuals, but there is no difference as to their essential point. The gurus in the system of the new school Vajradākinī are those of the path of means." [Ras chung pa] asked, "From where do the early translations stem?" [Mi la] replied, "I have explained that to you previously. Have you forgotten? [The lineage is as follows:] the *dharmakāya* Samantabhadra, the *saṃbhogakāya* Vajrasattva, the *nirmāṇakāya* Dga' rab rdo rje, guru Mañjuśrīmitra, Ting 'dzin Śrī Simha, Mkhas pa Vimalamitra, Lotsāwa Jñānakumara, Nyang sha'i spyān can, Chos rgyal Khri srong lde btsan, Rma Blo gros dbang phyug, Ye shes 'bar, Ldan ma Lhun grub rgyal, Seng ge dbang phyug, Zla ba rgyal mtshan, Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, Grub pa

(*sru chung*) she was betrothed to him. When he turned eighteen he had the means to welcome her and Mid la Rdo rje rgyal po brought the couple together. When [Sher rgyal] turned nineteen, and Dkar legs was twenty-one, he took her as a bride. All of his parents' wealth, headed by the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*, was given to Sher rgyal.

Rin rgyal's wife said, "We have many children but our material conditions have deteriorated. Because the two youngest sisters [Rin rgyal's daughters] will require a dowry from us, it is inappropriate for Sher rgyal to get all of the parents' remaining wealth." She then became mean-spirited and combative toward Rin rgyal, but once [the possessions] were turned over, there was nothing they could do. So it is said.

Then on the fourteenth day of the tenth month of a tiger year, a son was born to Dkar legs, and Dge bshes Tsa pa grags bsod nams named him Mi Klu grub mgon. When the son was three years and seven days old, a daughter was born who they named Mgon po skyid, but since she looked like a simpleton when she grew up, she was called Pe ta. This is what the Lha bon pa uncle (*zhang po*) Dge bshes Tsa pa himself said. The son was enamored when he saw a singing bard. Feeling no great desire to be near his parents, he went off to play [by himself], and as he became a singer of songs he was known by the name Thos pa dga' (Delightful to Hear). These two stories are clear in the great biography (*rnam thar chen mo*).⁶⁰

When the son was three years and four months old, the daughter was four months, and Dkar legs was twenty-four, Sher rgyal died at age twenty-one. She performed the rites of virtue in a fine manner but still had a great deal of their family wealth. Then, when Dkar legs turned twenty-seven, her male and female relatives gathered and discussed the situation. They said, now that she was free from her period of mourning as a widow, Dkar legs should live together with Rin rgyal's son.

Dkar legs pledged, "Now that one such as Sher rgyal has died, for as long as I live, I will not stay with others who won't take care of these two children." And she had no interest in listening [to her relatives].

At this, Rin rgyal said, "If you won't live with my son, I will take your possessions." He then carried away all her possessions, beginning with the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*. All the relatives said that Rin rgyal was in the right and they turned belligerent toward Dkar legs. So it is said.

Dge bshes Tsa pa came to Dkar legs's aid and consoled her, yet even banding together she found no recourse and became completely miserable.

rgyal mtshan, and Dge bshes tsa pa gave it to me. I will teach them to you so the lineage will not be interrupted." (Ibid., 35. *bka' snga 'gyur gyi rdo rje mkha' 'gro dang | gsar ma'i rdo rje mkha' 'gro la khyad yod dam zhus pas | rje btsun gyi zhal nas | sangs rgyas kyi 'phrin las dang | gang zag gi dbang po'i rim pa yin don la khyad med gsung | gsar ma'i rdo rje mkha' 'gro'am rgyu rim gyi bla ma ni | thabs lam gyi de lags | snga 'gyur de gang nas rgyud pa lags zhus pas | sngar lan kha yar bshad pa yin te rjed pa yin nam gsung | chos sku kun tu bzang po longgs sku rdo rje sems dpa' | sprul sku dga' rabs rdo rje bla ma 'jam dpal bshes gnyen | ting 'dzin shi ri sing ha | mkhas pa mi <bi> ma la mi tra | lo tsa ba dznyā na ku ma ra | nyang sha'i spyang can | chos rgyal khri srong lde btsan | rma blo gros dbang phyug | ye shes 'bar | ldan ma lhun grub rgyal | seng ge dbang phyug | zla ba rgyal mtshan | nyi ma rgyal mtshan | grub pa rgyal mtshan | dge bshes tsa pas nga la gnang | ngas khyod la bshad pa de yin pas rgyud pa ma chad pa gyis gsung).*

⁶⁰ Zhi byed ri pa is perhaps referring here to the text of Zhang Lotsāwa or Khyung tshang pa mentioned repeatedly elsewhere in the text.

The Rje btsun was five years old at the time, so it is said. Then Dkar legs's father and mother both died and she became even more miserable than before.

Then the Rje btsun turned seven years old and was left with Dge bshes Tsa pa while the mother and daughter lived in their empty house with neither food nor clothing. Neighbors and countrymen said to Dkar legs, "You won't stay with your brother-in-law's son," and became aggressive. She fell into deep despair. To Dge bshes Tsa pa as well the relatives said, "You shouldn't allow Thos pa dga' to stay [with you]," and said many disparaging things.

At that time the Rje btsun was very bright and so had an excellent facility for reading. The mother did spinning and weaving, and Pe ta went foraging for left-over *torma* offerings.

Rin rgyal, his wife, and children assailed the Rje btsun and Pe ta with rocks wherever they saw them. They dared not strike Dkar legs, but said many foul things to her. No longer able to bear it, the Dge bshes said, "Thos pa dga', you are most pitiable. You should go now," and sent him away. At that time, the Rje btsun was seventeen years old, so it is said.

The mother and two children were on the verge of starvation when a friendly former monk⁶¹ gave them ingredients for making *chang*, which they prepared. [The mother] gathered her relatives together, poured [*chang*] for the uncle [Rin rgyal], and said, "Now mother and children will take a share of the possessions." [The uncle] replied, "I will give you a share," but then his wife changed his mind, and he no longer wished to give it.

Thereafter, the Rje btsun sang songs, Pe ta foraged for ritual cake offerings and took up begging, and the mother spun and wove but they had neither food nor clothing and there was never enough for them to live on. The Dge bshes and a friendly former nun (*go mi ma*) secretly gave them two measures of barley with which they prepared *chang*. [The mother offered it] to the uncle, and said, "Others may take hold of our wealth but we should have at least a milking cow to depend on."⁶² Why should a widow and her children, your relations, die of starvation?" He became drunk and said, "If you keep this up, perhaps I should kill you three, mother and children." He threw a rock at Dkar legs, kicked the Rje btsun trying to kill him, Pe ta fled out the door and there was nothing to be done. When the uncle had gone, the mother and two children gathered, and as they wept they heard someone arrive at the doorstep. Thinking it was the uncle, the two children sat there crying and the mother took hold of a knife and a club and waited with them [hidden] in an auspicious scarf.⁶³ It was not the uncle but rather the former monk who brought them something to eat, and they were thus consoled. So it is said. In later times, [3] the great Rje btsun repeatedly said, "In that friendly former monk I had a helpful guide for escaping well the six realms." He said, "At that time we were all very [frightened] and all of my

⁶¹ *Sngar gi go mi*. *Go mi* is generally defined as *btsun pa*, literally "venerable" or "ordained monk." But perhaps *sngar gi go mi* more generally refers to an old friend, which seems to be the meaning here.

⁶² This passage is unclear, although the general meaning seems correct. . . . *khu bo la khong mi gzhan gyis ni | nyon spu btsong spu ngo len byed cing yang 'dug pa nga rang dag mo nor la rten yang chog ste |*.

⁶³ *Bkras kha > bkra shis kha btags?*

paternal aunts turned evil." He said, "Wherever we went, we were anxious about meeting with our paternal uncle's family." So it is said.

Then, one day while the mother was collecting firewood on a mountain across the valley, a family carried offerings for a thread-cross ritual and Pe ta went to take the ritual cakes. As she reached for the cakes, a dog grabbed her hand in its mouth. She kicked the dog's head and it released her hand but then lunged for her abdomen and bit her in the crotch. She cried out in great agony and the mother came running down the mountainside. She [slipped] and tumbled down part of the mountain [shaped like] a frog's open mouth. Her face was covered with blood, her teeth broken, and her body roughed up. When she reached her daughter they continued on together. The Rje btsun went up into the upper Rtsa valley⁶⁴ where he ran into his uncle's relatives. They beat him, kicked him, and cracked open his skull, which bled profusely. The mother and two children met on the path, covered in blood, yet even under these circumstances Thos pa dga' sang forth a song.

The mother said, "Ay, have you've lost your mind? There are none in the world more miserable than us three, mother and children. Your uncle is trying to kill us and we have found ourselves in this situation, and yet you sing songs." She went on thinking about their situation and then broke down in tears so the Rje btsun sat there for a while in silence.

"Well then, what should your mother do?" [she asked.]

[The Rje btsun replied,] "You, mother, could live with Uncle's son, and you could obtain a share of his possessions. Then we, mother and children, would have the strength to escape on our own. Wouldn't it be better if you did that?"

At this, the mother threw a handful of dirt in her son's face, beat her chest with her fists, and broke down in tears. She said, "A son such as you born to your father Sher rgyal! If I lived with Rin rgyal's son, when the time came for me to take a share of his possessions I would be pregnant again and you two, brother and sister, would starve to death, wouldn't you?"

As she was crying, Dge bshes Tsa pa, a male companion who said he had previously taken Sher rgyal's oath [to look after his family], and a friendly former nun arrived. They wiped the blood off of mother and children, recited mantras over their wounds, and offered something to eat. While they were consoling the family, the uncle's family appeared, each carrying a club, and beat the male companion and the female friend. To Dge bshes Tsa pa the uncle said, "How terrible that you have treated me with scorn. Death comes to everyone [including Sher rgyal] but Dkar legs has brought me great humiliation. She remains a widow who is young and eligible for marriage, but she doesn't listen [when I tell her] to live with my son." His temper rose and [the male companion and female friend] both fled.

Furious, the Dge bshes said to Rin rgyal, "You are filled with pride. I'll steal your wealth and entrust it to the Jo bo. Why did you all forsake your agreement? Upon whom will the karma of someone like Dkar legs fall? It is not acceptable to take away her wealth when her children are starving; you are too proud. She will not burden her children with misery, and neither will she go to another man." With this, Dge bshes pa became enraged. He

⁶⁴ This is an approximate translation: *rje btsun rtsa phu na yar skyur srun la song ba . . .*

said, "The local people are speaking sharply and the Mi la family has split apart, so I am unable to say anything."

Regarding this, in later times Mi la said, "My uncle (*zhang po*) was very kind." So it is said.

Tibetan text

gdung rgyud chen po bco brgyad kyi nang mtshan be ri yin la/ de'i nang tshan khyung tsha yin la/ khyung tsha la stod smad gnyis yod pa'i nang tshan khyung tsha stod pa phu bo'i rgyud/ khyung tsha stod pa yin la/ de'i nang tshan 'brog pa mi tshang cig la bu chung mid la tsakras zin pa'i ltas ngan cig skyes pa la/ bon po mkhas pa zhig bos nas/ ltas ngan bzlog pa'i mid la chu sel byas pas ltas ngan bzlog nas bu chung sha lus rgyas nas legs por song ba dang ming yang mid la g/yang blon rgyal po bya bar brags skad do/ de'i bu mid la g.yu rung rgyal yin la de'i bu mid la bkra shis rgyal po de la stod byang na yar phyin nas bcung <gcung> pa'i 'og skyid pa phug ring nas khyim thab cig byas nas bdad pas bu rdo rje rgyal po skyes pa la rang bzhin mi gzhi dga' mo zhig yod cing rogs dga' ches nas sho rtsis pas cho lo pham nas nor yod tshad shor nas mnga' ris gung thang tsa pa nyang mi cig dang [2] shag po byas nas tshur yong nas rgyal lnga yul gyi tsa rong gi mkhar sgong thang na/ dge bshes tsa pa grags pa bsod nams kyi dbon mo cig gnang ba la bu tsha mi sring lnga skyes pa'i bu che ba'i ming mid la rin rgyal yin la chung ba mid la sher rgyal yin/ bu mo che ba sgron skyid/ de 'og sgron chung/ de'i 'og sgron ne yin/ rin rgyal la sru chung cig chung mar blangs pa la/ bu drug bu mo gsum dang mi <ming> sring dgu tsam skyes/ gser sku dang gsung rab rgyas 'bring rnam gsum dang dkon brtsegs la sogs chos mang po bzhengs nas bzhugs pa'i rgyas 'bring rnam gsum gyis 'og byas pa'i cha rkyen mang rab rin rgyal la phogs byas la sher rgyal lo bcu bdun lon pa'i dus na/ dge bshes tsa pa'i dbon mo nyang bza' dkar legs zer ba de sru chung yin pas gnyen byas nas lo bco brgyad lon pa dang bsu tshis yin pa la mid la rdo rje rgyal po bza' tsho gnyis kha gshibs nas lo bcu dgu lon dus na dkar legs lo nyi shu rtsa gcig lon pa de bag mar blangs nas pha ma'i thum gyi nor mdo sde dkon brtsegs kyis 'go byas pa'i nor thams cad sher rgyal la phogs phas pa la rin rgyal gyi chung ma na de <der?> rang re bu tsha mang po yod pa dang cha rkyen chung du song ba dang da rung sring mor chung ba gnyis kyang rang res rdzong dgos pa la pha ma'i shul gyi nor yod tshad sher rgyal la byin pa de ma legs zer nas rin rgyal la ngo gnag shing 'thab sha byas kyang gtad tshar nas byed thabs med par song skad/ de nas stag gi lam <lo?> zla ba bcu pa'i tshes bcu bzhi'i snga dro dkar legs la bu zhig skyes pa la dge bshes tsa pa grags pa bsod pas mi glu grub mgon bya bar gdags/ bus lo gsum dang zhags bdun lon dus su bu mo cig skyes pa la mgon po skyid bya bar btags la yar tshar zhing glen ma 'dra ba cig byung bas pe ta zer ba yin/ lha bon pa zhang po dge bshes tsa ba rang lags skad/ bus ni glu srung byed mi mthong na de la dga' bas pha ma'i rtsar mi chags par rtsed mo la 'gro zhing kho rang yang glu srung len pa cig byung bas der ming yang thos pa dga' bya bar grags la/ 'di la gnam rgyud gnyis yod pa rnam thar chen mor gsal zhing/ der bus lo gsum dang zla ba bzhi lon/ bu mos zla ba bzhi lon dus na/ dkar legs lo nyis shu rtsa bzhi lon pa dang sher rgyal po nyi shu rtsa gcig lon dus su der shi bas dge rtsa bzang po byas kyang da rung cha rkyen chen po yod la/ de nas dkar

legs lo nyis shu rtsa bdun lon pa dang pho gnyen mo gnyen tshogs nas gros byas nas da yugs sa yang sangs pas/ dkar legs rin rgyal gyi bu dang dus cig sdod dgos zer ba la/ dkar legs na re sher rgyal 'dra ba'i skyes pa shi nas bu tshab <tsha> 'di gnyis mi skyong bar da ngas tshe 'di la skyes pa gzhan dang sdod ri zer nas mna' bskyal nas nyan du ma 'dod/ der rin rgyal gyis khyod nga'i bu dang mi sdod na/ ngas nor tsho len zer nas gsung rab dkon brtsegs kyis 'og byas pa'i nor thams cad khyer ba dang nye du thams cad kyang rin rgyal bden zer nas dkar legs la 'thab skad/ dge bshes tsa pas dkar legs kyi phyogs mdzad nas kha bzung yang nye mnyam du song bas bya thabs tsam yang ma byung nas ma smad gsum nan tar sdug par yod pa las/ rje btsun de dus lo lnga pa yin zer/ de nas dkar legs kyi pha ma gnyis kar shi nas sngar las kyang sdug tu song yod par 'dug la/ de nas rje btsun lo bdun lon pa dang/ dge bshes tsa ba'i drung du bzhag nas ma smad gnyis po khang stong der sdod pa la zas gos ci yang med/ yul mi khyim mtshes rnams kyis kyang dkar legs ls khyod skud po'i bu dang mi sdod pa zer nas 'thab cing shin tu sdug pa'i tshod du song la/ dge bshes tsa pa tang nye du rnams kyis thos pa dga' sdod du ma 'jug zer nas skur pa 'debs so/ rje btsun ni de dus na yang thugs rgyus che bas klog bzang po shes yod par 'dug/ mas bkal thags byed/ pe tas yas 'dra len byed pa la/ rin rgyal pha spad bza' tsho rnams kyis ni/ rje btsun dang pe ta gar mthong yang rdo rdeg par byed cing/ dkar legs la yang rdung ni mi phod de/ kha ngan tshig ngan zlos te/ de nas dge bshes pas kyang thugs kyis mi phod na yang/ thos pa dga' da khyod snying rje bar 'dug ste/ da 'gro dgos par 'dug gsung ste bton nas btang/ de dus na rje btsun lo bcu bdun pa yin gsung/ ma smad gsum ltogs ris shi la khad nas yod dus sngar gyi go mi zhig gis chang rgyu cig byin pa de bcos te/ nye du rnams bsags nas khu bo la blud nas da nged ma smad la nor dum cig blang byas pas dum cig ster ba skad zer ba la su <bu> smad kyis bsgyur nas ster du ma 'dod/ de nas rje btsun gyi glu len/ pe tas yas len/ lam zan 'dra blangs/ mas bka' <bkal> thags byed cing/ gos med zas med la tshe ye ma phyid nas/ yang dge bshes pa dang sngar gyi go mi ma des phag tu nas bre do byin pa de chang btsos na khu bo la khong mi gzhan gyis ni/ nyon spu btsong spu ngo len byed cing yang 'dug pa nga rang dag mo nor la rten yang chog ste/ khyed rang gi tsha yug <yugs> 'di kun ltogs ris shi ba la dgos pa ci yod byas nas zhu ba byas pas kho chang gi bzi se byas nas nan tar rang yin na ma smad gsum kar bsad na ci yin zer te dkar legs la rdo cig brgyab/ rje btsun rdog ril byas nas do bsad/ pe ta sgo na mar bros nas bya rgyu med cing/ khu bo song tsa na ma smad gsum 'tshogs nas ngu yin yod tsa na/ yang sgo tsa na mi cig slebs grags pa dang/ yang khu bo yin bsam nas bu tsha gnyis ngu yin bsdad/ mas gri dang ber ka gzung nas bkras khar sgugs pas khu bo men <min> par go mi bza' rgyu 'dra khyer nas sems gso ba la yong pa yin par 'dug zer/ 'di la ni dus phyis kyang rje btsun chen pos go mi de rigs drug nas legs par 'don pa'i gnyer ka nga la yod pa yin/ yang yang gsung skad/ de dus na kho bo dag a cang che ste/ a ne kun ngan par byung gsung/ gar phyin pa na yang khu bo tshang dang 'phrad dogs pa'i sems khral chen po yod gsung skad/ der nyin gcig ni ma phar ri na yar me shing 'thu yin yod tsa na/ mi tshang cig gis mdos cig bskyal ba la pe tas yas len du phyin pas gtor ma la bsnyabs pas lag pa khyi'i khar shor bas khyi'i mgo rdog pa brgyab pas khyis lag pa btang nas 'doms na tshur bsnyabs te mo mtshan la phug pas sdug skad chen po shor ba dang mas thur la rgyugs nas yongs pas/ pha ri'i sbal pa kha gdangs

can du rhab la 'gril bas/ kha ngo brag la phog nas kha so chag/ lus po nyag nyog du song nas bu mo'i rtsar slebs nas 'dong ste yar yong tsa na/ rje btsun rtsa phu na yar skyur srung la song ba pha spun tsho dang phrad pas brdungs shing rdog ril byas/ mgo bcag nas mar yong ba dang/ ma smad gsum kar lam ka na khrag tsa re 'dzoms pas thos pa dga' ni da rung glu len cing 'dug pa dang mas a pa khyod 'dra ba'i bsam rlag can cig yod pa ang/ rang re ma smad gsum las sdug pa sa steng na med/ khu bos gsod la thug cing las 'di la slebs nas yod pa la/ khyod da rung glu len pa rang dran rgya che ba byas nas ngus pas rje btsun yug pa zhig kha rog bstad nas 'dug la/ de nas 'o na a ma da ci byas pa drag/ yang na da rung a mas khu bo'i bu dang yug cig bsdad nas/ nor dum cig lon pa dang de nas rang re ma smad gar shed bros na drag gam zer bas/ mas sa spar gang bu'i ngo la gtor/ mo rang gi brang la khu tshur brgyab nas ngu zhung/ pha sher rgyal 'dra ba la bu khyod 'dra skye ba/ nga rin rgyal gyi bu dang yug cig bsdad nor len ran tsa na/ nga'i lus la pu <bu> tsa cig tshud pa dang/ khyed ming sring gnyis ltogs ris shi ba cig mi yong ngam zer nas ngu yin yod tsa na/ dge bshes tsam <tsa> pa dang sngar sher rgyal gyi mna' bcud yin zer ba'i shag po cig dang/ go mi ma de dang gsum po yongs nas/ ma smad gsum gyi khrag tsho phyis/ rma la sngags btab/ bza' rgyu 'dra byin nas sems gso yin yod pa la/ khu bo bza' tsho rnams kyis mi res ber ka re khyer yong nas shag po dang go mi ma la brgyab/ dge bshes pa la yang a khu bas nged la khyad gsod byed pa zhan/ mi si ba kun la yong ste/ dkar legs 'dis nged la sma dbabs chen po byas/ mo kha na so ma brjes pa'i <pa? gna' <mna'> ma yug sar lus pa la/ nga'i bu la sdod ma nyan zer nas ngar ba dang/ khong gnyis po bros nas song/ dge bshes pa thugs khros te/ rin rgyal la khyod nan tan rang nga rgyal che na/ ngas nor tsho 'phrog nas jo bo la gtad/ khyed rang rnams 'ba' de ra bton na ci yin/ dkar legs 'dra ba'i las su la yong ba/ bu tsha ltogs ris bzhag nas nor khyer bas mi chog par da rung khyod nga rgyal che ba/ mo bu tsha'i thog na sdug sgur byas pa yin pa/ skyes pa gzhan la song ba ni ma yin zer na sdge bshes dge bshes pa khros pa dang/ dge bshes pa yul mi kha drag tu song ba dang/ mi la tshang mi 'khyams su song bas ci yang smra ma phod zer bas 'di la ni dus phyis kyang/ mi la'i zhal nas zhang po de sku drin che gsung skad/.

**Mi la ras pa's Genealogy According to
Zhi byed ri pa's *Illuminating Lamp***



relation by birth —————

relation by marriage - - - - -

relation as *dbon* ·······

Tibetan Language Sources

DNM *Mdzod nag ma*

Editions:

- (1) Indian edition. Cover title: *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug mi la bzhad pa rdo rje'i gsung mgur ma mdzod nag ma zhes pa ka rma pa rang byung rdo rjes phyog bcig*. Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo. 1978. 2 vols.
- (2) Smith edition. Cover title: *Rje rnal sbyor gyi dbang phyug dpal bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i 'gur 'tshogs tshad phyogs gcig du bsgrig pa lo rgyus kyis sbas pa zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Unpublished *dbu med* manuscript.

Bstan 'dzin Chos kyi blo gros (1868-1906)

LCY *Gsang lam sgrub pa'i gnas chen nyer bzhi'i ya gyal gau dā wa ri'am/ 'brog la phyi gangs kyi ra ba'i sngon byung gi tshul las tsam pa'i gtam gyi rab tu phyed pa nyung ngu rnam gsal*. Gangtok: Sherab Gyaltzen. 1983

Byang chub bzang po (sixteenth century)

DKN *Bde mchog mkha' snyan rgyud (ras chung snyan rgyud)*. Reproduced from the rare manuscript in the library of Apha Rinpoche. 2 vols. Delhi. 1973.

Chos kyi dbang phyug, Brag dkar rta so sprul sku (1775-1837)

DKS *Dpal ldan gzhung 'brug pa bka' brgyud gser phreng*. Written 1820. Microfilm. Kathmandu, Nepal. NGMPP reel no. L381/1, 55 folios. *Dbu med* manuscript.

DTL *Grub pa'i gnas chen brag dkar rta so'i gnas dang gdan rabs bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mdo tsam brjod pa mos ldan dad pa'i gdung sel drang srong dga' ba'i dal gtam zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Written in 1816. Microfilm. Kathmandu, Nepal. NGMPP reel no. 940/8, 52 folios. *Dbu med* manuscript.

Don mo ri pa (b. 1203)

JMN *Rje btsun mi la'i rnam thar*. In *Rdo rje bdzes 'od, Bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'byung gnas*. Bir, India: D. Tsondu Senghe, 1985, pp. 176-218.

Grag pa 'byung gnas and Blo bzang mkhas grub

MD *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*. Lan kro'u: kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

Ngan rdzongs ston pa Byang chub rgyal po (b. late eleventh century), et. al.

BCN *Bu chen bcu gnyis*. Newark edition. Cover title: *Rje btsun chen po mid la ras pa'i rnam thar zab mo*. n.p., n.d. 244 folios. *Dbu can* manuscript in the collection of the Newark Museum, microfilm master negative No. 0001, the *Tibetan Book Collection*, Folio 36.280, *Biography of Milarepa*, IIB R 16.

Padma dkar po (1527-1592)

- DCJ *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung*. Gang-can rig-mdzod series no. 19. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs Bod-yig Dpe-rnying Dpe-skrun-khang. 1992.
- Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. 2004. *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700-1774) & 'Be lo tshe dbang kun khyap
- CSK *Karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba'i kha skong*. In *Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas kyi bka 'bum*. Vol. Da. Kangra, India: Sherab Ling Institute. 1990.
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- SDN *Mar mi dwags po jo bo rje yab sras sog dam pa 'ga' zhug gi rnam thar sa bon dus kyi nges pa brjod pa dag ldan nyung gsal*. In *Selected Writings of Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Nor bu*. 6 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyu Sungrab Nyamso Khang. 1973. Vol. 1, pp. 669-705.
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Marriage, Kinship, and Inheritance in Zhi byed ri pa's Account of Mi la ras pa's Early Life*

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he preceding article presents Zhi byed ri pa's fourteenth-century account of Mi la ras pa's life. The purpose of this follow-up article is to analyze marital and inheritance practices related to Mi la's childhood as described in that text.

Marriage and Kinship

Mi la's grandfather, Rdo rje rgyal po, married a woman classified as Dge shes Tsa pa's *dbon mo* and had two sons: Rin rgyal and Sher rgyal. The text states that Rin rgyal and Sher rgyal both married women classified as *sru chung*. Sher rgyal's spouse, Dkar legs, was also classified as Dge shes Tsa pa's *dbon mo*.

In the Old Tibetan Annals *dbon* refers to grandchild, and in the compound form *sras dbon* connotes male descendants, which can include direct (son, grandson) and collateral (brother's son, brother's grandson) descendants (Uebach 1980). The term *dbon* later assumed the dual meanings of grandchild and nephew, and nowadays is used as an honorific for *tsha* (grandchild or niece/nephew). In the case of Zhi byed ri pa's text, we can interpret *dbon mo* (*mo* is a feminine suffix) to mean that Rdo rje rgyal po married Dge shes Tsa pa's niece. Sher rgyal, Rdo rje rgyal po's son, most likely married Dge shes Tsa pa's grand niece.

Sru mo commonly means maternal aunt (mother's sister), which opens two possible interpretations for *sru chung*. The first is "mother's younger sister", but it is unlikely that a man would marry such a relative. Although incest prohibitions vary from one place to another, no known Tibetan society condones marriage to one's mother's sister.

The second and more likely interpretation is "cousin". Several Tibetan dialects contain a variant of *sru mo* in their kinship terminology, specifically, *ushu* in Khumbo (Schicklgruber 1993:343), *uru* in Sherpa (Fürer-Haimendorf 1964:76), and *sru ma* in Nyinba (Levine 1988:50). In addition to mother's sister, these terms refer to mother's brother's daughter. It therefore makes sense that *sru chung* (little/young *sru mo*) is used in Zhi byed ri pa's account to mean cousin, or more specifically, mother's brother's daughter. If this interpretation is correct, then Rin rgyal and Sher rgyal married first cousins—a liaison that would be considered incestuous in some, but not all, Tibetan societies.

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Tibetans generally prohibit marriage with a member of the same patrilineage (*rus*, or *rgyud*) unless a stipulated number of generations have passed since sharing a common ancestor. This guideline manifests in the distinction Tibetans make between kin who are classified as *spun* and *gnyen* (Levine 1988:50): the former connotes siblings and parallel-cousins (children of one's mother's sister or father's brother), the latter cross-cousins (children of one's mother's brother or father's sister). Marriage with *spun* is an unambiguous act of incest because that person is likely to share the same *rus*, or bone, which is understood by Tibetans to be the bodily substance a father contributes to his child through procreation. Marriage with *gnyen*, however, does not necessarily violate incest prohibitions because that person is unlikely to be "*rus gcig pa*," or "of the same bone." To illustrate, think of your own family as Tibetan. Your mother and her brother (your maternal uncle) are *rus gcig pa* through the principle of patrilineal descent. Because your mother was prohibited from marrying someone of the same *rus*, your father and mother's brother belong to different patrilineal descent groups and, by extension, you and your mother's brother's children (cross-cousins) also belong to different groups. Marriage with a cross-cousin does not violate the incest prohibition because a cross-cousin cannot be *rus gcig pa*.

Nevertheless, many Tibetans consider marriage with any first cousin (parallel or cross) to be incestuous (Stein 1972:95) on the principle that there needs to be several generations of separation on the matrilineal side as well. However, Benedict (1942) and Allen (1976) use linguistic analysis to argue that cross-cousin marriage was normative in Tibet's distant past (cf. Nagano 1994). Furthermore, anthropologists working throughout the Himalayan region have found cross-cousin marriage to be a common practice (Goldstein 1975; Hall 1978; Schuler 1987; Levine 1988; Mumford 1989; Schicklgruber 1993; Childs 2004). Specifically, Schuler (1987:130-131) reports that one-third of marriages among Chumik's commoner class are between cross-cousins, and Levine (1989:50) finds that Nyinba households prefer to repeat marriages with matrilineal cross-cousins over the course of generations. Schicklgruber (1993) argues that incentives for cross-cousin marriage include the ability to balance marital debts over time because a bride-receiving household is indebted to a bride-giving household, and a desire to ensure a daughter is well treated by sending her to a household consisting of close kin.

Based on the evidence presented above, we conclude that Rin rgyal and Sher rgyal each married cross-cousins, and that such relationships did not constitute incest in that particular Tibetan community at that time. In fact, the instrumental particle *pas* used in the text for this passage may demonstrate reason or cause. That is, the phrase "since she was a maternal cross-cousin she was betrothed to him" (*sru chung yin pas gnyen byas nas*) strongly implies that cross-cousins were not merely acceptable as spouses but sought after. Because only Sher rgyal's spouse is identified as Dge shes Tsa pa's *dbon mo* (grand-niece, as argued above), we can further deduce that the two women were not sisters.

Inheritance

Tibetan inheritance systems vary by place and time. For example, under the Dga' ldan pho brang government that administered Central Tibet from the mid seventeenth century to the 1950s, taxpayers (*khral pa*) held heritable rights to set amounts of land providing they met contractual tax obligations (Goldstein 1971). Technically, inheritance was on a per capita basis: each son had a right to an equal share. In reality, people took efforts to prevent dividing their property. For example, they engaged in polyandrous marriages to concentrate male labor within the household and pass assets intact from one generation to the next. Furthermore, the parents or eldest brother could refuse to bestow anything to a junior brother who wished to marry monogamously and establish a separate household (Goldstein 1978). Parents could also eliminate sons from the inheritance equation by sending one to a monastery, or to another household as a *mag pa* (matrilocally-resident husband) or *bu tshab* (adoptive son).

In contrast, many communities in the highlands of Nepal practice a system of partible inheritance. For example, in Nubri the eldest brother marries and brings his wife to his parents' home. After their first child is born the son claims his share of fields and livestock and moves into a separate house. When the youngest brother marries he brings his bride home and his parents bequeath their remaining assets to him. The parents can either remain with their youngest son who is expected to provide old age care, or move to a retirement home (Childs 2004, see also Schuler 1987 and Goldstein 1975).

Evidence from Zhi byed ri pa's account suggests that people in Mi la ras pa's village followed a system of partible inheritance. At the time of Rin rgyal's marriage the text states,

[His family] had commissioned many religious objects, including golden statues, extensive, medium-length, and [abbreviated] scriptures, and the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*. Many such items in their possession, the extensive, intermediate, and [abbreviated] scriptures foremost among them, were given to Rin rgyal.

The text only specifies religious accoutrements and texts Rin rgyal inherited but does not mention the most fundamental assets for a rural Tibetan family—land and animals. Perhaps in the context of a *rnam thar* the author felt it would be trivial to mention mundane possessions. Regardless, the ensuing disputes constitute solid evidence that, upon marriage, Rin rgyal received part of his father's estate and moved out from his natal household to establish a separate residence.

Regarding Sher rgyal's marriage, the text states,

When Sher rgyal turned seventeen, Dge bshes Tsa pa had a grand-niece (*dbon mo*) named Nyang bza' dkar legs and since she was a maternal cousin (*sru chung*) she was betrothed (*gnyen byas*) to him. When he turned eighteen he had the means to welcome her and Mid la Rdo rje rgyal po brought the couple together (*khag shibs*). When

[Sher rgyal] turned nineteen, and Dkar legs was twenty-one, he took her as a bride (*bag mar blangs*).

First, the passage implies that a Tibetan marriage during Mi la ras pa's time could involve a sequence of events over time, as is common today. In this case it started with a betrothal (*gnyen byas*, perhaps similar to *slong chang* or engagement ceremony), followed by bringing the couple together or allowing them to become acquainted (*khag shibs*), and culminated in a formal ceremony whereby the groom brings his bride back to his home (*bag mar blangs*).

Furthermore, the phrase "means to welcome her" (*bsu tshis yin pa*) can be interpreted as "economic means to get married," that is, Rdo rje rgyal po agreed to provide Sher rgyal the requisite inheritance to start his own family. Because Rdo rje rgyal po and his wife made the arrangements, we can infer that Dkar legs (Mi la's mother) moved into a household consisting of her husband, father-in-law, and mother-in-law.

Regarding Sher rgyal's inheritance, the text states, "All of his parents' wealth, headed by the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*, was given to Sher rgyal." In this case "all of his parent's wealth" refers to all that was left after Rin rgyal had claimed his inheritance. This interpretation is confirmed in the subsequent passage when Rin rgyal's wife refers to Sher rgyal's inheritance as the parents' "remaining wealth" (*shul gyi nor*).

In summary, both sons received parts of their father's estate. Rin rgyal, the elder, established a separate residence upon marriage whereas Sher rgyal, the younger, continued to co-reside with his parents after marriage presumably as a means to support the elders. Tensions emerged when Rin rgyal's wife declared,

We have many children and our material conditions have deteriorated. Because the two youngest daughters will require a dowry from us, it is inappropriate for Sher rgyal to get all of the parents' remaining wealth.

Rin rgyal's wife's argument, that their economic condition was deteriorating because they had many children, was spurious. The only two people who mattered in the inheritance equation were Rin rgyal and Sher rgyal. Both were entitled to equal shares. Rin rgyal obviously had more children when Sher rgyal married because he was older and had a considerable head start on reproduction. Rin rgyal's wife made an unreasonable demand, an interpretation supported by the text which states she became mean-spirited and combative toward her husband albeit there was nothing they could do about it.

Rin rgyal and Sher rgyal should have been able to supervise independent households. However, Sher rgyal died when Mi la was a toddler, thereby setting in motion the next phase of the drama. Mi la, Sher rgyal's only legitimate son, was the rightful heir to his father's property. However, he was too young to work, let alone manage the agricultural land and domestic animals of his father's estate. Dkar legs, a young widow with two small children, was in no position to undertake the myriad chores required to run a rural household.

One option to resolve the dilemma would be for Dkar legs to marry Rin rgyal. Technically this would be possible because Tibetans practice levirate marriage, the custom whereby a man marries his deceased brother's widow (see Stein 1972:98, 102-103; Hall 1978:57; Schuler 1987:76; Childs 2004:135-139). Polygyny is also acceptable in many Tibetan societies, and presumably Rin rgyal's wife would have to approve of such an arrangement. But economically this would not be an ideal option. Although Rin rgyal would add assets to his own estate, he would also add more inheritors: Mi la and any subsequent sons born to Dkar legs. His wife was already complaining about the economic hardships incurred by having many children, so it is unlikely she would agree to add more to the equation.

Rin rgyal instead proposed that Dkar legs marry his son. Rin rgyal was older than Sher rgyal, so it is plausible that one of his sons was roughly the same age as Dkar legs or perhaps younger. Tibetans see no problem for a younger man to marry an older woman. Sher rgyal, for example, was three years younger than Dkar legs. From Rin rgyal's perspective, a marriage between Dkar legs and his son would make sense. With six sons, Rin rgyal had a motive to minimize the division of his assets. What he proposed was a variation of the *mag pa* (matrilocally-resident husband) option that would allow him to remove one son from his inheritance equation. That son would move in with Dkar legs; any male offspring resulting from the union would become eligible to inherit Sher rgyal's estate along with their half brother Mi la.

Based on the reactions of family and community members, the option described above seems to have been appropriate. However, Dkar legs declined the marriage proposal and from the ensuing dialogue we can infer that she was concerned for the welfare of her children. On the one hand, she feared they would be ill treated by their uncle and stepfather, while on the other hand she did not want to dilute Mi la's future inheritance by bearing more children. Dkar legs' refusal prompted Rin rgyal to take action.

At this, Rin rgyal said, "If you won't live with my son, I will take your possessions." He then carried away all her possessions, beginning with the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*. All the relatives said that Rin rgyal was in the right and they turned belligerent toward Dkar legs.

Apparently, Rin rgyal was entitled to assume control over his deceased brother's possessions—at least in the capacity as caretaker until the legitimate heir, Mi la, came of age. That Mi la was considered the rightful heir is supported in subsequent sections. When Mi la was 17 years old, an appropriate age for initiating a marriage proposal, Dkar legs tried to reclaim her son's property.

The mother and two children were on the verge of starvation when a friendly former monk gave them ingredients for making *chang*, which they prepared. [The mother] gathered her relatives together, poured [*chang*] for the uncle [Rin rgyal], and said, "Now mother and children will take a share of the possessions." [The uncle Rin rgyal] replied, "I will give you a share," but then his wife changed his mind, and he no longer wished to give it.

Rin rgyal's initial consent supports the viewpoint that he was acting as caretaker of his nephew's property until Mi la reached a suitable age for marriage. Unfortunately, Rin rgyal's wife intervened to scuttle the agreement. Rin rgyal not only refused a subsequent request, but flew into a drunken rage beating and abusing his destitute and powerless kin. Dispossessed of his rightful inheritance, Mi la and family were destined for a life of poverty. Perhaps one can now better understand why he and his mother developed such a keen desire to avenge the loss.

Concluding Remarks

Our purpose in writing this essay is to exemplify how analysis of social and cultural norms can lead to a greater appreciation for conflicts presented in Tibetan historical narratives. Zhi byed ri pa no doubt had an intuitive understanding about the issues he documented, and felt little need to explain the significance of kinship relationships and norms of inheritance. His contemporaries would easily grasp the relationships and obligations created and maintained through marriage, and would be aghast at the breach of protocol when Mi la was dispossessed of his rightful inheritance. But for a foreign readership, and even for a Tibetan raised in an ever-changing cultural environment, the full significance of events is not always obvious. Moreover, Zhi byed ri pa's text provides an early and exceptionally detailed description of village life on Tibet's southern border with Nepal. For the modern reader, it offers a rare window into the complex events that shaped the childhood of Tibet's great religious figure as well as the famed story of his life. We therefore hope that the above analysis provides a greater appreciation for the tribulations faced by Mi la ras pa in his youth, and the social complexities of Tibetan village society.

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Clapping hands in sKyid grong? Logical and contextual aspects of a famous debate narrative

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“The rock of the heretics, as high as the Sumeru, was reduced to dust by the lightning of the thunderbolt of logic issued from the palace of the thunder of omniscient mercy.”

*mkhyen brtse'i dbyar skyes khang bzang las // rigs tshul rdo rje'i me char gyis //
mu stegs brag ri rab mtho ba // rdul phran lta bur phyer brlag ste //
(Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,
Chos kyi rje sa skya pandi ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi
rtogs pa brjod pa dri za'i glu dbyangs)*

Abstract

Debate narratives found in biographical and historical materials constitute a promising source for the study of the actual practice of debate both in the Indian and Tibetan traditions. This paper investigates the account of a debate opposing the renown Tibetan Buddhist master Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) to a group of Indian non-Buddhist teachers based on the biography composed by one of Sa skya Paṇḍita's disciples, lHo pa kun mkhyen. The argumentative statements attributed to Sa skya Paṇḍita are analyzed from a rhetorical and a logical point of view — the paper traces a plausible source for the core argument in the *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā* and *Tarkajvālā* — and evaluated in view of Sa skya Paṇḍita's theory of argumentation. In the conclusion, we discuss the likelihood that lHo pa's narrative relates a historical event, and to what extent his account can be deemed representative of face-to-face debate in thirteenth-century Tibet.

1. Introduction

Debating is a conspicuous aspect of Tibetan Buddhist scholarly practices and handclapping undoubtedly belongs, in Western perception, to the trademarks of Tibetan monasticism. While the religious and institutional background, as well as the form and the function of modern Tibetan debate have been the object of several studies,¹ the origin and development of such a practice, whether used in actual philosophical confrontation or for didactic purposes, remains to be clarified.

Debate has played an important role in Tibetan Buddhism since the early days of the Earlier Diffusion (*snga dar*). Indian visiting scholars certainly were influential in this regard. It is revealing for instance that Śāntarakṣita,

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¹ See notably Dreyfus 2003, Liberman 2007 and Onoda 1992.

who visited Tibet twice under the reign of King Khri srong lde btsan, is depicted in the *dBa' bzhed* as incarnating the “logical force” in the establishment of Buddhism, working in pair with Padmasambhava’s “magical” one.² As for his student Kamalaśīla, his involvement in the Great Debate of bSam yas speaks for itself. In addition to the direct influence exerted by such living examples of Indian scholarship, Tibetan scholars became acquainted with the rules of debate propounded by Indian Buddhist thinkers as Dharmakīrti’s *Vādanyāya* and its commentary by Śāntarakṣita were translated into Tibetan.³ As Tibetan epistemological scholarship significantly developed in the early centuries of the Later Diffusion (*phyi dar*), notably around the monastery of gSang phu Ne’u thog, Tibetan scholars were elaborating theories of argumentation, in particular in connection with Dharmakīrti’s discussion of “inference-for-others” (*parārthānumāna*, *gzhan don rjes dpag*) in his *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. They appear to have also been active in its applied aspect, debate. One learns for instance from Śākya mchog ldan that Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169), whose name is closely associated in the Tibetan tradition with the development of an indigenous epistemological system and the elaboration of new methods of argumentation, entered a debate on Madhyamaka interpretation with the visiting Kāśmīrī scholar Jayānanda, with the translator Khu mdo sde ’bar acting as an intermediate between the two.⁴ The *Blue Annals* mention scholars going on “debating tours” (*rtsod pa’i grwa skor*).⁵ Also, the practice of using debate for pedagogical purpose, as a tool for studying, had developed by the thirteenth century.⁶

The epistemological treatises by gSang phu authors that have become available to us in recent years include, as mentioned, considerable discussion on argumentation. They do not, however, shed much light on the

² In the *dBa' bzhed*, Śāntarakṣita addresses King Khri srong lde btsan in the following terms at the time of his second visit: “We will compete against all the Tibetan non-Buddhists (*mu stegs*); in logic (*gtan tshigs*) they will have to vie with me, in magic they will have to vie with the mantrin from U rgyan, Padmasambhava” (folio 12a3–4: *bod kyi mu stegs kun dang gtan tshigs ni bdag dang 'dran la; rdzu 'phrul ni u rgyan <gyi> sngags mkhan pad ma sam bha ba dang 'dran te ...* Transl. mine; for Wangdu and Diemberger’s translation see *dBa' bzhed* p. 55).

³ The *Vādanyāya* is already included among the “translations in progress” in the lHan kar catalogue. It was translated and revised around the middle of the eleventh century, while Śāntarakṣita’s commentary was translated around 1100. Sa skya Paṇḍita and Rigs pa’i ral gri mention a second commentary, by Śaṅkaranandana, which would have entered Tibet thanks to Dānaśīla (see Hugon forthcoming). On the influence of the *Vādanyāya* on Tibetan argumentation theories in the early centuries of the Later Diffusion, see *ibid.* Previous works on *vāda*, by Vasubandhu and Dignāga, were not translated into Tibetan.

⁴ See *dBu ma’i byung tshul* 13b5–6: *phya pa dbu ma rang rgyud la bshad nyan byed pa’i dus su / zla ba’i zhabs kyi brgyud 'dzin paṇḍi ta dza ya a nanta zhes pa zhig bod du byon / dbu ma la 'jug pa’i 'grel bshad mdzad / de’i dus su phya pas dngos su brtsad cing...* (cf. Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 37 n. 68) and *dBu ma rgya mtsho, le’u gnyis pa*, pha 53b2–4: *thog mar slob dpon phya pa’i drung du rang rgyud kyi tshul la legs par sbyangs pa dag go // de’i tshes kha che’i paṇḍi ta dza ya ā nanda / bod du byon nas... zla ba’i gzhung lugs gsal bar mdzad pa yin la / de’i tshes slob dpon phya pa dang / kha che ā nanda gnyis khu lo tstsha ba bar du brgyud pa’i rtsod pa byas pas phya pa rgyal lo zhes bya ba’i gtam du bya ba dag kyang snang...* (cf. van der Kuijp 1993b: 193). Śākya mchog ldan provides in the following folios a summarized account of Phya pa’s arguments involving nine points (three threefold arguments).

⁵ See Hugon forthcoming, n. 2.

⁶ It is criticized by Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251); see notably *mKhas 'jug* ad III.15 and ad III.34.

question of actual debating practices in this early period.⁷ Indeed, the models of argumentation presented in these works are prescriptive rather than descriptive and their authors adopt a perspective on debate that concentrates on argumentative statements rather than on debate as a global event. One can, at most, reconstruct for some of them the sequence that these statements are supposed to follow.

It is thus necessary to turn to different sources in order to satisfy our curiosity regarding the more practical aspects involved in face-to-face debates in the early centuries of the Later Diffusion. In this regard, I was greatly inspired by two recent studies addressing this question with regard to India. The first, by Johannes Bronkhorst (Bronkhorst 2007), examines the modes of debate in classical and medieval India by considering a twelfth-century inscription, found near Sravana Belgola, that makes references to situations of debate involving patriarchs of the Digambara branch of Jainism. The second is an essay by José Cabezón (Cabezón 2008) based on Tibetan and Chinese debate narratives involving great Indian Buddhist thinkers. These two studies demonstrate how factual information about actual debating practices can be collected from these sources, but also, especially for the material studied by Cabezón, the heavy symbolism and conventions that lay behind narrative structures. As Cabezón points out, the account of arguments in historical and hagiographical literature, in epics and in drama, have received little scholarly attention, but are likely to constitute, when considered with due care, a promising source of information for us to gain some sense of the circumstances and processes of actual debates.

Following these scholars' lead, I examine in the present paper the narrative of a debate involving a Tibetan master, who is no other than the famous Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), alias Sa paṇ. The debate between Sa skya Paṇḍita and non-Buddhist masters that allegedly took place in sKyid grong constitutes an especially interesting case of study. First, it is a very rare instance of a debate opposing a Tibetan thinker to a non-Buddhist scholar at the time of the Later Diffusion — actually the only one I could find so far.⁸ Even though non-Buddhist thinkers remained opponents of choice in Tibetan literature, by the time of the Later Diffusion, there must have been few occasions for Tibetan Buddhists to debate with Indian non-Buddhists, and virtually none in Tibet proper. Secondly, Sa paṇ ascribes to debating an important place in Buddhist scholarship and identifies it, along with composition (*rtsom*) and exposition (*'chad*), as an essential competence that scholars should master. The third section of his *mKhas 'jug*, where he deals with this ideal program, is accordingly devoted to the question of correct debating, and includes elaborate discussions concerning the proper way to debate with Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist opponents. We thus have here an ideal opportunity to

⁷ On the argumentation theories of these early logicians see Hugon forthcoming.

⁸ According to Glo bo mkhan chen, this is a unique case (*mKhas 'jug rnam bshad* 24a4–5: *nge na bod kyi paṇḍi tas phyi rol mu stegs byed kyi rgol ba bzlog pa ni / chos rje 'di kho nar zad do //*). The *Deb sngon* (285–286) relates a debate between Buddhists and Indian non-Buddhists when listing the “four wonderful spectacles” related in the life story of Lha rje zla ba'i 'od zer (1123–1182). But it is not Lha rje, but his teacher Jayasena who gets involved in this debate opposing, in Nepal, for the New Year festival, 2000 *jaṭila* (*ral pa can*) and 2000 Buddhist paṇḍitas and yogins. Chogay Trichen Rinpoche's modern biographical account (Chogay 1983: 18) claims that “Sakya Pandita was the first Tibetan to defeat Indian scholars in debate.”

examine a theoretician in action by assessing the kind of argumentative strategy that is attributed to him by the authors of the various sources that mention the event. By the concluding section, we will discuss the plausibility of the encounter itself and evaluate to what extent the narrative considered gives us an accurate picture of an actual debate or of a debate as it could have taken place in these days.

2. The sKyid grong debate – sources and scenarios

2.1 Sources

Sa paṅ's debate against a group of Indian non-Buddhist opponents is quite famous and provides a popular motif in pictorial representations of Sa paṅ.⁹ Accounts of the debate — varying from a few sentences to several folios — occur in various types of sources that deal with Sa skya Paṅḍita's life: *rnam thar* by his students (contemporaneous and posthumous), biographies by authors of later generations, genealogical and religious histories, political and general histories, as well as biographical sketches found in commentaries on his works.¹⁰ The earliest extant material includes biographies by lHo pa kun mkhyen Rin chen dpal and Zhang rgyal ba dpal, that cover Sa paṅ's life up to his departure to Ködan's court, and a posthumous account authored, according to its colophon, by Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan.¹¹ Unfortunately, a number of other early biographies by Sa paṅ's

⁹ For an example, see <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/356.html>.

¹⁰ The main accessible accounts of Sa paṅ's life have been listed by Jackson (1987: 23). For a list of the sources used in this paper, see the references preceded by a star in the bibliography.

¹¹ Mekata (2009) contests this attribution and suggests that the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* was instead composed by Yar klungs pa Byang chub rgyal mtshan. Her conclusion is based on the study of an anonymous biography (*terminus ad quem* fourteenth century) that cites repeatedly from two works identified respectively as the “rNam thar rgyas pa” and the “rNam thar bsdus pa” in the text. Mekata shows in her paper that the quotations from the first are literally identical to the text of the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* published in the *Lam 'bras slob bshad*, and suggests that the *rNam thar rgyas pa* (or *rNam thar tshigs bcad ma rgyas pa* as it is called in the colophon) is none other than the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring*. The colophon of the manuscript studied by Mekata attributes the *rNam thar tshigs bcad ma rgyas pa* to Yar lung pa Byang chub rgyal mtshan. Mekata shows that the second text cited in this anonymous biography, identified as the “rNam thar bsdus pa,” is the *Chos kyi rje sa skya paṅḍita chen po'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus pa*, or *Chos rgyal ma*. The colophon of the manuscript states that the biography is “extensive compared to the *rNam thar tshigs bcad ma* composed Yar lung pa Grags pa.” Mekata identifies this “rNam thar tshigs bcad ma” with the short title “rNam thar bsdus pa” used in the text, and on this basis ascribes to Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan the authorship of the *Chos rgyal ma*. Mang thos and gSang rgyas phun tshogs Ngor chen attribute a “rNam thar tshigs bcad ma rgyas pa” to Byang chub rgyal mtshan and a “rNam thar bsdus pa” to Grags pa rgyal mtshan, but some evidence would be needed in addition to the similarity of terminology to establish conclusively that, by these descriptions, they mean, respectively, the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* and the *Chos rgyal ma*. Zhu chen attributes the “Chos rgyal ma chung” to Yar klungs pa Byang chub rgyal mtshan. On the attributions to the two Yar klungs pa, see also Jackson 1987: 33, n. 5 and 6. As Mrs Mekata kindly informed me, there is no mention of the debate in the anonymous biography she studied. The *Chos rgyal ma* praises Sa paṅ for his capacities as a logician but without a specific mention of the debate in sKyid grong (*Chos rgyal ma* 71,7–10: *rtog ge ngan pa'i rgo ba thams cad bzlog // rloms pas khengs pa'i rtog ge zil gyis gnon // mkhas pa'i grags pas sa steng thams cad khyab // 'jigs bral khyod la spyi bos phyag*

students are lost, such as a biography by 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge,¹² as well as biographies by Bi ji Rin chen grags,¹³ Dam pa Kun dga' grags and Bar ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan that were known to the author of the *gSung sgros ma*, a biography of Sa paṇ included in the collected works of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456).¹⁴

Apart from works that include an account of Sa paṇ's life, references to this debate are also found in texts related to the region the debate took place, namely sKyid grong.¹⁵

There is, in addition, a versified composition found among Sa paṇ's works that bears the title "Verses of the subduing of the six non-Buddhist teachers" (*Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug btul ba'i tshigs bcad*).¹⁶ These verses themselves occur in several biographies (see below 3.V). Most of the sources that only mention the event in a very brief way¹⁷ actually do not give more information than what is found in the colophon of this work.

'tshal lo //). 'Phags pa's biography of Sa paṇ does not mention the debate either. Another early account by dMar ston Chos kyi rgyal po (ca. 1198–1259), also a student of Sa paṇ, is found along that of other *Lam 'bras* masters in his *Zhib mo rdo rje*. dMar ston's account covers Sa paṇ's life from his birth up to his studies with Spyi bo lhas pa following his ordination. It ends on the mention of Sa paṇ's mastering of the five sciences and of the three scholarly competences of the wise. It does not mention a debate in sKyid grong.

¹² See Jackson 1987: 18, who indicates that this biography is mentioned in the *A mdo chos 'byung* of dKon mchog bstan pa seng ge.

¹³ The latter's biography also appears to have been known by the author of the biography studied in Mekata 2009, for in the colophon, the author states that his biography is smaller than the one by 'Bri 'tshams pa rin chen dpal (=IHo pa kun mkhyen) and "Bi ci rin chen grags pa."

¹⁴ See Mekata 2006 for a study of this biography, and Jackson 1987: 19 and Mekata 2006: 63–64 on the attribution of authorship to Ngor chen. Mekata questions this attribution, pointing out that in his *Thob yig rgya mtsho*, Ngor chen refers to Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Bla ma rgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus*, Bla ma dam pa's *Bla ma brgyud rnam thar*, and a *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar zhib mo* of unidentified authorship, but does not mention the seven biographical works listed in the colophon of the *gSung sgros ma*. The *gSung sgros ma* is sometimes attributed to 'Phags pa, as is the case for instance in the list of hagiographies of *Lam 'bras* teachers compiled by Lama Choedak T. Yuthok (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/tib/sakya-la.htm>). The account of the debate found in the *gSung sgros ma* repeats the one from the biography by Zhang rgyal ba dpal (*Zhang rnam thar*), a work also mentioned in its colophon.

¹⁵ See notably the texts mentioned in n. 38.

¹⁶ The *Mu stegs tshigs bcad* consists of 12 lines of 15 syllables, and of 8 lines of 8 syllables, followed by a colophon in prosa (see appendix 2). The verses themselves are non-specific; they represent a colorful description of Indian representatives of various non-Buddhist currents, and claim the superiority of the Buddhist teaching and that of Sa paṇ as a subduer of non-Buddhist teachers. It is the colophon that specifies: "In the center of Tshong dus*, at a place near the temple of the Āryavati in sKyid grong, Mang yul, the six non-Buddhist teachers, 'Phrog byed dga' ba, etc., having been vanquished, converted to Buddhism [lit.: entered into the Buddha's teaching]; this was composed at the time of their ordination." *Mu stegs tshigs bcad* 220b2–3: *mang yul skyid grong 'phags pa wa ti'i gtsug lag khang dang nye ba'i sa'i cha / tshong dus kyi dbus su / 'phrog byed dga' ba la sogs pa / mu stegs kyi ston pa drug pham par byas nas / sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la bcug ste / rab tu byung ba'i dus su sbyar ba'o //*.

* I take "Tshong dus" to be an orthographic variant of Tshong 'dus, that is, a toponyme. Tucci translates literally "in the middle of the market place" (Tucci 1949: 680 n. 36).

¹⁷ They are, in the sources consulted, the accounts by Zhang rgyal ba dpal (*Zhang rnam thar*), sTag tshang rdzong pa (*rGya bod yig tshang*), Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (*gSung sgros ma*, which repeats the account of *Zhang rnam thar*), sTag tshang Lo tsā ba, Sangs rgyas phun tshogs Ngor chen (*Ngor chos 'byung*), Zhu chen (*lDe mig*), Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (*Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*). Śākya mchog ldan's brief account (*Chos 'khor rnam gzhag*),

2.2 Place and time

The sources agree on the location of the debate, sKyid grong,¹⁸ and some locate it more precisely in the village of Tshong 'dus (sometimes spelled Tshong dus), in Mang yul, in the vicinity of the Āryavati temple.¹⁹ sKyid grong (the name designates a district as well as a town) is situated near the present border of Nepal, about 200km north of Kathmandu (ca. 28°, 85°). Invaded by the kingdom of Ya rtse (south-west of sPu rang) in the late 30s of the thirteenth century,²⁰ in 1267 it became part of the Mang yul gung thang kingdom, which was under Sa skya pa jurisdiction during the Sa skya-Yuan rule of Tibet.²¹ Since 1960, sKyid grong (吉隆) has been included in the gZhis ka rtse prefecture of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Āryavati temple, or 'Phags pa lha khang, was, until 1959, the home of the Āryavati bzang po figure, one of the four or five "brothers Ārya[-Avalokiteśvara]," which is nowadays kept in Dharamsala.²²

The event precedes Sa paṅ's departure to Ködan's court in 1244. A few biographers specify a date for it: Sa paṅ's 51st year (i.e., 1232) according to Zhu chen Tshul khri ms rin chen (1700–1769?); Sa paṅ's 59th year (i.e., 1240) according to Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523–1594/96) and Sangs rgyas phun tshogs Ngor chen (1649–1705).²³

That Sa paṅ visited sKyid grong is confirmed by local sources that mention the members of local families who received teachings from him; some of these sources also mention Sa paṅ's victory over a non-Buddhist but do not appear to provide a date for it.²⁴

on the other hand, provides original details not found elsewhere. He states for instance that the debate was held in Sanskrit (see n. 133).

¹⁸ Spelt "sKyid rong" by lHo pa kun mkhyen (*lHo rnam thar* 53a6), "sKyid grong" by Bla ma dam pa (*Bla ma brgyud rnam thar* A 41a4; B 36b6), "Kyid grong" by Bo dong Paṅ chen (*Lam 'bras lo rgyus* 70b6), and "Khyid rong" by sTag tshang rdzong pa dPal 'byor bzang po (*rGya bod yig tshang* 323,3). Śākya mchog ldan (*Chos 'khor rnam gzhag* 5b4) locates the event in "sKyid pa'i grong khyer" ("the town of happy people"). According to Vitali (2007: 287, n. 3), the name sKyid grong seems to be an abridgement of "sKyid pa'i grong khyer," or of "sKyid mi grong bdun" ("the seven villages of happy people").

¹⁹ These four indications pertaining to the location of the debate occur together in the early biography of lHo pa kun mkhyen and in the "Verses of the subduing of the six non-Buddhist teachers." Some later sources mention only the temple (*bsTan rtsis*, *Ngor chos 'byung*), some only sKyid grong (*Bla ma brgyud rnam thar*, *sDom gsum legs bshad*, *rGya bod yig tshang*, *sTag tshang gdung rabs*, *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*).

²⁰ Vitali (2003: 74) situates the first war between the Ya rtse and Gung thang kingdoms between 1235 and 1239. According to Everding (2000: 373–374), the invasion of the Ya rtse troops in Gung thang must be dated with 1238 as *terminus post quem*.

²¹ On the early history of sKyid grong, see Everding 2000 on the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century and the chronology of mNga' ris skor gsum from the tenth to the fifteenth century in Vitali 2003. Vitali 2007 deals with the history of two noble families of sKyid grong.

²² See Ehrhard 2004.

²³ Mang thos's account is found in *bsTan rtsis* 304,11–16. Cf. Everding 2000: 354, n. 903. Sangs rgyas phun tshogs's account (*Ngor chos 'byung* 316,6–7) is literally identical to it. Zhu chen's account (*lDe mig* 41b3–6) is possibly based on the one by Sang rgyas phun tshogs, but it is somewhat more developed, and proposes a different date for the event.

²⁴ See Vitali 2007: 301–302. Vitali cites from the *rTen gsum gzhengs pa'i dkar chag*, a text from the 17th century that mentions the debate in sKyid grong in connection with Sa paṅ's meeting with Bla chen Nyi ma, also known as "Jam dpal gling pa." The debate is mentioned also in the *Byams pa phun tshogs kyi rnam thar*, in connection with Sa paṅ's invitation to gNas Byang chub gling bya Khang ston 'Od zer rgyal mtshan and his brother

It remains a moot point whether the debate coincided with the visit to sKyid grong of Sa paṅ's nephew, 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280). According to Zhu chen, who situates the debate in 1232, 'Phags pa accompanied his uncle to sKyid grong in his fourth year, i.e., in 1238; according to Mang thos, 'Phags pa came with him in his sixth year, i.e., in 1240. Everding argues in favor of the coincidence of 'Phags pa's visit with the debate on the basis of Mang thos's account, but rejects the date of 1240 and instead proposes the year 1238 in view of historical sources that mention the meeting of Sa paṅ with rGyal ba Yang dgon pa on his way to Khab Gung thang in 1237.²⁵ The debate would thus have happened before the invasion of the Ya rtse troupes in Gung thang, which Everding situates in 1238 or 1239.

2.3 Actors

The sources also agree on the identity of Sa paṅ's opponent: a group of six non-Buddhist teachers, one of whom is identified by name as 'Phrog byed dga' bo or 'Phrog byed dga' ba.²⁶ None of the Tibetan sources I consulted suggest a Sanskrit equivalent, but *Harinanda is a likely reconstruction, often met with in modern secondary literature.²⁷

According to some versions, a few disciples of Sa paṅ — including 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge — were also present at this occasion.²⁸ The latter's biography of Sa paṅ is unfortunately not extant. Considering the inglorious role attributed to him in the versions that mention his presence at sKyid grong ('U yug pa and others are said to flee as the debate becomes heated), it would have been interesting to hear his side of the story.

rDo rje rgyal mtshan. Vitali relies on Mang thos's dating of the event and does not provide evidence from the local sources in this regard.

²⁵ Everding 2000: 353–354, n. 903. See also *ibid.*, p. 373–374, n. 951.

²⁶ One finds for the group of opponents the expressions *mu stegs kyi ston pa drug*, *phyi rol pa'i ston pa drug*, *phyi rol pa'i mkhas pa chen po drug*, *phas kyi rgol ba ngan pa drug*. Some sources (such as Śākya mchog ldan's *Chos 'khor rnam gzhag* and Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho's *Dalai lama glu dbyangs*) do not specify the number of the opponents. Yar klungs pa specifies that they are “clotted-hair followers of the god Brahmā” (*Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* 34b1: *dbang phyug tshangs pa'i rjes 'brang ral pa can*). Śākya mchog ldan considers 'Phrog byed dga' bo to be the teacher of the others (*Chos 'khor rnam gzhag* 5b5: *phrog byed dga' bo slob ma'i tshogs dang bcas pa*).

²⁷ Das (1882: 19) suggests the Sanskrit *Śaṃkharadhvāja. Bosson (1969: 28 n. 18) cites a Mongol source dating to the end of the eighteenth century, the *Subhasidi-yin tayilburi čindamani-yin tülkigür kemegdekü* (Bosson describes this text as a revised version of Rin chen dpal bzang po's Tibetan commentary of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, composed by Blo bzang tshul khriṃs), that renders his name phonetically as “Nantihari.”

²⁸ The *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* 32b2–3 mentions “'U yug bzang rings la sogs,” which might refer on the one hand to 'U yug pa bsod nams seng ge (/rig[s] pa'i seng ge) (?–1253) and on the other hand to bZang rings. The latter name is mentioned together with that of 'U yug pa among the “nine sons of gNyal zhig (=gNyal zhig po 'jam pa'i rdo rje)” (*gnyal zhig gi bu dgu*) in the *Deb sngon* (407,12), which adds that he taught at Khro phu. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, who probably relies on Yar klungs pa or some similar account, mentions a variant of the same names (*Chos rje glu dbyangs* 4b6: *'Od yug bzang ring la sogs pa*). Rin spungs pa mentions “<O yug pa> rig pa'i seng ge la sogs” (*'Jam dbyangs legs lam* 105a1; note: words appearing within pointed brackets are interlinear notes). “O yug pa” appears to be a common variant for “'U yug pa,” found also for instance in *rGya bod yig tshang* 323,14.

2.4 Scenarios

While being remarkably consistent regarding the location of the event and the identification of the opponents, the sources at our disposal display, on the other hand, a range of distinct scenarios in the narration of the debate and of its outcome. Sources of later date show a combination of elements that can, for the most part, be traced back to the earliest accounts from the thirteenth century. The sources that give a substantial account of the event can be distinguished in two groups based on the narrative lines they follow:

1. A first type of scenario, which will be fleshed out in the next section, finds its earliest portrayal in the biography composed by lHo pa kun mkhyen. lHo pa's narrative is repeated with a few changes by Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375) when dealing with Sa paṅ's life in a series of lives of *Lam 'bras* teachers, and Bla ma dam pa's version is repeated in a work of the same type included in the collected works of Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451).²⁹ lHo pa's version also appears to be the source of the biographical accounts by sPos khang pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan (fl. early 15th c.) and Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489) (in an abbreviated version for the latter) that are included in these authors' respective commentaries on Sa paṅ's *sDom gsum rab dbye*.³⁰ Glo bo mkhan chen's (1456–1532) account in his commentary on the *mKhas 'jug* (*mKhas 'jug rnam bshad* 22a3–24a4) constitutes an almost literal repetition of lHo pa's text. Glo bo mkhan chen's account is, in turn, repeated quasi verbatim by A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659) in his *Sa skya* chronicles (*A mes gdung rabs* 108–110).³¹ Many elements of this first scenario are also reflected in the lengthy versified biography by Rin spungs pa Ngag dbang 'jig rten dbang phyug grags pa/'jigs med grags pa (1542–1625?) composed in 1579, whose author seems to have known also the second scenario.³²

2. The second type of scenario is found at the earliest in the versified biography by Yar klungs pa (Grags pa rgyal mtshan?) (*Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring*), but Yar klungs pa's account is to my opinion observably a summarized version of a more elaborate one.³³ Characteristic of this alternative

²⁹ See *Bla ma brgyud rnam thar* A 41a2–b5, B 36b4–37a6, and *Lam 'bras lo rgyus* 70b3–71b4. In what follows, I will speak of the second work as a work by Bo dong even though its author is not identified (see Jackson 1987: 20).

³⁰ See *sDom gsum legs bshad* 9b4–11a3 and *sDom gsum dgongs gsal* 16a('og ma)6–17a4.

³¹ See the appendix 1 for an edition of the text recording the variants in these versions.

³² *'Jam dbyangs legs lam* 101b5ff. This manuscript includes many small explanatory notes that often refer to a "*rab rtog gi rgyan*," possibly an earlier work used as a source by the author.

³³ On the authorship of this work, see the discussion in n. 11 above. The *Lam 'bras slob bshad* introduces this seven-folio text as a "medium biography" (*rnam par thar pa 'bring po*). The colophon, which is maybe not from the hand of the author (see Jackson 1987: 33, n. 6), also specifies that it is a version of medium length (*bstod pa bar pa*). Jackson (ibid.) notes that Sangs rgyas phun tshogs credits Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan with a short version (*bsdus pa*), but according to Mekata 2009, this would refer to the *rNam par thar pa mdor bsdus pa* or *Chos rgyal ma*, not to the *rNam par thar pa 'bring po*. Mekata argues that in spite of the term "*'bring po*" that suggests the existence of another, lost work of greater length, the fact that all the citations whose source is identified as "*rNam thar rgyas pa*" in the anonymous manuscript she studied are found in the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* speaks against the existence of a larger version. This is, to my opinion, not a conclusive argument. On the one hand, the description "*rNam thar rgyas pa*" may hint to the relative size of the work (in comparison with the "*rNam thar bsdus pa*") rather than to its original title. Also, one must leave open the option that there is indeed a larger version, but that it does not differ from the medium one as far as the passages cited in the anonymous manuscript are

scenario are (i) the length of the debate, which is said to last thirteen days, twelve days during which the non-Buddhist debaters prevail, followed by a reversal on the thirteenth day; (ii) supernatural elements, in particular the intervention of Mañjuśrī to support Sa paṇ; (iii) the gory death of 'Phrog byed dga' bo when, following his defeat and conversion, he attempts to follow Sa paṇ into Tibet.³⁴ All or some of these elements are found also in the versified account by the First Paṇ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570–1662),³⁵ in the shorter prose version by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) in his *Annals of Tibet*,³⁶ as well as in 'Jigs med nam mkha''s (1768–1822) *Hor chos 'byung*.³⁷ This scenario, in particular the gruesome death of 'Phrog byed dga' bo, is also reflected in works associated not with Sa paṇ, but with the Jo bo of sKyid grong.³⁸ The modern Sa skya pa compilation by Sherab Gyaltzen Amipa (Amipa 1987) also favors this second type of scenario.³⁹

concerned. The contents of the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring*, in particular the depiction of 'Phrog byed dga' ba's death, strongly suggests that one is dealing with a summarized version, or at least that the author has knowledge of a more extensive account.

- ³⁴ While *Yar klungs pa* merely states that "'Phrog byed dga' ba died in pain" (*Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* 34b4: 'phrog byed dga' ba mya ngan zhabs su shi), the Fifth Dalai Lama provides the key-phrase: "he spat blood from his mouth and died" (*Dalai lama glu dbyangs: kha nas khrag skyugs te shi ba*). His death was, according to these sources, caused by the bsTan ma, protector divinities of the Buddhist teaching acting on the behalf of Padma-sambhava. A triggering factor was, according to the First Paṇ chen and the Fifth Dalai Lama's version, that 'Phrog byed dga' ba had not removed his non-Buddhist emblems.
- ³⁵ In his *Paṇ chen glu dbyangs* Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan adds the intervention of Phrin las lha mo (probably Tārā, also mentioned in Rin spungs pa's 'Jam dbyangs legs lam 105b1: myur skyob <kyi> lha mos <sgrol ma>). He states that 'Phrog byed dga' ba could not proceed into Tibet and explains why, but does not portray his death.
- ³⁶ This episode from the *Dalai lama glu dbyangs* is translated in Tucci 1949: 626. The Fifth Dalai Lama mentions the intervention of the master 'Da' 'phyar (=mDar/'Dar/'Dar 'phyar ba Rin chen bzang po) to bring back 'Phrog byed dga' bo as he flies off in the air. The presence of this siddha in the region of Mang yul is mentioned by Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku; see Ehrhard 2004: 284, and pp. 416–417 n. 184 for further references. 'Da' 'phyar is also mentioned by the third Paṇ chen Bla ma Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes (1738–1780) in his list of the previous incarnation of Emperor Qianlong in the 'Khrongs rab gsol 'debs (see Uspensky 2002: 220 and 224–225). See also Tucci 1949: 680, n. 36.
- ³⁷ The *Hor chos 'chung* (76,11–77,11; transl. in Huth 1896: 123–124) includes the intervention of Mañjughoṣa and of the siddha 'Dar 'phyar, as well as 'Phrog byed dga' ba's claim that Mañjuśrī was the one responsible for his defeat; the wording of this claim is identical to that in *Yar klungs pa's Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring*, repeated with a few minor variants in *Paṇ chen glu dbyangs*. It does not mention 'Phrog byed dga' ba's death.
- ³⁸ The death of 'Phrog byed dga' bo on the model of the Fifth Dalai Lama's account is recounted for instance in the *Grub pa'i gnas chen brag dkar rta so'i gnas dang gdan rabs bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mos ldan dad pa'i gdung sel drang srong dga' ba'i dal gdam* composed in 1816 by Chos kyi dbang phyug Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku (1775–1837) (the author of the *rNam thar* of the Jo bo of sKyid grong). The relevant passage is quoted and translated by Ehrhard (2004: 420, n. 193), who also mentions a parallel formulation occurring in the *Bya bral ba chos kyi dbang phyug gi rang 'tshang lhug par brjod pa 'khrul snang sgyu ma'i rol rtsed* composed in 1836 by the same author.
- ³⁹ Amipa 1987 mentions the intervention of Mañjuśrī, 'Phrog byed dga' ba's claim that Mañjuśrī was the one responsible for his defeat and his flight into the air, but does not allude to his death. Amipa mentions the existence in the lHa chen temple of a statue of Mañjuśrī as he appeared during the debate ("Mañjushri Vainqueur en Controverse"). Another modern Sa skya pa work by Chogay Trichen Rinpoche (1983: 18) keeps, on the other hand, to a mere succinct account mentioning that "Sakya Pandita silenced each of them in turn through his skill in dialectical logic based on the three *Pramanas*."

3. lHo pa Kun mkhyen's narrative

The present paper concentrates on the scenario presented in the earliest available biography of Sa skya Paṇḍita, that by lHo pa Kun mkhyen Rin chen dpal. It is indeed the most relevant for our present purpose insofar as it provides an explicit account of a verbal exchange between the two parties, an account that narratives that opt for a scenario involving supernatural events commonly leave out.

lHo pa, who was born in the twelfth or thirteenth century, has been a student of Sa skya Paṇḍita, but also of Śākyaśrībhadrā, Khro phu lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal, and bKa' gdams pa masters such as 'Brom gzhon nu blo gros.⁴⁰ He seems to have been particularly active in the field of epistemology: Glo bo mkhan chen lists him as one of the “commentators of the purport” (*don gyi 'grel byed*) of the *Tshad ma rigs gter* and author of a work entitled *sDe bdun gsal ba'i rgyan*.⁴¹ He also mentions his views on several topics in his own commentary on the *Rigs gter*.⁴² Śākya mchog ldan indicates for his part that lHo pa was well-known among Sa paṇ's direct students who specialized in the *Pramāṇavārttika*.⁴³

lHo pa's biography of Sa skya Paṇḍita entitled *dPal ldan sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar* (hereafter: *lHo rnam thar*) has been published as part of a collection of biographies of the masters included in the Sa skya pa lineage of *Lam 'bras* teaching. It was composed while Sa paṇ was still alive, before his departure for Ködan's court in 1244, and after the debate, which, as discussed above, is probably to be situated between 1232 and 1240, possibly in 1238. lHo pa's text ends with brief allusion to a meeting with Sa paṇ while the latter is residing at the hermitage (*dben gnas*) of dGa' ldan, in dBus.⁴⁴ Even though lHo pa might not have been an eye-witness to the debate, his narrative provides us with a version that is close in time to the event and by someone who was close to Sa paṇ. One cannot assume that Sa paṇ read and approved lHo pa's biography based on the allusion to their encounter in dBus, although the very allusion might well constitute an attempt at providing authenticity to the text by suggesting that he did.

The sKyid grong debate is introduced towards the end of lHo pa's biography (53b4–54a3), after the account of Sa paṇ's studies. It follows a

⁴⁰ Information from TBRC (ref. P6145).

⁴¹ Cf. van der Kuijp 1986: 54. This mention is found in *gSal byed* 298,23–24: ... *kun mkhyen lho pa sde bdun gsal ba ste // don gyi 'grel byed rmad byung rnam gsum byung //*. The full title of lHo pa's work, *sDe bdun gsal ba'i rgyan*, is mentioned for instance in *Rigs gter nyi ma* 256,7–8. According to van der Kuijp (1986: 55), this work could have been, rather than a commentary on the *Rigs gter*, an independent work of epistemology along the same line.

⁴² See for instance on the topic of *mānasapratyakṣa* (*Rigs gter* 231ff.) in *Rigs gter nyi ma* 188–189. Glo bo mkhan chen cites lHo pa kun mkhyen's views twice on this occasion. The first quote is a literal citation in verses; it is uncertain whether the second quote, in prose, is a citation or a paraphrase. Glo bo mkhan chen also gives a longer citation in verse on the topic of *prasaṅga* in *Rigs gter nyi ma* 256.

⁴³ *Chos 'khor rnam gzhag* 7a4–5: *te ra pa byams mgon dang / ldong ston shes rab dpal dang / dkar shākya grags dang shar pa shes rab 'byung gnas / nags phug pa shes rab 'od zer dang / lho pa kun mkhyen la sogs dngos kyi slob ma rnam 'grel mkhas par mkhyen pa dag yin zhes grags la /*

⁴⁴ *lHo rnam thar* 56b6–57a1: *chos kyi rgyal po nyid dbu ru'i klungs kyi shod kyi dben gnas dga' ldan na bzhugs pa'i tshe / de las byang phyogs su cung zad cig bgrod pa'i sa'i char / shākya'i dge slong 'bring mtshams kyi btsun pa rin chen dpal gyis bsdebs pa'o //*. Jackson (1987: 32, n. 2) transcribes “klungs skyi shod” and states on this basis that “Sa paṇ was staying at sKyid shod dGa' ldan” (ibid, p. 28). On the reading “dbu ru'i klungs kyi shod kyi dben gnas dga' ldan,” “Klungs kyi shod” could refer to the location of the hermitage in dBus.

summarized presentation of Sa paṅ's realizations and is included among the detailed accounts of his accomplishments.⁴⁵ The debate of sKyid grong is not included in a chronological list of events, nor is it presented as an explicit illustration of Sa paṅ's capacities as a debater. It is rather introduced as an episode in the long-lasting struggle of Buddhism against non-Buddhist opponents of various affiliations. lHo pa enumerates followers of the great sage Kapila (i.e., the Sāṃkhyas), the ṛṣi Vyāsa (i.e., the adepts of the Veda), Kaṇāda (i.e., the Naiyāyikas/Vaiśeṣikas), and adepts of dBang phyug (Īśvara = Śiva), Tshangs pa (Brahmā), Nor lha'i bu (Vāsudeva = Viṣṇu), sByin za (Agni), and of the yet unidentified Nyin mo long pa (lit. "sunrise," i.e., Sūrya? or one of the Aśvin?). These non-Buddhist forces at work, among which Sa paṅ's opponents are to be included, are said to be "roaming and wandering about in the southern regions" — that is, as Go rams pa specifies, "India."

Structure of lHo pa's narrative

One can distinguish several steps in lHo pa's narrative: I. a prelude that precedes the actual meeting of the opponents; II. the meeting of the two parties; III. the debate proper; IV. the unfolding of the dispute; V. the citation of the "Verses of the subduing of the six non-Buddhist teachers."

I. Prelude

The prelude informs us about (i) the identity of Sa paṅ's opponents — the six "outsider" teachers (*phyi rol pa'i ston pa drug*), 'Phrog byed dga' bo, etc.; (ii) the location of the meeting — Tshong 'dus, in the vicinity of the Āryavati-temple situated in sKyid (g)rong, Mang yul;⁴⁶ and (iii) the circumstances or motivation that led the debaters to be present. No reason is given for Sa paṅ's presence in sKyid grong, but the non-Buddhist teachers are said to have come on account of a specific resolution:

Let us go to the Land of Snow, and there we will overturn those who live there who, while pretending to be Buddhist practitioners,⁴⁷ have taken up practices involving women (*bud med kyi brtul zhugs*)⁴⁸ and adhere to bad views and conducts.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *lHo rnam thar* 53a2–3: *de ltar na de dag gis ni bdag cag gi ston pa 'dis gang zhig mngon du mdzad pa'i shes bya'i gnas mdo tsam zhig brjod nas / da ni de'i phrin las kyi bye brag cung zad smod na / ...*

⁴⁶ lHo pa situates the place in relation to Bodhgayā (*byang chub kyi snying po rdo rje gdan*), namely 6 yojanas (*dpag tshad drug*) to the north. This measure should be corrected to the more plausible "60 yojana" (*dpag tshad bcu phrag drug*) found in the parallel versions of Glo bo mkhan chen and A mes zhabs (see appendix 1), as well as in Rin spungs pa's version (*Jam dbyangs legs lam* 102b6–103a1).

⁴⁷ Glo bo mkhan chen and A mes zhabs read "dge slong," i.e., "Buddhist monks."

⁴⁸ This expression most likely hints at sexual practices. sPos khang pa's version adds drinking to women (*sDom gsum legs bshad* 10a3: *chang dang bud med kyi brtul zhugs can*). In an oral commentary on the *History of the Sa skya sect* (www.thlib.org/avarch/mediaflowcat/framesets/view_transcript.php?stylesheet=2&transcriptId=1797), the expression "*bud med kyi brtul zhugs*" is glossed as "*spyod pa smad du byung*" (*bud med kyi brtul zhugs de ni rbad de bod kyi dper na / dge bshes dge slong de gas de gang yin zer na / dper na spyod pa smad du byung ba de / de ni zhi zhing dul ba de 'dras red pa /*). The expression also occurs in the *Vinayakārika*

In IHo pa's version (as well as the parallel versions of Bla ma dam pa, Bo dong and sPos khang pa), the addressee of this criticism bears the explicit mark of the plural.⁵⁰ There is no suggestion that the non-Buddhist teachers were specifically looking to have a discussion with Sa paṇ as other biographies are hinting at.⁵¹

II. The meeting

The meeting of the debaters is described briefly:

When the previously mentioned six teachers arrived, all of them paid homage neither to the Dharma-master [i.e., Sa paṇ] nor to the image of the Sugata; they took seats, having uttered a very few blessings and praiseworthy verses.

The first encounter takes the form of an informal confrontation in which the opponent's behavior, i.e., the six teachers' lack of respect for the image of the Buddha anticipates their subsequent statement that "they have not taken refuge in the Buddha's teaching" (see below).⁵² This depiction of the opponent exhibiting conspicuous pride (an attitude repeatedly attributed to him in the various narratives) may serve a particular function in the context of the narrative: as pointed out by Cabezón (2008: 80), the pride of an opponent is generally a rhetorical sign that he is about to be defeated.

It is not clear whether this first encounter signifies the beginning of a formal debate acknowledged as such by both parties. The events that follow, however, are interpreted as such by the author of the narrative.

(ACIP TD10165, 129b5: 'dul ba tshig le'ur byas pa) in a passage instructing that "one who is seized by desire upon seeing one engaged in a practice involving women, or one who has taken vows and, upon seeing a woman, is seized by desire, should not stay there longer; they should leave as soon as possible" (*gang na bud med kyi brtul zhugs can la mthong nas chags par byed dam/ gang na brtul zhugs can gyis bud med la mthong nas chags par byed na der yang yun ring du gnas par mi bya ste // myur ba kho nar de nas 'gro bar bya'o /*).

⁴⁹ See appendix 1 for the Tibetan text of this and subsequently translated passages from IHo pa's biography.

⁵⁰ Glo bo mkhan chen and A mes zhabs have "de" instead of "de dag."

⁵¹ Some sources indeed present the coming of the non-Buddhists as a consequence of Sa paṇ's reputation in India. sTag tshang Lo tsā ba (1405–after 1477?) attributes it even more specifically to Sa paṇ's criticism of non-Buddhists in the *Rigs gter* (or more specifically, in the introductory verses), which, according to him, had been translated into Sanskrit (*sTag tshang gdung rabs* 18b1–2: *rigs gter bod skad las rgya skad du bsgyur te rdo rje gdan du phebs pa'i mchod brjod kyi tshig la ma bzod pas rkyen byas nas rtsod du yongs pas*; cf. van der Kuijp 1993a: 150). Rin spungs pa, as reported in Rhoton 2002: 15, similarly attributes their coming to the *Rigs gter* having been translated into Sanskrit by students of Śākyaśrībhadrā. Cf. 'Jam dbyangs legs lam 102a1–3: *khyad par paṇ chen <shā kya shrī'i> slob ma mchog rnam kyis // rtog ge'i 'khrul <pa> 'joms <par byed sa paṇ> nyid <kyi> gsung <tshad ma> rig pa'i gter <zhes bya ba de> // 'chi med <llha'i> grong gi yi ger <la űtsa na> 'khrungs pa'i <'am bkod pa> skyes <bzang po> // rna <rgya gar ba rnam kyis> ba'i rgyan du yun ring <po'i bar la> mdzes par byin <no> //*. In the modern compilation by Amipa (1987: 59), the *Rigs gter* is said to have been translated in Sanskrit by Sa paṇ himself.

⁵² sPos khang pa's account sets the first meeting in a friendly atmosphere: "As they came to sKyid grong, none of the other Tibetan "Three-basket-holders" (*tripitakadhāra*) felt up to it. It was thus the Dharma-master himself [i.e., Sa paṇ] who made the opportunity of a debate. They said sincerely to one another "Have you been well? Welcome!" and sat down smiling." (Tib. text in appendix 1.)

III. The debate proper

One can distinguish three steps in the process of the debate as recounted by lHo pa: [III.1] First, a dialectical exchange whose contents lHo pa makes explicit, which includes a statement by Sa paṅ's opponent and a reply by Sa paṅ. This part of the debate will be dealt with in detail in section 4 below. This explicit argument is followed by two sequences of arguments that are merely suggested:

[III.2] As those [non-Buddhist] teachers were overwhelmed and depressed, it was the occasion for an elaborate speech: he [i.e., Sa paṅ] refuted and defeated the bad teachers individually,⁵³ leaving them speechless. [III.3] Then, once more, he removed the filth of the pride of all the bad views.

The first sequence [III.2] is described with terms that relate to a formal debate: refutation (*sun phyung*)⁵⁴ and defeating (*pham par mdzad*).⁵⁵ The second [III.3] does not suggest a dialectical exchange, but rather a one-sided argumentative explanation by Sa paṅ.

IV. The outcome of the debate

In lHo pa's text and other biographies that follow this first scenario, the debate ends with the conversion of Sa paṅ's opponent, symbolized by the ritual shearing of his clotted hairs (*ral pa'i khur bregs nas nyid kyi thad du rab tu byung*).⁵⁶ The parallel versions of sPos khang pa, Go rams pa, Glo bo mkhan chen and A mes zhabs all add that the hairs were kept in a temple in Sa skya, and were still there at the time of writing (*lta da yang yod*), but as these authors repeat each other (almost literally in the case of A mes zhabs), this does not guarantee that the later ones had themselves ascertained the presence of the hairs.⁵⁷ The same caution applies with regard to similar mentions by the Fifth Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century⁵⁸ and in 1818 by 'Jigs med nam mkha'.⁵⁹ In the description of a block print representing Sa paṅ debating with 'Phrog byed dga' bo, Jeff Watt — who I assume speaks on the basis of his own experience or of an eye-witness testimony — mentions that "Until 1959, the braid of Harinanda was kept before an image of Manjushri in the Utse Nying Sarma temple in the town of Sakya."⁶⁰

⁵³ In sPos khang pa's version, the Brahmins set forth to establish their scriptures by putting forward whatever logical reasons come to their mind, and Sa paṅ defeats them with logic, leaving them speechless.

⁵⁴ lHo rnam thar reads *phyung*, but all the parallel versions read *sun phyung* (see appendix 1).

⁵⁵ sPos khang pa uses the expression *tshar bcad* (see appendix 1).

⁵⁶ The cutting of 'Phrog byed dga' bo's hair is omitted in Bo dong's parallel version (see appendix 1).

⁵⁷ Das (1882: 20) and Bosson (1969: 4) have it that the *head* of 'Phrog byed dga' bo was tied to the pillar in the great temple of Sa skya.

⁵⁸ *Dalai lama glu dbyangs: shi ba'i ral pa'i cod pan dpal ldan sa skya'i ka ba'i mdzes byed du yod do /*

⁵⁹ *Hor chos 'byung 77,9–11: ral pa rnams rgyal ba'i bstan pa la bya ba mdzad pa'i snyan grags kyi dril nga sgrog pa'i rten du / da lta yang dpal ldan sa skya'i gtsug lag khang gi ka rgyan la yod do//.*

⁶⁰ See <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/356.html>.

V. Verses composed by Sa skya Paṇḍita

IHo pa's narrative ends with the citation of verses that, as mentioned above (see "3.2 Sources"), also constitute an independent work among Sa paṇ's writings.⁶¹ The verses cited by IHo pa, as well as Go rams pa, Glo bo mkhan chen and A mes zhabs correspond, with a few shared variants (see the appendix 2), to the ones found in the text of the verses published in the *Sa skya bka' 'bum*.

IHo pa introduces the quotation by saying:

Having thought 'should there arise any discouragement pertaining to the teaching of this King of the Śākya, it should be disciplined once more,' he said the following...

4. The debate

The part of the debate that I will focus on in this section is the verbal exchange that includes a statement by the non-Buddhists and a reply by Sa skya Paṇḍita.

4.1. The opponent's statement

The opponent's statement is presented as follows:

They haughtily declared: 'Our entire caste started from the guru Brahmā.⁶² Until these days we have not relied on the teaching of Gautama, we have not taken refuge in the Three Jewels. We are the perfectly pure breed of the ṛṣis.'⁶³

By this statement, Sa paṇ's opponent makes a claim as to (i) a genetic dependence on Brahmā; (ii) rejection, or non-reliance on Buddhism and the Buddha; (iii) the purity of his own lineage. The third claim provides, to some extent, an echo to the main theme of the non-Buddhists' "motivation

⁶¹ These verses are omitted in Bo dong and sPos khang pa's parallel versions. They are also not found in biographical accounts that adopt the second type of scenario, an exception being 'Jigs med nam mkha's *Hor chos 'byung* (77,4–7), which cites the first verse (in the variant form of two pāda: *rgya mtsho'i gos can rgya mtsho'i mtha' / sa chen 'di na lha chen po /*) and the last four pādas. Huth understands the verses to be spoken by 'Phrog byed dga' ba.

⁶² I follow here Glo bo mkhan chen and A mes zhabs's reading "*nged kyi rigs thams cad ni...*" Bla ma dam pa and Bo dong read "*nged kyi rigs thams cad kyi bla ma...*," namely "our caste started from the universal guru, Brahmā." The term "*rigs*" that occurs twice in this statement was translated here by "caste" and "breed." It could be read, at least in the first case, in the sense of "philosophy," considering that Sa paṇ's answer addresses the worthiness of Brahmā as a teacher. However, I deemed it more likely that the first sentence is referring to the Puranic myth of the origination of the Brahmins' caste from Brahmā's mouth.

⁶³ A similar versified account is found in the *rnam thar* by Rin spungs pa ('Jam dbyangs legs lam 103b6–104a2): *de nas 'phrog byed 'di skad lo // brtan g.yo'i byed po gcig pu par // srid pas bskos ba'i <lha> tshangs chen las // lhag pa'i skyabs gzhan dmigs su med // <mes po> de nyid nas brtsams <te> drang srong <gi> rgyud // gtsang ma'i rigs 'dzin <pa> kho bo cag // <dkon> mchog gsum <gyi> skyabs <gnas> dang gau ta ma'i // ring lugs dag la ltos ma myong <ngo zhes> //*.

statement” (see I) in which they invoked the impure conduct of Tibetan Buddhist practitioners.⁶⁴ The second claim expresses a rejection of Buddhism both in terms of refuge and teaching. Combined with the reference to Brahmā in the first claim, one can draw an opposition both in terms of the teacher one should rely on (Śākyamuni Gautama vs. Brahmā) and the teaching to follow. In a nutshell: the pure Brahmins that originated from and rely on Brahmā are opposed to the impure Tibetan Buddhist practitioners who take refuge in the Buddha and follow his teaching.

4.2. Sa paṅ’s argument

Sa paṅ’s reply immediately follows:

At this moment, the Dharma-master [i.e., Sa paṅ] said:

[1] However clean this Brahmā may be, [2] he himself has much respect for [our] teacher; [3] but is he not overcome by slumber due to great mental confusion?

[4] As it is said:

The excellent four-armed one, whose faces are turned in the twice-halved-sixteen [= four] directions,

Recitator of the Ṛgveda, knowing the rituals of [Mantra-]recitation and expiation,⁶⁵

This Brahmā, whose birth-place is the spotless lotus, he, too, slumbers.

[5] But our teacher, possessor of the ten powers, is always shining forth(/awake) like/in a beautiful dawn’.⁶⁶

[1] I read the beginning of this sentence (*ci tshangs pa de ni*) as a pun on the word *tshangs pa*, which is not only the Tibetan name of Brahmā but also an adjective meaning “pure.”⁶⁷ The allusion to Brahmā’s (etymologically grounded) purity echoes here the opponent’s claim as to the purity of the Brahmins issued from Brahmā.

[2] I base my understanding of this sentence on the parallel in sPos khang pa’s version: “This Brahmā, he has much respect for our teacher and he took refuge in him.”⁶⁸ Episodes of interaction between Brahmā and Śākyamuni that might be relevant to this reference are for instance the gods’ visit to the newborn Śākyamuni, or Brahmā’s request to Śākyamuni, following his

⁶⁴ sPos khang pa, who introduces the notion of purity in the first sentence already (“our perfectly pure caste”), repeats it in the last sentence (“is specifically pure”).

⁶⁵ I follow here the reading of the stotra in D (see below n. 72), i.e. *nyes pa* instead of *nges pa*.

⁶⁶ The parallel versions only have minor variants. They notably differ in identifying what belongs to the verse cited by Sa paṅ and what is Sa paṅ’s own expression. sPos khang pa does not render the cited verse in a metrical form.

⁶⁷ Another possibility is to attribute to the initial “*ci*” an interjective/interrogative meaning pertaining to the sentence as a whole. Bo dong and sPos khang pa omit the construction with “*ci*” and simply have “*tshangs pa de ni*” as the subject.

⁶⁸ See also Rin spungs pa’s versified version, which expands on this sentence as follows (*Jam dbyangs legs lam* 104a4–5): *khyod kyi rnam ’dren <tshangs pa> gdong bzhi pa // nges par thub pa mchog la dad <pa yin te> // des na <tshangs pa> gang gi mgon po <r gyur pa’i sangs rgyas de> la // <khyod> ci <’i> phyir dad <pa dang> ’dun <pa> lhod par byed <pa yin nam> //*; “Your spiritual preceptor, the four-faced one <Brahmā>, certainly has faith in the excellent Muni. Thus, why <are you> lacking faith and devotion towards one <this Buddha> who is superior to him <Brahmā>?”

awakening, to teach what he has understood in order to help other people. A famous episode where Brahmā recognizes Śākyamuni's superiority as a teacher is found in the *Keṅvaddha Sutta* (*Dīghanikāya* 11). In this text, Brahmā is asked a question about the cessation of fundamental elements. Brahmā boasts about being the creator of the world, but must concede that he is unable to provide an answer and ends up sending the questioner to ask the Buddha.

This part of Sa paṅ's statement brings to the fore a contrast between the Brahmins' attitude towards the Buddha (their lack of respect is made clear both in their initial statement [see 4.1] and their behavior at the beginning of the meeting [see II. The meeting]) and Brahmā's attitude towards the same. One can also, as does Rin spungs pa (see n. 68), identify a faulty lack of "transitivity" on the part of the opponent: the Brahmins show respect and rely on Brahmā; Brahmā himself shows respect and relies on the Buddha; but the opponent refuses to show respect and rely on the Buddha.

[3] The interrogative form of this sentence is merely rhetorical. Indeed, this statement constitutes a central point of Sa paṅ's refutation of the opponent (the consequence to be drawn from this argument will be discussed below): Brahmā sleeps, and this slumber is caused by a state of mental confusion, or ignorance (*gti mug*, *moha*), one of the three basic afflictions (*nyon mongs*, *kleśa*).⁶⁹ The connection between the two will be inquired into further in section 5 ("The slumber argument").

[4] A citation is adduced at this point, whose role appears to be the support of the claim [3] that "Brahmā slumbers."⁷⁰ This passage enumerates well-known attributes of Brahmā: the four arms, the four faces (from which he emits the four Vedas), his birth from the lotus (which itself arises from Viṣṇu's navel). As for Brahmā sleeping, one can trace this feature to accounts, such as the one from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, of the world's dissolution at the end of a cosmic era (*kalpa*) or "day of Brahmā," followed by its recreation after a "night of Brahmā" during which "Brahmā, who is one with Nārāyaṇa, satiate with the demolition of the universe, sleeps upon his serpent-bed — contemplated, the lotus born, by the ascetic inhabitants of the Janaloka."⁷¹

One could have imagined that this citation would find its source in Brahmanical literature — Sa paṅ would thus be adducing support from the opponent's own scriptures. One is, however, dealing here with a Buddhist

⁶⁹ sPos khang pa adds "*da dung*" between *gti mug che bas* and *gnyid kyis*, meaning that Brahmā is overcome both by mental confusion and slumber, without suggesting a relation between the two.

⁷⁰ In the biography by Yar klungs pa, the *Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring*, the enumeration of the "great qualities of Lord Brahmā" is considered to precede the actual debate (*Yar klungs rnam thar 'bring* 34b2: *dbang phyug tshangs pa'i yon tan che ba brjod // de nas bla ma chos rje slob ma'i tshogs // 'phrog byed ral pa can dang rtsod par brtsam //*). Yar klungs pa does not provide an account of the argument and adopts a scenario of the second type, where magical events prevail.

⁷¹ *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 1,3.24–25, translation by H. H. Wilson (1840: 25). See also 6,4.44ff, translated *ibid.* p. 634. I am grateful to Tomohiro Manabe for pointing out the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* to me as a source for Brahmā's sleep.

source. The stanza that Sa paṅ is citing in this narrative can be identified as a verse from the **Suprātaprabhāstotram*.⁷²

The **Suprātaprabhāstotra*

The **Suprātaprabhāstotram*⁷³ (Tib. *Rab tu snga bar nam lang pa*) is a hymn of praise to the Buddha composed by the King of Kaśmīr Śrīharṣadeva (ruling maybe from 1113–1125). It was translated into Tibetan by the Indian paṇḍit Rājaśrījñānamitra and the Tibetan translator Ke'u brgad yon tan dpal before the middle of the thirteenth century.⁷⁴

In this hymn, the author praises the Buddha by way of contrast with a number of figures of the Brahmanical pantheon, such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, the sun and moon, etc. These figures are, for the most part, not identified by name (Brahmā is one of the exceptions), but supposedly recognizable by the audience via the characteristic features mentioned in the first three pādas of each stanza.

Sixteen verses of the work follow a common model: the description of the non-Buddhist figures ends, in the third pāda (in one case the second pāda) with the mention that the figure in question sleeps (*gnyid log gyur, gnyid log, gnyid mthug log par gyur, nyal ba gyur*) — in one occasion, is drunk (*myos par gyur*). The author of the hymn is obviously well acquainted with the various stories linked to the characters he describes and thus might have in mind specific passages (that I fail to identify) where they are described as sleeping.

The slumber attributed to each Brahmanical deity provides the basis for the contrast introduced in the fourth pāda: there, the Buddha, qualified in each stanza by the feature of the “ten powers” (*stobs bcu, daśa[tathāgata] balāni*),⁷⁵ is praised as being always, as the title of the hymn states, “*rab tu*

⁷² Among the narratives that cite this verse, Bla ma dam pa and Bo dong (who obviously bases himself on Bla ma dam pa's account) are the only ones who actually provide an identification of its source. The stanza in the canonical version (D239b4–5) reads: *rab mchog lag pa bzhi pa bcu drug phyed phyed phyogs kyi gdong pa can // bzlas dang nyes pa'i cho ga shes shing nges brjod rig byed 'don pa po // dri med padma'i skye gnas tshang pa de yang rab tu gnyid log 'gyur // stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o //* The citation in *lHo pa rnam thar* is almost literal, but the omission of the expression “*rab tu*” in the third pāda makes this line non-metrical. Another difference is the reading “*nges pa'i cho ga*” shared by biographies that cite this verse, whereas sDe dge has “*nyes pa'i cho ga*.”

⁷³ Both the sDe dge (D1167, *bsTod tshogs*, Ka 239a4–240b5) and Peking (P2056, 280a1–281b7) versions give the Sanskrit phonetic equivalent “*su pra bha ta pra bha ta sto tram*.”

⁷⁴ This hymn is included by bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri (1227–1305) in his survey of Buddhist literature that was probably written in the late 1260s or early 1270s (van der Kuijp and Schaeffer 2009: 51; this text figures under the No 28.28 in *ibid*: 247). I am currently unable to present any hypothesis pertaining to its popularity and diffusion.

⁷⁵ A list of the ten powers of the Tathāgata (*daśatathāgatabalāni*), each of which consists of a special knowledge, is provided in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, No. 120–129: (1) knowledge of what is established and non-established (*sthānasthānajñāna*); (2) of the maturation of deeds (*karmavipākajñāna*); (3) of the various inclinations (*nānādhimuktijñānabala*); (4) of the world with its various realms (*nānādhatujñāna*); (5) of the highness and lowness of the faculties (*indriyavarāvarajñāna*); (6) of the path wherever it goes (*sarvatragāmanipratipajñāna*); (7) of the affliction, purification, and establishment of meditations (*dhyāna*), liberation, contemplation (*samādhi*) and equalisations (*sarvadhyanāvīmokṣasamādhisamāpattisaṃkleśavyavadānavyutthānajñāna*); (8) of memory of previous lives (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*); (9) of death and birth (*cyutyutpattijñāna*); (10) of the destruction of streams/defilements (*aś[ī]dravakṣayajñāna*). This rendering of the terms is based on the French translation in Renou and Filliozat 1996: 537 (§ 2278). Anacker (1998 : 277 n. 12) lists the ten powers as follows (with slight modification of their order): “(1) one knows with insight, as it is, what can be as what can be, and what can't be as what can't be, (2) one knows with insight as

snga bar nam langs pa" (in 2 of these 16 verses, as well as in 2 other verses), or "*rab tu snga bar sad pa*," (in 13 verses).⁷⁶ As the Sanskrit version is no longer extant, it is not possible to know whether the original version used different terms, or if the translator took the initiative to make variations on the probable Sanskrit expression **suprātaprabhāta*. While "*sad pa*" literally connotes awakening from sleep, "*nam langs pa*," which describes the break of dawn, can consequently be associated either with "awakening" or with "radiance." In view of the contrast intended with "slumber" by the author, the first option is more appropriate. Although the expressions "*sad pa*" and "*nam langs pa*" are not lexically connected to "awakening" taken in a spiritual sense, one can surmise that this type of association was intended by the author, in particular if one recalls that the traditional account of the Buddha's awakening has him attain the perfect enlightenment at dawn, in the last hours of the night.⁷⁷

[5] One can recognize in the last sentence of Sa paṅ's argument the fourth pāda of the stanza from the **Suprātaprabhātastotram* cited in [4]. But in the debate, this statement is not a praise addressed to the Buddha: lHo pa's text thus has "*de ni*" where the original hymn has "*khyod ni*."⁷⁸ One can note that the final expression in the fourth pāda of lHo pa's version is "*rab tu mnga' ba nyid du nam langs pa*," which should be corrected to "*rab tu snga ba nyid du nam langs pa*" (as in the parallel versions), whereas in the version of the hymn preserved in the canon, this particular verse uses the expression "*rab tu snga bar sad pa*."

With [4] and [5], Sa paṅ brings to the fore a contrast between a slumbering Brahmā and an awakened Buddha.

5. The "slumber argument"

The short statement [3] "Brahmā sleeps due to great mental confusion" constitutes an argument which I will refer to as the "slumber argument." It is supplemented, in lHo pa's narrative, with the citation of the stanza from the **Suprātaprabhātastotra* [4] together with the adaptation of its last pāda [5].

they really are, the karmic results of past, future, and present actions, (3) one knows with insight, as they really are, the various elements in the world, (4) one knows with insight, as they are, the various dispositions of other beings, (5) one knows with insight, as they are, practices and the processes of afflictions and alleviations, (6) one knows with insight as they are, the faculties of sentient beings, (7) one knows with insight, as it is, the Path that leads everywhere, (8) one recollects one's various previous lives, (9) one sees the decrease and rebirth of beings as it is, (10) one realizes the end of the all distress."

⁷⁶ The expression *rtaḡ pa nyid du gnyid sad* occurs in the last of the sixteen verses (that lacks the expression *stobs bcu mnga' ba*), and *rab tu nam langs* in the following one where it is not opposed to "sleep."

⁷⁷ This is found in various sūtras in the *Majjhimanikāya* (for instance the *Bhayabherava-sutta*, *Bodhirajakumara-sutta*, etc.) and repeated in the *Lalitavistāra* as well as in Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* (xiv.86 "At the moment of the fourth watch when the dawn came up and all that moves or moves not was stilled, the great seer reached the stage which knows no alteration, the sovereign leader the state of omniscience" [transl. in Johnston 1995]). Note that the Buddha is also held to enter *parinirvāṇa* at dawn (cf. *Dīghanikāya*, *Mahāparinibbana-sutta*).

⁷⁸ As this last sentence, although based on the same source as [4], is not a direct quotation, one can understand why other authors distinguish it from the preceding three pādas, adding "*zhes dang*" or "*ces pa dang*" between [4] and [5] (see appendix 1).

Before we investigate what type of effect may have been intended by these statements, it is worth taking a closer look at statement [3]. There is indeed an Indian source which offers a relevant precedent for the association of slumber and mental confusion in an argument against non-Buddhist opponents: Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā* (MHK) and its commentary, the *Tarkajvālā* (TJ), attributed to the same author by most Tibetans.⁷⁹ Consideration of the place and role of this argument in these texts will help us drawing out a number of implications that are not explicit in the debate narrative under consideration.

5.1 The "slumber argument" in the *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā* and *Tarkajvālā*

In the ninth chapter of the *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā*, commented upon in the corresponding chapter of the *Tarkajvālā*, Bhāviveka takes up to criticize the Mīmāṃsā.⁸⁰ When answering to the *pūrvapakṣa* stated in MHK 9.11, which presents the "way favored (*juṣṭa*) by gods and seers" as being old, good and reasonable (*yuktam*), Bhāviveka presents a series of arguments that arrive at the ironical conclusion that what is reasonable (*yuktam*) is, rather, to reject it.⁸¹ The first of these arguments, expressed in MHK 9.59, targets specifically

⁷⁹ Since the authorship of the *Tarkajvālā* is of no relevance in the present discussion, I will, for simplicity's sake, adopt the Tibetan ascription and speak of both MHK and TJ as the works of Bhāviveka. For a detailed discussion of this as yet unsettled issue, see notably Seyfort Ruegg 1990 and Krasser forthcoming.

⁸⁰ The ninth chapter of the *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā*, entitled *Mīmāṃsātattvanirṇayāvatāra*, has been edited in Kawasaki 1976 (together with a translation of the *pūrvapakṣas*) and 1987, and translated in Lindtner 2001. The commentary thereupon is found in TJ D271a2–320b5 (*dpyod pa can gyi de kho na nyid gtan la dbab pa la 'jug pas le'u dgu pa'i rab tu byed pa brtsam par bya ste*). Kawasaki (1974) summarized the *pūrvapakṣas* of the Mīmāṃsakas presented in the first 17 verses (commented upon in TJ D271a2–278a1) into seven points: i) the primary importance of sacrificial rites for deliverance; ii) the Vedas are the exclusive authority for the rites prescribed in the śāstras; iii) the Vedas are not a human production (*apuruṣakartṛtva*), and were revealed by the ancient seers and uninterruptedly transmitted, hence they are free from error; iv) the eternal validity of the Vedas is based on the eternity of the word; v) the Vedas give access to knowledge of matters that are beyond human perception and cannot be inferred; vi) Scriptures are an independent means of knowledge that is never infirmed by reasoning; vii) there is no omniscient being – human beings are not free from error and cannot know suprasensorial matter.

⁸¹ MHK 9.11 reads: "This old, good and reasonable way, favored by the gods and the seers, [while] accepted by the wise, this threefold [way] is rejected by women and śūdras who are alien to the contents of the Vedas." (*devarsijuṣṭam śiṣṭeṣṭam purāṇam vartma śobhanam / vedārthabāhyaiḥ strīśūdrair yuktam yat tyajyate trayī //*). As noted by Krasser (forthcoming), five arguments, presented in MHK 9.59, 9.94, 9.120, 9.127 and 9.139, mirror the *pūrvapakṣa* in using the words "*yuktam yat tyajyate trayī*," but, "*yuktam*" being used as an adverb, the phrase now has the meaning "it is reasonable that the threefold [way] should be rejected." In 9.94 Bhāviveka argues that it should be rejected because the Vedas contain bad logic, in 9.120 because they contain erroneous prescriptions (for instance, that sins can be washed away with water), in 9.127 because they contain detrimental prescriptions (for instance, that one can attain Brahmā's world by jumping into a fire or, the TJ expands, by jumping off a cliff or fasting), in 9.139 because they contain erroneous teachings (such as the teaching that trees have a soul). The *uttarapakṣa*-section pertaining to MHK 9.11 goes on until MHK 9.151.

these gods that favor the way of the Vedas and, first of all, points to their vicious conduct:⁸²

Having observed the corrupt conduct of the promulgators of the threefold way (*trayīmārgapraṇetr*), Brahmā, Keśava (= Viṣṇu), Śūlin (= Śiva), it is reasonable to reject the three [Vedas].⁸³

In the verses that follow — cum TJ and a number of supplementary verses in the Tibetan version — the author proceeds to illustrate these gods' corrupt behavior and to make explicit the logical link that enables one to go from the observation of such conduct to the conclusion that the Vedas should be rejected.

5.1.1. Illustration of the gods' corrupt conduct

“Corrupt conduct” (*kleśātmikā caryā*), as the expression itself makes clear, is linked with and revealing of the presence of afflictions (*nyon mongs, kleśa*). According to the Buddhist model, the three major afflictions are included in the triad of lust/desire (*'dod chags, rāga*), hatred (*zhe sdang, dveṣa*), and mental confusion, or ignorance (*gti mug, moha*). To exemplify how the three gods adopt behaviors that instantiate these three, Bhāviveka draws from numerous Vedic, Puranic, and epic sources.⁸⁴

For instance, in order to demonstrate Brahmā's affliction by lust, Bhāviveka recalls Brahmā's incestuous attraction for Prajāpati's daughters, hence his own granddaughters, which led him to ejaculate as they were pulling him, some by the hand, some by a tuft of his hair, towards the place where Prajāpati's sacrifice was taking place — Brahmā's semen, poured into the sacrificial fire, gave birth to Bṛghu, Āṅgira, etc.⁸⁵ MHK 9.63 further mentions Brahmā and Śiva's passion for Tilottamā, the beautiful nymph (*apsarā*) that caused Śiva to grow four heads, and Brahmā five, in order to be able to contemplate her as she circumambulated them.⁸⁶

Śiva's hatred is illustrated by his arson of Tripura, the Asuras' capital city, and his plucking out Pūṣṇa's teeth and Bhaga's eyes for, respectively,

⁸² Further arguments targetting the gods address the question of the unity of nature of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu (MHK 9.90–91ab), the contradiction between their respective statements, as each claims to be the sole creator of the world (MHK 9.89), or the mere possibility of a god that is cause of the universe (MHK 9.95ff.).

⁸³ MHK 9.59: *trayīmārgapraṇetrṇāṃ brahmakesavaśūlinām / drṣṭvā kleśātmikāṃ caryāṃ yuktāṃ yat tyajyate trayī //*.

⁸⁴ Brahmā's affliction with desire is dealt with in the additional Tibetan verses 14–19 (TJ D291a5–7). Further examples involving Viṣṇu and Śiva occur in the course of subsequent discussions, for instance in MHK 9.63, 9.67, etc. Hatred is illustrated principally in MHK 9.64 (TJ D293a2–6), while Brahmā's murderous activities are recounted in TJ D291b6–7. Mental confusion, according to TJ, is the object of MHK 9.65 (TJ D293a6); see n. 89 below.

⁸⁵ TJ D291b1–4. The extra Tibetan verse 19 concludes the enumeration of Brahmā's lustful activities (transl. Kawasaki 1992: 134): “The sexual act of dog and ass is disdainfully treated by the sacred gods. But, what is their difference from such beasts, in case they also have incestuous relations?”

⁸⁶ We are dealing here with another incestuous passion of Brahmā, as, according to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Brahmā actually qualifies as Tilottamā's father insofar as he is said to have created her.

laughing and winking at him.⁸⁷ Viṣṇu's affliction by hate is demonstrated by the evocation of actions (such as destroying entire armies) perpetrated at the time of his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa,⁸⁸ Brahmā's hatred by the murder of various demons (TJ D291b6–7). We will come back to the issue of the “killing of enemies” below (see under 5.1.2.2.i).

Slumber as revealing of mental confusion

Lust and hatred receive significantly more attention than mental confusion. Indeed, when it comes to provide illustrations for this affliction, Bhāviveka lacks vivid anecdotes. According to the TJ, this third affliction is dealt with in MHK 9.65⁸⁹:

Slayer of Brahmā, drinker of intoxicating drinks, libidinous, this is the Lord who supposedly sees the truth; what should one say of those who do not see the truth, who follow his path!⁹⁰

In this verse, aside from lust and slaughter (the paragon of hateful behavior), we find the mention of the drinking of alcohol, which might be intended as an illustration of (or a metaphor for?) mental confusion. A more explicit illustration of this third affliction is provided in the TJ in a passage meant to summarize the three afflictions pertaining to Viṣṇu. One finds there, first, a list of the three afflictions (the expression “complete stupidity” [*kun du rmongs pa nyid*] replaces here mental confusion) and their associated behaviors:

He is subdued by lust, because he stole other people's wives and riches.

He is subdued by hate, because he killed the Asuras Hayagriva, Sunda, Upasunda, Hiranyakaśipu, Kaṃsa, etc.

He is completely stupid, because he is a follower of the Vedas who deceived Bali, was regaled by Kucela, and stole *bsil byed ma* (=?) (or let it be stolen?).⁹¹

Three illustrations of mental confusion are alluded to in this passage. The first one refers to the episode in which Viṣṇu tricks the Asura Bali (Tib. *gtor*

⁸⁷ MHK 9.64. According to the gloss in TJ D293a4–6, Pūṣṇa's and Bhaga's amusement was due to Śiva's appearance as he showed up late at a sacrifice “his head decorated by a garland of cranes, his body anointed with ash, holding cranes in his hands, and acting infuriated.”

⁸⁸ See notably the extra Tibetan verses 30–31.

⁸⁹ TJ introduces this verse with the words “*gti mug drag po can yang yin te*” (TJ D293a6).

⁹⁰ MHK 9.65: *brahmahā madyapaḥ kāmī dṛṣṭatatto* yadīśvaraḥ / kā kathadrṣṭatattvānām** tatpaddhatyanugāminām //* (* Kawasaki °*tatvo*; ** Kawasaki °*tatvānām*). The expression *brahmahā* means here “slayer of Brahmā,” as the Tibetan translation “*tshangs bsad*” suggests, and not, as translated by Lindtner, one who can “kill a priest.” This is confirmed by MHK 9.90 and TJ D295b5–4, where this epithet of Śiva is explained by the fact that the latter cut off one of Brahmā's heads.

⁹¹ TJ D294a2–4; P332b2–5: *de la gzhan gyi bud med dang nor 'phrog par byed pa'i phyir chags pas zil gyis mnan pa nyid kyang yin par 'gyur ro // rta mgrin dang sun da* (P 'da') *dang / nye ba'i sun da* (P 'da') *dang / hi ra ṅu ka shi bu dang / kang sa la sogs pa'i lha ma yin bsad pa'i phyir zhe sdang gis zil gyis mnan pa yang yin no // gtor ma bsil pa dang / gos ngan gyis* (em.; D *gyes*; P *gyi*) *mgron* (P 'gron) *du bos pa dang / bsil byed ma phrogs* (P 'phrogs) *pa la sogs pa rig byed pa nyid kyi phyir kun du rmongs pa nyid kyang yin no //*.

ma) at the time of his fifth incarnation as a dwarf (*Vāmana*). The second could refer to the meeting of *Kṛṣṇa* with his former fellow student *Kucela* (Tib. *gos ngan pa*, lit. “poorly clothed”) or *Sudāman*. Although the latter and his family are starving, *Kṛṣṇa* eats the rice brought by *Kucela* as a gift and sends him back without food. The story ends on a happy note: when *Kucela* comes home, he finds a palace offered by *Kṛṣṇa* in place of his hut. I am unable to identify a source for the third example.⁹²

Immediately following this list, *Bhāviveka* introduces what appears to be a citation:

One could also say:

Nārāyaṇa is endowed with lust, because he ravished 16,000 wives, like a bad king;⁹³ or because he was enamored with herdswomen and he enjoyed their erotic games (**rasalīlā*), like any herdsman.

Nārāyaṇa is also endowed with hatred, because he constantly engages in killing, like hunters and fowlers, etc.

Nārāyaṇa is endowed with mental confusion, because he sleeps during four moons, like frogs and snakes.⁹⁴

In this second passage we find mental confusion illustrated by slumber (*gnyid log*). Everyone is familiar with *Viṣṇu*'s cosmic sleep. However, here, the specification “four moons” hints to another event: *Viṣṇu*'s seasonal yogic-sleep (*yoganidrā*) during the monsoon period, a four-month period accordingly called *Caturmāsa* that runs from the last week of July to the last week of November. The comparison with frogs and snakes (which, in itself, is probably not very flattering) certainly refers here to the hibernating habits of these animals, although, contrary to *Viṣṇu*, frogs hibernate during the dry season (and for more than four months) and wake up at the beginning of the monsoon, as pictured in the famous “Frog-hymn” of the *Ṛg-Veda*.⁹⁵

Why associate slumber with mental confusion? There is more to this than the simple popular association of a slow mind or lesser intelligence with slumber, a figurative association also reflected in the Buddhist context by

⁹² In the third illustration, *bsil byed ma*, literally “the cooling one,” could be the name of someone (“*ma*” possibly indicates a feminine figure) or something (such as a jewel). TJ D295a7–b1 states that *Viṣṇu* created “*Marana*” (i.e., “Death”), who ravished *bsil byed ma*, and that at some point of the story *bsil byed ma* had “entered into the earth” (*sa'i nang du zhugs par gyur pa*).

⁹³ This is an allusion to the 16,000 girls enraptured by the demon *Nāraka*, which *Viṣṇu* (as *Kṛṣṇa*) married, supposedly to protect the reputation that they had remained virgins. The story is recounted for instance in the *Mahābhārata*.

⁹⁴ TJ D294a4–6; P332b5–7: *sred med kyi bu ni 'dod chags dang bcas pa yin te / bud med stong phrag bcu drug 'phrog par byed pa'i phyir rgyal po ngan pa bzhin zhes bya ba'am / phyugs rdzi (D rji) mo dang lhan cig kun du chags (P cig tu chags) shing 'dod pas rtse ba nyams su myong bar byed pa'i phyir ba lang rdzi gzhān bzhin no // sred med kyi bu ni zhe sdang dang bcas pa yang yin te / rtag tu srog gcod pa la zhugs pa yin pa'i phyir / rñgon pa dang / bya ba (D pa / ba) la sogs pa bzhin no // sred med kyi bu ni gti mug dang bcas pa yin te / zla ba bzhi'i bar du gnyid log pa'i phyir sbal pa dang sbrul la sogs pa bzhin no /*. It is possible that this passage, like many others in this section, is issued from a non-Brahmanical source criticizing the gods and refuting the Vedas. TJ (D290b3–4) names the **Barhaspatitantra* (*lHa'i bla ma phur bus bstan pa'i rgyud*) as being one such source.

⁹⁵ See Bender 1917: 187ff. on the frogs' hibernation habits. Bender notes (*ibid.*, p. 188) that “In the *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇuparvan* 95.23=8803 the frogs croak after having slept eight months. In *RV.7.1031,8*, and 9 the frogs raise their voices after having lain silent for twelve months.”

expressions such as *mohanidrā* (“the sleep of mental confusion”).⁹⁶ Sleep is also found in association with mental error in Buddhist philosophical texts: the mental states that take place in sleep are delusive insofar as what appears as their object is in fact not existent. Dharmakīrti explains for instance in PVin 1.29 that people who sleep — just like people deluded by lust, fear, etc. — see things that do not exist as if they were there.⁹⁷ For philosophers of idealist persuasion, the dream provides an analogy par excellence as a state where objects seem to appear that do not exist in reality.⁹⁸ Moreover, in addition to constituting pseudo-perceptions in this sense, dream-states also do not allow an awareness of the objects that are actually present, for sleep prevents the unobstructed sensorial perception of these objects. Hence, one who is “sleeping,” whether he is dreaming or lethargic, is one who does not apprehend reality correctly.

There is, however, a difficulty with regard to this explanation. To anticipate our discussion of the rationale behind the slumber argument, one can note already that the relation that is postulated by Bhāviveka between the three afflictions (*kleśa*) and the corresponding corrupt conduct (*kleśātmikā caryā*) is a causal one. The presence of afflictions causes one person to act in a certain way, and from the observation of a certain type of conduct, one can infer the presence of the relevant affliction that is its cause. This premise, as we will see, is not unproblematic. In the case of mental confusion and its illustration by the state of slumber, one can raise the question whether some slumber-states might not have another source than mental confusion. Unfortunately, neither the MHK nor the TJ venture an explanation. The *Abhidharmakośa* (AK) does provide some ground for the association of certain kinds of states comparable to slumber with afflictions and further with a lack of understanding. In particular, *styāna* (apathy, torpor) and *middha* (sloth, languor) are classified among the “manifestly active defilements” (*pariyavasthāna*) in AK 5.47–48a. Both *styāna* and *middha* have the same action, namely, making the mind lackadaisical, and are nourished by the same five factors: tiredness (*tandrā*), dullness (*arati*), yawning (*viṅmbhikā*), drowsiness after eating (*bhakte 'samatā*), mental languidness (*cetaso līnatva*). In AK 5.59 and *Bhāṣya*, both are described as obstacles (*nīvaraṇa*) among the defilements (*kleśa*) and secondary defilements (*upakleśa*), insofar as they destroy the element of discrimination (*prajñāskandha*) and thereby generate doubt about the Truths. The *Bhāṣya* specifies that *middha* can be good, bad or neutral (but it is either bad or neutral in the Kāmadhātu), and is only a manifestly active defilement in the second case.⁹⁹

There is thus a background in Buddhist literature for treating slumber as a negative state associated with the absence of mental clarity. Whether a

⁹⁶ For instance, the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (D133a1–2) explains the “sangs” of *sangs rgyas* (*buddha*) in terms of awakening from the sleep of mental confusion (*gti mug gi gnyid sangs pa, mohanidrāprabuddhatva*). David Higgins, whom I thank for this reference, also informed me that many rNying ma sources build on the association of sleep/ignorance and waking/wisdom; an illustration can be found for instance in Klong chen Rab 'byams's *Theg mchog mdzod* (I, 1026.6): *kun gzhi gnyid lta bu 'khrul snang gi rmi lam thams cad 'char ba'i rten du gyur pa las sangs par byed dgos....*

⁹⁷ PVin 1.29=PV 3.282: *kāmaśokabhayonmādacaurasvapnādyupaplutāḥ / abhūtān api paśyanti purato 'vasthitān iva*. See further PVin 1.32=PV 3.283 and PVin 1.29,1–5 (Tib. 76,3–10).

⁹⁸ See as an example the analogy with sleep in Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā*.

⁹⁹ The various sorts of *middha* are discussed in AK 2.30cd and 5.52cd with reference to the Kāmadhātu.

non-Buddhist opponent would be ready to accept this association is another matter. An investigation of the value attributed to sleep in non-Buddhist systems would exceed the scope of the present paper, but let us just note that if sleep is on occasion negatively connoted in the Brahmanical tradition,¹⁰⁰ it may also constitute an opportunity to access higher truths.¹⁰¹

5.1.2. *The rationale behind the Madhyamakahrdayakārikā / Tarkajvālā's argument*

5.1.2.1 *Ad personam accusation*

The observation of a lustful, hateful, or mentally confused conduct certainly provides the ground for an ad personam accusation. Such an accusation may be used per se, in order to discredit the person. For instance in the case under consideration, Viṣṇu's sins certainly undermine his reputation of "Great man" (*puruṣottama*).¹⁰² But there is usually more at stake behind an ad personam accusation. Such accusations, in a form termed "ad hominem argument," are often used in disputation as a means to dismiss the opponent's thesis, attacking the person of the opponent rather than the thesis that she professes or the evidence that she presents.¹⁰³ In the case under consideration, the direct opponent of Bhāviveka are the proponents of the Mīmāṃsā, but the target of the accusation are the gods that they recognize as teachers and leaders. By undermining the truth of these gods' teaching, one can expect that the implicit thesis of the direct opponent, namely, that these gods' teaching should be followed, is refuted as well.

Ad hominem arguments are generally classified as argumentative fallacies. They are rhetorically advantageous for sidetracking the opponent, leading him to a self-justification process that has nothing to do with the matter at hand. They are especially effective in influencing the subjective perception that the audience has of the speaker, for they cast doubt on the credibility of the opponent. They often do so by way of putting doubt on the opponent's respectability rather than on his intellectual capacities — accusations or insinuation thus frequently bear on conducts that deviate from social or legal norms of morality (sexual practices, consumption of drugs, alcohol abuse, etc.). From a logical point of view, however, the assumption that a person's statements are incorrect on account of this person's actions, immoral as they may be, is unfounded. Still, in informal logic, criticism of the person is deemed appropriate if the accusation directed to the person establishes either a biased disposition towards the issue at

¹⁰⁰ The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (2.6.29) mentions for instance that sleeping during the day may lead religious students to fall into hell. But this unhappy fate is not linked so much with sleep itself than with its side-effects, namely, the emission of seminal fluid amounting to an involuntary breach of their vows of chastity. Parallel passages are found in the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Brahmapurāṇa* and *Vāyupurāṇa* (I thank Marc Tiefenauer for this information).

¹⁰¹ For instance, Śaṅkara states in the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* that the nature of Brahman is experienced in deep sleep (Potter 1998: 173).

¹⁰² See MHK 9.73 (*rāgadveśadīśavalaṃ kim idṛkcaritaṃ hareḥ / anāryacaritaś caivaṃ kathaṃ sa puruṣottamaḥ //*) and TJ D295a3–4.

¹⁰³ Cf. Groarke 2008.

hand, linked with a possible willingness to deceive, or the lack of capacity to make a correct statement regarding the subject matter of the discussion.¹⁰⁴

In the religious context, the question is whether the accusation of immoral conduct is pertinent insofar as the subject matter touches precisely morality itself, a vast issue that the present paper does not intend to unravel. In the Indian context, one must take into consideration the important concept of “person of authority” (*āpta*) attached to persons who promulgate or reveal religious truths, who are characterized by a number of qualities, notably moral ones.¹⁰⁵ One can mention for instance¹⁰⁶ the five epithets with which Dignāga qualifies the Buddha in the salutatory verse (*maṅgalaśloka*) of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, and Dharmakīrti’s commentary thereon in the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*¹⁰⁷; the characteristics of the *āpta* described by Vātsyāyana in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*¹⁰⁸; or the discussion on the “good man” (*sad, sādhu*) in Kumārila’s *Tantravārttika*.¹⁰⁹ Personal authority established on this basis generally serves as a ground to derive scriptural authority.¹¹⁰ In such a model, ad hominem argumentation is thus especially

¹⁰⁴ Groarke (2008) summarizes: “One may, for example, reasonably cast doubt on an arguer’s reasoning by pointing out that the arguer lacks the requisite knowledge to make appropriate judgments in the area in question, or by pointing out that the arguer has a vested interest.”

¹⁰⁵ On this topic, see Eltschinger 2007: 75ff. Eltschinger points out three aspects of the *āpta*’s qualities shared across philosophico-religious schools: knowledge, moral purity, compassion (ibid. p. 79).

¹⁰⁶ For more references, see Eltschinger 2007: 76 n. 28.

¹⁰⁷ The interpretation of these five epithets and their relation has given rise to many discussions. See for instance Franco 1997: 15–43. A list of earlier publications on the subject is provided by Franco on p. 15, n. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Those are discussed in Franco 1997: 30–31, who surmizes an influence of this text on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter. Franco also points out the similarity of Vātsyāyana’s argument with that of the Tantric author Sadyojyoti for Śiva’s reliability.

¹⁰⁹ Although the Mīmāṃsā ascribes authority to scriptures devoid of an author, they share in the discussion on persons of authority when it comes to the *smṛti* and to practical issues of carrying out rituals not described in Vedic texts by calling to the example of the “good men.” For a discussion of the “good man” by Kumārila (in the section of the *Tantravārttika* [TV] commenting on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* I.3.5–7 [transl. Jhā 1998: 169–203]) and in the *Manusmṛti* and Medhātithi’s commentary, see Ganeri 2004: 214–216. I am extremely grateful to Jonardon Ganeri for pointing out to me that Kumārila is facing an ad personam accusation targeting the putative “good men,” an accusation that draws from evidence of vicious conduct that recalls (but without replicating them) the examples given by Bhāviveka. Eleven cases of alleged transgressions of the *dharma* (*dharmavyatikrama*) are enumerated in TV 124,15ff. (transl. Jhā 1998: 182–183). The last one concerns “people of our own days”; the first ten episodes relate to famous figures: Prajāpati, Indra and Nahuṣa, Vasiṣṭha and Purūruvas, Viśvāmitra, Yudhiṣṭhira, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, Bhīṣma, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa) and Arjuna. After a general answer to the issue that “among good men also, we find some behaving contrary to the Law, just like Doctors leading unhealthy lives” (TV 126,11; transl. Jhā 1998: 184ff.), Kumārila answers each of the eleven cases individually (TV 129,20ff.; transl. Jhā 1998: 189–201). In TV 129,16 (transl. Jhā 1998: 189) Kumārila distinguishes four ways to deal with the problematic passages, invoking linguistic ambiguities and the possibility of re-interpretation, and drawing out the specificity of Vedic rules with regard to the subject of the prohibition. A full comparison of the models presupposed by Kumārila and Bhāviveka is beyond the scope of the present article, but I intend to return to it on another occasion.

¹¹⁰ As noted by Eltschinger (2007: 92ff.), Dharmakīrti distantiates himself from the other schools by reversing the attribution of authority: the authority of the person cannot be established on the basis of her mental properties (those cannot be apprehended by common sentient beings) and must be derived from the authority of the scriptures, which is itself to be established via a number of criteria and tests of coherence, etc.

pertinent, and one that targets morality is bound to be effective.¹¹¹ Bhāviveka's argument goes yet one step further, for it suggests that the relation between the nature of the teacher and the rejection of the teaching can be established logically. His resort to an *ad personam* accusation against the gods, who both profess and personify the Vedic teaching, thus aims at a conclusion that necessarily follows from the evidence.

5.1.2.2 Logical grounding

Commenting on MHK 9.59, Bhāviveka sets out to present the logical grounding of the argument:

What is said by one who is endowed with undefiled wisdom precisely on account of being devoid of afflictions, this corresponds to reality. But the words of those who indulge in desires endowed with afflictions, having fallen under the influence of negative forces, those words do not correspond to reality. Since it is the deed of someone endowed with afflictions, it is only correct, not incorrect, that the triple view should be discarded.¹¹²

Let us unpack this explanation, which introduces the central element of Bhāviveka's argument: the notion of wisdom. Bhāviveka's essential claim is that (i) afflictions prevent wisdom, in other words, correct apprehension of reality, and (ii) a correct teaching requires that the teacher has a correct understanding of what he teaches.

i. Afflictions and wisdom

The presence of afflictions is repeatedly presented as a ground for rejecting someone's wisdom. For instance in MHK 9.63, Brahmā and Śiva's passion for Tilottamā is invoked as a ground to refute that their mind is one that sees the truth (*tattvārthadarśanī buddhiḥ*); in the same way, Viṣṇu's thefts and murders mentioned in MKH 9.66 and 9.67 contradict the notion that he is one who sees the truth (*dr̥ṣṭatattva*). The relation between the lack of afflictions and wisdom and the converse relation between the lack of wisdom and the presence of afflictions (or corrupt conduct) is mainly

¹¹¹ Eltschinger (2007: 80) illustrates the feature of the *āpta*'s eradication of moral faults in a variety of texts: "Y'āpta de la Y{ukti}D{īpikā} est «affranchi [des passions] de concupiscence, etc. » (*rāgādiviyukta*), «possède un esprit [moralement] immaculé» (*aduṣṭamanas*); celui de Kundakunda et de Candrakīrti est dénué de toutes les fautes morales sans exception; le Brahmā du P{adārtha}Dh{arma}S{aṅgraha} est "pourvu de dépassement" (*vairāgya...sampanna*); le Vyāsa du M{ahā}Bh{ārata} « "possède une âme purifiée» (*bhavitātman*); Y'āpta de la C{araka}S{aṃhitā} est immaculé (*adoṣa*), affranchi du *rajas* et du *tamas*, a vu disparaître peur (*bhaya*), concupiscence (*rāga*), haine (*dveṣa*), convoitise (*lobha*), hébétude/erreur (*moha*) et orgueil (*māna*)."
(Additions within curly brackets are mine.)

¹¹² TJ D291a3–5; P329a3–5 *nyon mongs pa dang bral ba nyid kyis sgrub pa (P la) med pa'i ye shes dang ldan pa'i gsung ni don ji lta ba (P ji ltar) bzhin yin par 'gyur gyi // gang yang gdon gyis zin pa bzhin du nyon mongs pa dang bcas pa'i 'dod pa'i rjes su zhugs pa rnams kyi tshig gi don ji lta ba bzhin ma yin te / nyon mongs pa (P om. pa) dang bcas pas byas pa yin pa'i phyir lta ba gsum po nyid ni spang bar rigs pa kho na yin gyi mi rigs pa ma yin no /*.

described in terms of positive and negative concomitance. For instance in TJ's commentary on MHK 9.65:

For those who are not stupid, there do not arise lust, hate, and mental confusion.¹¹³

Or when commenting on MHK 9.66 that describes Viṣṇu's corrupt conduct:

On the one hand, due to such manners he is not one who understands the ultimate, and on the other hand if he did see the ultimate, it wouldn't be correct that he is endowed with such a behavior.¹¹⁴

The relation that afflictions might have with wisdom is transparent in the case of the affliction of mental confusion. It seems undisputable indeed that ignorance is incompatible with wisdom. But what about lust and hate? The only hint of an answer that Bhāviveka provides is when commenting on MHK 9.87; there he mentions that afflictions are "obfuscators" or "defilements" (*sgrib par byed pa, āvaraṇa*) of wisdom,¹¹⁵ which is reminding of the discussion in the *Abhidharmakośa* about primary and secondary afflictions that are obstacles (*nīvaraṇa*) to understanding the truth,¹¹⁶ and more generally of the notion of *kleśāvaraṇa*. This matches the contrapositive formula that we have seen in the commentary on MHK 9.59, namely "endowed with undefiled wisdom precisely on account of being devoid of afflictions."

This claim must be put into relation with the notion of wisdom that is considered here. In MHK 9.87 cum TJ, wisdom is explained in terms of knowledge of the cause of *samsāra* (i.e., the afflictions) and of liberation (i.e. the cutting of the afflictions).¹¹⁷ But Bhāviveka's understanding of wisdom also involves the idea that wisdom is the result of a change in the mental continuum. In MHK 9.61 Bhāviveka characterizes a "learned man" by his capacity to burn away the afflictions (*kleśadahana*); this is, comments TJ, precisely what it means to have wisdom: not to collect afflictions, or if one has collected them, to have pacified them.¹¹⁸ We can note in addition that it is not wisdom, and in particular the understanding that afflictions are the cause of *samsāra*, that prompts the wise to pacify his afflictions; on the contrary, the pacifying of afflictions is presented as a condition for wisdom. This excludes the option that a teacher would have wisdom, and thus satisfy the conditions for providing a correct teaching, and still would be demonstrating a corrupt behavior.

¹¹³ TJ D293a7; P331b6: *rmongs pa ma yin pa la ni 'dod chags dang / zhe sdang dang / gti mug 'byung bar mi 'gyur ro //*.

¹¹⁴ TJ D293b2–3, P332a1–2: *lugs 'dis don dam pa rtogs par 'gyur ba yang ma yin la don dam pa mthong na ni 'di lta bu'i spyod pa dang ldan par yang rigs pa ma yin no /*.

¹¹⁵ TJ D298b3; P338a4–5: *don dam pa'i ye shes la sgrib par byed pa 'dod chags dang / zhe sdang dang / gti mug rnam yod par gyur pa grol bar lta ga la 'gyur /*.

¹¹⁶ See under 5.1.1 our discussion of the background for the association of slumber with mental confusion.

¹¹⁷ TJ D298b3–4; P338a5–6: *des na 'dod chags la sogs pa ni 'khor ba'i rgyu yin la / 'dod chags zad pa la sogs pa ni thar pa'i rgyu yin no zhes bya ba'i rgyu la rmongs pa ni khyed kho na yin gyi kho bo cag ni ma yin no //*.

¹¹⁸ TJ D293b3–4; P330a7: *gang nyon mongs pa rnam sog par (P gsog par) mi byed cing / nyon mongs pa bsags pa rnam kyang zhi bar byed pa yin pas.*

Afflictions and corrupt conduct are often used interchangeably by Bhāviveka in this context. As mentioned in the previous section, the relation between the two is conceived as a causal one. This is made clear in MHK 9.61 cum TJ: a learned man — one who is endowed with wisdom — does not commit evil acts (*pāpa*) because he lacks the cause of the latter, namely the three afflictions.¹¹⁹

If it could be accepted that some evil acts result from the presence of afflictions, it is questionable to identify all sins — killing being a prototypic example — as the effects of afflictions. In MHK 9.68, an opponent argues that killing, in some cases, is not even a sin; for instance, the gods' killing of their enemies is in fact prompted by their desire to protect the dharma (*dharmagupti*). This suggests that killing might have another cause than the affliction of hatred. Bhāviveka's answer consists in showing that the gods cannot in fact qualify as "protectors of the dharma." In MHK 9.69, he argues that the gods' alleged "desire to protect the dharma" would be in conflict with other corrupt actions that they perform, such as theft, adultery, deceit, etc., so many actions that cannot be explained to be for the benefit of the dharma. In MHK 9.68, he characterizes the "protection of the dharma" in terms of either realizing the true dharma oneself or teaching it to others. The first option is denied to the three gods precisely by the argument that refutes that there can be correct understanding, or wisdom, when afflictions are present. As TJ ad MHK 9.87 concludes: "Therefore, the claim that 'These [gods] know the truth' is to be negated: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva do not understand the ultimate, because one observes that their behavior is lustful, etc. (*rāgādisamudācāra*), like gangs of robbers and hunters, etc."¹²⁰ The second option, as we will see below (ii.), is refuted as well for it relies on the first.

In summary, afflictions both cause corrupt behaviors and prevent wisdom. In view of the relationship between these terms, one could thus characterize the logical model that Bhāviveka is suggesting along the lines of these logical reasons that Dharmakīrti assimilates to logical reasons qua effect insofar the logical reason and the probandum, although they are not properly speaking cause and effect, both result from the same sufficient complex of causes.¹²¹ In the case under consideration, since corrupt behavior and defiled wisdom are the result of the same sufficient complex of causes — the presence of afflictions — one can legitimately infer the second from the observation of the first.

¹¹⁹ See MHK 9.61cd: *nātaḥ prakurute pāpam jñānī taddhetvasambhavāt* / and TJ D292a4–5; P330a7–8: *shes pa dang ldan pa rnams ni srog gcod pa la sogs pa'i sdig pa'i las mi byed de / 'dod chags dang / zhe sdang dang / gti mug ces (P zhes) bya ba'i sdig pa'i rgyu rnams med pa'i phyir ro // 'dod chags sam / zhe sdang ngam / gti mug gis ni sdig pa'i las byed par 'gyur te...*

¹²⁰ TJ D298b4–5; P228a6–7: *de'i phyir 'di dag nyid de kho na nyid rig pa yin no zhes zer ba de dgag par bya ba yin te / tshangs pa dang / khyab 'jug dang / dbang phyug chen po ni don dam pa rig pa ma yin te / 'dod chags la sogs pa kun du spyod pa mthong ba'i phyir // ri brags pa dang rgon pa la sogs pa'i tshogs bzhin no /*

¹²¹ See Iwata 1991. This case is otherwise illustrated by the inference of taste from shape, or of rain from the fidgiting of the ants. Note that Bhāviveka himself does not attempt to characterize his argument as a specific type of inference relying on a specific logical reason.

ii. *Wisdom and teaching*

The second part of Bhāviveka’s reasoning relies on the premise that to be correct a teaching must be the verbal expression of a correct understanding, thereby excluding an ignorant teacher professing what are merely “lucky guesses” or parroting someone else’s words without personal understanding. Lack of correct understanding prevents one from giving a true teaching, and therefore to lead others in a meaningful way. In MHK 9.93, an ignorant teacher is thus compared to a guide attempting to lead others while having himself fallen into a precipice.¹²² On the contrary, someone who knows the truth is able to guide others.¹²³ Teaching on liberation, thus, can only come from someone who is liberated, and whose behavior testifies to their liberated state. In brief, true religious teachers necessarily practice what they preach.

From i. and ii., there is only one conclusion to be reached: the gods’ teaching should be rejected, as should be the teaching of any putative teacher who does not see the truth, for these cannot lead one to liberation.

5.2 The “slumber argument” in lHo pa’s narrative of the sKyid grong debate

Let us go back to sKyid grong. As seen in our analysis of Sa paṅ’s statement, the notion of “slumber” appears twice: first associated with mental confusion in the short statement [3] “Brahmā slumbers because of great mental confusion,” then in the third pāda of the verse from the **Suprāta-prabhāta-stotra* [4], where it stands in contrast to being awake.

The two statements certainly support each other rhetorically. The force of the argument from the hymn is one of contrast and depreciation: contrast, as it opposes Brahmā and the Buddha in terms of slumber vs. awaken state; depreciation, because this contrast presupposes a positive pole — being awake — and a negative one — slumbering. Statement [3] provides a justification for this polarization by associating slumber with the affliction of great mental confusion (*gti mug chen*, **mahāmoha*). Reciprocally, the hymn provides support to the argument in [3] by implying that Brahmā’s slumber is a fact that is well-established in the opponent’s Scriptures from which the author of the hymn draws his descriptions.

The specificity of the association of “slumber” with “mental confusion” strongly suggests that the author of the argument is relying on a precedent for this type of argumentation. MHK/TJ would then appear as a likely

¹²² The same conclusion is pointed out in TJ D293b1 (P331b7–8) ad MHK 9.65: *de’i phyir na re zhig de nyid la yang de kho na nyid mthong ba yod pa ma yin na yang de’i nye bar bstan pa’i lam nas ’jug pa la lta grol ba yod par ji ltar ’gyur te mi ’gyur ro’*. See in parallel the passage cited in n. 115, and TJ D298b6 (P338b1) and MHK 9.88: *de dag ni bdag nyid kyang phyin ci log tu sgrub pa la gnas pa yin na (P om. na) / ji ltar gzhan dag yang dag pa’i sgrub pa la ’god (P dgod) par nus par ’gyur’*.

¹²³ His lack of afflictions, one could add, would guarantee that he has no motivation for lying or deceiving his audience. Bhāviveka, who concentrates on the case of the one who does not know the truth, does not address the question whether one who knows the truth would not, due to the absence of afflictions, also lack the motivation to teach at all. For a recent treatment of Dharmakīrti’s discussion of the question whether the Buddha, if devoid of desires, could still have the motivation to teach, see Pecchia 2008.

candidate.¹²⁴ If one presumes that the association of slumber and mental confusion in [3] is indeed intended as in Bhāviveka's argument against the Mīmāṃsā, Sa paṅ's statement goes beyond the ad personam contrastive and depreciative effect, as it now implies a logical argumentative structure leading to its conclusion — the rejection of the opponent's teaching — by way of an inferential process.

One can wonder, in such a case, why the enunciator of the argument chose to concentrate on "slumber," which is, after all, not very spectacular in terms of corrupt behavior. Also, as discussed in the preceding section, slumber is one of the illustrations of corrupt conducts whose connection with the intended corresponding affliction, mental confusion, is disputable. Aside from this difficulty, one can see two advantages for this choice. First, mental confusion is the affliction whose connection with the absence of correct understanding is the most readily acceptable. Second, in combination with the **Suprātaprabhāstotra*, the argument from slumber gains both support for its premise (the fact that Brahmā sleeps) and rhetorical efficacy as its intended logical impact is combined with an informal type of argumentation.

The hypothesis that the author of the argument is indeed intending a MHK/TJ-like line of argumentation has further implications for the way this statement stands in regard to the opponent's "motivation statement" (I in section 3) and initial statement (4.1).

For one thing, the claim that Brahmā is guilty of some type of corrupt behavior works as a *tu quoque* against the claim that Tibetan Buddhists adopt depraved conduct.¹²⁵ It is true that slumber and sexual practices do not exactly generate the same shock-effect when discussing morality, but for someone familiar with the line of argumentation used by Bhāviveka, the mention of slumber would probably recall the associated accusations pertaining to lust and hate. If this is assumed, it is not only the authority of Brahmā and of the Vedic teaching that is discarded by this argument; Brahmā's purity, and thereby indirectly the purity of the Brahmins of his descent, also becomes an implicit target.

As analyzed in section 4.2, the slumber argument is only one part of Sa paṅ's argument. Parts [1] and [2], as I have argued, can also be read as informal arguments that address respectively the question of purity and that of the respect due to the Buddha. Taken as a whole, these statements constitute a multifaceted attack on Brahmā and a defense of the respect due to the Buddha. The statements representative of the slumber argument can be taken without presupposing a formal structure, or on the contrary by supposing an elaborate logical background. The argument attributed to Sa paṅ may actually have served precisely such a double role of confronting non-Buddhist masters with a formal logical argument, while providing also an effective way to address an audience of non-specialists, maybe including some arrogant passing-by Indian Brahmins failing to pay respect to the renowned Jo bo of sKyid grong.

¹²⁴ The question whether this text itself could have been used as a source is discussed in section 6.2. So far I have not been able to find a similar argument in another Indian or Tibetan source predating lHo pa's narrative.

¹²⁵ The depraved aspect of promiscuity with women touches in particular practitioners who have taken monastic vows.

5.3 Theory and practice

As discussed above, one can distinguish in Sa paṅ's argument layers of formal and informal arguments. What needs to be investigated in view of our initial questioning is whether the form of these statements matches a known type of proof-statement. In particular, can the steps of the narrative that we have detailed in section 3 be mapped onto Sa paṅ's prescriptions concerning the correct unfolding of a debate and the presentation of a correct argument?

The model of debate that Sa paṅ presupposes in the *mKhas 'jug*¹²⁶ relies on the one hand on Dharmakīrti's discussion of "inference-for-others" in the *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and on the other on his discussion of points of defeats in the *Vādanyāya*. According to Sa paṅ, a proper philosophical debate also requires two debaters who affirm tenets worthy of examination and disagree with each other.¹²⁷ One of them, the proponent, presents a proof-statement that enunciates a triply characterized reason, while the other, the respondent, attempts to refute him by pointing out faults pertaining to the probans. According to Sa paṅ, Dharmakīrti's texts would support the idea of an additional step between the presentation of the logical reason by the proponent and the respondent's refutation, namely, the proponent must "remove the thorns," that is, he must show that the three characteristics are indeed established.¹²⁸

In the narrative of the dialogue between Sa paṅ and his opponent, it is possible to map their respective statements with a *pūrvapakṣa/uttarapakṣa*-model. Namely, the non-Buddhists' initial claim constitutes their *pūrvapakṣa* (as discussed in 3.1, a threefold claim), which Sa paṅ attempts to refute by means of an argument (*uttarapakṣa*).

What is the form of a correct proof-statement according to Sa paṅ? Sa paṅ's opinion is that the proponent should make explicit the triply characterized reason by expressing its pervasion by the property to be proven ("whatever is R is Q, like E") and the fact that it qualifies the subject ("S is indeed qualified by R"). Following Dharmakīrti, Sa paṅ denies that the statement of the thesis (or conclusion of the argument) should be part of the proof. Indeed, as it does not contribute as a means of proof, it would count as a superfluous expression and make the proof statement fallacious. While any supplement to the expression of the pervasion and the *pakṣadharmatā* (the qualification of the subject by the logical reason) is ruled out, Sa paṅ concedes, on the other hand, that it is not always necessary to state both these members. Relying on a passage from Dharmakīrti's *Svavṛtti*,¹²⁹ Sa paṅ defends the idea that when the opponent is "knowledgeable" or "learned"

¹²⁶ Note that in this text Sa paṅ only discusses problematic issues, without presenting the steps of debate in a systematic way. For a sketch of the later Sa skya pa system based on Śākya mchog ldan's explanation, see Jackson 1987: 197–199.

¹²⁷ *mKhas 'jug* III.34–42 (Jackson 1987: 340–344).

¹²⁸ *mKhas 'jug* III.56–58 (Jackson 1987: 357–358).

¹²⁹ PV 1.27 cum *Svavṛtti* PVSV 17,13–19,22 (translated in Steinkellner 2004: 238ff., where the verse is numbered k.29): "Surely in the example (the fact) is conveyed to (someone) who does not know (either of) these (two facts), (namely) that [the property to be proven] is [in reality nothing but] that (reason) or (its) cause. To those, on the other hand, who are already familiar with (the fact that that which is to be proven) is [in reality] this (reason) or (its) cause, (i.e.,) For to those who know (this), only the mere reason needs to be mentioned. The purpose for which an example is stated, that is (already) achieved. Thus, of what avail is its formulation then?"

(*mkhas pa*), the statement of the pervasion is not required.¹³⁰ For instance, to prove that sound is impermanent to a knowledgeable opponent, one who is well aware that whatever is produced is impermanent, it would suffice to state: “Sound is produced.”

Considered in this light, statement [3] can be interpreted as the presentation of a logical reason — “slumber” — to a knowledgeable opponent. The proponent, in this case, only expresses the *pakṣadharmatā*, namely “Brahmā sleeps,” and presumes that the opponent does not need to be reminded of the pervasion, namely, that slumber entails that the teaching of such a teacher ought to be rejected. This entailment, as discussed in section 5.1, can be made to rely on the idea that the affliction of mental confusion — which is hinted at since the full statement reads “Brahmā sleeps because of great mental confusion” — is both the cause of slumber and the sufficient cause for an incorrect understanding of reality, and hence the incapacity to give a teaching relevant to liberation. In short, it is possible to interpret Sa paṅ’s statement as a proof-statement following rules he himself prescribes. But to do so, a background similar to the one found in MHK/TJ is to be presupposed.

If “Brahmā sleeps” is a proof-statement (in the short version that is appropriate for knowledgeable opponents), what is the role of the citation from the **Suprātaprabhātastotra*? This citation may be interpreted as an attempt to remove the thorns pertaining to the *pakṣadharmatā*, that is, here, to counter the eventual objection that Brahmā does not sleep. The passage cited by Sa paṅ is not actually a scriptural passage taken from the opponents’ scripture. It refers, however, to a feature that is indeed associated with Brahmā in the opponents’ literary corpus (Brahmā sleeps inbetween the dissolution and the re-creation of the world), and would thus play a role equivalent to a citation from a Brahmanical source.

This brings up, however, another issue: even if the opponent recognizes the source as genuine (i.e., as repeating elements from his own scriptures), scriptures are not accepted in Buddhist logic as a valid means of cognition. They can be invoked, however, when it comes to suprasensorial matters. This appears to be case here, for how could one ascertain the state of affairs “Brahmā sleeps” if it was not for the scriptures giving us this information? One could wonder, in this case, if the logical reason of the argument would not in the first place qualify as an appeal to scriptures, namely: “your scriptures state that Brahmā sleeps.” When commenting on *mKhas ’jug* III.37ff., Sa paṅ qualifies debate on the scriptural teachings in a way that would indeed match the stakes of the sKyid grong disputation:

When debating on the scriptural teachings, it is proper to inquire and it is not an occasion for laughter if one asks questions ... about [completely] hidden phenomena not taught in the Sūtras or Tantras concerning places of refuge other than the Three Jewels, such as Īśvara, or concerning [theories] different from the [four] “seals” which are the marks of the doctrine for theory, such as a theory of a

¹³⁰ See *Rigs gter* XI.31d (*mkhas pa la ni gtan tshigs nyid*) cum *rang ’grel*. Sa paṅ’s position on this theme and the difference with that of his predecessors are discussed in Hugon forthcoming.

self or person, or concerning modes of conduct different from the Middle Way, such as physical pleasures and mortifications.¹³¹

If one takes for granted that Sa paṅ and his opponents are thus discussing “completely inaccessible” matters — such as Brahmā as a place of refuge — what kind of argument is considered proper? Sa paṅ prescribes two kinds of answers when debating on scriptures: “One should refute that [argument] by means of [quotations from] scripture or by means of reasoning based on scripture.”¹³² The example Sa paṅ deals with in the *mKhas 'jug* (III.20ff.) is the famous Vedic claim that “who performs ablutions on the shore of the Ganges will not be born again.” Insofar as followers of the Veda agree with the Buddhists on the cause of Cyclic existence — actions produced from desire, hatred and confusion — and its cessation — freedom from these evils — such a passage reveals an internal contradiction because the washing of the body is unrelated to the mental factors that the three poisons imply. Citing this passage provides a suitable argument in this context.

In the case of the sKyid grong debate, the citation from the hymn, which states that “Brahmā sleeps,” is not directly revealing of an internal contradiction. However, once the link between afflictions and the incapacity of seeing the truth is assumed (and in the case of the affliction of mental confusion, the link is obvious), the opponent is placed in the self-defeating position that he accepts scriptures that themselves present their teacher as showing signs that he is unworthy of being a teacher.

We have thus so far identified two ways to make sense of the argument in lHo pa's narrative: (i) it consists in the statement of the *paḥṣadharma* of the logical reason “slumber” for the subject “Brahmā,” a *paḥṣadharma* which is, if not formally established, presumed to be accepted by the opponent on account of his own scriptures; (ii) it consists in an appeal to scriptures whose contents include the claim that “Brahmā sleeps,” to demonstrate the contradiction, for the opponent, to accept both these scriptures and Brahmā as a teacher. Both these interpretations presuppose an argument addressed at a knowledgeable opponent, one who is aware of the causal relation between the three types of afflictions and corresponding behaviors, and of the way afflictions prevent the understanding of the truth.

If the opponent's *pūrvapakṣa* is summarized as “Brahmā should be followed as a teacher,” the formal aspect of the slumber argument provides an adequate reply, as the inference leads to the conclusion that Brahmā is not worth as a teacher, and that his teaching should hence be rejected. As to the other aspects of the opponent's claim, in particular the claim of purity, we have seen in 5.2 that it is indirectly addressed by the association, in the original argument, of slumber with the other illustrations of vicious conduct.

6. Conclusion – from narrative to facts

We can, at this point, address the question whether lHo pa's narrative provides us with anything like a factual account, be it of an actual debate between Sa paṅ and a non-Buddhist in sKyid grong, or a plausible picture of

¹³¹ Transl. in Jackson 1987: 336.

¹³² *mKhas 'jug* III.30, Jackson 1987: 338.

what a debate might have looked like at that time. One question that is obviously linked with this one, although secondary in view of the purpose of the present enquiry, is whether the sKyid grong debate is a historical event. Its occurrence is taken for granted in the Tibetan tradition and, so far I know, has not been questioned by modern scholars who, at most, argue on its date. The reason I pose the question is not that there is strong evidence that the sKyid grong debate did not take place. There are, on the other hand, good reasons that can be invoked for the insertion of such an event in Sa paṅ's biography even if it did not take place. I suggest, therefore, that rather than readily accept any of the related accounts at face value, one should examine carefully what stands in favor of its actual occurrence.

6.1 Did the sKyid grong debate ever take place?

Why would biographers recount such an event if it did not take place? One has to take into account the fact that the earliest sources that mention the event belong to the genre of "*rnam thar*." Although loosely translated as "biography" or "biographical account," Tibetan *rnam thar* are often better described, as the Tibetan term connotes, as accounts of an exemplary life leading to liberation. Sa paṅ was a renowned logician, and also a theoretician who ascribed an important place to debating among the competences expected of a learned scholar. The mention of a debate to illustrate Sa paṅ's embodiment of the very qualities he put forward in his program therefore does not come as a surprise. One can even note that several biographers (for instance Zhang rgyal ba dpal, Bla ma dam pa, Go rams pa, Bo dong, etc.) precisely organize their description of Sa paṅ's deeds and qualities according to the triad of exposition, composition and debate, the three skills of the wise according to the *mKhas 'jug*.

Why would Sa paṅ be made to debate with a *tīrthika*? Two reasons could be invoked: first, being exhaustive. For instance, Zhang rgyal ba dpal has Sa paṅ vanquishing in debate both Buddhists — among whom Tibetans and non-Tibetans — and non-Buddhists. Another reason is Sa paṅ's specific dedication to refute *tīrthika* views, principally in his epistemological work, the *Rigs gter*. Additionally, Sa paṅ's knowledge of Indian languages and of non-Buddhist treatises are also put to the fore in Sa paṅ's biographies — a live debate against a *tīrthika* provides a perfect event combining these elements.¹³³

Why, then, locate such a debate in sKyid grong? One can find, as well, several good reasons to do so. First, it is a plausible place for the encounter. Sa paṅ's presence in the region, on several occasions, is attested by sources that describe the people he met and the teachings he gave at these times. The location of sKyid grong and the function of this township as a market-place on a trade-road coming from the Kathmandu valley make it a likely place for Tibetans to meet *tīrthikas* of Nepalese or Indian origin. There are, additionally, layers of symbolism that are associated with sKyid grong as a frontier location, both in religious and lay history, that make it an especially

¹³³ Śākya mchog ldan mentions in his biographical account that Sa paṅ debated with his opponents in Sanskrit. Cf. *Chos 'khor rnam gzhag* 5b4: *sam skri ta'i skad kyis de dang brtsad pa na*.

suitable place for a confrontation with an opponent who is neither Tibetan nor Buddhist.¹³⁴

One can add to these considerations that several accounts of the debate, principally those following the second type of scenario, include a number of events that a modern reader is bound to classify as poetic elaboration. But even a down-to-earth account of the event as in lHo pa's narrative contains elements that bear too much symbolic significance to be entirely trusted at first sight. For instance, the number "six" given for Sa paṅ's opponents immediately brings to mind the famous six non-Buddhist teachers (whose views are presented for instance in the *Samaññaphalasutta*) whom the Buddha defeated in Śrāvastī, as recounted in the *Prātihāryasūtra* of the *Divyāvadāna*. It is also curious that the name of the chief disputant, 'Phrog byed dga' ba/bo, is not given in a phonetic adaptation of the original Indian name, whereas other Indian names usually are (for instance the names of the Indian paṇḍits Sa paṅ studied with). This leaves the impression of a customized name, if not a customized opponent.

The mention of a debate involving Sa paṅ in the latter's biography is thus something that is expected by the reader, and is likely to be inserted by a biographer even if the latter has neither witnessed the event himself nor heard about it from a reliable source. One cannot say that the author commits thereby an intended historical lie; rather, he is making pious additions of facts that are so likely to have happened that they can just as well be considered to have happened.

What, then, speaks in favor of the debate as a historical fact? The best argument, it appears, is that of the proximity of the redaction of the earliest biographies that mention the event to its presumed date of occurrence, and the proximity of their authors to Sa paṅ. There is, however, no indubitable indication that Sa paṅ would have read and approved their account. As for local sources that mention Sa paṅ's stay in sKyid grong and the debate, their late date of composition (Vitali mentions seventeenth-century works) raises the question whether their authors rely on a local tradition or mix several sources, among which biographical accounts of Sa paṅ of external origin. The "Verses for the subduing of the non-Buddhist teachers" would be a pertinent support provided that the part in prose that follows the verses, which identifies the occasion of their composition, was indeed written by Sa paṅ. As for the clotted hairs hanging on a pillar in Sa skya, that have been claimed to be seen from the early fifteenth to the twentieth century, they can hardly be taken as material evidence for the sKyid grong debate, although the presence of such an item in Sa skya is certainly telling about the importance of this episode associated with Sa paṅ for the Sa skya pa collective memory.

¹³⁴ I intend to deal in a forthcoming study with this aspect of the location of the debate, which becomes especially relevant when one considers narratives that follow the second type of scenario. One can mention, among the points that can be taken into consideration, that the temple of Byams sprin in sKyid grong belongs to the border temples whose construction is attributed to Srong btsan sgam po; the region, more precisely mTshams (lit. "border"), north of sKyid grong, was also declared a border-place by Padma-sambhava; further, the invasion of Mang yul gung thang by the Ya rtse kingdom took place in the same period, leading to the death of the king of Mang yul in mTshams.

As I will argue in the next section, the position one adopts on the issue of the historicity of the debate does not prevent one from drawing some conclusions as to debating practices based on lHo pa's narrative.

6.2 What can one learn from lHo pa's narrative?

There are, I would suggest, three main options to take into consideration to evaluate lHo pa's narrative:

- a. A debate involving Sa paṅ and a non-Buddhist did take place, in sKyid grong or at another location. lHo pa may have witnessed it himself or have heard about it from an eye-witness or a secondary source.
- b. lHo pa is not aware of any contemporaneous debate of Tibetan scholars against non-Buddhists.
- c. A less likely alternative is that no such debate involving Sa paṅ took place, but lHo pa witnessed or heard about some debate involving another Tibetan scholar and a non-Buddhist teacher.¹³⁵

Although we are not in the position to determine which of these options is the correct one, there is, I suggest, one fact that can help us answering our initial questions — how debates were conducted in these days and whether lHo pa's account gives us a plausible account of such practices. This fact is that lHo pa was both Sa paṅ's disciple and an expert in epistemology (see section 3). He was thus certainly aware of the theoretical aspect of argumentation rules as discussed in epistemological works, and in particular Sa paṅ's model in the *Rigs gter* and *mKhas 'jug*. One can also expect that he had some experience of what debates actually were like in the practice.

In the first case of possibility (a), the basis for lHo pa's narrative would be an actual event. As lHo pa was well-versed in logic, he was in a position to understand the unfolding of the argument conveyed by the various statements of the debaters.¹³⁶ That lHo pa was recounting a real event does not preclude that the author arranged the facts when putting it in writing. No account is ever purely objective and exhaustive. Abbreviation and paraphrase must be presupposed, reformulation as well, for there was little chance that the non-Buddhist opponent would have been conversant in Tibetan. In other words, even in lHo pa's account is based on a real event, we are still dealing with a narrative. The rhetoric of debate narrative must thus be taken into consideration when evaluating the status of the various statements. For instance, the opponent's "statement of intention" is more likely an addition of the author than a reflection of something that was said before or during the debate. It is also conceivable that the alleged conversion of the opponent following his defeat is simply a literary convention.

In the case of figure (b), as lHo pa would be attributing an argument to Sa paṅ in order to illustrate his skills in debate, one can expect that he would

¹³⁵ This option is less likely in view of the apparent rarity of debates between Tibetan Buddhists and Indian non-Buddhists; see n. 8. The inclusion of such an episode in Sa paṅ's biography in cases (b) or (c) can be explained in view of the reasons discussed in 6.1.

¹³⁶ I come back below to the question of the plausibility of lHo pa's familiarity with MHK/TJ's line of argumentation.

take special care to put into the mouth of his teacher an argument that is not only pertinent, but also formally valid. In brief, he would construct or recycle (in case c) an argument suitable to be attributed to the renowned Sa paṅ, and that would have been recognized as a clever logical argument against non-Buddhists by contemporaneous readers familiar with debates. One would, in this case, presume that lHo pa addresses a readership who is familiar with the argument from MHK/TJ cryptically hinted at and would possibly recognize the citation of the hymn, and that the form of the reported argument matches quite precisely the prescriptions of theoretical treatises. The form of the argument found in lHo pa's narrative — a one-member proof-statement — shows that even if lHo pa constructed the argument, he did not settle for a stereotyped version of a proof-statement.

Whichever of the above three options prevails, we can draw the conclusion that lHo pa's narrative is representative of debate argumentation as it did or could have taken place in these days, but that his narrative is not a mirror-account of actual events.

An unsettled question in both cases is that of the familiarity lHo pa might have had with the line of argumentation developed in MHK/TJ and thereby recognized (in case a) or put forward (in case b) the mention of slumber as a pertinent and logically grounded argument.¹³⁷ That Sa paṅ might have drawn from this source is plausible. Sa paṅ certainly knew MHK and TJ, which had been available in Tibet since the eleventh century (they were translated on the request of rNgog legs pa'i shes rab by Atiśa and the translator Nag tsho). They are not mentioned by Sa paṅ's biographers among the texts enumerated when accounting for his studies,¹³⁸ but Sa paṅ refers to TJ for instance in the *mKhas 'jug* when enumerating the various kinds of non-Buddhist views.¹³⁹

The "slumber argument" in the sKyid grong debate is composed of the association of slumber with mental confusion, presumably based on a MHK/TJ-like background, in combination with the contrastive claim of the **Suprātaprabhāstotra*. It remains a question whether one is dealing with an original combination — by Sa paṅ, by lHo pa, or by another scholar — or if Sa paṅ or lHo pa is drawing from a pool of well-known ready-made arguments against non-Buddhist opponents that the learned audience, respectively readership, would be expected to recognize. In such a case, one could expect the slumber argument to surface in other Tibetan works when it comes to refuting non-Buddhists. I have not as yet identified any such instance. The only possible echo to the MHK/TJ argumentation that I have

¹³⁷ The mention, in lHo pa's narrative, of subsequent steps in the debate [5] is not in itself a decisive element. It may admittedly indicate that lHo pa himself considered that Sa paṅ's explicit statement was not the best way to illustrate Sa paṅ's capacity as a logician, and that this addition was meant to secure Sa paṅ's status of renowned logician by mentioning a follow-up, involving logical arguments, to the first exchange. But on the other hand, it is quite plausible that the debate did not stop at this first exchange of views and that the discussion went further, maybe in a less remarkable way; i.e., the first argument was held as most representative of a logician's prowess, which then did not need further exemplification. Zhu chen mentions that the opponent is defeated by "logic and scriptures" (*lDe mig* 11b4: *lung rigs kyis tshar bcad*), which is not in itself indicative of his perceiving the first argument as "scriptural" insofar as the formula pairing the two is a locus classicus. Several biographers only mention logic.

¹³⁸ They also do not appear in the list of Madhyamaka works studied by earlier Sa skya pas. See Jackson 1985.

¹³⁹ *mKhas 'jug* ad III.43. See Jackson 1987: 344.

found so far (apart from lHo pa's narrative and other narratives adopting the same scenario) occurs in annotations to the biography of Sa paṅ composed in 1579 by Rin spungs pa Ngag dbang 'jigs med grags pa, although not in the chapter where this author deals with the debate of sKyid grong.¹⁴⁰ In the fourth chapter (pp. 179–190) that deals with Sa paṅ's studies with Indian and Tibetan masters, Rin spungs pa mentions the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Anonymous annotations added to the versified text associate each god with one of the "three poisons" (*dug gsum*, the expression occurs in the following verse) or basic afflictions: Brahmā with mental confusion, Viṣṇu with hatred, and Śiva with lust.¹⁴¹ No mention is made there of behaviors associated with these afflictions, but these annotations strongly suggest knowledge of the passage of MHK/TJ that we discussed.

As for the citation from the **Suprātaprabhāstrottra*, Bla ma dam pa, writing a century after lHo pa (his work dates from 1344), identifies it by name; so does Bo dong (who obviously bases himself on Bla ma dam pa).¹⁴² But in sPos khang pa's account (dating from 1427), although the author mainly repeats the elements of lHo pa's version (or of a like version), his rephrasing of Sa paṅ's statement suggests that he did not recognize it as a citation from the **Suprātaprabhāstrottra*. sPos khang pa does not, either, reproduce the logical articulation between the notion of "slumber" and that of "mental confusion."

What can we learn from lHo pa's narrative about the practice of debate in Tibet? In spite of lHo pa's down-to-earth approach, there is not much that we can learn from his text pertaining to the practical aspects of a debate in the broad sense of the term. lHo pa's narrative hints at the possibility that one party, that of the non-Buddhists, is seated at the beginning of the debate (see section 3, II). It is explicit about the consequence of defeat, namely, the conversion of the opponent, but, as indicated above, such an outcome may reflect the rhetoric of debate narratives rather than what actually transpired. In his study of the third chapter of the *mKhas 'jug*, Jackson notes that if this treatise would appear at first sight to be a practical guide to debating, it actually deals with quite particular theoretical or technical points. The reason for this, Jackson suggests, is that "the basic steps of debating were apparently so well known that he considered them not to require a detailed separate exposition."¹⁴³ We might be facing a similar phenomenon when it comes to debate narratives: by the simple evocation of a "debate," familiar images and situations would come to the mind of the readers, making the description of well-known practical details superfluous.

As far as the form of proof-statements is concerned, it is interesting that the argument (insofar one agrees to interpret it as a formal proof-statement)

¹⁴⁰ Note that Rin spungs pa also has a version of the sKyid grong debate involving a slumber argument, which is stated as follows: *tshangs <pa de nyid kyi> kyang rmongs <pa> chen <po> 'khor ba yi // mingal gyi rgya las thar <par> ma gyur <pa de'i phyir> // gti mug mun pa'i dra ba che<n po>s // bcings nas mnal <pa ste gnyid do song> ba ma yin nam //* ('Jam dbyangs legs lam 104a5).

¹⁴¹ 'Jam dbyangs legs lam 90b3–4: *bram ze'i slob dpon dpal 'dzin sdes // phyed ba'i 'grel par bcas pa dang // <gti mug can> tshangs dang <zhe sdang can> khyab 'jug <'dod chags can> nam mkha'i skra can <te dbang phyug> gyi // rkang sen zla ris spyi bor blangs pa'i mod // dug gsum rgya mtshor 'phyur ba byang grol nyid // thob byed nyer len rgyu ru khas 'ched pa //*

¹⁴² See n. 72. I take the dates of composition from Jackson 1987: 23.

¹⁴³ Jackson 1987: 196–197.

constitutes an instance of a one-member proof-statement, a form that is acceptable in Sa paṅ's system, but rejected by several other thirteenth-century authors. If lHo pa is reporting faithfully this aspect of the debate, this would indicate that such "short versions" of proof-statements were indeed used in debates and not a mere theoretical possibility. If he is customizing an argument, the fact that he chose a one-member proof statement rather than a two-member one might be indicative that this form was not exceptional.

If the present study may not have elicited any definitive answers to our questions pertaining to the details of debating processes — despite the allusion contained in the title of this paper, we still do not know whether debaters clapped hands when debating in sKyid grong¹⁴⁴ — it did reveal an original argument that was deemed effective against Indian non-Buddhists, however rare their presence would have been in thirteenth-century Tibet.

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Śrīharsadeva. Tib. in D1167, *bsTod tshogs*, Ka 239a4–240b5; P2056, 280a1–281b7.

¹⁴⁴ The only clapping of hands that is mentioned takes place in Amipa's version. It causes 'Phrog byed dga' ba to fall back from his escape in the sky. Amipa 1987: 59: "Le SakyaPandita prappa dans ses mains et Harinanda retombe au sol."

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Appendix 1

This appendix contains the portion of IHo pa's biography dealing with the sKyid grong debate, supplemented by variants and parallels in later biographies that adopt this version of the event.

Abbreviations:

Lho=lHo pa kun mkhyen. *dPal ldan sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar*.

Bla=Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan. *Bla ma brgyud rnam thar*.

Bla A = *gSung 'bum* version; **Bla B** = *dbu med* mss.

sPos=sPos khang pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan. *sDom gsum legs bshad*.

Bo=Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal. *Lam 'bras lo rgyus*.

Go=Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge. *sDom gsum dgongs gsal*.

Glo=Glo bo mkhan chen bSod nams lhun grub. *mKhas jug rnam bshad*.

A=A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams. *A mes gdung rabs*.

Text:

Bla, Bo add: de'ang chos rje nyid skyi (Bo: kyi) grong na bzhugs pa'i tshe

Glo, A add: 'di nyid rig (A: rigs) pa'i dbang phyug (A add gam) chen por gyur pa'i (A: par) grags pa'i 'od dkar rgya mtsho'i mtha' yas (A: mthas) klas pa'i sa'i dkyil 'khor kun du 'phro bar gyur pa na /

sngon skye dgu rnam ky'i tshe lo bsam gyis mi khyab pa thub pa'i dus su byung ba /

Bla, Bo, sPong, Go, Glo, A om.

thub pa chen po ser skya dang / drang srong rgyas pa dang / gzegs zan la sogs pa'i rjes su 'brang ba (Glo: 'brang ba'i; A: 'brangs pa'i) grangs can dang / rig byed pa (A om.) dang / rigs pa can zhes grags shing / dbang phyug dang / tshangs pa dang / nyin mo long (Glo: longs) pa dang / nor lha'i bu dang / byin (Glo: spyin) za la sogs pa (Glo, A add cher) mgu ba (Glo, A add dang) / lho phyogs ky'i rgyud du kun du (Glo, A om.) rgyu zhing rnam par 'phyan pa /

Bla, Bo: dbang phyug dang tshangs pa la (Bla B om. la) lhar byed pa'i drang srong rgyas pa dang ser skya dang gzegs zan la sogs pa'i rjes su (Bla B om. su) 'brang ba'i

sPos: chos rje 'di'i snyan pa'i grags pas 'phags pa'i yul du khyab par gyur te / lho phyogs bram ze'i rigs tshangs pa dbang phyug dang khyab 'jug dang nor lha'i bu la sogs pa skyabs su 'dzin par rig byed bzhi dang / grangs can dang rig pa can gyi grub pa'i mtha' la mkhas par sbyangs shing lta ba log par 'dzin pas sems khengs pa /

Go: 'gro ba'i bla ma 'di nyid ky'i stan pa'i grags pas rgya gar shar nub kun tu khyab pa'i tshe /

[I] 'phrog byed dga' bo (Bla, Bo, Glo: ba) la sogs pa'i phyi rol pa'i ston pa drug gis dam bcas pa ni (Glo, A om. ni; Bla, Bo om. dam bcas pa ni) /

u bu cag (Bla, Bo, Glo, A: kho bo cag) *kha ba can gyi ljongs su song la / de na gnas pa'i skye bo (Bla A, Bo: bu) gau (Bla, Glo: go'u; Bo: go) *ta ma'i dge sbyong* (Glo, A: dge slong) *du khas* (Glo add du) '*che ba / bud med ky'i brtul zhugs 'dzin zhing* (Bla, Bo, A: cing) *lta ba dang spyod pa ngan pa la zhen pa de dag* (Glo, A: de) *bzlog* (Bo: zlog) *par bya'o zhes**

sPos: 'phrog byed dga' ba la sogs pa'i phyi rol pa'i ston pa drug gis / 'di skad ces kho bo cag rnam byang phyogs kha ba can gyi ljongs su song la / de na yod pa'i skye bo dge sbyong go'u ta ma'i slob mar khas 'che zhing / chang dang bud med kyi brtul zhugs can de dag sun dbyung bar bya'o zhes

Go: rgya gar lho phyogs pa 'phrog byed dga' bo la sogs pa phyi rol pa'i ston pa drug gis rtsod par brtsoms te

glengs (A: gleng) te mthar gyis (Glo, A om.) song ba dang /

sPos: glengs nas mthar gyis 'ongs te

Bla, Bo, Go om.

bdag (Glo, A: bdag cag) gi bla ma rgol ba ngan pa'i khyu mchog gi spyi gtsug rnam par gnong pa'i seng ge 'di byang chub kyi snying po rdo rje gdan las byang phyogs su dpag tshad bcu phrag drug (Glo, A; lHo: drug) bgrod pa na (Glo, A om.) /

Bla, Bo, sPos, Go om.

mang yul skyid grong (lHo: rong) (Go add gi) 'phags pa wa ti'i gtsug lag khang dang 'dab (Go, Glo: 'dabs) 'byor ba'i tshong 'dus (Go: dus) kyi grong (Go, Glo, A om. kyi grong) na bzhugs pa'i tshe /

Bla, Bo, sPos om.

sngar smos pa'i ston pa drug po der lhags pa na /

Bla, Bo: dam bcas pa de dag der lhag nas

sPos om.

Go: ston pa drug po dag lhags pa na

[II] de thams cad (Go, Glo om. de; Bla, Bo, A om. de thams cad) chos kyi rje (Glo, A: chos rje) nyid dang / bde bar gshegs pa'i rten (Bla, Bo: sangs rgyas pa'i rten (Bo: brten) dang chos rje nyid) la phyag mi 'tshal bar bde legs dang bsngags (Bo: sngags) par 'os pa'i tshigs su bcad pa (Bla, Bo: tshigs bcad) re re tsam btan (Bo: gtan; Glo, A: brjod) nas gral la 'khod pa nas (Bla A: nas; Bla B: pa la; Bo, Glo, A: pa na; Go: de)

sPos: mang yul skyid grong du 'ongs pa'i tshe / bod yul gyi sde snod 'dzin pa gzhan su yang spro bar ma gyur te / de'i tshe chos rje nyid kyis rtsod pa'i skabs phye nas phan tshun bde bar byon rnam (read nam) 'ongs pa legs so zhes gsong por smra zhing bzhin 'dzum pas 'khod pa dang /

[III] 'di skad smra (Bla B, Bo, A: smras) ste /

sPos: ral pa can dag na re

Go om.

[III.1]

nged kyi rigs thams cad ni (Go, Glo, A; Bla, Bo: thams cad kyi; lHo: thams cad kyis) bla ma tshangs pa (sPong add nyid) nas brtsams (Bo: rtsams) te deng sang (Bla A, Bo: ding sang; Go: deng song) gi bar du gau (Bla, Bo, Go: go'u; Glo: gau'u) ta ma'i bstan pa (Bo om.) la mi ltos (Glo: bltos) / dkon mchog gsum la skyabs su 'gro ma myong bas (Bo: ba'i; Glo: ba) drang srong gi (Bla B: gyi) rigs rnam par dag pa kho bo cag (Glo: dag pa kho na; Go: dag pa'o) yin no (Bla, Bo, Go om.) //

zhes dregs shing (Bla, Bo, Go om.) smra bar byed do //

sPos: nged cag gi rigs rnam par dag pa 'di ni bla ma tshangs pa nyid nas ding sang gi bar du go'u ta ma'i lugs dang ma 'dres shing de la skyabs su 'gro ma myong ba'i gtsang ma khyad par can yin no zhes zer ro /

de'i dus su (Bla: de dus; Bo: de du; Glo, A om. su) chos kyi rje 'dis (Bla, Bo: chos rje) gsungs pa ni /

sPos: de la chos rje nyid kyis

Go: de'i tshe chos rje 'dis

[1] ci (Bla, Bo om.) tshangs pa de ni **[2] ston pa la shin tu** (Lho, Go, A; Glo: shin du; Bla, Bo om.) gus pa yin na (Go: no) /

sPos: tshangs pa de ni kho bo'i ston pa la shin du gus shing skyabs su song ba yin mod kyi

[3] 'on kyang de (sPos, Bo om.) gti mug che bas (sPos add da dung) gnyid kyis non pa ma yin (Bla, Bo, A: min) nam /

[4] *ji* (sPos: 'di; Go: ci) *skad du* /
 rab mchog lag pa bzhi pa bcu drug (Bla B add ni) phyed phyed phyogs (Bla B om.) kyi gdong pa can //
bzlas (Bo: zlas) dang nges pa'i cho ga shes shing nges brjod (Bo: rjod) rig byed 'don pa po (Bla B: pas so) //
 dri med padma'i skye (Bla B: skyes) gnas tshangs (Bla B om.) pa de yang (Bla B, Glo: de'ang) gnyid log gyur /
 sPos: rab mchog lag pa bzhi pa bcu drug phyed phyed gdeng bas rig byed 'don mkhas nges brjod smra ba po / gser gyi mngal dang dri med padma'i skyes gnas tshangs pa de yang da dung gnyid log gyur pa yin /
 Go: rab mchog bzhi pa zhes sogs kyi tshigs bcad gsungs pas

Bla, Bo, Glo, A: zhes dang

sPos: ces pa dang

[5] *kho bo'i* (Bo: kho bo) *ston pa stobs bcu mnga' ba de ni rtag tu* (sPos: rtag par; Bo: brtag tu) *rab tu* (Bla B om. tu) *snga* (Bla, Bo, sPos, Glo, A; lHo: mnga') *ba nyid du* (Bla B: ba nyid tu; sPos: bar) *nam langs* (sPos: rnam langs gyur) *pa'o* // zhes gsungs pas /
 sPos: zhes smras pa dang /
 Bla, Bo: zhes rab tu snga (Bo: mnga') bar nam langs pa'i bstod pa las phyung (Bla B: 'byung; Bo: byung) ba'i tshig de dag (Bo tshig de) gsungs pas
 Go om.

[III.2] de dag (Go, Glo, A add shin tu; Glo add shin du) ma bzod cing ma rangs pas 'bel ba'i gtam gyi skabs nyid du (Go, A: rnyed de; Glo: rnyed) rgol ba ngan pa de (Go, A add thams cad) re re nas phyung (Go, Glo, A: sun phyung) zhing pham par mdzad de / mi smra ba'i brtul zhugs la bkod nas /
 [III.3] slar yang de thams cad kyi lta ba ngan pas (A: pa'i) bsnyems (Go, Glo, A: snyems) pa'i dri ma med par mdzad de

Bla, Bo: de dag ma rangs nas rtsod pa'i gtam (Bo om. gtam) rgya cher byed pa'i skabs de nyid du rgol ba de dag re re nas sun phyung bas mi smra ba'i brtul zhugs la (Bo: las) bkod de (Bla B, Bo: pas) khengs pa (Bo: khongs) drungs nas phyung ste lta ba ngan pa'i sems kyi dri ma bsal nas

sPos: shin tu ma bzod par grub pa'i mtha' gzhung 'dzugs pa la zhugs te rang rang gi blo la nus pa ci yod pa'i gtan tshigs kyis gtan la phab pa'i mjug tu lta ba log pas dregs pa'i bram ze de dag yang dag pa'i rigs pas tshar bcad cang (read: cing) mi smra ba'i brtul zhugs la bkod nas

[IV] ral pa'i khur bregs nas nyid kyi thad du rab tu byung ste /

Bla, Bo: bstan (Bo: stan) pa la rab tu byung ste (Bla B: phyung ste; Bo: phyung te)

sPos: ral pa'i khur rnam bregs shing rab tu byung bar mdzad do //

nges par 'byung ba rin po che'i (Glo: chena'i) 'byor ba dang ldan par (A: pa) mdzad (Go om. par mdzad) pa'i skabs su / shākya'i rgyal po de'i bstan (Go, Glo, A; lHo: brtan) pa la rma 'byin pa gang dag byung ba na slar yang (Go, Glo, A add de bzhin du) dul (Go, A: gdul) bar bya'o zhes dgongs te (A: snyam du dgongs nas) 'di gsungs pa /

Bla, Bo, sPos om.

[VI]

rgya mtsho'i ... 'dzin par shog {=the "verses of the subduing of the six non-Buddhist teachers"; see Appendix 2}

ces gsungs te 'di rgyas par mdzad do (Go, Glo, A om.) //

Bla, Bo, sPos om.

sPos add: ral pa dag 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi lha khang du phul nas da lta yang yod do //

Go add: de'i ral pa'i khur bregs nas rab tu byung ste / ral pa rnam dpal ldan sa skya'i gtsug lag khang na da lta yang yod do //

Glo, A add: de dag gi ral pa dpal ldan sa skya'i dbu rtse rnying ma na da lta'ang (A: yang) yod do //

Bla, Bo add: slar rgya gar du log pas rgya gar shar nub kun du chos kyi rje la (Bo om. la) smra ba'i mchog tu grags so //

Appendix 2

The text belows is based on the sDe dge edition of Sa paṅ's works (see *Mu stegs tshigs bcad* in the bibliography). Variant readings from the biographies where these verses are cited are given in footnotes (see appendix 1 for the abbreviations).

Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug btul ba'i tshigs bcad bzhugs

om svasti siddham

rgya mtsho'i gos can rgya mtsho'i¹⁴⁵ mthas¹⁴⁶ klas sa chen 'di na lha chen po //
 'phrog byed dran¹⁴⁷ byed de dag mchod¹⁴⁸ byed thub pa drang srong garga¹⁴⁹ sogs //
 rgyas pa grog mkhar ba dang gzegs zan¹⁵⁰ rkang mig ser skya'i rjes 'jug pa //
 thor tshugs¹⁵¹ shing shun lo ma 'i gos can thal ba dbyu¹⁵² gu ku sha thogs //
 ral pa'i khur 'dzin muñdzas¹⁵³ legs dkris ri dags¹⁵⁴ g.yang gzhi'i stod g.yogs can //
 so¹⁵⁵ ris gsum mtshan rtse mo can mchod tshangs skud mchod phyir thogs pa 'chang //
 rig byed kun sbyangs¹⁵⁶ nges brjod 'don mkhas sgra dang sdeb sbyor mthar son pa //
 bdag tu lta ba'i lta ba la lta¹⁵⁷ rgyun tu dka' spyad¹⁵⁸ nga rgyal can //
 de lta'i tshul can mu stegs glang chen rtag tu¹⁵⁹ myos pa'i glad¹⁶⁰ 'gebs¹⁶¹ pa //
 dpal ldan smra ba'i seng ge blo gros stobs ldan rigs¹⁶² pa'i mche ba can //
 brda sprod byed gzhung yan lag rab rdzogs bde gshegs bstan pa'i ral pas brjid //
 legs sbyar nga ro snyan tshig¹⁶³ gad rgyangs ltag chod¹⁶⁴ sun 'byin mig bgrad¹⁶⁵ pa //
 de lta'i ri dags¹⁶⁶ rgyal po de //
 dpal ldan sa skya'i gangs rir gnas //
 blo gsal rnam kyis¹⁶⁷ ri dags¹⁶⁸ skyong //

¹⁴⁵ Glo: mtsho.

¹⁴⁶ lHo, Go, Glo: mtha'.

¹⁴⁷ lHo: dregs; Go, A: bran.

¹⁴⁸ lHo, Go, Glo, A: lhar.

¹⁴⁹ Go: skar dga'; Glo: garka; A: karka.

¹⁵⁰ Go: gzeg gzan.

¹⁵¹ A: gtsug.

¹⁵² Glo: dbyu(g); A dbyug.

¹⁵³ lHo: mun dzas; Glo: mañtsas ; Go: mu dzas.

¹⁵⁴ lHo, Go, A: dwags.

¹⁵⁵ lHo, Glo: sor.

¹⁵⁶ lHo: sbyang.

¹⁵⁷ lHo: blta.

¹⁵⁸ lHo, Go, Glo, A: spyod.

¹⁵⁹ lHo, Go, Glo, A: rab tu.

¹⁶⁰ lHo, Glo, A: klad.

¹⁶¹ lHo, Go, Glo, A: 'gems.

¹⁶² lHo: rig.

¹⁶³ Go, A: gtan tshigs.

¹⁶⁴ lHo: rtag chad; Go, Glo: lhag brjod, A: rtag brjod.

¹⁶⁵ Go: bsgrad.

¹⁶⁶ Go, A: dwags.

rgol ba ngan pa'i wa tshogs 'joms //
 da dung du yang mu stegs byed //
 thams cad chos kyis pham byas nas //
 bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i tshul //
 kun dga'i rgyal mtshan 'dzin par shog //

mang yul skyid grong 'phags pa wa ti'i gtsug lag khang dang nye ba'i sa'i
 cha / tshong dus kyis dbus su / 'phrog byed dga' ba la sogs pa / mu stegs
 kyis ston pa drug pham par byas nas / sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa la bcug ste /
 rab tu byung ba'i dus su sbyar ba'o //



¹⁶⁷ lHo, Go, Glo, A: kyis.

¹⁶⁸ Go, A: dwags.

A note on the history and future of the 'Wylie' system

Nathan W. Hill

The 'Wylie' system of Tibetan transliteration, although it has gained some currency in North America, has achieved nowhere near the universal employment which Wylie had envisioned for it (1959: 263). Many self-ascribed users of the Wylie system do not themselves consistently employ it. Wylie put forward two principles for his system: that it use no diacritics and that it employ no syllable internal capitalization. The second proposal has attracted subsequent practitioners less than the first. Wylie himself makes clear (1959: 267) that this criterion of capitalization is the only difference between his system and that used by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: xv).

A number of logically possible systems could cohere with the principle of no diacritics. The specific decisions of Nebesky-Wojkowitz on several points are unfortunate. His system uses the letter 'h' in three completely different meanings, aspiration (th, ch), palatalization (sh and zh), and the glottal fricative (h). A more consistent system would write either 'nh' for the palatal nasal or 'sy' and 'zy' for the palatal fricatives. The inconsistent choices put forth by Nebesky-Wojkowitz and retained by Wylie show a provincial anglocentrism. A Portuguese reader would not object to 'nh' instead of 'ny'; a French or German would have no special reason to think the choice of 'sh' rather than 'sy' natural.

The capitalization which Wylie prefers is rendered impossible in the case of the 23rd letter of the Tibetan alphabet, by the bizarre practice of rendering this letter with an apostrophe. Perhaps for this reason in China a modified system is used where v- represents the 23rd letter and x- the final letter of the alphabet, which is left untransliterated in other systems. Wylie erroneously refers to the 23rd letter as 'a-chung'. This practice appears to originate in Das' grammar (1915: 11), where it is however used only for the small letter written below a *ming-gzhi* to indicate a long vowel in Sanskrit.

The major advantage which Wylie himself points to, that diacritics cause needless work and lead to needless mistakes, is in these more technologically advanced times simply no longer the case. Nearly all library catalogs employ the Library of Congress system; this system has the further advantage of being compatible with the traditional transliteration of Sanskrit. Since all students of Tibetan must consult libraries and read Sanskrit, using the Library of Congress system has advantages over the Wylie system.

Although Nebesky-Wojkowitz does not mention any antecedents to his system of transliteration, the responsibility for the diacriticless system of Tibetan transliteration, with anglocentric warts and all, rests not with Nebesky-Wojkowitz but rather Heinrich Laufer. In his 1900 inaugural

dissertation *Beträge zur Kenntnis der Tibetischen Medicin* Laufer employed a system which differs from that of Nebesky-Wojkowitz predictably only in the treatment of the 23rd letter. H. Laufer uses a small circle for Nebesky-Wojkowitz' apostrophe (1900: 6). Heinrich Laufer does not however implement his own system immaculately, for example using -v- rather than -w- for the *wa-zur* on page 54.

His dissertation was Heinrich Laufer's only contribution to Tibetan studies. His better known brother Berthold Laufer is in contrast one of the major figures in the history of our discipline. Berthold Laufer in his own works was content to use a system of Tibetan transcription laden with difficult diacritics. In his life cut short by suicide Berthold Laufer made major contributions to the study of Tibetan, Japanese, Chinese, Mongolian, and anthropology, in a volume and quality that is hard to fathom. It appears that even at his time diacritics were not so cumbersome or time-consuming as Wylie feared.

In the land of its greatest success the Laufer-Nebesky-Wojkowitz-Wylie system is steadily losing ground to systems of transcription which claim to be 'phonetic'. Little notice seems to have been taken of the fact that Khri Srong brtsan is a perfectly accurate way of reflecting the pronunciation of the name of the emperor frequently called Songtsen Gampo, in a manner the emperor himself would have recognized, i.e. Tibetan spelling already reflects Tibetan pronunciation as it once was.

The only transcription system that can legitimately claim to be phonetic is the International Phonetic Alphabet, of which the vast majority of Tibetologists are ignorant. The system which Nicholas Tournadre proposes (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 475-478) accurately reflects the pronunciation of Modern Standard Tibetan and is quite easy on the American eye. However, for authors such as Tuttle (2005: xvii) and Kapstein (2006: xvii) among others the symbol 'ä', although it represents a sound in Modern Standard Tibetan quite distinct from 'e', is too confusing and ugly (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 431). Such authors replace 'ä' with 'e', rendering the system no longer phonetically accurate. Inexplicably, the symbols ü and ö, just as familiar from German and just as odd looking in English, these authors embrace.

Despite the North American abhorrence of diacritics, these authors also put an acute accent over a final 'e' in Tibetan transcription, merely to indicate this letter is not silent. North American Tibetologists and their students do not have to spell the name Jacques Bacot, Christina Scherrer-Schaub, and Takeuchi Tsuguhito as Zhak Bako, Kristina Shairer-Shop, or Takéuchi Tsuguhito, in order to more or less pronounce them correctly. How surprising that Tibetan, the one language one would expect everyone interested in Tibet to have familiarity with, causes such consternation. Students of Irish history and literature—even undergraduates—are asked to pronounce an 'm' sometimes as a 'v' without apology.

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A propos du terme 'riz' et de l'hypothèse du groupe dialectal de Sems-kyi-nyila en tibétain du Khams

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1. Introduction

 Il est indiscutable que, d'un point de vue traditionnel, les dialectes tibétains parlés dans le Yunnan font partie des dialectes du Khams, et plus précisément à une sous-classification de ce groupe que j'ai déjà discutée ailleurs (Suzuki 2009a:17). Cependant, cette sous-classification pourrait être sujette à caution dans la mesure où elle repose principalement sur la base de critères phonétiques. Certaines caractéristiques phonétiques sont parfois franchement étonnantes, mais équivalent néanmoins à des correspondances régulières du tibétain écrit. Si ces caractéristiques sont partagées par certains dialectes du voisinage, elles permettront de valider la sous-classification de ces dialectes.

Cet article se propose d'expliquer les formes phonétiques des mots qui désignent le 'riz' dans plusieurs dialectes appartenant au groupe dialectal de Sems-kyi-nyila (dérivé du terme moderne *Shangri-La*), avec pour objectif de montrer que ces formes proviennent du tibétain littéraire. Le but de cette analyse est d'étayer l'existence de ce groupe dialectal¹.

2. Classification dialectale du tibétain du Yunnan

J'ai proposé ailleurs (Suzuki 2009a:17) une classification du tibétain parlé dans le Sichuan et le Yunnan, fondée à la fois sur des correspondances phonétiques et sur le degré d'intercompréhension entre les dialectes. Cette classification a été révisée plus récemment (Suzuki 2010). J'ai depuis effectué d'autres recherches sur le terrain et la classification actuelle comprend au total trois groupes et dix sous-groupes. La classification des dialectes parlés dans le Yunnan, actualisée et complétée par un plus grand nombre d'exemples, est la suivante² :

¹ La plupart des données tibétaines traitées dans cet article ont été obtenues avec l'aide des membres du Makye Ame - Palais tibétain de Shangri-La (Kunming).

² Les noms des groupes et des sous-groupes sont donnés en phonétique, suivi d'une translittération en Wylie correspondant au tibétain écrit. Le nom des dialectes apparaît en phonétique, tandis que le toponyme est donné en *pinyin* (entre les parenthèses). Cette

Groupe	Sous-groupe	Dialectes et leur position géographique
Sems-kyi-nyila <i>sems kyi nyi-zla</i>	rGyalthang <i>rgyal-thang</i>	rGyalthang (Jiantang, Xianggelila) rGyalbde (Jiantang, Xianggelila) Yangthang / Gyennyemphel (Xiaozhongdian, Xianggelila) Yangthang / Khyimphyuggong (Xiaozhongdian, Xianggelila) Yangthang / Choswateng (Xiaozhongdian, Xianggelila) Alangu (Sanba, Xianggelila) sKadrag / mTshongu (Geza, Xianggelila) Maoniuping (Yulong, Lijiang)
	Mont Yunling Est <i>'jol-la-kha'i shar</i>	Nyishe / Thangsme (Nixi, Xianggelila) Jiangdong (Nixi, Xianggelila) Thoteng (Tuoding, Deqin) Byagzhol (Xiaruo, Deqin) Semzong (Xiaruo, Deqin) Qidzong (Tacheng, Weixi) mBacug (Tacheng, Weixi)
	Melung <i>'ba'-lung</i>	Melung (Baohe-Yongchun, Weixi) mThachu / Yingduwan (Tacheng, Weixi) mThachu / nKhorlo (Tacheng, Weixi) Zhollam (Pantiange, Weixi) Daan (Daan, Yongsheng, Lijiang)
	Phuri <i>pha-ru</i>	Phuri (Geza, Xianggelila)
	Lamdo <i>la-mdo</i>	Lamdo (Geza, Xianggelila)
sDerong-nJol <i>sde-rong 'jol</i>	Mont Yunling Ouest <i>'jol-la-kha'i nub</i>	nJol (Shengping, Deqin) Meyung (Yunling, Deqin) gYegsbam (Yunling, Deqin) lCagspel (Yunling, Deqin)

		Tshare teng (Yunling, Deqin) Tsharethong (Yunling, Deqin) gYanggril (Yunling, Deqin) gYangskam (Yanmen, Deqin) Yarkha (Yanmen, Deqin) sNyingthong (Yanmen, Deqin) sGograg (Yanmen, Deqin) Sakar (Yanmen, Deqin) Chegrong (Yanmen, Deqin) Budy (Badi, Weixi)
	<hr/>	
	sPomtserag <i>spom-rtse-rag</i>	sPomtserag / sGogrong (Benzilan, Deqin) Shugsum (Benzilan, Deqin)
	<hr/>	
	gYagrwa <i>g.yag-rwa</i>	gYagrwa (Yangla, Deqin)
	<hr/>	
	mBalhag <i>'ba'-lhag</i>	mBalhag (Nixi, Xianggelila)
	<hr/>	
Chaphreng <i>phyag-phreng</i>	gTorwarong <i>gtor-ma-rong</i>	gTorwarong (Dongwang, Xianggelila) dBangshod (Geza, Xianggelila) Nagskerag (Geza, Xianggelila)

Quelques dialectes manquent à ce schéma, par exemple, le dialecte de Bodnjuglo parlé à Bingzhongluo (Gongshan, préfecture de Nujiang), celui de Wengshui parlé à Geza (Xianggelila) et celui de quelques villages de Foshan et de Yangla (Deqin), parce que les recherches sur le terrain n'ont pas encore pu être effectuées. Dans cet article, parmi les dialectes énumérés dans le tableau ci-dessus, on abordera uniquement le cas des dialectes classifiés dans le groupe de Sems-kyi-nyila.

Les dialectes appartenant au groupe de Sems-kyi-nyila partagent fondamentalement les caractéristiques suivantes pour la correspondance :

- la série de *c, ch, j* correspond aux affriqués ou occlusives rétroflexes,
- la combinaison avec un *ra-btags* ne produit pas de rétroflexe sauf (')*dr*,
- l'initiale *l* correspond à une latérale alvéolaire,
- l'initiale *y* correspond à une approximante palatale.

On trouve bien entendu quelques exceptions à ces règles.

3. Le mot 'riz'

Dans les dialectes appartenant au groupe de Sem-kyi-nyila, et en particulier dans ceux du sous-groupe de rGyalthang, il existe un mot 'riz' dont la forme ne semble pas provenir de la forme 'bras' correspondant au tibétain littéraire.

3-1. Liste et explication du mot 'riz'

Voici une liste des formes dialectales pour le 'riz'³ :

Dialecte	'Riz'
rGyalthang	/ ^h gɯː, ^ɳ gɯː/
rGyalbde	/ ^ɳ gɯː/
Yangthang/Gyennyemphel	/ ^ɳ gɯː/
Yangthang/Khyimphyuggong	/ ^ɳ gɯː/
Yangthang/Choswateng	/ ^ɳ gɯː/
sKadgrag/mTshongu	/ ^ɳ giː/
Maoniuping	/ ^ɳ giː/
Nyishe/Thangsme	/ ^ɳ gi/
Thoteng	/'tɔː ma/
Byagzhol	/' ^h tɕː ma/ (plante) ; / ^ɳ giː/ (riz décortiqué)
Semzong	/'tʃiː ma/
Qidzong	/' ^h tɕː ma/ (plante) ; / ^ɳ geː/ (riz décortiqué)
mBacug	/'tɕ ɳɑː, 'tɕ ɳɑ/ (plante) ; / ^ɳ dʒeː/ (riz décortiqué)
mThachu/Yingduwan	/'tɕ ma/ (plante) ; / ^m bɛː/ (riz décortiqué)
mThachu/nKhorlo	/'tɕ mɐ/ (plante) ; / ^m bɛː/ (riz décortiqué)
Zhollam	/' ^h tɕ mA/ (plante) ; / ^m bɛː/ (riz décortiqué)
Daan	/' ^ɳ gɯː/
Phuri	/ ^ɳ jiː/ ⁴

³ Cet article utilise la description phonétique et elle inclut plusieurs signes phonétiques qui ne sont pas définis en API, mais utilisés en Chine pour assurer une description rigoureuse (cf. Zhu 2010), exception faite du ton, pour lequel on utilise les signes ci-dessous qui peuvent être ajoutés avant un mot :

˥ : haut ˧ : montant ˨˨ : montant-descendant ˩ : descendant

⁴ Le dialecte actuel de Phuri a deux variétés : celle authentique et celle des immigrants dont le village natal est Wengshui et Dongwang. Le dialecte présenté ici correspond à la seconde variété. Le parler de la jeune génération ne possède plus la série occlusive palatale, et on doit

Lamdo

/ʷje:/

D'après cette liste, on voit que plusieurs dialectes utilisent une forme dérivée du tibétain écrit *drus ma*, tandis que les autres formes semblent être des correspondances quelque peu aberrantes du tibétain écrit '*bras*'. En outre, quelques dialectes qui utilisent la forme correspondant à *drus ma* possèdent aussi celle correspondant à '*bras*', et ces deux mots ont un sens différent : 'riz prêt à manger' versus 'riz en tant que plante.'

Envisageons d'abord la forme du dialecte de Lamdo /ʷje:/. Elle est presque régulière, dans la mesure où le *ra-btags* a généré un changement de la consonne initiale en palatale (sauf la combinaison (')*dr*). Tous les dialectes, exception faite de ceux du sous-groupe de Melung, présentent ce type de correspondance initiale, mais dans la plupart des dialectes, l'articulation palatale a convergé avec celle de la prépalatale. En subissant cette palatalisation, le mot 'riz' devrait devenir une forme avec une initiale prépalatale, mais en fait, dans la plupart des dialectes (sauf Lamdo, Phuri et mBacug), il présente une initiale vélaire. Or, d'après l'analyse que j'ai faite en 2010 (Suzuki 2010) pour le dialecte de Lamdo, ce dernier possède un système consonantique plus archaïque que les autres du groupe de rGyalthag; on peut faire l'hypothèse suivante pour le changement phonétique⁵ :

*br > /ç/ > /ʃ/

*ʷbr > /ʷj/ > /ʷdz/

Dans ce processus, la fricative palatale a convergé avec la prépalatale, tandis que l'occlusive palatale maintient l'état palatal dans le dialecte de Lamdo⁶. Si l'on considère que la forme de Lamdo est archaïque, on peut alors affirmer que le mot 'riz' a évolué de la forme /ʷje:/ à celle d'une initiale vélaire dans la plupart des dialectes. Il n'est pas non plus exclu que la prononciation réelle [ʷje:] puisse être analysée par les locuteurs comme une variante de /ʷge:/, qui se prononce souvent [ʷgje:]⁷. Les formes de sKadrag/ mTshongu /ʷgi:/, de

décrire le mot 'riz' comme /ʷgi:/.

⁵ Cette hypothèse peut être étayée en raison de la linguistique historique portant sur les données de dialectes tels que ceux de Yangthag/Choswateng, Nyishe/Jiangdong et mBacug, mais il n'est pas possible d'en donner une explication détaillée ici.

⁶ Le dialecte de Lamdo possède /ç/, qui ne provient pas de *by* mais de *sl* et *lh* en tibétain écrit. Les dialectes qui possèdent /ʃ/ provenant de *by* sont ceux de Yangthag/Choswateng et Nyishe/Jiangdong.

⁷ On peut noter que le dialecte de Qidzong a une initiale vélaire pour le mot 'riz', même si ce dialecte possède une phonème /ʃ/, qui correspond à '*br*' comme /ʷʃɔŋ/ '*brug*' tonnerre,

Maoniuping /^ṅgi:/, de Nyishe/Thangme /^ṅgi/ et de Qidzong /^ṅge:/ pourraient corroborer cette deuxième hypothèse. Toutefois les formes dans les autres dialectes (sauf mBacug) possèdent une voyelle postérieure⁸. Le dialecte de mBacug possède une forme correspondant quasiment régulièrement à 'bras. Quoi qu'il en soit, si le mot 'riz' est bien dérivé de la forme 'bras, on aurait affaire à un développement singulier de l'initiale commun aux dialectes de Sems-kyi-nyila⁹.

D'autre part, la forme du dialecte de Daan /^ṅgu:/ est aussi régulière, comme je l'ai mentionné (Suzuki 2011:125), la plupart des exemples de la combinaison d'une labiale avec un *ra-btags* correspondant à une fricative vélaire ou à une occlusive vélaire dans le cas de l'existence d'une prénasalisation. Mais le changement de son n'est pas identique à celui du dialecte de Lamdo, parce que la chute du *ra-btags* est une correspondance normale dans le dialecte de Daan¹⁰.

Dans les sous-groupes du Mont Yunling Est et de Melung, tous les dialectes utilisent la forme *drus ma* sauf les dialectes de Nyishe/Thangme et de Daan. On peut noter la forme de Daan, qui est isolée dans l'aire linguistique du naxi depuis environ 500 ans selon la tradition locale (Suzuki 2009b) ; par conséquent on peut penser que le mot correspondant à 'bras a été progressivement remplacé dans les dialectes du sous-groupe de Melung par un mot correspondant à *drus ma*. Ce processus peut s'appliquer au cas du sous-groupe du Mont Yunling de l'Est, dans lequel la forme attestée dans le dialecte de Nyishe/Thangme est préservée jusqu'à aujourd'hui¹¹. Plusieurs dialectes possèdent les deux formes, mais elles diffèrent d'un point de vue sémantique¹².

3.2 Note à propos du mot 'faire'

dragon.' L'initiale palatale qui précède une voyelle antérieure pourrait être indistincte avec cette vélaire.

⁸ /u:/ provient d'une rime *ar* en tibétain écrit.

⁹ On peut ajouter un autre exemple du dialecte de Yangthang/Gyennyemphel. On y trouve deux mots /^huʔ/ 'piller' et /^hʊʔ/ 'démanger,' qui pourraient correspondre à 'phrog et 'phrug en tibétain écrit respectivement. Cela semble suggérer que la correspondance phonétique /ç/ dans nombre de dialectes est articulée de façon plus postérieure devant une voyelle postérieure. Comme ce dialecte de Yangthang/Gyennyemphel ne possède aucune fricative vélaire, il est prononcé comme une glottale /h/.

¹⁰ En voici un autre exemple : le dialecte de mBalhag (appartenant à un sous-groupe indépendant du groupe de sDerong-nJol ; parlé à l'ouest du district de Xianggelila). Ce dialecte a une correspondance de la série palatale avec 'br, par exemple, /^ṅʒə/ 'bri 'yak femelle,' mais /^ṅdji:/ 'bras 'riz.' Ce type de correspondances multiples pour la même orthographe est actuellement à l'étude.

¹¹ Le village de Nixi se situe à l'endroit le plus près de Jiantang parmi les villages où on parle un dialecte appartenant au sous-groupe de Mont Yunling Est. La proximité géographique de l'aire dialectale de rGyalthang est susceptible d'avoir influencé le développement du dialecte de Nyishe/Thangme.

¹² Il est notable que les dialectes avec une telle distinction sémantique au sujet du 'riz' sont parlés dans la région où le riz se plante.

Curieusement, dans une partie des dialectes appartenant aux sous-groupes de rGyalthang, de Phuri et de Lamdo, le mot 'faire' a également une correspondance similaire avec le mot 'riz.'

Cette section présente le verbe 'faire' qui peut fonctionner comme verbe support. Voici une liste des formes dans les divers dialectes :

dialecte	'faire'
rGyalthang	/ ^h gi:, ^ŋ gi:/
rGyalbde	/ ^ŋ gwɣ/
Yangthang/Gyennyemphel	/ ^ŋ gi:, 'yə/
Yangthang/Khyimphyuggong	/ ^ŋ gi:, 'jə/
Yangthang/Choswateng	/ ^ŋ gi:/
sKadrag/mTshongu	/ ^ŋ gi:/
Maoniuping	/ ^h de:/
Nyishe/Thangsme	/'la/
Thoteng	/'biʔ, 'jeʔ/
Byagzhol	/'biʔ, 'jeʔ/
Semzong	/'jeʔ/
Qidzong	/'jeʔ/
mBacug	/'weʔ/
mThachu/Yingduwan	/'be/
mThachu/nKhorlo	/'be/
Zhollam	/'be, 'bi/
Daan	/'wu, 'wə/
Phuri	/ ^ŋ gi:/
Lamdo	/ ^ŋ gu:/

D'après cette liste, on constate que le mot 'faire' correspond à *las* dans le dialecte de Nyishe, et qu'il est associée à *byed* dans les dialecte des sous-groupes du Mont Yunling de l'Est et de Melung. Les autres formes sont mystérieuses. En tibétain écrit, le verbe *bgyid* 'faire' semble correspondre à la forme de rGyalthang /^hgi:/. Toutefois cette identification est problématique, parce qu'une seule partie de locuteurs l'utilise et les autres utilisent /^ŋgi:/, une forme avec une prénasale comme des autres dialectes. Or, une occlusive vélaire avec un *ya-btags* ne produit jamais une initiale occlusive vélaire dans aucun des dialectes ci-dessus.

Les formes incluant /*ʃe?*/, /*ʃwe?*/ ou /*ʃbe*/ proviennent de *byed* et constituent des correspondances exceptionnelles, mais ce mot a une forme exceptionnelle dans d'autres groupes dialectaux, notamment en Amdo¹³.

Il est probablement plus difficile d'expliquer que l'origine des formes avec une initiale /*g*/ est *byed*, comme dans le cas du 'riz,' parce que la série *py*, *phy*, *by* génère presque toujours des fricatives prépalatales dans tous les dialectes. En outre, toutes les formes dialectales possèdent une prénasale devant l'initiale vélaire, en dépit de l'absence d'*a-chung* devant les diverses formes verbales de *byed* en tibétain écrit. Il est donc encore difficile de se prononcer sur ce point. Ce type de correspondances se retrouve seulement dans les sous-groupes de rGyalthang, de Phuri et de Lamdo¹⁴.

4 Conclusion

Mon objectif dans ce bref article a été de proposer des clarifications qui permettent d'expliquer certaines formes aberrantes du terme 'riz' dans les dialectes du groupe de Sems-kyi-nyila du Khams. Dans ces dialectes, certaines formes comportent une initiale vélaire étonnante qui ne semblent pas, à première vue, dérivée du tibétain écrit '*bras* 'riz.' Toutefois, grâce au cas du dialecte de Lamdo, on peut avancer l'hypothèse d'une évolution phonétique commune présentée dans le § 3.1, et trouver une régularité pour cette correspondance phonétique exceptionnelle. En outre, le mot 'aller' '*gro*, qui comporte également une forme exceptionnelle, correspondant à la forme sans *ra-btags*¹⁵, vient aussi étayer cette hypothèse.

L'existence de cette innovation très particulière dans l'évolution du système consonantique vient à l'appui de l'hypothèse du groupe dialectal Sems-kyi-nyila. La classification finale des dialectes est pour le moment une question "secondaire", et l'essentiel reste dans l'immédiat de concevoir une description précise et détaillée d'un nombre important de dialectes, qui rendra possible une classification dialectale plus détaillée.

Références

¹³ Dans la plupart des dialectes en amdo, on utilise /*je*, *ji*/ pour 'faire.'

¹⁴ On peut noter que la forme du verbe 'faire' avec une initiale occlusive vélaire existe dans le dialecte de Thewo /*gi*/ (Diebu, Gannan, Gansu) et également dans la langue Sherpa /*ki*/ (Solukumbu, Népal) [selon Nicolas Tournadre (contact personnel, 2011)]. Il y a un autre avis au sujet de l'origine du mot 'faire' avec a une initiale vélaire, selon lequel ce mot peut correspondre à '*gul* 'trembler' en tibétain écrit, dont le sens a changé et est devenu celui de 'faire' [selon Ellen Bartee (contact personnel, 2011)].

¹⁵ Cette particularité phonétique du mot 'aller' est courante dans les dialectes parlés dans le Yunnan, y compris dans une partie de dialectes du groupe de sDerong-nJol.

- Suzuki, Hiroyuki (2009a) Introduction to the method of the Tibetan linguistic geography --- a case study in the Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan ---. In: Yasuhiko Nagano (ed.) *Linguistic Substratum in Tibet --- New Perspective towards Historical Methodology* (No. 16102001) Report Vol.3, 15-34. National Museum of Ethnology.
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki (2009b) Dialectal position of Daan Tibetan spoken in the Naxi cultural area (en japonais). *Bulletin of National Museum of Ethnology* 34.1, 167-189.
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‘Light’ on the Human Body
The Coarse Physical Body and its Functions
in the Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung on the Six Lamps

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The Instructions on the Six Lamps: sGron ma drug gi gdams pa

his contribution starts from the premise that there is a fount of Tibetan knowledge on human physiology that is not explicitly medical or primarily available in medical texts. In this paper, I shall attempt to mine some of this knowledge outside medical treatises and render it more accessible for a non-tibetologist audience, by organising its quantitative data in tables and adding brief discussion. More in particular, we shall examine relevant knowledge of human physiology that is implicit in Bon Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*) texts of the so-called *Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung* or *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*; henceforth abbreviated to ZZNG. I should like to discuss one particularly spectacular example that appears in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps from the Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung of the Great Perfection* (*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud las sgron ma drug gi gdams pa*), including information from some of the commentaries and dependents of this instruction text.

Doctrinal and Scholastic Matters

The *Six Lamps* appears in the ‘inner section’, on practical guidance in the secret instructions, of *The Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* (*man ngag dmar khrid* of ZZNG *bKa’ brgyud skor bzhi*). The four cycles are (see e.g., YTKC: pp. 336ff):

- **Outer:** the general definition of the view (*phyi lta ba spyi gcod*);
- **Inner:** practical guidance in the secret instructions (*nang man ngag dmar khrid*);
- **Secret:** perceiving awareness directly (*gsang ba rig pa gcer mthong*);
- **Ultra secret:** finally deciding on the way things are (*yang gsang gnas lugs phug gcod*).

Some Further Background

The text, like most of the root texts in the *Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* is undated. It is supposed to have been revealed, in so-called 'near transmission', by dPon chen Ta pi hri tsa to sNang bzher lod po (placed in the 7th/8th c. AD). As the story goes, Ta pi hri tsa appeared to sNang bzher lod po when he resided at Brag sha ba gdong hermitage, in the North of Dra bye.

It will not come as a big surprise that six lamps, in total, are explained in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*. There is no occasion to discuss all six teachings here. The first one holds most relevance to our study. Later sections of the text, on the other lamps are very much involved with varieties of ZZNG tantric Great Perfection subtle physiologies, a topic that need not detain us here.

Which are the Six Lamps?

1. The lamp of the abiding base or primordial ground (*gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma*);
2. The lamp of the flesh and the mind or heart (*tsi ta sha yi sgron ma*);
3. The lamp of the soft-white channel (*dkar 'jam rtsa yi sgron ma*);
4. The far-reaching water lamp (*rgyang zhags chu yi sgron ma*);
5. The lamp setting face to face with the pure realms (*zhing khams ngo sprod kyi sgron ma*);
6. The lamp of the time of the intermediate state (*bar do dus kyi sgron ma*).

*The Formation of the Human Body—
Great Perfection 'Cosmology' avant la lettre*

At the first lamp, the lamp of the abiding base or primordial ground (*gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma*), we find a curious brief discussion on cosmology and formation of the human body. This is not one of the more usual discussions of the gestation of the individual body after conception, such as appears in medical 'embryology' and other treatises (cf. Garrett 2008)—which are particularly ubiquitous in discussions of so-called intermediate states or *bar do* between death and rebirth, in the phase of 'becoming' or rebirth. This section is surprisingly articulate and—perhaps not so surprisingly—systematic on the constitution of the coarse human body and its (dis)functions. In the process, primordial light, sound and rays (*'od sgra zer*) mix with awareness (*rig pa*), and we witness a gradual 'development', 'condensation' or 'coagulating' of primordial light etc. and nescience-based mentation into coarse material or physical existence, while straying further and further from a non-conceptual primordial ground or base.

*A Different Knowledge System;
Mind or rather Non-Dual Awareness over Matter*

This text and its commentarial traditions develop a somewhat solipsistic perspective on the universe and how it came into being, for instance, deriving the material factors of existence, both internal and external, from light and mental factors. They discuss, amongst others:

- The emergence of the external world (*phyi snod*) and;
- The sentient beings contained in it (*nang bcud*);
- Their mentally and physically conditioned existence;
- And also the contextualisation and manifold relations of the former.

The systematic treatment of these topics, quite literally in the 'light' of Great Perfection view and vision, such as typical tropes of cosmogenesis and anthropogenesis from primordial light, of duality emerging from non-duality, may be revealing in several ways. Its treatment of the constitution of the body gives data on physiology in the ZZNG Great Perfection systems, but also reveals aspects of the wider episteme that is implied in this knowledge of the universe and the human body that is displayed here, and of its complex relationships to other Tibetan epistemes, such as we can find in medical treatises and scholastic digests of doctrinal matters in Buddhist traditions known as *Abhidharma* (Tib. *mNgon par chos mdzod*) but in Bon, where the ZZNG is native, mostly referred to by the abbreviated term *mDzod*.¹ For more information on the Great Perfection see Germano (e.g., 1994); for an introduction to the lights or lamps in Buddhist Great Perfection traditions, see Scheidegger (e.g., 2007).

In the following, I shall also briefly touch on comparable materials from a Bon po text from the Mother Tantra, *The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra* (*Ma rgyud thugs rje'i nyi ma*), which—considering its specific tantric background, not surprisingly—is equally much concerned with yogic techniques and also shares a similar Great Perfection view.

The Instructions on the Six Lamps richly deserves to be opened up to discussion from more explicitly medical, cosmological or scholastic perspectives and to be subsequently studied in more detail. With this first and admittedly very preliminary contribution, I intend to provide the raw materials for such a future discussion, and also attempt to trace the first epistemic clashes and outlines that have come into view. First, I shall present the major data regarding anthropogenesis and cosmogenesis, contained in this text, in tabular form, both in Tibetan and in English translation (cf. a conspectus of the text with commentaries in Appendix 1).

¹ Note that for ideological reasons Sanskritic terms usually are avoided in Bon discourse.

Table Ia — Anthropogenesis and Cosmogogenesis
in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

rig pa	0					
snang ba'i yul gsum: sgra 'od zer gsum	1					
dran rig blo yi shes pa yul la rmongs ... ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus	2					
khams gsum lus su shar tshul/ nyon mongs yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed	8	zhe sdang dbang gis gzugs khams 'khor bar 'khrul			'dod chags dbang gis 'dod pa'i khams su 'khrul	gti mug dbang gis gzugs med khams su 'khrul
khams gsum		gzugs khams			'dod khams	gzugs med khams
de'i bag chags nus pa mthu brtas pas rnam rtog yid kyis lus su mngon par grub	9	de bas bag chags nus pa cher gyur pas gdos pa sha khrag lus su mngon par grub			sgra 'od zer gsum rig par grel ba las lus ngag yid dang gsum du mngon par grub	de las bag chags nus pa rags brtas pas snang ba 'od kyis lus su mngon par grub
snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs pas rgyu Inga'i 'byung ba shar	3					
'byung ba Inga'i rtsal las yul ...	4	yul gzugs	sgra	dri	ro	reg bya Inga shar ro
yul Inga'i snang ba shar bas sgo Inga'i shes pa shar	5	<i>mig gi rnam shes</i>	<i>sna'i rnam shes</i>	<i>lce'i rnam shes</i>	<i>rna ba'i rnam shes</i>	<i>lus kyis rnam shes dang Inga so sor shar ba'o</i>
tshogs drug yul la brtags te sna tshogs du mar phye ... bdag dang gzhan du bzung pas nyon mongs dug Inga byung	6					

Cf. other ZZNG treatises: (the *Man ngag gsum [dang] sGron ma bzhi* and) the *Kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma* and the *Byang chub sems kyis gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len*. Items in italic font are culled from the commentary and do not appear in the root text. Order rearranged as numbered.

'od Inga (only implied)		dkar	ljang	dmar	sngon	gser
rgyu Inga'i 'byung ba Inga		nam mkha'	rlung	me	chu	sa
phyi snod 'jig rten sems las shar tshul	13	nam mkha'i 'od ...	nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba las gya gyu rlung ste phyad dang phyod du byung	phyod pa'i shugs las tsha ba'i me ru byung	me rlung tsha grang 'thabs pas rlan te chu ru byung	chu'i bcud las skyed pa'i sa gzhi byung
nang bcud sems can la shar tshul	14	nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa la 'brel ba las sams dran pa khrig khrig po dang rlung gya gyu byung	rlung sems 'brel pas gya gyu'i dbugs su byung	dbugs kyi shugs las drod de me 'i khams	dbugs drod 'dus pas khrag de chu 'i khams	khrag gi bcud las sha ste sa 'i khams
lus dang sems su 'brel pas don snying rnam Ingar chags	15	snying	glo ba	mchin pa	mkhal ma	mtsher pa
'byung ba rnam pa Inga'i rten du bcas	16	nam mkha'i rten snying la bcas	rlung gi rten glo ba la bcas	me'i rten mchin pa la bcas	chu'i rten mkhal ma la bcas	sa'i rten mtsher pa la bcas
yan lag Inga la 'byung Inga'i rtsal yang shar	17	nam mkha'i rtsal du mgo bo shar	rlung gi rtsal du rkang pa g-yas pa shar	me'i rtsal lag pa g-yas pa shar	chu'i rtsal rkang pa g-yon ba shar	sa'i rtsal lag pa g-yon par shar
yan lag Inga		mgo bo	rkang pa g-yas	lag pa g-yas	rkang pa g-yon	lag pa g-yon
nang grol Inga ru byung Inga'i bcud du bsags	18	nam mkha'i bcud sta dang mngal du bsags	rlung gi bcud rgyu long du bsags	me'i bcud mkhris par bsags	chu'i bcud lgang par bsags	sa'i bcud pho bar bsags
nang grol Inga		sta dang mngal	rgyu long	mkhris pa	lgang pa	pho ba
dbang po Inga la 'byung Inga'i sgo yang dod	19	nam mkha'i sgo mig la dod	rlung gi sgo sna la dod	me'i sgo lce la dod	chu'i sgo rna ba la dod	sa'i sgo reg la dod
sgo/dbang po Inga		mig	sna	lce	rna ba	lus
shes pa Inga'i rtsal Inga so sor skied	20	mig gi rnam shes gzugs la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	sna'i rnam shes dri la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	lce'i rnam shes ro la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	rna ba'i rnam shes sgra la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	lus kyi rnam shes reg bya la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed
'byung ba Inga'i rtsal las yul ...	4	gzugs	dri	ro	sgra	reg bya Inga shar ro
yul Inga'i snang ba shar bas sgo Inga'i shes pa shar	5	mig gi rnam shes	sna'i rnam shes	lce'i rnam shes	rna ba'i rnam shes	lus kyi rnam shes dang Inga so sor

						<i>sha ba'o</i>
rgyu chen 'byung ba bzhi las skye pa rnam bzhir grub	11		<i>rlung las rdzus skyes</i>	<i>me las drod skyes</i>	<i>chu las sgong skyes</i>	<i>sa las mngal skyes so</i>
skye pa rnam bzhi			<i>rdzus</i>	<i>drod</i>	<i>sgong nga</i>	<i>mngal</i>
sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las 'du ba rnam bzhir byung	12		<i>dbugs las rlung nad</i>	<i>drod las mkhris pa</i>	<i>khrag las bad kan</i>	<i>sha las 'dus pa'i nad du 'byung ngo</i>
nyes pa/'du ba rnam bzhi			<i>rlung (nad)</i>	<i>mkhris pa</i>	<i>bad kan</i>	<i>'dus pa'i nad</i>
'byung lnga		nam mkha'	dbugs	drod	khrag	sha
'byung lnga sems dang 'brel bas nyon mongs lngar bskyed	21	nam mkha' sems dang 'brel bas zhe sdang bskyed	dbugs dang sems su 'brel bas nga rgyal bskyed	drod dang sems su 'brel bas phrag dog bskyed	khrag dang sems su 'brel bas 'dod chags bskyed	sha dang sems su 'brel bas gti mug bskyed
bdag dang gzhan du bzung pas nyon mongs dug lnga byung	7	<i>yid du mi 'ong ba zhe sdang</i>	<i>bdag la brten nga rgyal</i>	<i>gshan la brten phrag dog</i>	<i>yid du 'ong ba 'dod chags</i>	<i>gnyis ka ma yin gti mug</i>
nyon mongs lnga/dug lnga		zhe sdang	phra dog	nga rgyal	'dod chags	gti mug
dug lnga 'byung lngar 'brel bas phung po rnam lngar bskyed	22	zhe sdang nam mkhar 'brel pas rnam shes phung po bskyed	nga rgyal dbugs dang 'brel bas 'du byed phung po bskyed	phrag dog drod dang 'brel pas 'du shes phung po bskyed	'dod chags khrag dang 'brel pas tshor ba'i phung po bskyed	gti mug sha dang 'brel pas gzugs kyi phung po bskyed
phung po lnga		rnam shes	'du byed	'du shes	tshor ba	gzugs
tshogs drug bag chags bsags pas ris drug snang bar 'khrul	10	<i>mig gzugs la bag chags brtas pas dmyal ba'i snang bar khrul</i>	<i>sna dri la bag chags brtas pas lha dang lha ma yin gyi snang bar 'khrul</i>	<i>lce ro la bag chags brtas pas mi'i snang bar 'khrul</i>	<i>rna ba sgra la bag chags brtas pas yid btags snang bar 'khrul</i>	<i>lus reg la bag chags brtas pas byol song gi snang bar 'khrul</i>
rigs drug		<i>dmyal ba</i>	<i>lha (ma yin)</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>yi dvags</i>	<i>byol song</i>
rigs drug gi sdug bsngal	23	<i>tsha grang</i>	<i>'thab rtsod</i>	<i>'pho 'gyur</i>	<i>bkres skom</i>	<i>glen lkugs</i>

Nb. the five lights (*'od lnga*, red & bold font) are only implied, but cf. discussion in *The Four Wheels*, there the five lights are explicitly mentioned and appear central to the system. Items in italic font are culled from the commentary and do not appear in the root text. Order rearranged as numbered.

Table Ib — Anthropogenesis and Cosmogogenesis
in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

awareness	0					
the three domains of appearance: the triad sound light and rays	1					
perception of the wakeful cognition is deluded by the object ... by the power of ignorance perception moves toward the objects	2					
the way the three realms rise as the body by unremittingly clinging to afflicted mind	8	under influence of hatred one strays in <i>samsāra</i> of the form realm			under influence of desire one strays in the realm of desire	under influence of ignorance one strays in the formless realm
three realms		form realm			desire realm	formless realm
as the power of their conditioning grows coarser, discursive thought manifests as a mental body	9	consequently, as the power of conditioning becomes stronger, they manifest as a material body of flesh and blood			from the combination of the triad sound light and rays with awareness they manifest as body, speech, and mind	consequently, as the power of conditioning grows coarser, they manifest as a luminous body of light
because the three domains of appearance stir, the five elemental causes arise	3					
from the potential of the five causal elements arise the domains of ...	4	form	smell	taste	sound	touch, altogether five
after the five domains appear, the five agencies of perceptions arise	5	<i>eye perception</i>	<i>nose perception</i>	<i>tongue perception</i>	<i>ear perception</i>	<i>and body perception, altogether five, arise</i>
the six senses inquire into their domains the open the gates of all kinds of manifold ... because of clinging to self and other, disturbing emotions	6 7					

and five mental poisons arise						
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five lights (only implied)		white	green	red	blue	yellow
five elemental causes		space	wind	fire	water	earth
the way it arises as the external container of the world from thinking	13	from the combination of the luminosity of space ...	from the combination of the luminosity of space and awareness arises swirling wind that moves to and fro	from the energy of fluctuation it arises as hot fire	from the mixing of fire and wind, hot and cold, vapour arises as water	created from the essence of water the foundation of earth arises
the way it arises as the internal world of living beings	14	from the combination of the luminosity of space and awareness arises quivering recollection of thinking and swirling pneuma arise	from the combination of wind and thinking it arises as swirling breath	by the energy of respiration it becomes heat, the with characteristics of fire	from the condensation of breath and heat it becomes blood, with the characteristics of water	from the essence of blood it arises as flesh, with the characteristics of earth
from the combination of body and mind it appears as the five essential organs	15	<i>heart</i>	<i>lungs</i>	<i>liver</i>	<i>kidneys</i>	<i>spleen</i>
which make up the support of the five types of elements	16	<i>the heart is the support of space</i>	<i>the lungs are the support of wind</i>	<i>the liver is the support of fire</i>	<i>the kidneys are the support of water</i>	<i>the spleen is the support of earth</i>
from the potential of the five elements it arises as the five limbs	17	<i>as the potential of space the head functions</i>	<i>as the potential of wind, the right foot functions</i>	<i>as the potential of fire the left hand functions</i>	<i>as the potential of water the left foot functions</i>	<i>as the potential of earth the left hand functions</i>
five limbs		<i>head</i>	<i>right foot</i>	<i>right hand</i>	<i>left foot</i>	<i>left hand</i>
it accumulates in the internal organs as the essence of the five elements	18	<i>the essence of space accumulates in loin and womb</i>	<i>the essence of wind accumulates in the bowels</i>	<i>the essence of fire accumulates in the gall bladder</i>	<i>the essence of water accumulates in the bladder</i>	<i>the essence of earth accumulates in the stomach</i>
five (lower) internal organs		<i>loins and womb</i>	<i>bowels</i>	<i>gall bladder</i>	<i>bladder</i>	<i>stomach</i>
the agency of the five elements	19	<i>the agency of space projects</i>	<i>the agency of wind projects</i>	<i>the agency of fire projects</i>	<i>the agency of water projects</i>	<i>the agency of earth projects</i>

furthermore project into the five senses		<i>into the eyes</i>	<i>into the nose</i>	<i>into the tongue</i>	<i>into the ears</i>	<i>into touch</i>
five agencies/senses		<i>eye</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>tongue</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>body</i>
the five potentials of the five perceptions develop individually	20	<i>the potential of eye perception that engages form develops</i>	<i>the potential of nose perception that engages smell develops</i>	<i>the potential of tongue perception that engages taste develops</i>	<i>the potential of ear perception that engages sound develops</i>	<i>the potential of body perception that engages touch develops</i>
from the potential of the five causal elements arise the domains of ...	4	<i>form</i>	<i>smell</i>	<i>taste</i>	<i>sound</i>	<i>touch, altogether five</i>
after the five domains appear, the five agencies of perceptions arise	5	<i>eye perception</i>	<i>nose perception</i>	<i>tongue perception</i>	<i>ear perception</i>	<i>and body perception, altogether five, arise</i>
realised as the four types of birth from the four causal elements	11		<i>from wind, miraculously born</i>	<i>from fire, born from heat</i>	<i>from water, born from an egg</i>	<i>from earth born from a womb</i>
four births			<i>miraculously</i>	<i>heat</i>	<i>egg</i>	<i>womb</i>
from flesh blood heat and breath, these four, the four types of disease arise	12		<i>from breath as the wind disease</i>	<i>from heat as the bile disease</i>	<i>from blood as the phlegm disease</i>	<i>from flesh it arises as the combined disease</i>
pathogenic factors/the four types of 'gatherings'			<i>wind</i>	<i>bile</i>	<i>phlegm</i>	<i>combination</i>
five elements		<i>space</i>	<i>breath</i>	<i>heat</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>flesh</i>
from the combination of the five elements and thinking the five disturbing emotions come forth	21	<i>from the combination of space and thinking hatred comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of breath and thinking pride comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of heat and thinking envy comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of blood and thinking desire comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of flesh and thinking ignorance comes forth</i>
because of clinging to self and other, disturbing emotions and five mental poisons arise	7	<i>repugnant hatred</i>	<i>self-centred pride</i>	<i>envy centred on others</i>	<i>repugnant desire</i>	<i>ignorance that is neither of those two</i>
five afflictions/five poisons		<i>hatred</i>	<i>jealousy</i>	<i>pride</i>	<i>desire</i>	<i>ignorance</i>
because of the combination of the five mental poisons and the five elements the five	22	<i>because of the combination of the hatred and space the aggregate</i>	<i>because of the combination of pride and breath the aggregate</i>	<i>because of the combination of envy and heat the aggregate</i>	<i>because of the combination of desire and blood the aggregate of</i>	<i>because of the combination of ignorance with flesh the aggregate of</i>

aggregates come forth		<i>perception comes forth</i>	<i>volition comes forth</i>	<i>apperception comes forth</i>	<i>feeling comes forth</i>	<i>form comes forth</i>
five aggregates		perception	impulses	apperception	feeling	form
because of the accumulated habitual tendencies one goes astray in the apparitions of the six realms	10	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in eye and form one goes astray in the apparitions of hell</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in nose and smell one goes astray in the apparitions of gods and titans</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in tongue and taste one goes astray in the apparitions of humans</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in ear and sound one goes astray in the apparitions of hungry ghosts</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in body and touch one goes astray in the apparitions of animals</i>
six realms		<i>hell</i>	<i>titans</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>hungry ghosts</i>	<i>animals</i>
suffering of the six realms	23	<i>heat and cold</i>	<i>strife</i>	<i>change</i>	<i>hunger and thirst</i>	<i>stupidity</i>

Contextualising The Instructions on the Six Lamps

When we review this peculiar ontological-cosmological classification in more detail, below, it will quickly become apparent that it is difficult to relate to other extant Bon systematisations of the world and the human body.

- There appear to be only very minor matches with Bon ‘*Abhidharma*’ or *mDzod*.
- There is even less overlap with medical texts.
- There is a modest degree of overlap with discourse on intermediate states (*bar do*).
- Indeed, this ‘system’ does not seem to relate to much else, outside its own ZZNG Great Perfection environment or texts on comparable yogic expertise (Mother Tantra).

But, for all its uniqueness, the classificatory system employed here, structurally, is a variety of the fivefold tantric system (with some parts in threes), in which the Great Perfection partakes. It also resonates with the latter’s involvement with death and dying. Expertise on death, dying and intermediate states (*bar do*), in its history, appears closely entwined with the type of Great Perfection discourse that later, both in Buddhism and Bon, has become systematised as ‘leaping beyond the highest’ (*thod rgal*). But it relates best to another early ZZNG text, which is more explicitly cosmological, *The Union of the Four Wheels* (*'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*).

Systematisation of Bon Great Perfection ‘Abhidharma’
 The Union of the Four Wheels (‘Khor lo bzhi sbrag)

ZZNG Great Perfection ‘Cosmology’

The systematisation in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* relates well to the one employed in *The Union of the Four Wheels*. Both texts are included in *The Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* (*bKa’ brgyud skor bzhi*) of the ZZNG. Considering the subject matter—straying from a (non-dual) primordial state—the data presented above relate especially well to the second, i.e., the ‘samsaric’ part of the *Four Wheels*: the wheel of the interdependence of realisation and illusion (*rtogs ‘khrul rten ‘brel gyi ‘khor lo*). The second part presents the way that a lack of realisation arises as *saṃsāra* (*ma rtogs ‘khor bar shar tshul*) and indeed looks like a more systematic discussion of very similar material categories.

Great Perfection cosmology, such as appears in the *Four Wheels* and the *Six Lamps*, usually is phrased as a process of straying from original awareness or the primordial state. It is in fact, just another solution to the conundrum of bridging the gap from transcendent origins, beyond existence and non-existence, to existence in space and time, which every system of transcendence has to account for in its grand historical narratives, one way or the other.²

As said, the Great Perfection ZZNG cosmological approach deviates considerably from regular Bon *mDzod* (‘*Abhidharma*’), which is the basic text on Bon *mDzod*, *The Inner Treasury of Existence* (*Srid pa’i mdzod phug*) and finds no satisfactory match.³

Usually, Bon cosmology and theogony involve imaginative narratives on primordial eggs and mythic episodes of darkness and light, rather than this typically Great Perfection, epistemologically slanted ‘evolution through nescience’. In the Tibetan world, the egg theme appears most often in Bon traditions, but the egg imagery has a much wider and more universal currency as well, in China, North Asia and elsewhere (see Blezer 2000).

Let us look at some extracts from the nirvanic and samsaric sections of the *Four Wheels* cosmology, in Tibetan, followed by Karmay’s (1998^a) rendering.

² Incidentally, the cosmological parts of the ZZNG neatly match the architecture of the *post hoc* restructuring or even new invention of the earliest, transcendent origins of the ZZNG lineages. They reveal the same doctrinal or intellectual sensibilities of the Great Perfection and, of course, pertain to the period of creation of the narratives. The manner of construction of the ZZNG lineage around transcendent origins I discuss elsewhere (Blezer 2010).

³ Likewise not in the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* or the *rTsa rgyud nyi zer sgron ma* (which follows the latter in this respect).

Table II — Systematisation of Bon Great Perfection 'Abhidharma'
The Union of the Four Wheels ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*)

mya ngan las 'das pa'i shar tshul		'Khor lo bzhi sbrag				
16x5=80		dkar po	ljang khu	dmar po	sngon po	ser po
snang ba'i 'od lnga	0	2) rang bzhin gsal ba las 'od dkar po	5) phrin las thog pa med pa las 'od ljang khu	1) snang ba'i 'od lnga ni rang shes rig gi rgyal po ngo bo stong pa las 'od mthing kha	3) thugs rje 'gag pa med pa las 'od dmar po	4) yon tan 'gyur ba med pa las 'od ser po
'byung ba'i dbyings lnga	1	'od dkar po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba nam mkha'i dbyings su shar	'od ljang khu las ye shes kyi 'byung ba rlung gi dbyings su shar	'od dmar po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba me'i dbyings su shar	'od sngon po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba chu'i dbyings su shar	'od ser po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba sa'i dbyings su shar ro
ba ga'i klong lnga	2	'od dkar po las nam mkha'i lha mo'i klong du shar	'od ljang khu las rlung gi lha mo'i klong du shar	'od dmar po las me'i lha mo'i klong du shar	'od sngon po las chu'i lha mo'i klong du shar	'od ser po las sa'i lha mo'i klong du shar ro
rten pa'i gzhi lnga	3	'od dkar po las sems nam mkha'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ she thun rtsa 'dzin du shar	'od ljang khu las dbugs rlung gi dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ lung thun seg 'dzin du shar	'od dmar po las drod me'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ she thun drod 'dzin du shar	'od sngon po las khrag chu'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ rka thun khrag 'dzin du shar	'od ser po las sha sa'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ kog tse sha 'dzin du shar ro
phyag rgya chen po'i yan lag lnga	4	'od dkar po las nam mkha'i yan lag dbu'i rnam sprul shar	'od ljang khu las rlung gi yan lag zhabs g-yas pa'i rnam sprul shar	'od dmar po las me'i yan lag phyag g-yas pa'i rnam sprul shar	'od sngon po las chu'i yan lag zhabs g-yon pa'i rnam sprul shar	'od ser po las sa'i yan lag zhabs g-yon pa'i rnam sprul shar ro
kun 'byung gi mdzod lnga	5	'od dkar po las gsal byed gdos bral yid 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od ljang khu las 'degs byed sgröl ma dbugs 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od dmar po las gsal byed 'bar ma drod 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od sngon po las rlan byed kun gso khrag 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od ser po las sra byed kun skyed sha 'dzin gyi mdzod shar ro
zag pa med pa'i dbang po lnga	6	'od dkar po las kha dog gsal gcod spyang gyi dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od ljang khu las ngad ldan gsal gcod shangs kyi dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od dmar po las kun grol 'khor lo ljags gyi dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od sngon po las sgra tshogs gcod pa rna ba'i dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od ser po las kun bsduid reg gcod sku'i dbang po'i sgo mo shar ro
sgrib pa med pa'i dbang shes lnga	7	'od dkar po las ye shes spyang gsal spyang gyi rnam par shes pa shar	'od ljang khu las thugs rje dri gsal shangs kyi shes pa shar	'od dmar po las bon nyid ro gsal ljags kyi shes pa shar	'od sngon po las tshangs pa'i sgra gsal snyang gyi shes pa shar	'od ser po las bden pa'i reg gsal sku'i shes pa shar ro
rnam par dag pa'i yul lnga	8	'od dkar po las gzugs rnam par dag pa spyang gyi spyod yul shar	'od ljang khu las dri rnam par dag pa shangs kyi spyod yul shar	'od dmar po las ro rnam par dag pa ljags kyi spyod yul shar	'od sngon po las sgra rnam par dag pa snyang gyi spyod yul shar	'od ser po las reg bya rnam par dag pa sku'i spyod yul shar ro
grub pa'i lha lnga	9	'od dkar po las dbus phyogs gshen lha'i rigs su shar	'od ljang khu las byang phyogs gar gsas kyi rigs shar	'od dmar po las nub phyogs gnam gsas kyi rigs shar	'od sngon po las lho phyogs rgo gsas kyi rigs shar	'od ser po las shar phyogs gsas rje'i rigs shar ro
gnas pa'i	10	'od dkar po las	'od ljang khu las	'od dmar po las cir	'od sngon po las	'od ser po las

sku lnga		bon gyi sku ru shar	ngo bo nyid kyi sku ru shar	yang sprul pa'i sku ru shar	mngon par grub pa'i sku ru shar	longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ru shar ro
shar ba'i rigs lnga	11	'od dkar po las dbus phyogs de bzhin rigs su shar	'od ljang khu las byang phyogs las kyi rigs su shar	'od dmar po las nub phyogs padna'i rigs su shar	'od sngon po las lho phyogs rin chen rigs su shar	'od ser po las shar phyogs g-yung drung rigs su shar ro
nyam nga med pa'i stobs lnga	12	'od dkar po las byams pa chen po'i stobs su shar	'od ljang khu las zhi ba chen po'i stobs su shar	'od dmar po las yangs pa chen po'i stobs su shar	'od sngon po las sbyin pa chen po'i stobs su shar	'od ser po las ye shes chen po'i stobs su shar ro
gsal ba'i ye shes lnga	13	'od dkar po las stong pa nyid kyi ye shes su shar	'od ljang khu las mnyam pa nyid kyi ye shes su shar	'od dmar po las so sor rtogs pa'i ye shes su shar	'od sngon po las bya ba nan tan gyi ye shes su shar	'od ser po las me long lta bu'i ye shes su shar ro
bla na med pa'i 'bras bu lnga	14	'od dkar po las 'khrul pa med pa'i thugs su shar	'od ljang khu las legs par 'byung ba'i yon tan du shar	'od dmar po las rang bzhin 'gags pa med pa'i gsung du shar	'od sngon po las btsal lhun gyis grub pa'i phrin las su shar	'od ser po las 'gyur ba med pa'i sku ru shar ro
rdzogs pa chen po'i dkyil 'khor lnga	15	'od dkar po las gsal byed kun gsal nam mkha'i dkyil 'khor shar	'od ljang khu las 'degs byed drod 'bebs rlung gi dkyil 'khor shar	'od dmar po las gsal byed mdang 'byin me'i dkyil 'khor shar	'od sngon po las gso byed byams pa chu'i dkyil 'khor shar	'od ser po las skyed byed mi 'gyur sra brtan sa'i dkyil 'khor shar ro
mngon du shar ba'i zhing khams lnga	16	'od dkar po las dbus phyogs lhun gyis grub pa'i zhing khams su shar	'od ljang khu las byang phyogs rnam par dag pa'i zhing khams su shar	'od dmar po las nub phyogs bde ba can gyi zhing khams su shar	'od sngon po las lho phyogs dbang ldan bkod pa'i zhing khams su shar	'od ser po las shar phyogs mngon par dga' ba'i zhing khams su shar

The second part, which relates to the way lack of realisation arises as *saṃsāra* (*ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul*)

ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul		<i>'Khor lo bzhi sbrag</i>				
16x5=80		dkar po	ljang khu	dmar po	sngon po	ser po
de yang snang ba'i 'od lnga dang rig pa 'brel ba'i rtsal las	0					
snod kyi 'byung ba rgyu lnga	1	'od dkar po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba nam mkhar shar	'od ljang khu'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba rlung du shar	'od dmar po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba me ru shar	'od sngon po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba ch ru shar	'od ser po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba sa ru shar ro
nang gi 'byung ba'i bcud lnga (bcud kyi 'byung ba 'bras bu lnga)	2	'od dkar po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba rnam par shes pa'i khams su shar	'od ljang khu'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba dbug su shar	'od dmar po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba drod du shar	'od sngon po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba chu ru shar	'od ser po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba sa ru shar ro
rten pa'i don lnga	3	nam mkha'i rten snying la bcas	rlung gi rten glo ba la bcas	me'i rten mchin pa la bcas	chu'i rten mkhal ma la bcas	sa'i rten mtsher pa la bcas so
rtsal du shar ba'i yan lag lnga	4	nam mkha'i yan lag mgo bor shar	rlung gi yan lag rkang pa g-yas par shar	me'i yan lag lag pa g-yas par shar	chu'i yan lag rkang pa g-yon par shar	sa'i yan lag lag pa g-yon par shar ro

sog pa'i snod lnga	5	nam mkha'i bcud sog pa'i snod bsam bse'u shar	rlung gi bcud sog pa'i snod rgyu long du shar	me'i bcud sog pa'i snod mkhris par shar	chu'i bcud sog pa'i snod lngang par shar	sa'i bcud sog pa'i snod pho bar shar ro
dbang po sgo lnga	6	nam mkha'i sgo mo mig gi dbang por shar	rlung gi sgo mo sna'i dbang por shar	me'i sgo mo lce'i dbang por shar	chu'i sgo mo rna ba'i dbang por shar	sa'i sgo mo lus kyi dbang por shar ro
gcod pa'i shes pa lnga	7	nam mkha'i rtsal las mig gi rnam par shes pa shar	rlung gi rtsal las sna'i rnam par shes pa shar	me'i rtsal las lce'i rnam par shes pa shar	chu'i rtsal las rna ba'i rnam par shes pa shar	sa'i rtsal las lus kyi rnam par shes pa shar ro
spyod pa'i yul lnga ⁴	8	nam mkha'i yul gzugs la spyod	rlung gi yul dri la spyod	me'i yul ro la spyod	chu'i yul sgra la spyod	sa'i yul reg la spyod do
rgyu dug lnga ⁵	9	nam mkha'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa zhe sdang shar	rlung gi rtsal las nyon mongs pa nga rgyal shar	me'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa phrag dog shar	chu'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa 'dod chags shar	sa'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa gti mug shar ro
rkyen las spyod lnga	10	zhe sdang las mngan sems gdug sems log par lta ba'i las su shar	nga rgyal las ngag 'khyal tshig rtsub 'phra ma rdzun gyi las su shar	phrag dog las che chung rung khyad gsod kyi las su shar	'dod chags las ser sna 'jung gegs 'dzin chags kyi las su shar	gti mug las srog gcod rku dang 'dod log las su shar ro
'bras bu phung po lnga ⁶	11	zhe sdang las dang 'brel bas rnam par shes pa'i phung por shar	nga rgyal las dang 'brel bas 'du byed kyi phung por shar	phrag dog las dang 'brel bas 'du shes kyi phung por shar	'dod chags las dang 'brel bas tshor ba'i phung por shar	gti mug las dang 'brel bas gzugs kyi phung por shar ro
'du ba'i nad lnga	12	nam mkha'i rtsal las nad 'du ba rnam bzhi shar ro	rlung gi rtsal las nad 'du ba rlung nad du shar	me'i rtsal las nad 'du ba mkhris nad du shar	chu'i rtsal las nad 'du ba bad kan gyi nad du shar	sa'i rtsal las nad 'dus pa'i nad du du shar ro
skye ba'i sgo lnga	13	nam mkha'i rtsal las skye ba rnam bzhi sgo mor shar	rlung gi rtsal las rdzus te skye ba'i sgo mor shar	me'i rtsal las drod las skye ba'i sgo mor shar	chu'i rtsal las sgo nga las skye ba'i sgo mor shar	sa'i rtsal las mngal nas skye ba'i sgo mor shar ro
rgyud pa'i lam lnga	14	nam mkha'i rtsal las dmyal bar 'gro ba'i lam du shar	rlung gi rtsal las lha dang lha m[e]n du 'gro ba'i lam du shar	me'i rtsal las skye ba mi ru 'gro ba'i lam du shar	chu'i rtsal las yid btags [yi dvags] su 'gro ba'i lam du shar	sa'i rtsal las byol song du skye ba'i lam du shar ro
smin pa'i rigs lnga (smin pa'i 'bras bu lnga)	15	zhe sdang gi dbang gis dmyal ba'i rigs su smin	nga rgyal dbang gis lha dang lha men rigs su smin	phrag dog dbang gis mi'i rigs su smin	'dod chags dbang gis yid btags [yi dvags] rigs su smin	gti mu dbang gis byol song rigs su smin no
(mngon du) shar ba'i zhing khams lnga	16	zhe sdang dbang gis sdug bsngal chen po dang ldan pa'i zhing khams su shar ro	nga rgyal dbang gis dga' ldan dang rtsod ldan gyi zhing khams su shar ro	phrag dog dbang gis bsod ldan mi'i zhing khams su shar ro	'dod chags dbang gis bkres ldan gyi zhing khams su shar ro	gti mug dbang gis myos ldan gyi zhing khams su shar ro

⁴ Cf. the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, Chpt.7, pp. 36.19ff. and pp. 44.1ff., Dolanji 1966.

⁵ Cf. items 9 and 11 combined with the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, Chpt.3, pp. 17.19ff., Dolanji 1966.

⁶ Cf. the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, Chpt.8, pp. 51.16ff., Dolanji 1966.

Karmay, *The Little Luminous Boy*, pp. 104f., Bangkok 1998^a
(cf. Reynolds, 1997)

The Eighty Elements of the "Qualitative State of Enlightenment (MYA NGAN LAS 'DAS PA'I YON TAN)—NB. in Karmay p. 104, in reverse order and different arrangement (see numbers)						
[16x5=80	0	3) white	4) green	5) red	1) blue	2) yellow]
five spaces	1	of space	of air	of fire	of water	of earth
five spheres	2	of the sky goddess	of the wind goddess	of the fire goddess	of the water goddess	of the earth goddess
five 'arteries' [rten]	3	for heart	for pneuma	for heat	for blood	for flesh
five limbs	4	head	right foot	right arm	left foot	left arm
five types of vessels	5	of spirit	of breath	of life [srog-dzin, cf. drod-'dzin]	of blood	of flesh
five organs	6	eyes	nose	tongue	ears	body
five faculties	7	of eyes	of nose	of tongue	of ears	of body
five objects	8	form	smell	taste	sound	touch
five divinities	9	<i>gshen-lha</i>	<i>gar-gsas</i>	<i>gnam-gsas</i>	<i>rgod-gsas</i>	<i>gsas-rje</i>
five bodies	10	<i>bon-sku</i> [cf. truth body, <i>dharmakāya</i>]	<i>ngo-bo nyid-sku</i> [cf. essence body, <i>svabhāvikakāya</i>]	<i>sprul-sku</i> [cf. emanation body, <i>nirmāṇakāya</i>]	<i>mngon-byang-sku</i> [cf. awakening body, <i>abhisiddhakāya</i>]	<i>rdzogs-sku</i> [cf. enjoyment body, <i>sambhogakāya</i>]
five families	11	? [<i>de-bzhin-rigs</i>]	wheel [<i>'khor-lo'i rigs</i> , cf. <i>las-kyi-i</i>]	lotus	jewel	swastika
five powers	12	love	tranquillity	[equanimity: switched with next]	[generosity: ditto with previous]	wisdom
five wisdoms	13	<i>stong-nyid ye-shes</i> [wisdom of emptiness]	<i>mnyam-nyid ye-shes</i> [wisdom of sameness]	<i>sor-rtoqs ye-shes</i> [discriminating wisdom]	<i>bya-grub ye-shes</i> [all-accomplishing wisdom]	<i>me-long ye-shes</i> [mirror-like wisdom]
five results	14	mind	[quality: switched with action]	speech	[action: switched with quality]	body
five mandalas	15	of space	of wind	of fire	of water	of earth
five heavens	16	center [<i>lhun-gyis grub-pa</i>]	north [<i>rnam-par dag-pa</i>]	west [<i>bde-ba-can</i>]	south [<i>dbang-ldan bkod-pa</i>]	east [<i>mngon-par dga'-ba</i>]

The Eighty Elements of the "Samsaric Interdependence" ('KHOR BA'I RTEN 'BREL)—NB. in Karmay 1998 ^a p. 105, in different arrangement (see numbers and compare to the order in Table II)						
[16x5=80	0	5) white	1) green	4) red	3) blue	2) yellow]
five external elements	1	space	air	fire	water	earth

five internal elements	2	consciousness	breath	heat	blood	flesh
five vital parts	3	heart	lung	liver	kidneys	spleen
five limbs	4	torso [<i>khog-pa</i> , cf. <i>mgo-bo</i> , head]	right foot	right arm	left foot	left arm
five vessels	5	womb [<i>mngal-ba</i> , above: <i>bsam be'u</i>]	large intestine	bile [cf. <i>mkhris-pa</i> , gall bladder]	gall-bladder [cf. <i>lgang-pa</i> , urinary bladder]	stomach
five organs	6	eyes	nose	tongue	ears	body
five faculties	7	of eyes	of nose	of tongue	of ears	of body
five objects	8	form	smell	taste	sound	touch
five passions	9	anger	pride	jealousy	desire	torpor
five practices	10	perverse view [nb. <i>log-lta</i>]	chatter; harsh words	denial [nb. <i>ru-nga</i> , <i>khya-d-bsad</i>]	meanness; parsimony [nb. <i>ser-sna</i>]	killing; stealing; improper sex
five aggregates	11	consciousness [<i>rnam-shes-kyi phung-po</i>]	action [<i>'du-byed-kyi phung-po</i>]	thought [<i>l'du-shes-kyi phung-po</i>]	feeling [<i>tshor-ba'i phung-po</i>]	form [<i>gzugs-kyi phung-po</i>]
five illnesses	12	of four humours [<i>nad 'du-ba rnam-bzhi</i>]	of pneuma	of bile	of phlegm	unidentified [<i>'dus-pa'i nad</i> , cf. combination]
five types of birth	13	the four births (see next)	supernatural birth	birth from heat	birth from eggs	birth from womb
five paths	14	of hell	of deva and the asura	of humans	of pretas	of animals
five consequences	15	hell	deva; asura	human	preta	animal
five worlds	16	world with misery	world in conflict	world with fortune [cf. <i>bsod-ltan</i> , with merit]	world with famine	world with violence [cf. <i>myos-ltan</i> , intoxicated]

*Parallels in The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra
(Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma)*

The 'subtle body' part of these schemes in much richer detail also appears in a commentary to the Bon *The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra (Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma)*.⁷ As so often, its root text is divided into ground, path and result (*gzhi lam 'bras*). The commentary is attributed to Guru rNon rtse, believed to have been born in 1136 AD. Most relevant to us is the third section of the commentary on the ground (*gzhi*), the *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma las bon nyid thig le'i 'grel pa rtsa'i de nyid bzhi bcu rtsa lnga* (pp. 317–356), on the 'sphere of reality as it is' (*bon nyid kyi thig le*). The 'Bon body of reality as it is' (pp. 319.6ff), is the first of four bodies of fundamental voidness, further

⁷ Dolanji *dPe cha* edition (870pp.). Thanks to Colin Millard for pointing to possible *Mother Tantra* parallels.

specified as spontaneously present.⁸ The other three bodies are discussed in later sections.⁹ The discussion of the first body of reality is subdivided into five parts (which begins on p. 319.6, near the very start of this section of the *Ma rgyud* cycle). Most pertinent is the fifth and last of these parts, on the manner of arising as the three *maṇḍalas* of the pure abodes (p. 328.4: *zhing khams kyi dkyil 'khor gsum du 'char tshul*). The three *maṇḍalas* are: outer, inner, and secret (p. 328.5ff.). Of immediate interest is the *maṇḍala* inside the body (pp. 331.3ff.), which has an elaborate discussion of the ‘subtle body’, of channels, winds and drops (*rtsa, rlung, thig le*) and the like;¹⁰ for instance, pointing out the basis of establishing the body in primordial wisdom (pp. 331.5ff),¹¹ it includes detailed discussion of the five types of wind (*rlung*) in relation to the inner organs, etc. (pp. 333ff.), and, incidentally implies a classificatory system that is very similar to that of the *Six Lamps*.¹² The five impure organs and substances (*bdud rtsi lnga*), skilful practice of ‘extracting the essence’ (*bcud len*) and their transformation from demons of disease into power of medicine (deities), are also discussed (pp. 337.7ff).

Instructional Drawings from The Union of the Four Wheels

We should compare the scheme in the *Six Lamps* to schematic pictorial representations in instructional drawings, such as those depicted and discussed in Karmay (1998^a: 85ff.) these are not infrequent. There is a clear reference to these teaching devices in Yang ston dPal bzang’s classification of ZZNG texts: when discussing the second category of *The Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* (*bKa’ brgyud skor bzhi*): the ‘inner section’, on the practical guidance in the secret instructions, the *Nang man ngag dmar khrid* (as the fifth Bon section or *bon sde*), Yang ston dPal bzang (13/14th c. AD) mentions these booklets of drawings with writing on their backs.¹³

⁸ See p. 318, ll.1f: *bon nyid bon gyi sku dang mi nub pa mngon par byang chub pa’i sku dang mi 'gyur ba bde ba chen po’i sku dang skye med ngo bo nyid sku’o*.

⁹ The *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma’i mi nub thig le’i 'grel pa rlung gi de nyid*, *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma’i gzhi ye sangs rgyas pa’i rgyud las mi 'gyur thig le’i 'grel pa*, and *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma’i lis [las] gzhi ye sangs rgyas pa’i skye med thig le’i 'grel pa*.

¹⁰ This section discusses four topics: *rten pa rtsa 'brel pa rlung gnas pa thig le grub pa yi ge dang bzhi* (p. 331.3).

¹¹ The manner how to produce the body from primordial wisdom was discussed earlier.

¹² The laying out of the outer *maṇḍala* precedes, on pp. 329.3ff., and the secret one is discussed on pp. 347.4ff.

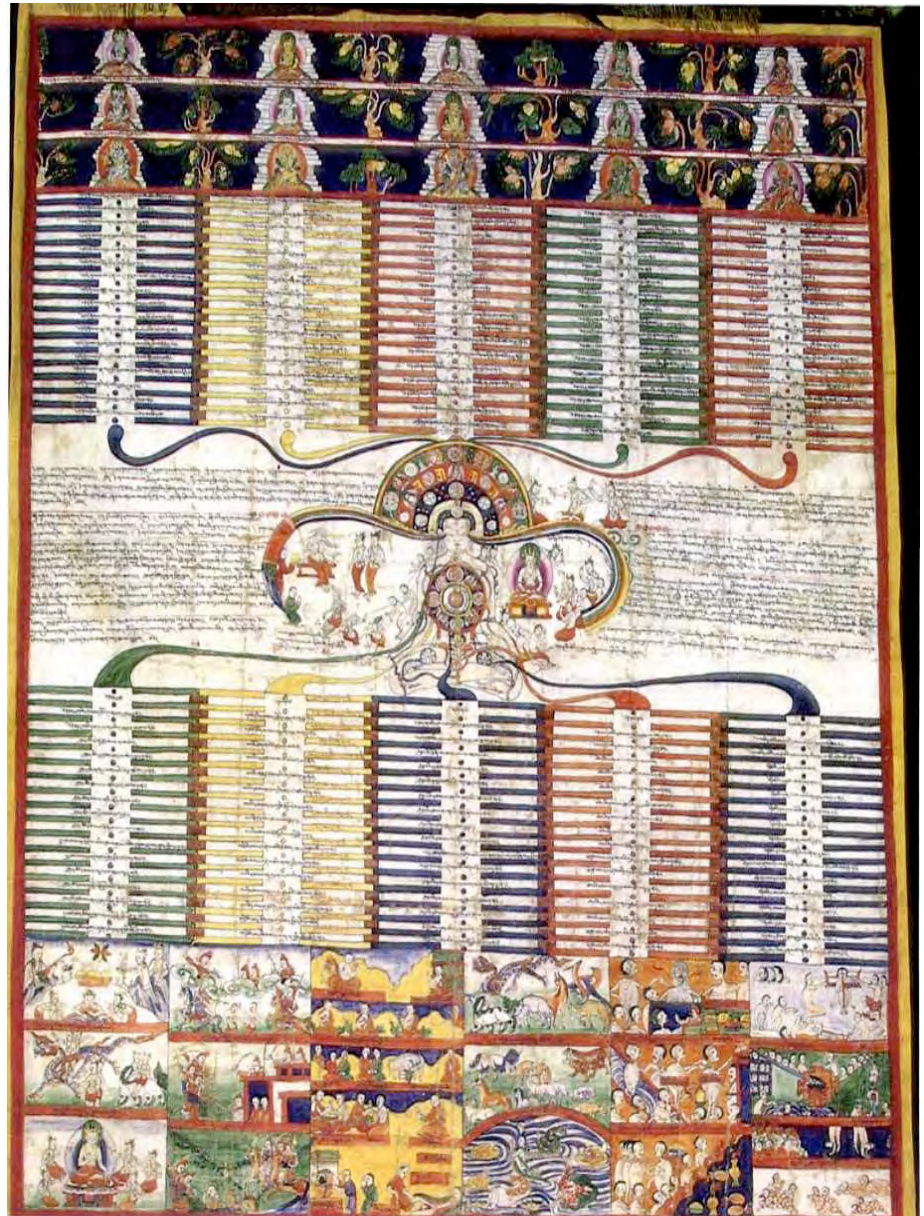
¹³ See the *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsis byang them yig rgyas pa*, contained in the *Zhang zhung snyang rgyud bon skor* (sigla YST.1), pp. 12.4–13.1, esp. p. 12.4–7, Dolanji 1974: *lnga pa snyan rgyud thugs kyi snying rtam [gtam] nyams kyi man ngag gnyis ste/ 1) 'khor lo dpe chung gi skor dang / 2) zhal bdams [gdams] gcig rgyud do/*

ad 1) *'khor lo la sbag pa [sbrag pa] bzhi yod de/ de gang zhe na/*

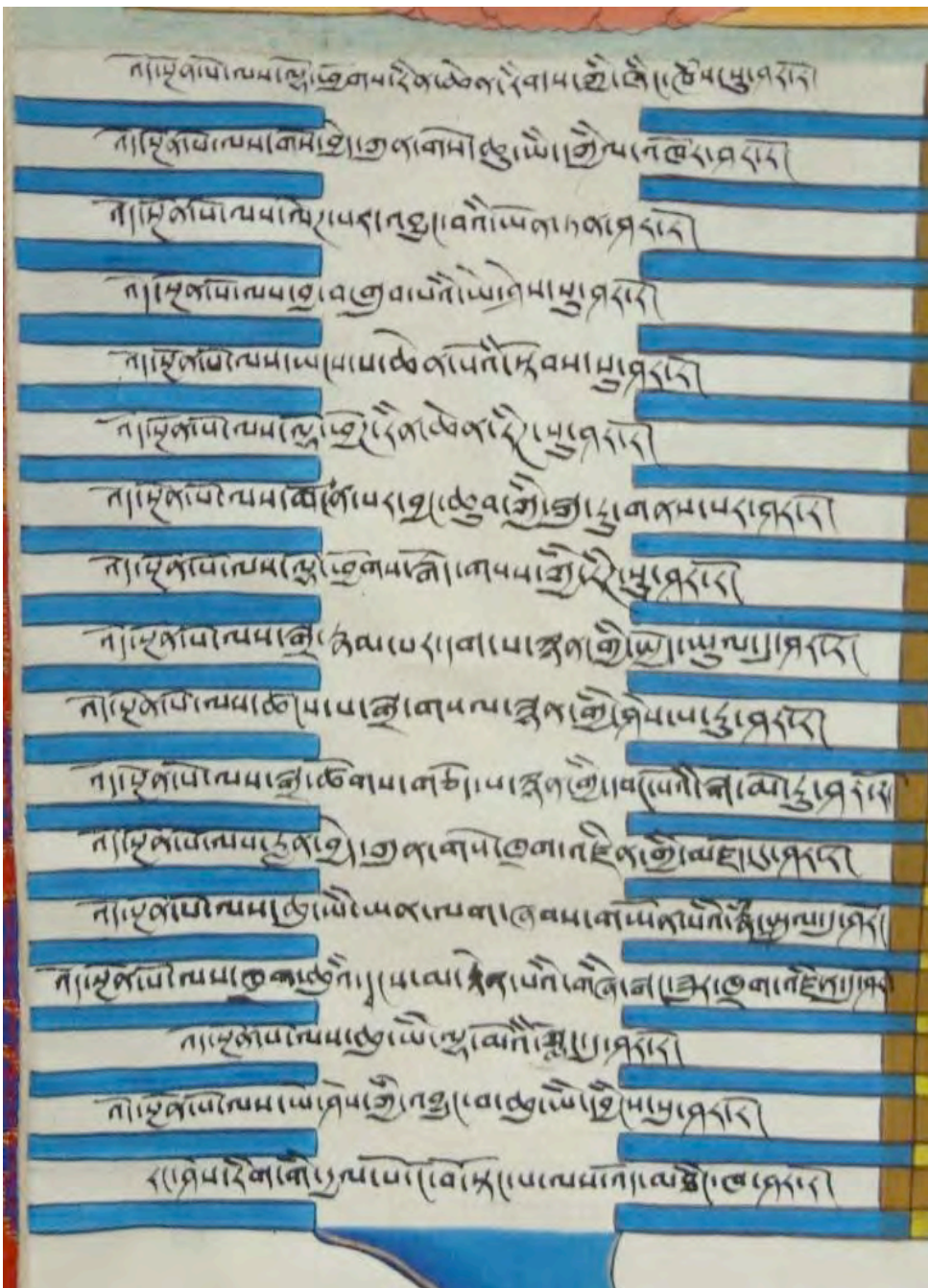
- *gnas pa bzhi’i [gzhi’i] 'khor lo rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag pa [sbrag pa] dang gcig/*
- *rtogs 'khrul rten 'brel gyi 'khor lo rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag pa [sbrag pa] dang gnyis/*
- *lus gnas rtsa’i 'khor lo rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag [sbrag pa] gsum/*
- *bar do dus kyi 'khor lo rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag pa [sbrag pa] dang bzhi’o/ de ltar sbag pa [sbrag pa] bzhi po de las 'khor lo bzhi sbag [sbrag] zhes bya’o/*

ad 2) *zhal bdams gcig rgyud yi ge ris su ma btap bla ma’i zhal la shes pa kho na’o/ de snyan rgyud kyi dam tshig yin pas/ gcig rgyud ma yin [13] pa kun la mi ston par gsungs so/ // Kun, “all’ folks to which this is not to be shown, refers to all those who are not entitled to the single transmission (cig rgyud).*

The Union of the Four Wheels, 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag
Detail of a Thangka from Amdo Sharkhog; perhaps 18th c. AD, Karmay
(1998^a: 86)



The Union of the Four Wheels, 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag
detail from the section on mya ngan las 'das pa'i yon tan
Detail 1, A recently copied Thangka in a private German collection;
20th c. AD



Where do these Great Perfection Classifications Come from?

How do the cosmological systematisations in the *Six Lamps* relate to those in the *Four Wheels* and to the basic text of Bon *mdzod*: *The Inner Treasury of Existence* (*Srid pa'i mdzod phug*) and to important syntheses of medical knowledge in Tibet, *The Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*), transmitted in Bon traditions, and a very similar compendium *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*). These collections, in an early form, probably date back to the 11th–12th c. AD. There is a good chance that *The Fourfold Collection* preserves an earlier redaction of *The Fourfold Tantra*, which is to say that the latter at some stage may have passed through *bon po* hands (cf. Blezer 2007). We will first investigate:

- How *The Union of the Four Wheels* relates to *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*; then,
- How *The Inner Treasury of Existence* relates to *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*; next,
- How *The Inner Treasury of Existence* relates to *The Union of the Four Wheels*, and, lastly,
- How *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* and *The Union of the Four Wheels* relate to *The Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*) and *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*).

The Union of the Four Wheels ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*) &
The Instructions on the Six Lamps (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*)

The Union of the Four Wheels and *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

The *Four Wheels* in its section on *samsāra* (the *ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul*), elaborates on materials that also are systematised in the *Six Lamps*. Yet, as we can see in Table III, the received text of the *Four Wheels* relates best to the commentaries on the *Six Lamps*: the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* and the *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*. In the *Four Wheels*, the exposition appears more comprehensive, better organised, and more systematically classified and explained. See for example the section on the arising of disease, for which the *Four Wheels* includes the commentary (section 2, item 12, in Table II, above).

Relation of *The Union of the Four Wheels*
and *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

All this suggests that the *Four Wheels* may have to be dated after the *Six Lamps*, in any case. Considering the fact that the *Four Wheels* also includes bits and pieces from the *Six Lamps* commentaries, perhaps it even has to be dated after the probably earliest commentary, the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*. That would put the *Four Wheels* well after the 12th–13th c. AD. The *Four Wheels* text indeed reads like a later systematisation of Bon Great Perfection *mdzod*, particularly of issues addressed specifically in the ZZNG.

Table III — Relation of *The Union of the Four Wheels* and *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

'Khor lo bzhi sbrag	sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan	sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa
after 12 th –13 th c. AD?	U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 12 th –13 th c. AD?	Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90)
<i>italic root text, underline matches commentary</i>	<i>italics root text</i>	<i>italics root text</i>
<p>[456.5ff] ma rtogs <u>khor bar shar tshul</u> ni/</p> <p><i>snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel</i></p> <p><u>sgra 'od zer gsum blo'i yul du shar bas/</u></p> <p><i>blo dran rig shes pas yul la rmongs tel</i></p> <p><i>rang snang du ma shes dngos po mtshan mar bzung/</i></p> <p><u>yul de gsum</u> gyis rkyen byas nas/</p> <p>'khrul pa'i snang ba shar te byang chub sems la <i>sgrib/</i></p> <p>dran rig blo yis <i>rang rig</i> [457] <i>ngo ma shes/</i></p>	<p>[313.2] /<i>gnyis pa kham s gsum sems can ji ltar 'khrul tshul la gnyis te/</i></p> <p>/ma rig 'khrul tshul bstan pa dang /</p> <p>/'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa gnyis so/ dang po ni/</p> <p><i>/sams can ji ltar 'khrul pa'i gtan tshigs ni/</i> /zhes pas/</p> <p>/dri ba bkod pa yin te/</p> <p><i>/snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>/sgra 'od zer gsum blo'i yul shar/</p> <p><i>/dran rig blo yi shes pa yul la rmongs zhes pas/</i></p> <p>/yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/</p> <p><i>/rang snang sgyu mar ma shes gzhan snang bden par mthong /</i> /zhes pas</p> <p>sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal tu ma shes par/</p> <p>/pha rol snang pa rang rgyud par mthong ste/</p> <p>/dper na rang gzugs chu nang du shar ba la/</p> <p>/rang gzugs su ma mthong gzhan gzugs su mthong [mthong] pa bzhin no/</p> <p><i>/gzhan mthong blo yi rig pa'i don la sgrib ces pas/</i></p> <p>/rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos gyon te/</p> <p>/dper na nyi ma sprin gyis sgrib pa bzhin no/</p> <p><i>/rang rig ngo ma shes pas kun gzhi'i don ma rtogs/</i> /zhes pas/</p> <p>/rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/</p> <p>/ma rig mun pa smag dang 'dra ba 'thibs/</p> <p>/kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la sgrib ste/</p> <p>/dper na nyi ma nub pas nam mkha' smag gis sgrib pa lta bu'o/</p> <p><i>/de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa'o/</i></p>	<p>[370.5] / gnyis pa 'khor ba'i gyes tshul la gsum ste/</p> <p>don la ji ltar 'khrug tshul dang /</p> <p>'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams tshul dang /</p> <p>de'i don mdor bsdus pa'o/</p> <p>dang po la bzhi ste/</p> <p>lhan skyes ma rig 'byung tshul/</p> <p>kun brtag ma rig byung tshul/</p> <p>bdag 'dzin nyon mongs yid kyi byung tshul/</p> <p>gzhi la bag chags kyis sogstshul lo // [371]</p> <p>dang po la/ <i>snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>sgra 'od zer gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel'o/</p> <p><i>dran rig blo'i shes pa yul la rmongs shes pas/</i></p> <p>yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/</p> <p><i>rang snang sgyu mar ma shes bden par mthong zhes pas/</i></p> <p>sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal du ma shes</p> <p>pha rol na snang ba rang rgyud par mthong ste/</p> <p>dper na rang gzugs chu nang na shar ba la/</p> <p>rang gzugs su mthong gzhan gzugs su mthong ba bzhin no/</p> <p><i>/gzhan mthong blo yis rig pa'i don la bsgribs/</i> zhes pas</p> <p>rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos bskon te/</p> <p>dper na nyi ma sprin gyis g-yogs pa bzhin no/</p> <p><i>/rang rig ma shes kun gzhi don ma rtogs/</i> zhes pas</p> <p>rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/</p> <p>ma rig mun pa'i smag dang 'dra ba 'thims pas/</p> <p>kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la bsgribs ste/</p> <p>dper na nyi ma nub pas mun pa'i smag gis bsgribs pa lta bu'o/</p> <p><i>de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig</i></p>

<p><i>ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/</i></p> <p>rang sa ma zin snang ba'i rjes su 'breng / <i>snang ba'i</i> rjes su 'breng pas rang dbang shor/ rang dbang shor bas gzhan snang sgyu mas bslus/</p> <p>sgyu mas bslus pas 'khor ba'i rten 'brel shar ro/</p> <p>de yang <i>snang ba</i> 'od lnga/ snod kyi 'byung ba rgyu lnga/ ...</p>	<p>zhes [314] pas de ltar kun gzhi dang rig pa'i gnas lugs ngo ma shes pa de la/ / ming du btags na lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/ / gnyis pa 'khor ba'i shar tshul la gnyis te/ / 'khor ba'i shar tshul spyir bstan pa dang / /bye brag tu btsan par gnyis so/ / dang po la gsum ste/ /yul dang shes pa shar tshul gzhi la bag chags bsags tshul dang / /khams gsum lus su shar tshul dang gsum mo/</p> <p>/ dang po ni <i>ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/</i> zhes pas de ltar gnas lugs ma rig pa'i dbang gis/ /dran rig gis shes pa yul la 'gyus te/ /yid gya gyu'i rnam pa cad du byung ngo /</p> <p>/ <i>snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtag te bzung</i> / / zhes pas yid gya gyu'i shes pa des/</p> <p>/yul sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam par brtag te bzung ngo / / <i>de ni yid kyi rnam par shes pa zhes bya'o/</i> / <i>shes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/</i> / zhes pas yid gya gyu'i shes pa yul la 'gyus pas rang sa ma zin te/ / dper na sprin rjes su rlung zhugs pa dang 'dra'o/ / <i>shes pa rang so ma zin pas/ snang ba'i yul g<r>sum 'khrugs/</i> / zhes pas yul sgra 'od zer gsum 'khrug ste/ / dper na rlung gis sprin dkrugs pa bzhin no/</p> <p>/ <i>snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs pas/ rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar</i> ces pas / ...</p>	<p><i>pa</i> zhes pas gnas lugs rang chas su yod kyang / ngo ma shes pa'o/</p> <p>gnyis pa kun brtags ma rig pa'i byung tshul ni/ <i>ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/</i> zhes pas ngo ma shes pas yid kyi 'gyu ba can du 'byung ba'o/</p> <p><i>snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtags te bzungs/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam pa can du zhen pa'o /</p> <p><i>zhes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/</i> zhes pas/ rig pa'i rang sa ma zin ces pa'o/</p> <p><i>rig pa so ma zin pas snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>sprin gyi rjes su rlung zhugs pas rlung gis sprin 'khrugs pa bzhin no/</p> <p><i>snang ba'i yul 'khrugs pas rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar</i> ces pas / ...</p>
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*The Inner Treasury of Existence (Srid pa'i mdzod phug) and
The Teaching on the Six Lamps (sGron ma drug gi gdams pa)*

The Basic Text of Bon 'Abhidharma' or mDzod

One particular section of the *Six Lamps* that deals with rather generic issues (afflictions and constituents of a person) relates well to the root text of the Bon *mDzod*, called *The Inner Treasury of Existence (Srid pa'i mdzod phug)*, with only slight alterations.

The Inner Treasury of Existence is a *gter ma* attributed to several discoverers. The version used here (Delhi 1966) is attributed to Gyer my nyi 'od, in the early 12th c. AD (1108 AD). Refer to section number 22, on the last page of the two-page tables on the *Six Lamps* (Table I).

[see also additional, comparable material in the rest of the chapter, on p. 52, which relates to the <i>Four Wheels</i> (' <i>Khor lo bzhi sbrag</i>) and is discussed there (i.e., below)]		spyod pa/ 'bras bu yid 'ong 'byin pas dge ba/ mi 'ong pa 'byin pas sdig pa/ gnyis ka mi 'byin pa'i lung ma bstan no/
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The Basic Text of Bon '*Abhidharma*' (*Srid pa'i mdzod phug*) &
Union of the Four Wheels ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*)

More Bon *mDzod*

As we can see in Table V, below, not only some parts of *Six Lamps*, but two particular sections of the *Four Wheels* also relate well to chapter (8) of the same root text of *The Inner Treasury of Existence*. They appear in items 10 & 11 of the section on *samsāra* in the *Four Wheels* (the *ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul*):

10. The five types of behaviour from the causes (of the afflictions) (*rkyen las spyod lnga*);
11. The five resulting constituents of a person ('*bras bu phung po lnga*).

Please note that these sections here appear in reverse order, relative to the *mDzod phug*. These passages also relate to generic categories, such as afflictions and constituents of a person, and afflicted behaviours. One, obviously, is nearly identical to the passage quoted above for the *Six Lamps* and indeed relates to the same *mDzod phug* section (compare Table V, below, to nr.22 of the *Six Lamps* tables, Table I, above, in the second section).

Relation of *The Inner Treasury of Existence*
and *The Union of the Four Wheels*

If we refer to Table V, below, we again observe slight alterations. These correspondences may likewise have been common knowledge; under the circumstances that would be difficult to disprove. But, on the other hand, it may also indicate that this 12th c. AD systematisation of Bon *mdzod* is one of the sources that the *Four Wheels* lives from? Considering however, how little information from *The Inner Treasury of Existence* seems to have actually made it into the *Four Wheels* (or into the *Six Lamps*, for that matter), and also considering the deviating cosmologies, it seems rather unlikely that there would be any direct borrowing.

Table V — Relation of the *The Inner Treasury of Existence* and *The Union of the Four Wheels*

<p><i>Srid pa'i mdzod phug, gter ma</i> by Gyer my nyi 'od, 1108 AD</p>	<p><i>'Khor lo bzhi sbrag</i>, possibly dated after U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 12th-13th c. AD?</p>
<p>chapter 8, <i>srid pa'i mdzod phugs kyi dug lnga phra rgyas su bstan pa</i> pp. 51.4-52.15, Dolanji 1966, nb. the order of the lemmata has been adjusted 1-3-5-4-2</p>	<p>pp. 459.1-3, nb. the order of the two sections is reversed</p>
<p>nyon mongs 'phra rgyas dug 'di yang / 'khrul pa'i yid kyi rgyu ...mdzod... las byung / 1) zhe sdang phra rgyas dug 'di yang / ! sems dang yid kyi mdzod las ['byung / 3) nga rgyal phra rgyas dug 'di yang / dbugs 'dzin ngag gi mdzod las byung / 5) phrag dog phra rgyas dug 'di yang / khrag 'dzin phrin las mdzod las byung / 4) 'dod chags phra rgyas dug 'di yang / drod 'dzin yon tan mdzod las byung / 2) gti mug phra rgyas dug 'di yang / sha 'dzin lus kyi mdzod las byung / nyon mongs yid dang 'brel ba las/ kun 'dus zag pa[i] phung po[i] dug-</p> <p>1) zhe sdang sems dang 'brel ba la[s]/ mnam shes phung po phra rgyas dug- 3) nga rgyal dbug[s] dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du byed phung po phra rgyas dug- 5) [52.1] phrag dog khrag dang 'brel ba las/ tshor ba'i phung po phra rgyas dug- 4) 'dod chags drod dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du shes phung po phra rgyas dug- (Below text at this point: <i>mng tsha sla yong</i>) 2) gti mug sha dang 'brel ba la[s]/ gzugs kyi phung po phra rgyas dug-</p> <p>1) zhe sdang mnam shes 'brel ba la[s]/ mngan sems gnod sems log par lta/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 3) nga rgyal 'du byed 'brel ba las/ tshig rtsub ngag 'chal phra ma rdzun/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 5) phrag dog tshor ba 'brel ba las/ che chung ru nga khyad du gsod/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 4) 'dod chags 'du shes 'brel ba la[s]/ ser sna 'jug 'gegs 'dzin chags rtogs/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 2) gti mug gzugs dang 'brel ba las/ srog gcod rku dang log par g-yem/ 'phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ srid pa'i mdzod phugs kyi dug lnga phra rgyas su bstan pa'o///</p>	<p>[459.2!] 'bras bu phung po lnga ni/ zhe sdang las dang 'brel bas nram par shes pa'i phung por shar/ nga rgyal las dang 'brel bas 'du byed kyi phung por shar/ phrag dog las dang 'brel bas 'du shes kyi phung por shar/ 'dod chags las dang 'brel bas tshor ba'i phung por shar/ gti mug las dang 'brel bas gzugs kyi phung por shar ro/ [459!] rkyen las spyod lnga ni/ zhe sdang las mngan sems gdug sems log par lta ba'i las su shar/ nga rgyal las ngag 'khyal tshig rtsub 'phra ma rdzun gyi las su shar/ phrag dog las che chung rung khyad gsod kyi las su shar/ 'dod chags las ser sna 'jung gegs 'dzin chags kyi las su shar/ gti mug las srog gcod rku dang 'dod log las su shar ro/</p>

*The Teaching on the Six Lamps (sGron ma drug gi gdams pa),
The Fourfold Collection ('Bum bzhi) & The Fourfold Tantra (rGyud bzhi)*

Straying from Perfection: the Arising of Disease;
Nad 'du ba rnam bzhi and Balance

At some point in the *Six Lamps*, the arising of disease is briefly mentioned. From flesh, blood, heat and respiration, from these four, arise the four types of 'gatherings' (of the triad wind, bile and phlegm: *rlung, mkhris pa, bad kan*; and '*dus pa'i nad*, combination disease): *sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las 'du ba rnams bzhi byung*. The four factors are explicit only from the commentaries: From respiration arises wind (*pneuma*) disease, from heat: bile disease, from blood: phlegm disease, and from flesh: combination disease.¹⁴

With a view on the interdependence and 'balance', or *cha snyoms*, of these humours or pathogenic factors, I might add: as already pointed out by Geoffrey Samuel (2001), that the issue of 'balance' of the humours, as in the Galenic or Islamic system, may be somewhat problematic when applied with the same implications to Tibetan version of the three factors of disease (Skt. *doṣas*), the *nyes pa gsum*. Tibetan *nyes pa gsum*, or here, the '*du ba rnam bzhi*, the four types of 'gatherings', may also have been conceived of as pathogenic factors per se, in any case they are here explicitly labelled as such: as *nad 'du ba*, pathogenic 'gatherings' or '*du ba nad* (see, e.g., the *Four Wheels*, p. 459.3ff.; the Tibetan is quoted in the note above).

The Fourth *nad*: '*dus pa'i nad*. E.g., *Bad kan smug po*,
Brown Phlegm or Black Bile?

The fourth of the (*nad*) '*du ba rnam bzhi*, confusingly is called (*nad*) '*dus pa'i nad*. This may need some explication. Usually '*dus pa'i nad* is considered a fourth category of illness, which is due to a combination (Tib. '*dus pa*, Skt. *sannipātika*) of the three mentioned (or more) pathogenic factors. In chapter 5 of the '*Bum nag po* (that is in collection ('*bum*) 4) of the *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*) and in *The Oral Instruction Tantra* (*Man ngag rgyud*, that is tantra (*rgyud*) 3) of *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*), *bad kan smug po* is mentioned as an example of a first category of three ways in which '*dus pa'i nad* manifests. *Bad kan smug po* here is only an example for a disease that arises from four combined factors: *bad kan, khrag, mkhris pa* and *rlung*. Because of this complex causation, it is said to be difficult to cure.

Now I should like to speculate a little, might *Bad kan smug po* perhaps also be translated as 'black bile' rather than the more literal 'black phlegm', a rendering which tends to connect it with *mkhris pa*, or '(yellow) bile', somehow. But that choice opens a veritable can of worms. Let us now first look what the Bon *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*) and *The Fourfold Tantra*

¹⁴ *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, p. 317.2: */sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las/ 'du ba rnam bzhi byung / zhes pas dbugs las rlung nad/ /drod las mkhris pa/ /khrag las bad kan/ /sha las 'dus pa'i nad du 'byung ngo /*. *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, p. 374.1: *drug pa sdug bsngal gyi khyad par ni/ dbugs las rlung nad/ drod las mkhris pa/ khrag las bad kan/ sha las 'dus pa'i nad do/*. A slightly longer but basically equivalent description also appears in the *Four Wheels*, p. 459.3ff.: '*du ba'i nad lnga ni/ nam mkha'i rtsal las nad 'du ba rnam bzhi shar ro/ rlung gi rtsal las nad 'du ba rlung nad du shar/ me'i rtsal las nad 'du ba mkhris nad du shar/ chu'i rtsal las nad 'du ba bad kan gyi nad du shar/ sa'i rtsal las nad 'dus pa'i nad du shar ro/*

(*rGyud bzhi*) have to say on this (see Table VI, below).¹⁵

Table VI — The *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*)
and *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*)

RGYUD BZHI, P. 134.3FF., LHASA 1992	'BUM BZHI, VOL.II, P. 39.2FF., DELHI 1999
Third section, <i>Man ngag rgyud</i> Not in Men-tsee-khang, Dharamsala 1999; cf., e.g., edition from Grva thang, p. 147.7ff. (G), or from sDe dge, p. 158.7ff. (D), both only minor variants	Fourth section, ' <i>Bum nag po</i> Cf. Beijing 2005 ^a , p. 259.8ff., only minor variants (B ^a) Beijing (Arura) 2005 ^b , p. 182.5ff., ditto (B ^b) Akong edition 2003, Vol.7, p. 47.11ff., ditto (Ak)
'dus pa'i nad la gsum gas bcos pa ste/ 1) 'on kyang rang bzhin rgyu yis 'dus pa dang / 2) byung tshul dus gyi [G8, D8: kyi] sgo nas 'dus pa dang / 3) 'du ba 'khrugs pa'i sgo nas 'dus pa gsum/ <i>/phyi ma ma smin tsha ba dug nad de/</i> ad 1) /dang po mtshon byed bad kan smug por btags/ <i>/de la rgyu rkyen gnas dus rigs dang rtags/ /bcos pa'i thabs dang rjes bcad brgyad du bshad/</i> <i>/rgyu ni bad kan khrag mkhris rlung dang bzhi/ /nad kun 'dus phyir 'dus nad rtags bcos dka'/</i> <i>(/de la skyed pa'i rkyen ni tsha [134.8] grang gnyis/)</i>	'dus pa'i nad la gsum ka bcos dgos ste/ 1) 'on kyang gzhir gnas [B ^b 5f adds: (rang bzhin)] rgyu [B ^a 9, B ^b 6: rgyu'i] 'dus pa dang / 2) byung tshul dus dang rkyen gyis 'dus pa dang / 3) 'du ba 'khrugs [Ak13: 'khrug; B ^a 10: 'khyug; B ^b 7: 'khyug but emends: ('khyugs)] pas 'dus pa gsum yin tel/ ad 1) /dang po rang bzhin rgyu [Ak13, B ^a 11, B ^b 8: rgyu'i] 'dus pa ni/ /di yi ming ni bad kan smug po btag [B ^b 5f emends: (btags)] - <i>/ci phyir rtsa ba khrag las tsha grang gnyis kyi rkyen/ /du ba 'dus pas khrag nad smug po zer/</i> ad 2) /gnyis pa phyi ma ma smig [Ak16: na] smin dus kyi 'dus pa dang / ad 3) /add: gsum pa tsha ba dugs [B ^b 5f emends: (dug)] nad 'du ba 'khrugs pas 'dus/ <i>/di la rgyu dang rkyen dang gnas dang dus dang bzhi/ /rigs dang rtags dang bcos thabs rjes gcod brgyad/</i> <i>/dang po rgyu ni bad kan khrag mkhris rlung / /de'i nad 'dus brtag thabs bcos [39.10] pa dka'/</i> <i>(/gnyis pa bskyed pa'i rkyen ni tsha grang gnyis kyi rkyen/ ...)</i>

A translation of *The Fourfold Tantra* can be found in a monumental seven-volume publication by Vaidya Bhagwan Dash (1995–2001).¹⁶

¹⁵ Incidentally, this comparative table shows some of the interesting differences between these two compendia of Tibetan medicine. A different ordering of the materials and the more elaborate text in *The Fourfold Collection* immediately catch the eye. It should not detain us here, but it would be a worth-while effort—that I look forward to take on, some day—to compare these various recensions of what originally looks to be the same 'text', and to work out the historical relationships between the two; as provisionally noted before, *The Fourfold Collection* looks like an early recension of what later became better known as *The Fourfold Tantra* (cf. Blezer 2007).

¹⁶ ... as per the treatment of the ailment caused by the combination of all the three *nad-pas* (*doṣas*), such an event takes place in three different ways, as follows:
(1) Combination of the *nad-pas* (*doṣas*) because of their own causative factors;
(2) Combination of *nad-pas* (*doṣas*) by the way of their time of manifestation; and
(3) By the way of simultaneous aggravation of these three *nad-pas* (*doṣas*).
Afterwards they get manifested in the uncooked (*ma-smin* = *āma*) form which is hot and poisonous ailment (*āma-viṣa*).
To begin with, as an illustration, *Bad-kan Smug-po* (*Āruṇa-kapha*) will be described with reference to its eight different aspects as follows:

A Long Example: *bad kan smug po*:
Structural Problems in *The Fourfold Tantra*?

The sections on *bad kan smug po* in *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra* are disproportionately long and fill an entire chapter.¹⁷ Apparently, *bad kan smug po* was considered important. But there also seem to be problems with the received text of *The Fourfold Tantra*. Fortunately we have another witness, *The Fourfold Collection*, with significantly different readings; which may help to clarify some of these problems. The main issue is that going by the way things are phrased in *The Fourfold Tantra*, *bad kan smug po* is only an 'illustration' or 'example' (*mtshon byed*), apparently even only of the first of three ways that '*dus pa'i nad* manifests.¹⁸ The inceptive *dang po* ("first"), which appears immediately after the enumeration and which Dash glosses over by translating as "to begin with", indeed suggests that the text here resumes the first item of the three foregoing—read: *dang po ni*.

Originally, there may have been a brief resume of the preceding enumeration in three, in this place in the text. This is first borne out by the deviating readings extant in versions of the Bon *Fourfold Collection*, which, immediately following this, has a numbered second and a clearly recognizable but unnumbered third item. This is in fact the part that corresponds to *phyi ma ma smin-tsha ba dug nad de* in *The Fourfold Tantra*, which Dash translates as "Afterwards they get manifested in the uncooked (*ma-smin* = *āma*) form ..."—the first half, which in *The Fourfold Collection* connects to point 2—and "... which is hot and poisonous ailment (*āma-viṣa*)"—the latter half, which in *The Fourfold Collection* connects to 3. Thus, that phrase in *The Fourfold Tantra*, which there appears rather awkwardly orphaned, in *The Fourfold Collection* stands in a more logical place. Secondly, if we read *dang po* as indeed pointing to the first item, which the readings of *The Fourfold Collection* and commentaries recommend us to consider, then *The Fourfold Tantra* would fail to resume the other two points explicitly in its text.

The Fourfold Tantra refers to *bad kan smug po* as "an illustration" or "an

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- (I) *Rgyu* (*viprakṛṣṭa-hetu*) or distant cause;
 - (II) *Rkyen* (*sannikṛṣṭa-hetu*) or immediate cause;
 - (III) *Gnas* (*sthāna*) or location;
 - (IV) *Dus* (*kāla*) or time of provocation;
 - (V) *Rigs* (*kula*) or varieties
 - (VI) *Rtags* (*lakṣaṇa*) or signs including method of examination
 - (VII) *Bcos-pa'i thabs* (*cikitsā-vidhi*) or line of treatment; and
 - (VIII) *Rjes-bcad* (*uttarakāla-cheda*) or the treatment of the residual morbidity.

- (I) As per the *rgyu* (*viprakṛṣṭa-hetu*) or distant cause, [this ailment *bad-kan smug-po*] is caused by the aggravation or vitiation of four elements, viz., *bad-kan* (*kapha*), *khrag* (*rakta*) or blood, *mkhris-pa* (*pitta*), and *rlung* (*vāyu*).

Since the ailment is caused by the combination of all the *nad-pas* (*doṣas*), signs of all these *nad-pas* are manifested because of which it is difficult to cure. ...

[freely rendered by Dash 1999, pp. 2f.; note that Dash translates *The Fourfold Tantra* as if it originally were an Indic text and he tries to reconstruct the supposed Indic original, in Sanskrit. Needless to say, *The Fourfold Tantra* never may have existed in that form in India; in fact, *The Fourfold Tantra* looks to be a later, Tibetan systematisation of medical knowledge, including Indic Ayurvedic knowledge.]

¹⁷ Which, in fact, covers a small volume of its own in the multi-volume volume set by Dash (1995–2001).

¹⁸ The *Mes po'i zhal lung* (2005, Vol.II, p. 123f.) and the *Vaidūrya sngon po* (1982, Vol.II, p. 480) confirm this.

example". But it would be odd, indeed, to dedicate a whole chapter to just one example, perhaps even as a clarification of only one of three items, without the other two being resumed. But the seemingly exclusive connection to the first point listed may not always have been explicit in the root text. Most likely that reading is due to a loss of text and context in *The Fourfold Tantra*. *The Fourfold Collection*, on the other hand, avoids citing *bad kan smug po* as an "example" but at this point explains the name *bad kan smug po*, in a way that is in keeping with what follows. In this passage at least, *The Fourfold Tantra* seems to reveal a condensed and dislocated text. The order in *The Fourfold Collection* makes more sense; its extra text also finds an organic place in the exposition. The many rounds of redaction that *The Fourfold Tantra* underwent before it reached our hands may here have resulted in a loss of text.

Probably, the long digression on *bad kan smug po* is appended to the discussion of the three humours for a good reason: considering the nature of combination diseases it is logically inserted at the discussion of the combination of *nyes pa*, in both fourfold medical compendia. Considering these remarks on structure, the excessively long example of *bad kan smug po* looks like a later insertion into a pre-existing system. Furthermore, it looks like it could only be integrated into the Indo-Tibetan Ayurvedic humoral system at the cost of some epistemic dissonance. If we appreciate the actual discussion of the primary causes of *bad kan smug po*, as it is presented both in *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*—especially the emphasis on the factor blood—there is a suggestion of an attempt to harmonise two diverging humoral systems: the three Indo-Tibetan *nyes pa* (*gsum*) and the four Greek humours. The 'Greek' ones are simply inserted into the primary causes for this particular ailment; to which one should then perhaps add the resulting combined disease, *bad kan smug po*.

Bad kan smug po and Melancholia:
A Culture Clash of Humoral Systems?

Indeed, there is something interesting in the manner in which the causes of *bad kan smug po* are described in the two fourfold collections. The factors causing *bad kan smug po* are said to be: phlegm, blood, bile and pneuma (*bad kan*, *khrag*, *mkhris pa* and *rlung*). All these factors combined indeed effectively span two different humoral systems. Thus, on the face of it, the chapters on *bad kan smug po* of *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra* may reveal traces of a collation of different medical systems. It is indeed well known that *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra* are, perhaps are the result of the first successful attempt, after the Moon King or *Zla ba'i rgyal po* (see Meyer 2002), at synthesis of the disparate elements of various medical systems that reached Tibet at the end of the first millennium AD, such as from Indian, Chinese, and Greek systems—the latter mediated through Islamic culture. In Greek humoral theory, with yellow bile, blood, phlegm and black bile, blood (cf. *khrag*), indeed appears as one of the four humours, while yellow bile (cf. *mkhris pa*) and black bile (cf. the combined disease, *bad kan smug po*, brown phlegm or perhaps black bile) appear as two others, and, lastly, ordinary phlegm (cf. *bad kan*) as the fourth.

- Both the fourfold medical compendia (the '*Bum bzhi* and the *rGyud bzhi*) thus add the Greek humour **blood** (*khrag*) to the primary causes

of *bad kan smug po*.

- **'Black bile'** (μελαγχολία), or at least a factor that structurally takes its place, may be included in the total picture in the form of the combined disease ('*dus pa'i nad*) *bad kan smug po*, which latter usually means brown phlegm, but here perhaps refers to black bile. It is well known that the term *bad kan* can occasionally also mean bile. Already in an earlier systematisation of medicine in Tibet, the aforementioned *Moon King* (Tib. *Zla ba'i rgyal po*, Skt. **Somarāja*),¹⁹ brown (*smug po*) *bad kan* often is associated with the liver and gall bladder, and black *bad kan* with the spleen; these passages are to be discussed in detail in forthcoming publication.
- **Phlegm** then corresponds to regular *bad kan* (which in this case would *not* be bile).

The 'Greek' **yellow bile** may correspond to the 'Tibetan' bile proper (*mkhris pa*); nb. cf. also the semantic fields of Skt. *pitta* and *pīta*, which both imply yellow.²⁰

But then there still is 'Tibetan' wind (*rlung*), which does not correspond to any factor in the Greek system, but apparently could not be omitted. If only to match the Tibetan system, the primary causes of *bad kan smug po* include *rlung*, and thus add up to five in total (if we also count the combined disease, *bad kan smug po*, itself).

A good working hypothesis is that there is influence from Greek humoral theory on the *bad kan smug po* chapter(s), which is still visible in a clash of humoral systems. This may be due to the inclusion of the *ab origo* xenotic category *melancholia*, as *bad kan smug po*, in early synthesising collections such as *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*—and also in *The Moon King* (*Zla ba'i rgyal po*), already before that. The trace of that inclusion is visible structurally as a category, but not in the concrete symptoms: the symptoms do not match and *bad kan smug po* does not look like the same ailment as *melancholia*. One might thus speculate whether *bad kan smug po*, as a category, in Tibet, is ultimately of Greek-Islamic descent? Testing this hypothesis will have to wait for a separate article. The study of earlier attempts at integration, in *The Moon King*, may be essential to unlocking the problem. Pursuing this here, near the end of this long and detailed exposé, would lead us too far beyond our main concern: introducing knowledge of human physiology in the *Six Lamps* and the implied knowledge system—yet also, be it more tangentially, its relationship to bordering epistemes in Tibet and beyond—to which the present *bad kan smug po* hypothesis pertains.

¹⁹ For an enlightening discussion of this interesting early medical compendium, see Meyer (2002).

²⁰ Cf. Mayrhofer 1963.II: 279.

The principle of opposites according to the eclectic system of Avicenna
(Sournia et al. (1980), Vol.2, p. 609)

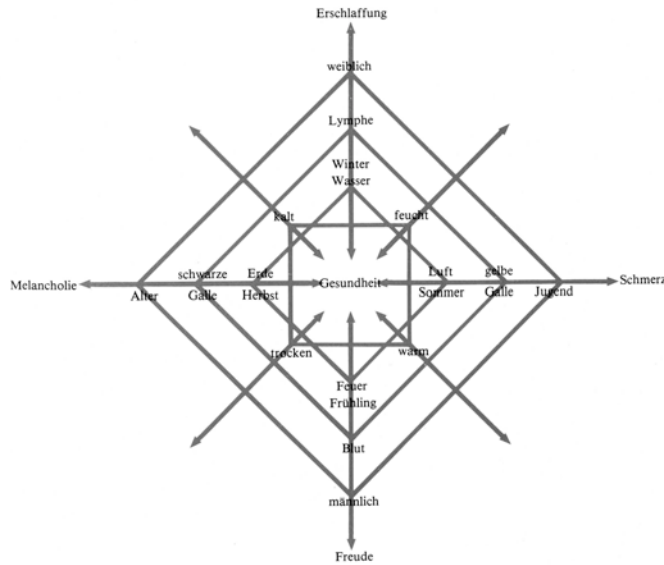


Abbildung 594
Das Prinzip der Gegensätze
nach Avicenna

Compare the graph above to the table below: a conspectus of the similarities and deviations between the system of the *Six Lamps* and Tibetan medicine and the Graeco-Arab humoral system of Avicenna.

Tibetan ZZNG					
five elemental causes	space	wind	fire	water	earth
(<i>rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba lnga</i>)	<i>nam mkha'</i>	<i>rlung</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>sa</i>)
five elements	space	breath	heat	blood	flesh
(<i>'byung lnga</i>)	<i>nam mkha'</i>	<i>dbugs</i>	<i>drod</i>	<i>khrag</i>	<i>sha</i>)
		wind (disease)	bile	phlegm	combined disease, e.g. (<i>rGyud bzhi</i>) brown phlegm
(<i>nyes pa/du ba rnam bzhi</i>)		<i>rlung (nad)</i>	<i>mkhris pa</i>	<i>bad kan</i>	<i>'dus pa'i nad</i> e.g. (<i>rGyud bzhi</i>) <i>bad kan smug po</i>)
Cf. Skt.		vāta	pitta	kapha	sannipātika "arunakapha"
the five essential organs	heart	lungs	liver	kidneys	spleen
(<i>don snying rnam lnga</i>)	<i>snying</i>	<i>glo ba</i>	<i>mchin pa</i>	<i>mkhal ma</i>	<i>mtsher pa</i>)
the five internal organs	loin and womb	the bowels	the gall bladder	the bladder	the stomach
(<i>nang grol lnga</i>)	<i>sta dang mngal</i>	<i>rgyu long</i>	<i>mkhris pa</i>	<i>lgang pa</i>	<i>pho ba</i>)
Avicenna's Graeco-Arab humoral system					
according to element		air	fire	water	earth

humours			bilious	sanguineous	serous/ phlegm	atrabilious
			yellow bile cf. pitta- pita	blood	phlegm	black bile melancholia cf. <i>melas kholé</i> <i>μέλας χολή</i>
Cf.			mkhris pa	khrag	bad kan	bad kan smug po
disposition			choleric	sanguine	phlegmatic	melancholic
			pain	joy	weakness	melancholia
			Summer	Spring	Winter	Autumn
			male	youth	female	old age

Another Epistemic clash:
Five and Seven Constituents of the Body

There are more epistemic clashes visible, regarding human physiology, in the *Six Lamps* and Tibetan medical knowledge systems. For example, the *Six Lamps*, being a Great Perfection text, is developed according to the five-fold tantric Great Perfection system. This tantric system combines poorly with seven-fold classification system of constituents of the body in *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*. As we saw above, the systematisation of the *Six Lamps* has:

1. The five elements ('*byung lnga*): space (*nam mkha'*)
2. respiration (*dbugs*)
3. heat (*drod*)
4. blood (*khrag*)
5. meat (*sha*).

Compare this with, for instance, the *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*), '*Bum khra bo*²¹ or with *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*), the *Explanatory Tantra* (*bShad rgyud*), which derives from Ayurvedic theory (Vāgbhaṭṭa):²² *lus zungs* (bodily constituents):

1. food essence / chyle (*dvangs ma*)
2. blood (*khrag*)
3. flesh (*sha*)
4. fat (*tsil*)
5. bone (*rus pa*)
6. marrow (*rkang mar*)
7. semen (*khu ba*).²³

²¹ Triten Norbutse edition, Delhi 1999, Vol.I, p. 195.3ff. and cf., e.g., Akong's edition, Beijing 2003, p. 210.6ff.

²² Lhasa 1992/1982, Chpt.5, p. 251.4f. (cf., e.g., the Men-tsee-khang edition, Dharamsala 1999, p. 54.2f.).

²³ Full quote: /*lus zungs d[v]angs ma khrag dang sha dang tshil/ /rus pa rkang mar khu ba bdun du bshad/. Cf. also a very interesting article by Maas on constituents of the body in WZKS 2008.*

Concluding Remarks

The Instructions on the Six Lamps on Cosmology

The *Six Lamps* shows an epistemologically tinged framing of the arising of the outer and inner cosmos, which is somewhat typical for Bon Great Perfection discourse: it starts with the first wavering from a non-dual primordial state. This of course addresses an age-old conundrum: how to articulate or visualise transcendent origins. It is the paradox of 'getting', somehow, from the 'unbounded spaces' beyond existence and non-existence, to concrete existence, embodied in space and time—in whichever episteme that is framed.

The ZZNG cosmologies that we reviewed, such as they appear in the *Four Wheels* and the *Six Lamps*, appear to deviate considerably from the regular Bon 'Abhidharma' or *mDzod*. We found some very minor, generic and inconsequential overlap with *The Inner Treasury of Existence*. But the cosmological and theogonical sections in Bon *mDzod* typically involve imaginative narratives on primordial eggs and mythic episodes of darkness and light, which on the whole are relatively characteristic for Bon; e.g., in texts such as *The Inner Treasury of Existence* (but, as said, also in the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* or the rather similar *rTsa rgyud nyi zer sgron ma*). In fact, it appears difficult to relate the cosmology of the *Six Lamps* to anything but its own kind, that is, to ZZNG and other Great Perfection materials. The best matches provide the later and more systematic *Four Wheels* or a late-12th c. AD witness, *The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra*, a Mother Tantra commentary that treats of closely related matters.

Death, Dying, Rebirth, and Intermediate State or *Bar do*

There is obvious and more considerable overlap with literature on death, dying and rebirth, and with *bar do* discourse in general. But that match is far better for the more complete and systematic organisation of cosmology that appears in the ZZNG *Four Wheels* than it in fact would work for the older classification of the *Six Lamps*. In a preliminary way, Reynolds has summarised some of the overlap (*Selections from the Bonpo Book of the Dead*, San Diego 1997). This is a very involved issue and falls outside the scope of this paper.

Important to retain here is that this still is very much on Great Perfection home turf. It underlines the fundamental *indebtedness* of certain Great Perfection systems (such as the mentioned 'leaping beyond the highest' or *thod rgal* practice) to the influential Tibetan discourse on death, dying, rebirth and intermediate states (*bar do*) in the 11th c. AD and later. If anything, the apparent lack of Bon or Buddhist textual antecedents for the systematic of the *Six Lamps* shows that Bon Great Perfection writers were entirely capable of developing their own unique knowledge systems or starting something new, if needs be—and factional identity indeed tends to make people stand in need of a distinctive teaching system.

A Convention of A-Temporality?

By comparing it to the *Six Lamps* and its commentaries, we were able tentatively to date the *Four Wheels* to at least after the 12th c. AD. In general, ZZNG teaching traditions appear curiously insulated, both doctrinally and 'historically'. It moreover is an a-temporality that appears almost cultivated, as if the ZZNG, more or less consciously, rhetorically, places itself outside time. This resonates well with the described cosmological episteme, but also with the literary design of the ZZNG lineage and its antecedents. We face a relatively characteristic Tibetan historicity that shows much overlap with other Tibetan historical sensibilities, such as we find in visionary and revelatory treasure or *gter ma* type systems, but also shows features that seem specific and perhaps even native to varieties of the Great Perfection.

Tibetan historicities show interesting variance. For example, one commonly meets historical sensibilities that prioritise moral over temporal causalities, while some, like here, apparently even cultivate a-temporal historical sensibilities. In the Bon ZZNG corner, on closer analyses, every document that has something of substance to say on a historical framework appears later than the late 11th c. AD, that is to say, with or after Yang ston chen po (see Blezer 2010).

Melancholia and *Bad kan smug po*, to be Continued

We also gained an interesting tangential hypothesis for further research. By all appearances, *bad kan smug po*, as a category rather than as a cluster of concrete symptoms of disease, may have entered from the Graeco-Arab cultural sphere into the grand eclectic syntheses of the fourfold medical compendia, *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*, but before that also into the *Moon King*, perhaps the earliest effort at such a grand Tibetan synthesis.

Bad kan smug po may relate to black bile (*μέλας χολή*) in Greek medicine, which there implies the affliction *melancholia*. Yet, in Tibet, *bad kan smug po* does not involve the range of mainly mental afflictions that melancholia came to entail. Still, on a structural level in their redaction, the fourfold medical compendia seem to reveal a confluence of humoral systems. The category of black bile diseases, in spite of adjustments, looks like an important group, which apparently could not remain without discussion, and subsequently seems to have been integrated into an Ayurvedic humoral system. In the fourfold compendia it appears appended rather uncomfortably as a combined disease, at the end of the discussion of the three humours, as an example that covers a whole chapter. More work is definitely needed to make this firm, both from Tibetan and Graeco-Arab sources; particularly also detailed comparison with earlier attempts at synthesis, such as the *Moon King* probably represents, may be crucial.

Sigla of the Main Editions of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*

- A *Concordance des Instructions sur les Six Lampes (sGron-ma drug gi gdams-pa) de Tapihritsa, Etablissement du texte tibétain, translittération, concordance et index*, in *Textes du Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud*, volume II; by Jean-Luc Achard, Khyung-mkhar 1998.
- AYKC *g-Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur glog par ma'i dkar chag*. This is the catalogue that accompanies and describes the 154-volume 'first' reprint edition of the Bon Kanjur, by A g-Yung Rin po che.
- KII.110 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, contained in volume 110 of the 'second' edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* (K.II), this is the edition that is followed in Kvaerne et al. (2003).
- K.I *bKa' 'gyur*, 'first' edition, see AYKC.
- K.II *bKa' 'gyur*, 'second' edition.
- K.III *bKa' 'gyur*, Mongyal Lhasay Rinpoche, 'third' edition, Chengdu Sichuan 1995–99.
- N *History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-Yoga*, published by Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak, New Delhi 1968, (=Snell) NB. *deb gzugs*.
- N2 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi gsung pod*, published by Yongs 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, New Delhi n.d., NB. *dpe cha*.
- NyR *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi*, blockprint from Nyag rong, printed by Nyag ron ba bya btang mChog sprul Tshe dbang 'gyur med, the dPe rtsis is by Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan (1859–1934), NB. *dpe cha*.
- Sg *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor*, manuscript from bSam gling, Dol po, NB. *dpe cha*.
- Sh.2 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor*, published by Sherab Wangyal together with the *sNyan rgyud nam mkha' 'phrul mdzod nges skor*, Dolanji 1972, NB. *deb gzugs*.
- T.III *bKa' brten*, published by Sokde Tenpai Nyima Rinpoche, Lhasa 1998; this edition came out together with the 'third' edition of the *bKa' 'gyur*, by Mongyal Lhasay Rinpoche but it actually is the first commercial edition ever; it corresponds to the Osaka/Kathmandu catalogue by Nagano (2001).
- TBMC Tibetan Bon Monastic Centre, which is based in Menri Monastery, the main seat of Bon traditions in Dolanji, H.P. India.
- Snell *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud bka' brgyud skor bzhi*, microfilm of blockprint of D.L. Snellgrove, JOLM/3/471 (filmed by J. Briggs 9-Oct-1962), NB. *dpe cha*.
- YST *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bon skor*, published by Yongs 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, Dolanji 1974, NB. *deb gzugs*.
- YTKC *rGyal ba'i bka' dang bka' rten rmad 'byung dgos 'dod bzhin gter gyi bang mdzod la dkar chags blo'i tha ram 'grol byed 'phrul gyi lde mig go*, by g-Yung drung tshul khrim dbang drag, Palace of National Minorities: Beijing 1995. This work was composed in the years 1876–1880.
- ZZNG *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*.

The Main Sources on *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*)

Root texts used:

1. (N) *Bon-po Niṣpanna Yoga* (Chandra, Delhi 1968): *Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor*, pp. 275.3ff.
2. (KII.110) Ayong edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* ('II'), Vol. 110.176.3ff
3. (Sg) bSam Gling MS (Menri photocopy), pp. 563=ff.6v.3ff.
4. (NyR) Nyag rong edition (Menri blockprint), ff.5.2ff.

As usual for the ZZNG (but quite unusual for Bon literature in general), these editions show only minor, negligible variants.

Commentaries used:

1. *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, pp. 313.2ff., by U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, or, according to Yang ston dpal bzang (YST.1, p. 15.1) by his teacher, gNyag ston ri pa sher tshul, probably shortly before Bru sgom; so perhaps 12th–13th c AD?
2. *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, pp. 370.5ff., Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90), 13th c. AD

But see also the Great Perfection cosmological part of *The Union of the Four Wheels* ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*), esp. pp. 456.5ff.; see also pp. 452.1ff. As argued above, *The Union of the Four Wheels* looks to be later than U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan's commentary to the *Six Lamps*.

Other Tibetan Sources

rGyud bzhi (*The Fourfold Tantra*) and Commentaries

bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud ces bya ba bzhugs so, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Lhasa, 2nd printing 1992 (1982).

bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud las/ rtsa ba'i rgyud/ bshad pa'i rgyud/ phyi ma'i rgyud/ kha khong dang bacs pa bzhugs so, Men-tsee-khang, Dharamsala 1999.

Grva thang rgyud bzhi, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.20, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

sDe dge rgyud bzhi, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.57, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2007.

gSo ba rig pa'i bstan bcos sman bla'i dgongs rgyan rgyud bzhi'i gsal byed bai dū ra sngon po'i malli ka zhes bya ba bzhugs, two volumes, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Lhasa, 2nd printing 1992 (1982).

rGyud bzhi'i gsal byed bai dūrya sngon po, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.18, two parts, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

rGyud bzhi'i 'grel pa mes po'i zhal lung, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.19, two parts, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

'*Bum bzhi* (*The Fourfold Tantra*)

gSo ba rig pa'i bdud rtsi'i bang mdzod 'bum bzhi bzhugs, *The Four Collections of Nectar Treasures of Medicine Science*, originally in pecha format, first

published in book form in 1999 in two volumes at New Delhi, prepared at Triten Norbutse, copyright by Jhadur Sangpo, foreword by Tshultrim Tenzin, Kathmandu, Nepal, New Delhi: Paljor Publications 1999.

gSo rig 'bum bzhi zhes bya ba bzhugs so, in Akong Rinpoche (series editor) *Bod kyi gso rig dpe rnying phyogs sgrigs gangs ri dkar po'i phreng ba*, Vols 6f., khron dpe skrun khang, Khreng tu'u (Chengdu) 2003.

gSo rig 'bum bzhi, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005^a.

gSo ba rig pa'i bdud rtsi'i bang mdzod 'bum bzhi bzhugs, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.36, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005^b.

Zla ba'i rgyal po (The Moon King)

Sman dpyad zla ba'i rgyal po, Dharmasala: Tibetan Medical & Astro Institute 1994; I gratefully acknowledge the use of the ITTM e-text, which is based on this edition and was kindly provided by Barbara Gerke.

Sman dpyad zla ba'i rgyal po// bi ji po ti kha ser//, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.33, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

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bDen pa bon gyi mdzod sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde mig (mDzod phug, Basic Verses and Commentary), attributed to Dran pa nam mkha' (8th c. AD?), discovered in 1108 by Gyer mi nyi 'od and rMa ston srid 'dzin, published by bsTan 'dzin rnam dag, Delhi 1966;

rDzogs chen sbrags pa skor gsum, 'rediscovered' by gZhod ston dngos grub grags 'bar in 1100 AD, Dolanji: TBMC, 1973;

rTsa rgyud chen po gsang ba bsen thub dang de'i 'grel pa rin po che yid bzhin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyan, reproduced directly from a rare manuscript from Khyung-lung Gur-rgyam Monastery, Tashi Dorje, Dolanji: TBMC 1985.

Srid pa las kyi gting zlog gyi rtsa rgyud kun gsal nyi zer sgron ma, discovered by Bra bo sgom nyag (n.d.), Dolanji: TBMC (n.d.).

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Appendix I: *The Instructions on the Six Lamps:*
sGron ma drug gi gdams pa Plus Commentaries

Bon-po Niṣpanna Yoga (Chandra, Delhi 1968): *Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor*:

sGron ma drug gi gdams pa, pp. 275.3ff.

Cf. Ayong edition *bKa' 'gyur*, Vol. 110.176.3ff
 bSam Gling MS (Menri photocopy), pp. 563=ff.6v.3ff.
 Nyag rong edition (Menri blockprint), ff.5.2ff.
 As usual these ZZNG editions show only minor negligible variants.

Cf. *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, pp. 313.2ff., U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, or, according to Yang ston dpal bzang (YST.1, p. 15.1) his teacher (gNyag ston ri pa sher tshul), probably shortly before Bru sgom; so perhaps 12th–13th c. AD? [in black and blue font; blue: root text]

Cf. *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, pp. 370.5ff., Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90), 13th c. AD [in green font]

Cf. also rDzogs chen cosmological part of *The Union of the Four Wheels* ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*), esp. pp. 456.5ff. (but see also pp. 452.1ff.), looks to be later than U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan's commentary to *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*)?

From: The lamp of the abiding base or primordial ground (*gNas pa gzhi'i sgron ma*)

[313.2] / gnyis pa khams gsum sems can ji ltar 'khrul tshul la gnyis te /
 / ma rig 'khrul tshul bstan pa dang /

/'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa gnyis so/ dang po ni/

[370.5] / gnyis pa 'khor ba'i gyes tshul la gsum ste/

don la ji ltar 'khrug tshul dang /

'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams tshul dang /

de'i don mdor bsdus pa'o/

dang po la bzhi ste/

lhan skyes ma rig 'byung tshul/

kun brtag ma rig byung tshul/

bdag 'dzin nyon mongs yid kyi byung tshul/

gzhi la bag chags kyi sogs tshul lo // [371]

/sems can ji ltar 'khrul pa'i gtan tshigs ni/ / zhes pas/

/dri ba bkod pa yin te/

/snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshe/ zhes pas/

/sgra 'od zer gsum blo'i yul shar/

dang po la/ snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshe/ zhes pas/

sgra 'od zer gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshe'o/

/dran rig blo yi shes pa yul la rmongs zhes pas/

/yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/

dran rig blo'i shes pa yul la rmongs shes pas/
yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/

/rang snang sgyu mar ma shes gzhan snang bden par mthong / / zhes pas
sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal tu ma shes par/
/pha rol snang pa rang rgyud par mthong ste/
/dper na rang gzugs chu nang du shar ba la/
/rang gzugs su ma mthong gzhan gzugs su mthod [mthong] pa bzhin no/
rang snang sgyu mar ma shes bden par mthong zhes pas/
sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal du ma shes
pha rol na snang ba rang rgyud par mthong ste/
dper na rang gzugs chu nang na shar ba la/
rang gzugs su mthong gzhan gzugs su mthong ba bzhin no/

/gzhan mthong blo yi rig pa'i don la sgrib ces pas/
/rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos gyon te/
/dper na nyi ma sprin gyis sgrib pa bzhin no/
gzhan mthong blo yis rig pa'i don la bsgribs/ zhes pas
rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos bskon te/
dper na nyi ma sprin gyis g-yogs pa bzhin no/

/rang rig ngo ma shes pas kun gzhi'i don ma rtogs/ / zhes pas/
/rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/
/ma rig mun pa smag dang 'dra ba 'thibs/
/kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la sgrib ste/
/dper na nyi ma nub pas nam mkha' smag gis sgrib pa lta bu'o/
rang rig ma shes kun gzhi don ma rtogs/ zhes pas
rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/
ma rig mun pa'i smag dang 'dra ba 'thims pas/
kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la bsgribs ste/
dper na nyi ma nub pas mun pa'i smag gis bsgribs pa lta bu'o/

/de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa'o/ zhes [314] pas
de ltar kun gzhi dang rig pa'i gnas lugs ngo ma shes pa de la/
/ming du btags na lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/
de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa zhes pas
gnas lugs rang chas su yod kyang / ngo ma shes pa'o/

/gnyis pa 'khor ba'i shar tshul la gnyis te/
/'khor ba'i shar tshul spyir bstan pa dang /
/bye brag tu btsan par gnyis so/
/dang po la gsum ste/
/yul dang shes pa shar tshul gzhi la bag chags bsags tshul dang /
/khams gsum lus su shar tshul dang gsum mo/
gnyis pa kun brtags ma rig pa'i byung tshul ni/

/dang po ni ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/ zhes pas
de ltar gnas lugs ma rig pa'i dbang gis/
/dran rig gis shes pa yul la 'gyus te/
/yid gya gyu'i rnam pa cad du byung ngo /
ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/ zhes pas

ngo ma shes pas yid kyi 'gyu ba can du 'byung ba'o/

/snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtag te bzung / /zhes pas
yid gya gyu'i shes pa des/
/yul sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam par brtag te bzung ngo /
snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtags te bzungs/ zhes pas/
sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam pa can du zhen pa'o /

/de ni yid kyi rnam par shes pa zhes bya'o/

/shes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/ /zhes pas
yid gya gyu'i shes pa yul la 'gyus pas rang sa ma zin te/
/dper na sprin rjes su rlung zhugs pa dang 'dra'o/
zhes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/ zhes pas/
rig pa'i rang sa ma zin ces pa'o/

/shes pa rang so ma zin pas/ /snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs/ /zhes pas
yul sgra 'od zer gsum 'khrug ste/
/dper na rlung gis sprin dkrugs pa bzhin no/
rig pa so ma zin pas snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs/ zhes pas/
sprin gyi rjes su rlung zhugs pas rlung gis sprin 'khrugs pa bzhin no/

/snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs pas/ /rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar ces pas/
snang ba'i yul 'khrugs pas rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar ces pas/

/rgyu 'byung ba lnga'i rtsal las/ /yul gzugs sgra dri ro reg bya lnga shar ro/
sgra 'od zer gsum las/
me chu sa rlung nam [372] mkha' las sogs pa rnam byung ngo /
rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba lnga shar te/
yul lnga'i snang ba shar ces pas 'byung ba lnga'i bcud las
gzugs sgra dri ro reg bya lngar byung ba'o/

/yul lnga'i snang ba shar bas sgo lnga'i shes pa shar/ /ces pas
yul de lnga la/ /mig gi rnam shes dang /
rna ba sna lce lus yid kyi rnam shes dang lnga so sor shar ba'o/
yul lnga'i snang ba shar bas sgo lnga'i shes pa shar ces pas/
yul de'i mig gi rnam shes
rna ba sna lce lus kyi rnam par shes pa lnga so sor shar ba'o/

/tshogs drug yul la brtags te/ /sna tshogs du mar phye zhes pas
de ltar sgo lnga'i rnam shes lnga/ /yid kyi rnam shes dang drug-
/rnam shes tshogs drug ces bya/
/tshogs drug des yul drug la rnam pa sna tshogs du mar phye'o/
tshogs drug yul drug la brtags te/ sna tshogs du mar phye zhes pas/
bzang ngan che chung mthon dman bdag gzhan dgra gnyen lha 'dre las sogs
su 'dzin pa'o/

/de ni kun [315] du brtag pa'i ma rig pa/ zhes pas
de ltar sna tshogs su 'byed pa'i shes pa de la/
/kun du brtag pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/
de ni kun tu brtag pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/

tha dad du 'dzin pa'i shes pa de la tha dad du 'dzin pa'i shes pa zhes bya'o/

gsum pa nyon mongs yid kyi tshul na/

/kun brtag ma rig dbang gis bdag dang gzhan du bzung / zhes pas

kun tu brtag pa'i ma rig pa des/

/yul la bdag dang gzhan du bzung ngo /

kun brtags ma rig dbang gi bdag dang gzhan du bzungs/ zhes pas

de ltar bzungs pas 'dzin mkhan bdag la yul du bzungs pa'o/

/bdag dang gzhan du bzung pas nyon mongs dug lnga byung / zhes pas/

bdag 'dzin gyi dbang gis dug lnga byung ste/

/yul yid du 'ong pa la 'dod chags/

/yid du mi 'ong pa la zhe sdang /

/gnyis ka ma yin pa la gti mug-

/bdag la brten te nga rgyal/

/gzhan la brten te phrag dog-

bdag dang gzhan du bzungs pas nyon mongs dug lnga byung zhes pas/

yul yid du 'ong ba la 'dod chags/

yi 'ong pa la zhe sdang /

gnyis ka ma yin pa la gti mug

rang gi che ba la nga rgyal/

gzhan gyi yon tan la phrag dog dang ldan byung ba'o/

/de ni nyon mongs yid kyi rnam shes so/ /zhes pas

de ltar bdag dang bdag tu 'dzin pa'i shes pa de la/

/nyon mongs pa can gyi yid ces bya'o/

de ni nyon mongs pa yid kyi rnam shes zhes pas/

tha dad du rtog cig bdag gzhan du 'dzin pa/

nyon mongs yid de 'khrul shes so/

/gnyis pa gzhi la bag chags bsags tshul ni/

/bzhi pa bag chags sogs tshul ni/

/dug lnga'i dbang gis 'du byed las spyod byung / zhes pas

nyon mongs dug lnga'i dbang gis las dge sdig lung ma bstan sna tshogs

byung ngo /

dug lnga dbang gis 'du byed las spyod byang zhes pa/

'bad rtsol gyis las sna tshogs byung ba'o/

/las dang nyon mongs dbang gis gzhi la bag chags bsags/ /zhes pas

las dang nyon mongs pa de gnyis zung du 'brel pas/

/gzhi la bag chags sna tshogs bsags te/

las dang nyon mongs dbang gis gzhi las bag chags bsags/ zhes pas

las dang nyon mongs kyi bag chags kun gzhi la bsags pa'o/

/gang du bsags na kun gzhi rtog med bag chags sog pa'i gzhi/ /zhes pas

kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa'i bag la bsags/

bag chags gang du bsags na kun gzhi rtog med bag chags sogs pa'i gzhi zhes

pas/

/gang gis bsags na tshogs drug shes pa bag chags sog mkhan te/ zhes pas
rnam par shes pa tshogs drug gis bsags/
der bsags na/
gang gis bsags na tshogs drug shes pa bag chags gsog mkhan de zhes [373]
pa de'o/

/gang bsag na/ /las dang nyon mongs bag chags sna tshogs bsags/ /zhes
pas
las dang nyon mongs sna tshogs bsags pa de gang gis 'dzin na/
yang gzung pa nyon mongs bag chags sna tshogs bsags gsungs pa de'o/

/nyon mongs yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed/ /ces pas/
/nyon mongs pa can gyi yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed do/
/de ltar bag chags sog pa de/
/rnam shes tshogs brgyad [316] zung du 'brel pa'i bag la sog pa yin no/
/'dir bag chags kyi sog gzhi la the tshom bskal pa zhal las shes so/
gzung ba gang gis 'dzin na nyon mongs yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed ces
pa de'o/

/gsum pa khams gsum lus su shar tshul bstan pa ni/
gnyis pa 'khor bar 'khyams tshul la gsum ste/
'khor ba'i dbye ba dang / tshul ci ltar 'khor ba'o/
dang po la drug ste/ khams dang rten dang rigs dang lam dang skye sgo'i
phye ba dang /
sdug bsngal gyi khyad par ro/
dang po ni/ khams gsum gyi 'khor ba gsum ste/

/de'i bag chags nus pa mthu brtas pas/ zhes pas
bag chags yongs su bsags pas/
de'i bag chags nus pa mthus brtas pas zhes pas/
bag chags re yongs su 'phel ba'o/

/rnam rtog yid kyi lus su mngon par grub/ /ces pas
yid kyi 'gyu byed kyi lus su byung /
rnam rtog yid kyi lus su mngon par grub ces pas
yid gzugs la brten pa'o/

/gti mug dbang gis gzugs med khams su 'khrul/ /zhes pas
rgyu gti mug las gzugs med stong khams su shar/
gti mug dbang gis gzugs med khams su 'khrul zhes pas
rgyu des gzugs med khams su 'khyams pa'o/

/de las bag chags nus pa rags brtas pas/ /zhes pas/
de kyang bag chags cher gyur pas/
/de las bag chags nus pa rags brtas pas/ zhes pas
de la yang bag chags cher gyur pa'o/

/snang pa 'od kyi lus su mngon par grub/ ces pas
'od lus su byung /
snang ba 'od kyi lus su mngon par grub- [grub/] ces pas
'od lus su yod pa'o/

/zhe sdang dbang gis gzugs khams 'khor bar 'khrul/ /zhes pas
 rgyu zhe sdang gi dbang gis gzugs khams su shar/
 zhe sdang dbang gis gzugs khams 'khor bar 'khyams/ zhes pas
 rgyu des gzugs khams gzugs khams su 'khyams pa'o/

/de bas bag chags nus pa cher gyur pas/ /zhes pas/
 /de bas kyang bag chags cher zhen pas/
 de las bag chags nus pa cher brtas pas/ zhes pas
 de la yang bag chags cher mngon par zhen pa'o/

/gdos pa sha khrag lus su mngon par grub/ /ces pas
 gdos pa'i lus su byung /
 gdos pa sha khrag lus su mngon par grub ces pas/
 sha khrag gdos pa can gyi lus so/

/'dod chags dbang gis 'dod pa'i khams su 'khrul/ /zhes pas/
 /rgyu 'dod chags las 'dod khams su shar ro/
 'dod chags dbang gis 'dod pa'i khams su 'khrul zhes pas/
 rgyu des 'dod khams su 'khyams pa'o/

/sgra 'od zer gsum rig par 'grel ba las/

/lus ngag yid dang gsum du mngon par grub ces pas/
 /'od las lus grub/
 /sgra las ngag tu grub/
 /zer las yid du grub/
 gnyis pa rten gyis gye bas lus ngag yid gsum mo/

tshogs drug bag chags bsags pas ris drug snang bar 'khrul/ /zhes pas
 mig gzugs la bag chags brtas pas/
 /dmyal ba'i snang bar 'khrul/
 rna ba sgra la bag chags brtas pas/
 /yid btags snang bar 'khrul/
 /sna dri la bag chags brtas pas/
 /lha dang lha ma yin gyi snang bar 'khrul/
 /lce ro la bag chags brtas pas/
 /mi'i snang bar 'khrul/
 /lus reg la bag chags brtas pas/
 /byol song gi snang bar 'khrul lo/
 gsum pa rigs kyi sgo nas rigs drug gi 'khor ba drug go/

/nyon mongs dug lnga'i [317] dbang gis 'khor ba'i lam lngar 'khrul/ /zhes
 pas
 nyon mongs dug lngas lam rgyu lngar 'khrul/
 bzhi la lam gyis phye bas lam rgyu lnga'i 'khor ba'o/

/rgyu chen 'byung ba bzhi las skye pa nam bzhir grub/ /zhes pas/
 /rlung las rdzus skyes/
 /me las drod skyes/
 /chu las sgong skyes/

/sa las mngal skyes so/
 lnga pa skye sgo'i sgo phye pas/ rdzus drod sgong nga mngal las skyes pa'i
 'khor bas bzhi'o/
 /sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las/ /'du ba rnam bzhi byung / /zhes pas
 dbugs las rlung nad/
 /drod las mkhris pa/
 /khrag las bad kan/
 /sha las 'dus pa'i nad du 'byung ngo /²⁴
 [374] drug pa sdug bsngal gyi khyad par ni/
 dbugs las rlung nad/
 drod las mkhris pa/
 khrag las bad kan/
 sha las 'dus pa'i nad do/

/gnyis pa 'khor ba bye brag tu shar tshul bstan pa la gnyis te/
 /ma nor bstan rgyas par bshad pa'o/ dang po ni/
 gnyis pa (...)

/rig pa 'od dang 'brel pas snod bcud lus sems shar/ /ces pas
 rang rig pa'i ye shes dang 'od lnga zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal las/
 /phyi snod kyi 'jig rten du shar/
 /nang bcud kyi sems can du shar/
 /sgyu ma'i lus su shar/
 /dran pa'i sems su shar/
 /de las sogs te/
 /'khor ba'i rten 'brel sna tshogs su shar ro/
 /gnyis pa rgyas par bshad pa la gsum ste/
 /phyi snod 'jig rten sems las shar tshul bstan pa dang /
 /nang bcud sems can sems las shar tshul bstan pa dang /
 /ma rig 'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa'o/
 rig pa 'od dang 'brel pa las/ snod bcud gnyis su shar ba gnyis te/
 phyi snod sems las shar tshul dang /
 nang bcud sems las shar tshul lo/

/dang po ni/ /phyi snod 'jig rten sems las shar tshul ni/ /zhes pa/
 /phyi snod 'jig rten kyi chags lugs ston te/
 dang po phyi snod sems las shar tshul ni/

/ji ltar chags na nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba las/
 nam mkha' 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba las/ zhes pas

/gya gyu rlung ste phyad dang phyod du byung /
 nam mkha'i dang las/ rlung gya gyu phyad phyod du byung bas/
 rlung gi dkyil 'khor chags/

/phyod pa'i shugs las tsha ba'i me ru byung /
 bskyod pa'i rlung shugs las tsha ba'i me ru byung bas/

²⁴ Cf. *The Union of the Four Wheels*, the 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag, p. 459.3ff.: 'du ba'i nad lnga ni/ nam mkha'i rtsal las nad 'du ba rnam bzhi shar ro/ rlung gi rtsal las nad 'du ba rlung nad du shar/ me'i rtsal las nad 'du ba mkhris nad du shar/ chu'i rtsal las nad 'du ba bad kan gyi nad du shar/ sa'i rtsal las nad 'dus pa'i nad du shar ro/ .

/me rlung tsha grang 'thabs pas rlan te chu ru byung /
 me'i dkyil 'khor chags/ me rlung tsha grang 'thabs pas/ rlan de chu ru
 byung bas/
 chu yi dkyil 'khor chags/

/chu'i bcud las skyed pa'i sa gzhi byung /
 chu yi bcud las skyed pa'i sa gzhi byung bas/
 sa'i dkyil 'khor chags/

/snod kyi 'jig rten thams cad de las chags/ /zhes pas
 'od lnga dang rig pa zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal las rgyu 'byung ba lnga /
 /gcig la gcig rten te byung /
 /de [318] las phyi snod kyi 'jig rten thams cad byung ngo /

/rgyu lnga 'byung pa'i bcud las/ yul lnga'i snang ba shar zhes pas/
 'byung pa'i bcud rnams yul lnga'i snang ba shar ro/

/phyi snod kyi 'jig rten de ltar shar ba'o/
 -

/gnyis pa nang bcud sems can la shar tshul bstan pa ni/
 gnyis pa nang bcud sems las shar tshul ni/

/nang bcud sems can sems la shar tshul ni/ /zhes pas
 nang bcud sems can gyi shar tshul bstan/

/ji ltar shar na nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa la 'brel ba las/
 /dran pa'i sems dang rgyu ba'i rlung du byung / /zhes pas
 'od dang rig pa zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal/
 nam mkha' 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba'i rtsal las/
 dran pa'i sems dang rgyu pi [ba'i] rlung du byung /

/sems dran pa khrig khrig po dang / /rlung gya gyu byung /

/rlung sems 'brel pas gya gyu'i dbugs su byung / /zhes pas
 rlung dang sems su 'brel ba'i rtsal dbugs su byung /
 rlung sems 'brel ba'i dbugs rlung gi khams byung /

/dbugs kyi shugs las drod de me'i khams/ /zhes pas
 dbugs kyi shugs las drod du byung /
 dbugs kyi khams las drod me'i khams su byung /

/dbugs drod 'dus pas khrag de chu'i khams/ zhes pas
 dbugs dang drod gnyis 'dus pa'i rtsal/
 /khrag tu chags/

/khrag gi bcud las sha ste sa'i khams/ /zhes pas/
 /khrag las zhag chags pa bzhin sha chags so/
 khrag las sa'i khams su byung /

/lus dang sems su 'brel pas don snying rnam lngar chags/ /zhes pas

snying glo ba mchin pa mkhal ma mtsher pa dang lngar chags so/
de ltar lus sems 'brel pas don snying rnam pa lnga chags nas
/ 'byung ba rnam pa lnga'i rten du bcas/ / zhes pas
nam mkha'i rten snying la bcas/
/rlung gi rten glo ba la bcas/
/me'i rten mchin pa la bcas/
/chu'i rten mkhal ma la bcas/
/ sa'i rten mtsher pa la bcas so/
'byung ba lnga'i rten byed do/
'di dag rgyas par dkar 'jam rtsa'i sgron ma 'byung ngo / zhes so/

/yan lag lnga la 'byung lnga'i rtsal yang shar/ / ces pas
nam mkha'i rtsal du mgo bo shar/
/rlung gi rtsal du rkang pa g-yas pa shar/
/me'i rtsal lag pa g-yas pa shar/
/chu'i rtsal rkang pa g-yon [319] ba shar/
/sa'i rtsal lag pa g-yon par shar ro/

/nang grol lnga ru byung lnga'i bcud du bsags/ / zhes pas/
/nam mkha'i bcud sta dang mngal du bsags/
/rlung gi bcud rgyu long du bsags/
/me'i bcud mkhris par bsags/
/chu'i bcud lgang par bsags/
/sa'i bcud pho bar bsags/

/dbang po lnga la 'byung lnga'i sgo yang dod/ ces pas/
/nam mkha'i sgo mig la dod/
/rlung gi sgo sna la dod/
/me'i sgo lce la dod/
/chu'i sgo rna ba la dod/
/sa'i sgo reg la dod do/

/shes pa lnga'i rtsal lnga so sor skyed/ / ces pas
mig gi rnam shes gzugs la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/
/rna ba'i rnam shes sgra la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/
/sna'i rnam shes dri la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/
/lce'i rnam shes ro la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/
/lus kyi rnam shes reg bya la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed do/

/yul lnga dag la so sor spyod cing 'dzin/ / zhes pas
rnam shes lngas yul lnga la so sor spyod do/

/nang bcud sems can sems la de ltar shar/ ces pas
nang bcud sems can gyi lus de ltar shar to/

/gnyis pa ma rig 'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa ni/
gsum pa ji ltar 'khor ba la gsum ste/
rgyu gang la brten na 'khor ba dang /
ngo bo gang 'khor ba dang /
'bras bu gang bskyed pa'o/

dang po ni rgyu dug lnga la brten nas 'khor ba ste/
 /'byung lnga sems dang 'brel bas nyon mongs lngar bskyed/ / ces pas
 rgyu 'byung ba lnga dang sems rnam par shes pa zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal las/
 /nyon mongs dug lnga bskyed de/
 'byung lnga sems dang 'brel nas nyon mongs dug lnga bskyed pa las sogs
 dkyus gsal lo/

gnyis pa ngo bo ni phung po lnga la 'khor te/

/ji ltar bskyed na nam mkha' sems dang 'brel bas zhe sdang bskyed/

/dbugs dang sems su 'brel bas nga rgyal bskyed/
 /drod dang sems su 'brel bas phrag dog bskyed/
 /khrag dang sems su 'brel bas 'dod chags bskyed/
 /sha dang sems su 'brel bas gti mug bskyed/
 /dug lnga 'byung lngar 'brel bas phung po rnam lngar bskyed/ / ces pas/
 /dug lnga dang 'byung ba lnga po zung du 'brel bas phung po lnga bskyed
 de/
 dug lnga 'byung lnga 'brel bas/ phung po rnam lnga bskyed pa las sogs
 dkyus gsal lo/

/ji ltar bskyed na/ /zhe sdang nam mkhar 'brel pas rnam shes phung po
 bskyed/ [320]²⁵

/nga rgyal dbugs dang 'brel bas 'du byed phung po bskyed/²⁶
 /phrag dog drod dang 'brel pas 'du shes phung po bskyed/²⁷
 /'dod chags khrag dang 'brel pas tshor ba'i phung po bskyed/²⁸
 /gti mug sha dang 'brel pas gzugs kyi phung po bskyed/²⁹
 /phung po lnga dang dug lnga 'brel ba las/

gsum pa 'bras bu [375] ni phung po lnga dang dug lnga 'brel pa las/ zhes
 pas
 rgyu rkyen du 'brel pa'o/

/'du byed las dang spyod pa sna tshogs byung / /zhes pas

phung po lnga las kyi rten byas/

/dug lnga las kyi kun slong byas nas/

/las dge sdig lung ma bstan sna tshogs spyod do/

'dus byas las dang spyod pa dge sdig lung ma bstan ces pas/

sams yul la g-yo bar byed pas/ 'du byed bag chags sogs pa las/ de la dngos

su spyod pas spyod pa/ 'bras bu yid 'ong 'byin pas dge ba/ mi 'ong pa 'byin

pas sdig pa/ gnyis ka mi 'byin pa'i lung ma bstan no/

/las dang nyon mongs 'brel ba'i rgyu rkyen las/

²⁵ Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.16f, Dolanji 1966: 1) *zhe sdang sems dang 'brel ba la[s]/ rnam shes phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

²⁶ Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.20f: 3) *nga rgyal dbug[s] dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du byed phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

²⁷ Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 52.1f: 5) *phrag dog khrag dang 'brel ba las/ tshor ba'i* [cf. 'du shes] *phung po phra rgyas dug-*.

²⁸ Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.21f: 4) *'dod chags drod dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du shes* [cf. *tshor ba'i*] *phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

²⁹ Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.18f: 2) *gti mug sha dang 'brel ba la[s]/ gzugs kyi phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

las dang nyon mongs 'brel ba'i rgyu rkyen las/
/spyi dang bye brag 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal byung / zhes pas
las kyi rgyu byas nyon mongs pas rkyen byas nas/
/spyi'i sdug bsngal skye rga na 'chi bzhi/
/sgos ris drug rang rang gi sdug bsngal bskyed do/
spyi dang bye brag 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal byung zhes pas/
las dang nyon mongs pa
spyi yi sdug bsngal skye rgas na 'chi bzhi dang /
bye brag gi sdug bsngal
dmyal ba tsha grang /
yi dvags la bkres skom
byol song la glen lkugs/
mi la 'pho 'gyur
lha ma yin 'thabs rtsod
lha phams ltung gi sdug bsngal lo/

gsum pa mdor bsdu ba ni/

/thog med dus nas 'khor ba mtha' med du/
thog med dus nas 'khor mtha' med du/ zhes pas
dus thog mtha' med pa nas 'khor ba'o/

/khams gsum kha 'khor rgyu drug lus blang zhing /
khams gsum kha 'khor rgyu drug lus blangs shing /
gnas khams gsum rigs drug gi lus blangs pa'o/

/rten 'brel bcu gnis srid pa'i 'khor lo bskor/ / zhes pas
de ltar 'khor ba thog med nas/
/mtha' med du khams gsum du kha 'khor rgyud drug tu lus blangs/
/ma rig pa nas rga shi'i bar du/
/rten 'brel bcu gnyis srid pa'i 'khor lo bskor/
rten 'brel bcu gnis srid pa'i 'khor lo bskor/ zhes pas
dus thog mtha' med pa nas 'khor ba'o/
rten 'brel bcu gnyis kyi tshul gyis/
shing rta'i 'khor lo ltar bar ma chad du 'khor ba'o/

/nyes pas ma 'phangs ma rig stobs las byung/ / zhes pas/
de ltar 'khor bar khyams pa dang /
/'khor ba ma shar ba'i snga rol du/
/nyes pa'i skyon zhig byas nas 'khor ba ma yin te/
ma rig pa'i dbang gis rang shugs las byung ba yin te/
/dper na chu lce thur la 'brug pa yang /
/rang shugs las byung ba bzhin no/ ?
nyes pas ma 'phangs ma rig stobs las byung / zhes pa
de ltar sems can 'khor zhing khyams pa ni/
gnas lugs ma rtogs pas 'khor par 'khyams pa'o

/gsum pa 'khor 'das kyi gyes tshul mdor bsdu ba ni/
gsum pa bsdu ba ni/

/de ltar 'khor 'das gnyis su shar ba yang /

de ltar 'khor 'das gnyis su gyes pa yang /

/rtogs dang ma rtogs blo'i mthong snang yin/
 rtogs dang ma rtogs blo yis mthong snang yin/ zhes pas/
 rtogs pa'i mthong snang la myang 'das su shar/
 ma rtogs pa'i mthong snang la 'khor bar [376] shar ba'o/

/don la 'khor 'das gnyis sa gyes pa med/
 don la 'khor 'das gnyis sa gyes pa med/ ces bya/
 kun gzhi dang rig pa'i ngo bo la 'khor 'das su gyes ma myong ba'o/

/mnyam pa chen po theg le gcig tu gnas/ zhes pas/
 'khor 'das gnyis su gyes pa de/
 /blo'i mthong snang las byung pa ma yin pa/
 /don la [321] gnyis med mnyam pa chen por gnas pa yin no/
 mnyam pa chen po thig le gcig tu gnas zhes pas/
 kun gzhi ma bu dbyer med du gnas pa'o/

/gsum pa mdor bsdu ba ni/
 /gsum pa ni/ 'khor 'das gnyis kyi gyes tshul mdo bsdu ba ni/

gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma bzhugs so/ zhes pas bsdu'o/
 gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma rdzogs so/ zhes pas lhag ma med pa'i don no/

/sa ma ya/
 sa ma ya ni snod med la gsang ba'i bka' rgya btab bo//



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The records of Tshul khrim mchog rgyal on the Black Phur pa cycle of the Tibetan Bon pos¹

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Abstract

The deity Phur pa is important not only in Tibetan Buddhist circles but also among practitioners of Bon. The Bon pos possess several different ritual cycles of Phur pa in various forms with unique liturgies. These traditions, their history and their particularities are still little known and have not yet been the object of scholarly research. This article focuses on one such ritual cycle, that of the Black Phur pa tradition, which is considered one of the most ancient in Bon. The goal of this essay is to contribute to the understanding of the tradition based on contemporary settings, lineage history, ritual artifacts and the personal chronicles of some of its important lineage transmitters.

Introduction

This article is part of a larger research project on the corpus of ritual practices of the Black Phur pa of the Tibetan Bon religion. Phur pa is a deified ritual dagger which is associated with rites of demarcation of sacred boundaries, exorcism, the pinning down and subjugation of enemies, killing, and commitments (*dam tshig*). It was probably imported to Tibet from India sometime during the Imperial Period or shortly later. The history of its spread can be understood from a number of sources, principally traditional religious lineage accounts, local historical records, monastic chronicles and sectarian historical archives.

Among both Buddhists and Bon pos Phur pa has come down through many different lineages of practice. The practices associated with each lineage are varied but generally resemble one another in strategies, goals and methods. However, they differ from one another principally in their iconography, doctrinal emphasis, individual history and their position within the general hierarchy of the classification of their sect's teachings. The long history of the various Phur pa lineages is a testimony to the endurance and the social and religious relevance of these ritual techniques in Tibet. This article intends to research the lineage transmission of one corpus of Phur pa practice that claims a history of continued practice since the eleventh century, if not from antiquity. It is still performed by Bon po ritual specialists.

No previous studies have been conducted on the Bon po Phur pa. This lacuna is no doubt due to the small number of Bon specialists and to the relative scarcity and availability of written Bon po sources.² Ritual manuals,

¹ The author wishes to thank Concordia University, Faculty Research Start-up Grant for partially enabling this research.

² The Canon of Bön Scriptures, the Kangyur (*bka' 'gyur*, here K.) became available for only a short period at the beginning of the 1990s. It has been out of print for a number of years; however, thanks to the efforts of the Bon po lama Smon rgyal lha sras from Dbal khyung

which make for the majority of written material on Phur pa, are also difficult to acquire due to the religious restrictions imposed on their circulation. The practices are esoteric and secret by nature and are transmitted through rituals of empowerment (*dbang*), explained through personal transmission (*lung*) and instructions (*khrid*), and learned through repeated communal or supervised rehearsals. Their lineage is acquired through an obligatory retreat, the length of which varies according to the peculiarities of the local tradition. Samten Karmay is the first to have discoursed about the Bon po Phur pa, though with great restraint, as his concise explanations comprise only four paragraphs.³ He briefly highlights the commonalities between the Buddhist and Bon po Phur pa and mentions the originator of the lineage, Stag la me 'bar, and the rationale for this practice, without additional detail.

The indigenous literature on Phur pa is quite large and is divided by functional categories and ritual cycles.⁴ These will be addressed in a subsequent article. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that there are currently at least nine traditions of Phur pa in contemporary Bon. There may have been other traditions of which we are unaware, which have not survived into contemporary times.⁵ Considered to be the most ancient Phur pa compendium of practice, the Ninefold Tantra of Phur pa and its commentary, the Tenth (*Phur pa rgyud dgu 'grel bcu*), are traditionally held to have been transmitted by Stag la me 'bar, a disciple of Ston pa gshen rab, the mythical originator of Bon in Zhangzhung. Another considered equally ancient by the tradition is the Black Phur pa (*Phur pa nag po*) rediscovered by Khu tsha zla 'od, the twenty-sixth lineage holder according to the tradition. Yet another tradition, propagated widely only starting in the nineteenth century, is the Revealed Phur pa (*Snyan rgyud phur pa*, T.025) associated with Dbal 'bar stag slag can (Bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal). This practice is part of the Great Perfection Transmission (*Rdzogs chen brgyud*) which is considered the

dgon in Nyag rong, it is currently available again in Chengdu. In this article, the volumes are referred to as K.n following the catalog published by Kværne, Per. Yasuhiko Nagano and Dan Martin (eds). *Bon Studies 8: A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur*, Senri Ethnological Reports No.40. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003. The publication of the commentarial section of the Canon (*bka' brten*, here T.) began during the late 1990s and is still available in China. Its references to its volumes follow the catalog published by Karmay, Samten G. and Yasuhiko Nagano *Bon Studies 5: A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bon po Katen Texts – indices*. Senri Ethnological Reports No.25 (with CD-ROM). Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2001. Very few copies of these two sets are currently held by North American libraries. It is also important to note that not all texts, commentaries and ritual compendium, on Phur pa are available in the *Bka' brten*.

³ Karmay, Samten G. *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*. (Hanover: E.J. Brill, 1988), 135-36.

⁴ The Buddhist Phur pa has already been the object of several studies, including translations of commentaries and an English version of a shortened daily ritual (*sgrub thabs*). For the former, see principally Mayer, Robert. *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection: The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*. Oxford & Gartmore: Kiscadale Publications, 1996; Boord, Martin J. *A Bolt of Lightning from the Blue*. Berlin: Edition Khordong, 2002; and Marcotti, Thomas. *Dagger Blessings: The Tibetan Phurba Cult*. Delhi: B R Publishing Corporation, 1987. For the latter see Khenpo Namdrol Rinpoche. *The Practice of Vajrakilaya*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1999.

⁵ This information was given to me (May 2004) by one of the masters of Ye shes monastery in Nyag rong, the scholar monk (*dge bshes*) and reincarnated master (*sprul sku*) Seng ge sprul sku Rig 'dzin nyi ma (b. 1967). The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) has apparently claimed several Bon po lineage holders and he has indicated to me that there may have been other Phur pa ritual cycles which were not included in the present edition (1998) of the *Bka' brten*.

most elevated Vehicle of Bon.⁶ These three systems, which are independent from each other, are considered to be part of the Old Treasure transmission (*gter rnying*) and are considered, by some monasteries, as more orthodox.⁷

The following six other lineages are part of the New Treasure transmission (*gter gsar*) and incorporate Buddhist elements which are accepted as contributions from Padmasambhava (fl. 8th century). This Buddhist charismatic figure is considered by the followers of New Bon to be the younger brother of Tshe dbang rig 'dzin and son of Dran pa nam mkha', two important Bon po masters of the period. Kun grol grags pa (b. 1800) was considered as one of the founders of what became known as New Bon and is recognized for having started a new wave of discovery of Textual Treasures.⁸ These were purportedly hidden in the eighth century, by the three aforementioned masters, to prevent the Teachings from disappearing during the persecution of Bon which followed. Hiding texts and artefacts is an old practice of the Tibetans. In fact, in times of persecution, the Tibetans hid their possessions by burying them under recognizable features of the landscape in order to perpetuate their location in the family memory and to be able to retrieve the goods at a later, more peaceful time. Tibetans have resorted to this again in recent times following the occupation of their lands by the People's Liberation Army troops in the 1950s and during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). As an aside, this has also resulted in a new wave of rediscovery of spiritual treasures involving contemporary Tibetan masters within and outside the Tibetan territories.⁹

The nineteenth century was a period of great religious syncretism in Eastern Tibet. In order to counteract the religious hegemony and ardent proselytizing of the Gelug (*dge lugs*) sect, which controlled temporal power in Central Tibet until 1959, religious hierarchs of the other four competing Buddhist schools began to share teachings. This phenomenon was known as

⁶ On this system, see Rossi, Donatella. *The Philosophical View of the Great Perfection in the Tibetan Bon Religion*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2000. Snellgrove, David. *The Nine Ways of Bon: Excerpts from Gzi-brjid*. London Oriental Series, V. 18. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968. Reynolds, John Myrdhin. *The Oral Tradition from Zhang-Zhung: An Introduction to the Bon po Dzogchen Teachings of the Oral Tradition from Zhang-Zhung*. (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2005), Karmay, *The Great Perfection*.

⁷ I am uncertain why Seng ge sprul sku Rig 'dzin nyi ma considered this as part of an Old Gter ma transmission. Being from the Ye shes monastery in Nyag rong, which upholds both New and Old Transmissions, it is possible that the claims of this system relating to the antiquity and orthodoxy of the tradition are accepted at face value by him. However, having been schooled at Snang zhig Monastery, which is a bastion of orthodoxy, he must have been aware of what, according to the Sman ri tradition, were the Old and New in the Phur pa traditions. I have not been able to verify this point further and it is my hope that this aspect will be clarified later.

⁸ On his life, see: Karmay, Samten G. *Feast of the Morning Light: The Eighteenth Century Wood-engravings of Shenrab's Life-stories and the Bon Canon from Gyalrong*. Bon Studies 9. Senri Ethnological Reports No.57. (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2005), 19-35; Kun grol grags pa. *Rig 'Dzin Kun-grol Grags-Pa rNam-mthar Gsungs Pod bZ'ugs (sic!)* [Biography of the Lineage Holder kun grol grags pa] (Kathmandu: Tritan Norbutse Bon Education Centre Ichangu Narayan, 1990.)

⁹ For examples, see: Germano, David. "Re-membering the Dismembered Body of Tibet: Contemporary Tibetan Visionary movements in the People's Republic of China." In *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*. Edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Melvyn C. Goldstein, 53-94. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

the Rime (*ris med*, i.e. Non-Sectarian) movement. Accompanying this was a renaissance in Buddhist teachings with new ritual trends and a homogenization of ritual practices. Starting in the eleventh century, and slowly gaining increasing momentum, was another important movement involving the discovery of hidden teachings left by early sages, unearthed by predestined individuals. These Hidden Treasures, the Terma (*gter ma*), uncovered by charismatic Buddhist and Bon lamas, came on the religious scene in the form of documents, sacred objects -- crystals, ritual daggers (*phur bu*), etc., signs, sounds, written syllables and revelations (mental treasures: *dgongs gter*). This mechanism of renewal was based partly on the charismatic authority of the Treasure discoverers, the Terton (*gter ston*), recognized as the reincarnation of a former master; and the institution of reincarnated lamas having the tacit support of the legitimizing religious authority, the monastic establishments.

Thus, the Terton were living religious authorities who renewed their own lineage with ideas, practices and rituals which were not necessarily in existence previously within their own schools.

The Bon pos have been rediscovering their teachings from the time of the initial persecutions, which started in the seventh century under the Buddhist King Srong btsan sgam po, and lasted until the fall of the Ganden Podrang (*dga' ldan pho brang*) government of the Dalai Lamas in 1959. In the ninth century, under the reign of King Khri Song lde'u btsan, followers of Bon had either to convert to Buddhism or go into exile. Religious texts were hidden and it was not until the eleventh century that Bon po masters reorganized their religion in order to be able to compete with Buddhism, which had continued to be imported to Tibet until the end of the thirteenth century.

Thus, most written teachings of Bon are *gter ma*. They are generally classified in two main branches, as seen previously: the Old Treasure and the New Treasure Traditions. The canonical texts included within the Kangyur are categorized as Rediscovered Treasures (*gter*),¹⁰ Mental Treasures (*dgongs gter*), Southern and Northern Treasures (*lho byang gter*), Revelation (*snyan rgyud*), Rediscovered Treasures of/from a Protector (*srung gter*), and Scriptures (*rgyud*).¹¹ Phur pa texts are part of the Rediscovered Treasures category when it comes to canonical texts such as the Nine Chapter Tantras of Phur pa (*phur pa rgyud le'u so dgu pa*; K.35, K.113, K.114).

The six other lineages of Phur pa are:

4. The Phur pa lower-robe of Tagla (*stag la phur shams thabs?*), rediscovered by Kun grol grags pa.
5. The Phur pa of Dechen Lingpa (*bde gling phur pa*), rediscovered by Bde chen gling pa.¹²

¹⁰ In this paper, when both Tibetan and Chinese transliterations are supplied, the first will be the Tibetan transliteration.

¹¹ Zhou Xilang (ed.). *Zangzu yuanshi jiajiao* [Early Family-based religions of the Tibetan]. (Chengdu: Sichuan zangxue yanjiusuo, 1991), 476-497.

¹² For a brief biography and a catalogue of his writings, revelations and discoveries, see Jean-Luc Achard, *Bon po hidden Treasures: A Catalogue of gTer ston bDe chen gling pa's Collected revelations*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004. In this work, there are references to a number of texts on Phur nag, however it is not yet clear whether those are independant *gter ma*, instructions on the old Phur nag tradition or on a Black Phur pa version of Bde chen gling pa. Further research needs to be completed first.

6. The Fierce Phur pa of the Three Body (*sku gsum drag phur*), rediscovered at the cave of sbas yul g.yung drung spungs tshal in Nyag rong by Gsang sngags gling pa.¹³
7. The Canopy of Phur pa (*gdugs phur*), possibly the same as the Fierce Phur pa of Dranpa Namkha (*dran pa drag phur*) received by Gter chen bya btang Tshe dbang 'gyur med in a Pure Vision (*dag snang*) (T. 208).
8. The form of Phur pa propitiated within the Tantric cycle of Dge khod (*dge khod phur pa*).
9. The form of Phur pa propitiated within the Tantric system of Me ri (*me ri phur*).
10. The Canon of commentaries (*bka' brten*) also contains other forms of Phur pa, such as the Blo ldan phur (T. 077) written by G.yung drung tshul khriims dbang ldan; the Phur pa of Za from the cycle of Meri (*Zva phur me ri'i dkyil 'khor*, T. 099) discovered by Sangs sngags gling pa; the Phur pa of the Eight Life-sap (*brgyad bcud phur*) of Mkha' 'gro 'Od ldan 'bar ma, together with a host of other writings consisting of praises, concise rituals, supplication and prayers.

Source Material on Ritual, History and Lineages

The sources relevant to the history, lineages and practices of Bon po Phur pa include ritual texts, canonical literature, historical chronicles, root-Tantras (*rtsa rgyud*), initiation cards (*tsa ka li*), local monastic chronicles, paintings (*thang ka*) and local lineage history. The data derived from these documents follow an internal reasoning which supported earlier material as well as an 'insider's' interpretation of the scripture and practices. Conducting an external investigation, corroborating dates and identifying members of the lineages remain constant challenges.

Canonical materials contained in the Kangyur and the Katen on the Black Phur pa are numerous. The source of the practice is to be found in the root-Tantra of Phur pa (K.33, K.113 and K.114).¹⁴ This was rediscovered at a cave in Paro (*spa gro phug gcal*) in Bhutan, by Khu tsa zla 'od 'bar (b. 1024) in 1038.¹⁵ The Tantra is made of nine texts with a commentary, altogether comprising ten volumes. The root-tantra itself consists of thirty-nine chapters. In conformity with the general genre of the Bon Tantras, the bulk of this scripture consists of ritual instructions, commitments (*dam tshig*), descriptions of several circles of deities manifesting as Phur pa, methods to control water demons (*chu srin*), gods, the burning of corpses (*ro bsregs pa*), *homa* ritual (*sbyin sreg*), the making of offering cakes (*gtor ma*), and a host of other practices. Each of the nine Tantras contains individual instructions regarding these various rites. This corpus is thus fairly significant in size and

¹³ On the monastery of Gong rgyal and its surrounding caves, see Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 428-431.

¹⁴ K. 33, 113 and 114. Karmay *et al.*, *A Catalog*, 310.

¹⁵ This would then suggest that Khu tsa was 14 years old. Karmay has already pointed this problem out but has not yet suggested a way to resolve this chronology. However, he does mention that Yon tan rgya mtsho suggested that the discovery must have happened during the second Rab byung (1087-1146). Karmay *Treasury*, 145 n. 1.

contains groups of rites which are extensively covered by later Phur pa systems. Although the Root-text establishes the rationales and the antecedents which legitimize the practices of the corpus, exact directions as to how to apply them are found in the many ritual manuals (*sgrub thabs*) of the later Phur pa corpora. The latter are therefore invaluable for studying the methods of practice of this system. Among them are also found prayers to the masters of the lineages. It was not until recent times that Bon po lamas resorted to printing these and other manuals in significant numbers. Local productions record the names of the masters who handed down the teachings. It is in using these that a clearer history of the dissemination of the Black Phur pa can be reconstructed.

Conciseness is a characteristic of *gter ma* and rituals of the later New Bon movement.¹⁶ Because of this, New *gter ma* texts are very commonly used by monks when performing privately sponsored rites in households. The larger cycle of the Black Phur pa is rarely performed in these circumstances because of the complexities of its recitation and length. Therefore, at least in the Khams and A mdo areas, the Black Phur pa rites are predominantly performed within monastic compounds and on grand occasions.

The main commentary on the Black Phur pa is the *Great Commentary on the Concise Meaning of the Root-text* (*Don 'dus rtsa ba'i 'grel chen*) allegedly written by Khu tsa. These texts are not readily available in contemporary monasteries. Most practitioners of Phur pa rely on their master's instructions, which may or may not come from this last collection of instructions. The nature of these consists for the most part in drumming, ritual cake making, chanting, and directions on the proper order of recitation of the collection of texts, which can number well over thirty with excerpts inserted at strategic places during the larger unfolding of the ritual. These excerpts come from the daily liturgies of the mother monastery, which holds that particular branch of the tradition. Other parts, called "lore" (*gzhung*) are either from the root-verses which constitute the essential core or the "original" words of the purported first teacher, in this case either Stag la me 'bar, or Byams ma.

When one begins the enterprise of becoming a lineage holder, the essential part of the retreat consists of not only reciting the proper quantities of the various mantras but also of becoming proficient in the recitation of the core texts and various associated rituals. Thus, with the exception of the beginning and the concluding rites, most other miscellaneous texts and prayers to be recited are, in the task of daily recitations, not used with the exception of all the lore material. The *gzhung* constitutes the essential text, while all the remaining material was composed by different masters and added to the corpus. Although the lore is the essence of the practice, the other addenda are, for the scholars, the main objects of research.

The Phur nag corpus, being particularly bulky with added liturgy, makes it very complicated to recite. The ritual was expanded over time through the addition of prayers, entreaties and others miscellaneous rites unique to the

¹⁶ The gradual diminution of Bon po lamas over the centuries and the complexities of their ritual might have been a contributing factor to the emergence of New Bon. The later ones favored shorter, simpler rituals with abbreviated instructions. New Bon also came under intense criticism, not only from Buddhists but from Bon pos, for mixing heterogeneous elements from Buddhism. Many of the latter's symbols and concepts, had by then been absorbed in the greater Tibetan religious culture and were indistinguishable from indigenous culture.

tradition of each particular lineage. Not all monasteries use the same standards in their yearly or occasional recitations. These accord with received tradition and can be abbreviated or enhanced with sacred dances (*'chams*) and other grand public displays.

The canonical texts, found in private or monastic libraries – e.g., the *Nine Root Tantras* and the *Great Commentary* – are seldom if ever consulted by ritualists. Contemporary testimonials and the current situation indicate that the tradition has focused on individual training through regular communal ritual. The relative simplicity of later *gter ma* may be due, in part, to the ritual complexity of the Old Treasure Tradition which made learning difficult for novices and taxing to teach for Bon po masters. Monastic training in pre-PRC times started with rote memorization of the entire ritual corpus. This was followed by ritual drumming, chanting and learning to make the *gter ma*. The inner aspects of the practice, such as visualizations and the exegeses attached to these, would be imparted only to a minority of committed disciples who would enter a period of retreat to perfect or acquire the lineage. This would further entitle them to have disciples, and to transmit the lineage to those who followed in the footsteps of the master. The Phur pa specialist would also be asked regularly to perform the various rituals associated with the system of his tradition mentioned above. This could have involved the performance of exorcism, subjugation of evil spirits, healing, and ritual killing (*gsod pa*). My observations at Ye shes monastery indicate that the latter rite would be left to higher lamas of the monastery. Monks who are involved in private ritual performance for patrons seemed to believe the regular performance of the *gsod pa* rite may either shorten their lifespan and/or produce negative karma. In any case, the requirements for attaining mastery of this system are such that they necessitate a long period of apprenticeship, training, and ascetic discipline which would make the lama a “tradesperson” in the realm of the Bon priesthood; that is, a professional priestly member of an institution that supplies services of a religious and cultural nature to the local or greater population at large. In fact, religious organizations in Tibet may almost be compared to guilds that created specialists and guarded trade practices and secrets. The extensive use of esoteric and secret rituals to transmit teachings is very much in line with such ideology applied to the realm of the sacred.

Ritual demands a group of specialists trained in its intricacies. Despite the general trend towards secularization in China and the Tibetan areas, the demands for ritual performance seem to continue and even to be on the rise following the liberalization of the practice of religion starting in the mid-1980s. For decades there has been a vacuum in the local religious market in the Tibetan areas of Sichuan due to the political upheavals of the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath. Monks who can fill the traditional offices have only recently been trained, thanks to the knowledge of religious elders and the concerted efforts of communities. This relatively recent renewal is in keeping with many Tibetan communities which have turned to traditional lore and organizations rather than to the national political ideology and organizations. One of the reasons for this may have to do with the relative isolation of the Tibetan regions in contrast to the Chinese (Han) populated areas. Economic development as well as the lack of infrastructure (roads,

electricity, hospital, etc.) have left the Tibetans to themselves in many regards. This may have provoked many to return to traditional systems which have proven reliable in the past, if not adaptable to the contemporary world.

Monasteries used to keep records of important visitors, of activities and of historical moments. Unfortunately, many of these chronicles were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). With their disappearance there vanished an important portion of the local cultural heritage. However, from the moment religious freedom manifested itself once again, elders, former heads of monasteries and some of the latter's disciples began to rewrite their history. Some have recently been published privately, such as the *History of the Yeshe Monastery*¹⁷ or the *History of the Nangzhi monastery* by the late Bya 'phur Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan.¹⁸ Other historical information can be gleaned from recent government sponsored publications produced by Prefectures.¹⁹ They provide us with portraits of local geography, natural resources, recent history, culture, demography and society. Prefectures along the Sino-Tibetan frontiers have in the past produced local gazetteers in Chinese.²⁰ Although most do not distinguish between the different schools and sects of Tibetan religions, they nevertheless provide us with important historical information, sometimes reaching far into antiquity. Contemporary archaeological reports also provide glimpses of material culture. These are particularly important for the understanding of ancient Tibetan civilization which, according to historical records, supported a system of kingship closely tied to a religious aristocracy and from which contemporary Bon claims its ancestry.

The Black Phur pa Tradition

The Bon historical accounts of the Black Phur pa start with the story of a disciple of Ston pa gshen rab, the mythical founder of Bon. The sage Stag la me 'bar was one of two twin sons of the king Yang rgyal lha and the queen Stag za he ting of Stag gzig . One was pure-minded whereas his brother, Dha sha ghri ba, was evil. Before the birth of their twins both king and queen treated their servants very badly. One of their servants, before his death, told the couple that he would be reborn as both their sons. His good side reincarnated as Stag la and his resentful one as Dha sha. The latter soon

¹⁷ Seng ge sprul sku Rig 'dzin nyi ma. *Nyag rong ye shes dgon pa'i lo rgyus / Kang qu xinlong yisi si de lishi* [The history of Yeshe Monastery]. Bilingual edition. Chengdu, 2005.

¹⁸ Bya 'phur Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1969-1995). *Phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i sde chen po bkra shis g.yung drung gling ngam Snang zhig rgyal bstan phun tshogs gling gi gdan rabs bsdu par bshad pa rdzogs ldan ngag gi rgyal rnga zhes bya ba bzhuvs so* [History of the Abbatial seats and lineage holders of the Nangzhi monastery in Rnga ba] Solan: Mu khri bcan po zhang bod rig gzhung zhib 'jug khang, 1994.

¹⁹ Renmin chubanshi is producing county gazetteers in Chinese as well as in Tibetan. Similar productions on Aba, Songpan, Jinchuan, Xinlong, Heishui and other Tibetan inhabited regions have also been published. There are also local reports on local institutions, their history and masters produced by the bureaus of Religious Affairs (*zongjiao bu*) in each Prefecture. These, however, are not readily available to foreign researchers since they are classified as Internal Documents (*neibu*).

²⁰ For instance, Songpan has a series of five volumes on its local history. Sichuan Province has also produced a series of eleven books covering the pre-republican (1911) period and going back to the Han dynasty.

began to persecute his parents. He beat his mother and eventually cut off the head of his father and left home. It was said that he left for the south of Stag gzig and became wild. It was rumoured that he ate humans and threatened the country with chaos and destruction. Stag la was forced to fight his own brother. But Dha sha apparently won, leaving Stag la at a loss as to how to subdue his brother.

After learning the rituals of Phur pa from his master, 'Chi med gtsug phud, Stag la retired to Brag phug rong can to practice. However, despite his best efforts, he was not able to contain his brother. Seeing his great distress, the goddess of compassion, Byams ma, appeared to him and explained that his compassion towards his brother was preventing him from achieving his goals. She instructed him further on the techniques of Phur pa and recommended him to cultivate a strong and arrogant frame of mind. After doing so, Stag la was able to kill his brother by magical means and "save the country and sentient beings."²¹

Stag la transmitted the teachings to Lha gshen Yongs su dag pa, Klu grub Ye shes snying po, and Rgyal btsan Mi lus bsam legs. They promulgated these teachings respectively in the realms of the Celestial deities, the subterranean world of the nāga, and the realm of the humans. The first disciple, Lha gshen, was born in the celestial realm and was a disciple of Gsang ba 'dus pa, a legendary master, who transmitted the teachings of one of the Bon po systems of the Great Perfection, the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*. This important system of meditation, in Bon, permits adepts to accomplish the Rainbow Body (*'ja' lus*) and attain total Enlightenment, leaving no body behind.²²

The story of the second disciple, Klu grub, is an epic one. After first becoming a disciple to several masters, he transformed himself into a garuda and then later into a fish to seek out his destined master, Gshen lha 'od dkar. Failing to find him, he returned home to meditate. Only then did Gshen lha 'od dkar appear to him and begin to instruct him. He was told that his divine master had never been apart from him and that all the beings he encountered while travelling in the sky or in the ocean were none other than his master. He was eventually redirected to another master and later received the Black Phur pa lineage from Stag la me 'bar.²³

Mi lus bsam legs was born in Rgyal dkar ba chod. He was the son of a king who had just died. His country had been condemned by a soothsayer to be taken over by a neighbouring kingdom. The population fervently prayed to the goddess of compassion mentioned above and Mi lus bsam legs was born to the queen a year later. He studied under six masters of Bon, who included Stag la me 'bar, and eventually became the lineage holder of Phur pa and also of the important Tantric cycle of Magyud (*ma rgyud*).²⁴

²¹ Karmay, *Treasury*, xxii.

²² On the Rainbow Body in Bön, see Achard, "Le Corps d'Arc-en-Ciel", 503-532. The rainbow body phenomenon is shared with the Nyingma tradition. See: "The Strange Death of Pema the Demon Tamer" in Matthew T. Kapstein (ed.) *The Presence of Light: Divine Experience and Religious Experience*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 119-156. Thanks to Antonio Terrone for this information and reference.

²³ Karmay, *Treasury*, xxii-xxiii.

²⁴ Karmay, *Treasury*, xxiv.

The early history of the Black Phur pa cycle is linked to another larger corpus of practices known as the *Three Cycles [of the Propagation] of Chipung* (*spyi spungs skor gsum*). These are teachings related to the propitiation of Wrathful Male divinities, used to subdue and control chaotic forces. The Chipung is literally the “topmost heap” (*spyi spungs*), with *spyi* here a metaphor for “universal,” thus the “Universal heap of deities.” These are gatherings of divinities that are cosmic in character. They are believed to be able to affect “current events” in the three realms of the celestial divinities, humans and nāgas.²⁵ Some other divinities, still widely worshiped by the Bon pos today, are Dbal gsas rngam pa, Khro bo Gtso mchog mkha' 'gying, Dbal chen ge khod and Lha rgod thog pa. When all the various early teachings of male divinities (together with Phur pa) are classified together, they are also named the *Five Supreme Ones of the Citadel* (*gsas mkhar mchog lnga*). The whole collection comprises various rites involving all types of practices for controlling spirits, demons, gods, subterranean creatures and other beings of Tibet's extensive pantheon.

The three masters mentioned above who received the teachings of Phur pa are believed to have produced their own lineages of disciples. However, they are each better known as holders of other practices, such as Ma rgyud. This may account for other divergent lineage accounts of Phur pa, since what is today prevalent in the Kangyur (K.33, K.113, K.114) and the ritual compendium I have been able to consult omit the three latter masters (i.e. Lha gshen Yongs su dag pa, Klu grub Ye shes snying po, and Rgyal btsan Mi lus bsam legs) from the supplication list (*gsol bdebs*) and the lineage accounts (*brgyud rim*). The lists usually jump directly from Stag la me 'bar to Dbal bon Kha yal me 'bar in Stag gzig. The list below concerns the early propagation of Phur pa, from different regions of Stag gzig to Kashmir, India, Nepal, Tibet, and China. At this point, it is difficult to positively identify many regions mentioned below with contemporary locations, with the exception of the general areas of Kashmir, Nepal and India. Even the 'Grim thang area, purportedly located in China, is not yet identifiable. One can only notice the general involvement of the surrounding regions in the spread of the Phur pa tradition. Does the list imply that the teachings first spread abroad before being propagated in Tibet, or does it stress the contribution of these competing religious worlds, with the implicit understanding that the seminal teachings of all these different religious countries were extracted and put in a concise form into the Phur pa tradition, thus making it particularly potent? At this point, one can only conjecture. The various canonical lists found in ritual manuals and the histories, more mythical in nature than historical, have been compiled as follows by Shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan (1859-1935) in his *Legs bshad mdzod*:²⁶

²⁵ Karmay, *Treasury*, 15 n.3.

²⁶ Translated in part by Samten Karmay, *Treasury*.

*Shar rdza's list of Masters who transmitted
the Black Phur pa practices to eighth century*

<i>Name of the Master of the lineage</i>	<i>Place of reception of the teachings</i>
1. Stag la me 'bar	Stag gzig
2. Gnod sbyin 'dul	Stag tshal rgod kha'i yul
3. 'Od spungs	Dbal 'bar lha'i yul
4. Khyung la can	Stag rtse lha'i mkhar
5. Stag la can	Dbal yul 'od ma'i tshal
6. Kha yal me 'bar from Gru	Grub yul grug stod
7. 'Ol bon mig gcig	'Ol yul 'ol mkhar
8. Ti ti me slag can	Mu stegs kha 'bar
9. Kha yal me lce can from dram ze	Dram ze 'thib gnon
10. A ga ru nag po from India	No location
11. Tsan tsan lce ring from Nepal	Thang shod, Nepal
12. Gyang ti gsas from Kashmir	Unspecified location in Kashmir
13. Spungs rgyung mthu chen from Khotan	Ljang ra smug po in Khotan
14. Ge ti gsas rnga chung can	Zhang zhung
15. Ko long lha gsas from Smra	Unspecified location in Tibet
16. Kha 'byams lcags kyi bya ru can from 'Phan yul	'Phan yul
17. Dbal 'bar lha gsas from China	'Grim thang (?) in China
18. Gsas khar me 'bar	Yar yul lha'i thang
19. Dran pa nam mkha' (fl. eighth and ninth century)	Central Tibet

Depictions of the Spread of the teachings

Transmission means : Tsa ka li

As part of the process of the propagation of the teachings, the hierophant will use ritual cards (*tsa ka li*) to show the appearances of the divinities and the masters of the lineage populating the divine circle (*dkyil 'khor*). These cards measure roughly fifteen by twelve centimetres and are small paintings depicting the aforementioned beings and symbols. They are usually restricted to those who have been initiated into the Tantric cycle and who wish to study it. Until very recently (and it still often remains the case) these were local productions and history retold in picture form. One of the purposes of their use during the Empowerment ritual may be to suggest ways of imagining the masters of the lineage during prayers to the lamas. It also sets symbolic models for artists and painters who create *thangka* and other icons. For example, representations of Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan, the founder of Sman ri monastery, follow iconographic prescriptions that have become standardized. It is thanks to these standardizations that the master's representation in paintings or statues is easily identifiable.²⁷

²⁷ See Ramble, Charles. "Tsewang Rigdzin: The Bon Tradition of Sacred Geography." In *Bon, The Magic Word: The Indigenous Religion of Tibet*. New York and London: Rubin Museum of Art and Philip Wilson Publishers, (2008), 125-129. Some Bon po artists have recently produced manuals which detail the guidelines for drawings and representing iconographic figures. One such book, written by Rig 'dzin nyi ma (different from Seng ge

I have been fortunate to be able to photograph two sets of those illustrating the Black Phur pa circle of divinities and masters and one of the *Fierce Phur pa of the Three Bodies* of Sangs sngags gling pa. The two sets of the Black Phur pa are from two different regions at some distance from each other. The first was photographed at the Ye shes monastery in Khams, Sichuan (in 2006), and the other at the Bon brgya monastery in A mdo, Qinghai (in 2004). Both sets illustrate similar divinities and differ only slightly with regards to the masters of the lineage. This can help us understand how this practice spread and who its principal disseminators were, and it may help to reconstruct local history, particularly when compared to written records.

The first set belongs to the younger brother of the late *sprul sku*, A g.yung bla ma²⁸ (G.yung drung bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) of Ye shes monastery, A rgyal bla ma (Skal bzang rgya mtsho, born circa 1940). It is divided into two sections: the first, named *Phur pa'i lha dbang* ("the empowerment of the deities of Phur pa"), is used during the initiation ritual on the Black Phur pa's divine circles (*dkyil 'khor*) of deities. It has thirty-three cards with depictions of deities and symbols. The second is numbered one to fifty-five, but the deck is missing one card and contains some unmarked ones. It portrays the lineage holders of this master. It is believed to have been made during the time of Tshul khrims mchog rgyal. The artist is unknown; however, I suspect that these *tsa ka li* were the products of the latter, who was an avid chronicler of the various lineages he received during his life. Behind most cards are handwritten texts to be recited while showing the cards.²⁹ These are excerpts from the ritual texts of the initiation in the cycle of the Black Phur pa. The textual passages that accompany the cards run as follow:

1. The Perfected King Mkha' 'gying (*rdzogs sku mkha'gying rgyal po*) resides in the fierce fortress of 'Og min. [He has a] dark-blue body and shines majestic light; his hair curls in an ornament of black expanse; [he] brandishes in his

sprul sku Rig 'dzin nyi ma), is: *G.yung drung bon lugs kyi bzo rig skya rengs gsar ba'i 'dzum mdangs*, Xinlong circa 2005.

²⁸ For his biography see Seng ge sprul sku Rig 'dzin nyi ma. *Bla ma a g.yung gi rnam thar / bla ma mchog rgyal gyi rnam thar* [Biography of Lama Ayung. Biography of Lama Chogyal]. Chengdu: Sichuan xinan minzhu xueyuan chubanshe (四川西南民族学院出版社) (2003), 1-19.

²⁹ The text behind the *tsa ka li* can also be found, with minor variations, in an ancillary manuscript which is part of the initiation ritual (*dbang khrid*), entitled *The Minutiae of the lineage of Phur Pa, Rosary of Mu tig* (*phur pa'i brgyud tsag mu tig phreng ba bzhuvs so*), RGPhGTh folios 1523-1540. This collection of material was acquired in the Spring 2004 at Rin spungs dgon. On this monastery see Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 608-611. It has been reprinted locally from collected hand-written material, which bears the lineage mark of the G.yung drung gling monastery in Central Tibet. This collection has more than a hundred different texts and totals one thousand five hundred and ninety four numbered folios. An elder lama of the monastery, Aku Yako, learned this cycle at an early age. He conducted several retreats locally and in Central Tibet. After completing his studies in Shar khog, he went to G.yung drung gling Monastery in Central Tibet. See Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 33-36. At the onset of the Cultural Revolution, disguised as a peasant, he and another Sharwapa returned home on foot to A mdo Shar khog (Songpan Prefecture). His knowledge of this corpus is remarkable. Besides having memorized the entire ritual, he has mastered all the traditional lore of the Black Phur pa. He has passed his learning to a young master in charge of the retreat center of the monastery, Joko lama.

- hand a dagger of meteorite iron whose fierce material subjugates the Five Poisons of affliction.³⁰
2. Great Mother Compassionate Byams ma (*yum chen thugs rje byams ma*) sits in the expanse of E of the Blanket of Delight. Her white body emanates green majestic light with her green hair gathering and swirling around turquoises; she carries a vase of ambrosia which holds compassion for all poisoned sentient beings.³¹
 3. The Emanated Teacher Gshen rab (*sprul sku ston pa gshen rab*) stands in the Canopy of Lapis of the fierce *gsas* palace. His blue-colored body radiates light and emanations; his hair is a topknot of lapis with a turquoise in the center.³²
 4. The *gshen* of power, the fierce Stag la me bar, resides in the fierce *gsas* palace in the cave of Rong chen. His body is red and blue, majestic in countenance; his hair is green and ornamented with thousands of small poisonous daggers; his body is covered with the mane of a tiger and ornamented with the hundred thousand small bells of existence; he holds high a curved iron dagger and liberates demons and devouring fiends.³³
 5. Kha yal me 'bar, hero of the *gshen*, resides at the fierce *gsas* palace in the Eight plains of Dbal yul.³⁴
 6. The Hero of Bon, the Shen subduer of the violent Yaksha, Dbal bon Gnod sbyin 'dul stands in the fierce *gsas* palace at Tiger grove (*stag tshal*).
 7. The Hero of Bon, 'Od dpung, the fierce and heroic *gshen* resides in the *gsas* palace in the country of the fierce gods at Dbal 'bar.³⁵
 8. The Hero of the *gshen*, Khyung slag, the heroic *gshen* stands in the fierce *gsas* palace at Stag rtse.
 9. The Hero of Bon, Stag slag, the fierce and heroic *gshen*, resides in the fierce *gsas* palace at 'Od ma in the country of Dbal.
 10. The Great Bon po of the kingdom, the Hero Kha yal me 'bar³⁶ resides at the fierce *gsas* palace of Drug yul.³⁷
 11. The Bon po of 'Ol, Spyang cig, hero of the *gshen*, dwells at the fierce *gsas* palace of 'Ol yul.
 12. Hero of the *gshen*, Ti ti me slag, is in the fierce *gsas* palace at the mouth of Mu steg.
 13. Hero of the *gshen*, Bram ze me 'bar is located at the fierce *gsas* palace of 'Thib gnon.
 14. Hero of the *gshen*, A ka ru nag, stays in the fierce *gsas* palace at a cemetery in India.³⁸
 15. The heroic Lord, Lce ring, hero of the *gshen*, resides ... at Thang shod in Dbal yul (Nepal?)
 16. ... Dbal 'bar ting gsal³⁹ ... in Kha che.

³⁰ RGPhGTh f. 1523.

³¹ *Ibidem.*

³² *Ibidem.*

³³ RGPhGTh f. 1524.

³⁴ From this point on, I will not translate the description of the person but will rather emphasize the place attributed to the master to highlight the two important points of these texts.

³⁵ RGPhGTh f. 1525.

³⁶ Identical name as card #5 but from a different place.

³⁷ RGPhGTh f. 1526.

³⁸ RGPhGTh f. 1527.

³⁹ There seemed to be some confusion as to the name of this master. RGPhGTh f. 1527 writes ti *gsas* while Tshul khriims mchog rgyal's records have been corrected with the name of Ga ta spyal or Ga ta rgyal. The handwriting is not very clear. YDChG f. 1b.

17. The Bon po of Khotan, Spyungs rgyung, ... at the Green Goat Gsas [palace] of Khotan.⁴⁰
18. Hero of the *gshen* of Ti gsas in Zhang zhung (*zhang zhung ti gsas dbal kyi gshen*)... at Khyung lung in Zhang zhung.
19. ... Smra bon lha gsas ... at Gser phugs in Central Tibet.
20. ... Kha 'byams drag pa ... in 'Phan yul in Central [Tibet].
21. ... Dbal 'bar lha gsas ... at 'Bram (i.e. 'Grim?) thang in Rgya yul (China or India?).⁴¹
22. Gsas mkhar me 'bar ... in Dmar⁴² yul at Thang shod.
23. Bla chen Dran pa nam mkha' ... at Yer pa in Central [Tibet].
24. Bla ma Khu tsha zla 'od 'bar at the retreat center of the cave of Spa gro.⁴³
25. Bla ma 'Gar⁴⁴ ston khro rgyal ... at the Mig dgu (nine sources?) of Dra ma in Rong.
26. Masters Bru chen, father and son ... at the retreat center of Mount Srin po.
27. Sprul sku Ston tshul khirms stag ... at the holy monastery of Brag dmar.
28. ⁴⁵ In the *gsas* palace of the heroes of Dbal chen, Me ston gshen rab bdud rtsi stands splendid with his body red-brown in color; his hair dark blue pointing upward; on his body is a great cloak and a shawl (*bza'*); he wields a dagger made of meteorite iron; he is a scholar with a purified heart, a vessel of all-encompassing knowledge.⁴⁶
29. ⁴⁷ In the *gsas* palace of Ring in Skyid mkhar, Sangs rgyas Me sgom khyung tum is dazzling with a shining white body with green hair swirling to the right, cloaked with a white cotton shawl (*bza'*), holding in the air a *dbal* dagger, he has a white meditation belt and sits in the state of emptiness and clarity.
30. Sprul sku Me ston rgyal mtshan ... at Ring in Skyid mkhar.
31. ⁴⁸ ... at Lha ring lho ngos grong stod is Sprul sku Me ston ra lcam. He has a body dark brown in color; his hair is green, bound in a topknot; he is wielding in the air a world dagger; he manifests himself as a knowledge-holder (*mkhyen*) of the gods' secret spells, equal to the gods; he has spontaneously realized the meaning of self and has reached the limits of the benefit for others.⁴⁹
32. ⁵⁰ In the monastery of Na ring dbal, Me ston Zhi ban ngang ldan dwells in a body of a brilliant pure white. His hair is like the black element streaming upward; on his body he wears a shawl adorned with precious jewels; he holds in the air a vase with ambrosia and medicine; he possesses the eight qualities and objects of enjoyment.
33. ... at Shel dkar monastery, Sprul sku Ye shes rgyal mtsan is depicted with a blazing body brown-black in color. He wears a magnificent shawl of cotton and fur; on his right he leads with sincerity a hundred black lives, on his left he rolls the dagger of the heroic soaring lion; from his body, speech and mind he emanates a hundred thousand rays of light; he protects the

⁴⁰ RGPhGTh f. 1528.

⁴¹ RGPhGTh f. 1529.

⁴² RGPhGTh f. 1529 writes yar yul instead. YDChG f. 3 clearly writes ya yul.

⁴³ RGPhGTh f. 1530.

⁴⁴ Shar rdza's *Legs bshad mdzod* has mgar. Karmay, *Treasury*, 147.

⁴⁵ No number or commentaries are written on this card. With the iconographical directions provided in the RGPhGTh f. 1530 and supplied here, this master has been identified provisionally. Some examples of the iconographical prescriptions as discussed above are translated here in order to illustrate this artistic tradition.

⁴⁶ RGPhGTh f. 1531.

⁴⁷ As above.

⁴⁸ Also not clearly labelled. As above.

⁴⁹ RGPhGTh f. 1532.

⁵⁰ No corresponding card can be found in this set but the details are provided from RGPhGTh f. 1532.

- teachings of Bon from destruction by the vow-breakers? (Abbreviated script [*bskungs yig*]: *dmms mus*) possibly *dam nyams*.⁵¹
34. ⁵² ... in Bde ldan drag po, ... 'Gro mgon blo gros who exhibits on his face all the marks of a Brahmin; his cloak shows the six-petal pattern; his realisation is the perfection of the Mighty Black Phur pa; his activities are the thundering of the scriptures and of reasoning.
 34. b⁵³ In ... Mkhar chu, ... Mtshan ldan 'dul ba is depicted with a dark red shining body; his cloak shows the six petal pattern; his realisation is the perfection of the Mighty Black Phur pa; his activities are the thousand requirements of this world.⁵⁴
 35. ... Mkha' btsun rgyal ba ... at Mount Phyug.
 36. ... Rtogs ldan nam 'od ... in Upper Dben.
 37. ... Mtha' bral bsod rgyal ... of [G.yas ru] Dben sa [kha].
 38. ... Mtshungs med bsod blo ... at Lhun grub.
 39. ... Mkhas grub nam bsod... at Bde gnas.⁵⁵
 40. ... Sprul sku tshe dbang ... in Phun tshogs.⁵⁶
 41. ... Mkhas btsun nam rin ... at Kun 'dul.
 42. ... Rgyal mtshan ka ra ... at Rtse brag⁵⁷ dkar po⁵⁸.
 43. ... Sprul sku Ye shes rgyal mtshan ... at Shel dkar dgon pa.
 44. ... Kun bzang rgyal mtshan ... in Gar bzhugs.
 44. b ... Mkhas grub rin bla ... at Zhigs gar bzhugs.⁵⁹
 45. ... Gshen rab rgyal mtshan⁶⁰ ... at Sman ri.⁶¹
 46. ... Rin chen rgyal mtshan ... at Sman ri.
 47. ... Nam mkha' ye shes ... at Phun tshogs sman ri.
 48. ... Kun bzang rgyal mtshan ... at Yang dben⁶² sman ri.
 49. ... Rin chen rgyal mtshan ... at Nad sel⁶³ sman ri.
 50. ... Rgyal thebs Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan ... at Sman ri.
 51. ... Bsod nams ye shes ... at Bkra shis sman ri.⁶⁴
 52. ... Bsod nams g.yung drung ... at Blissful (*bde ldan*) Sman ri.
 53. ... She tsu drung mu ... at Bkra shis sman ri.⁶⁵
 54. ... G.yung drung ye shes ... at Gto dgon yang dben.
 55. The heroic *gshen*, [one's] root-guru ... on the top of one's head (*spyi gtsug*).

⁵¹ RGPhGTh f. 1533. Thanks to Charles Ramble for this most probable interpretation.

⁵² No identifiable card. As above.

⁵³ This entry in RGPhGTh f. 1533 is not found among the cards from Ye shes dgon. However, the following is with the number 35. For the sake on completeness I have decided to include it here.

⁵⁴ RGPhGTh f. 1533.

⁵⁵ RGPhGTh f. 1533 has *bde* for *dben*.

⁵⁶ RGPhGTh f. 1534.

⁵⁷ Could this be Rtse drug monastery in Steng chen county? See Karmay & Nagano 2003: 181-189.

⁵⁸ RGPhGTh f. 1534 omits *dkar po*.

⁵⁹ RGPhGTh f. 1534.

⁶⁰ The previous entry (44) is not to be found in the RGPhGTh. Thus, it could either indicate a bifurcation of the lineage or an error on the part of the copyist at some point. It could also indicate another name for this master. The rest of the text is identical with that of the *tsa ka li* 44 and a few of the previous entries.

⁶¹ RGPhGTh f. 1535.

⁶² Upper hermitage? RGPhGTh f. 1535 keeps *phun tshogs*.

⁶³ Literally: removing illness, Sman ri medical college?

⁶⁴ RGPhGTh f. 1536.

⁶⁵ RGPhGTh f. 1536 has *'du gnas sman ri*.

Here ends the collection of *tsa ka li* from Ye shes monastery. It does not illustrate or inform one about the later part of the lineage. For this there are fortunately other documents that supply us with the relevant information to attempt a reconstruction of the purported religious history of this branch of the Black Phur pa teachings. We will address these shortly.

Records from the Rin spungs monastery in A mdo Shar khogs

As for the RGPhGTh (f. 1537-1539), this provides a list that is helpful for the history of the Sman ri Black Phur pa. Thus, the manuscript continues with the following list of masters:

She tsu drun mu, the ninth abbot of Sman ri
 Shes rab 'od zer (tenth abbot)
 G.yung drung rgyal mtshan (eleventh abbot)
 Shes rab blo gros (twelfth abbot)
 Shes rab 'od zer (thirteenth abbot)
 Gtsug phud 'od zer (fourteenth abbot)
 G.yung drung tshul khrim (fifteenth abbot)
 Rin chen 'od zer (sixteenth abbot)
 Rin chen lhun grub (seventeenth abbot)
 Shes rab bstan 'dzin (eighteenth abbot)
 Shes rab dbang rgyal (nineteenth abbot)
 G.yung drung dbang rgyal (twentieth abbot)
 Phun tshogs rnam rgyal (twenty first abbot)
 Bsod nams blo gros (twenty second abbot)

The lineage then moves to the snowy abodes (*gangs can zhing*), to the hands of the religious regent (*rgyal tshab*), Zla ba rgyal mtshan, who passed it on to Bskal bzang nyi ma (b. 1841), the second abbot of Dpal ldan g.yung drung gling monastery (founded 1834).⁶⁶ He passed it on to his successor, the third abbot Phun tshogs dbang rgyal. The manuscript jumps to the fifth abbot of G.yung drung gling, Shes rab blo ldan, who is the last individual named in this manuscript.⁶⁷ This short text does not possess a colophon with the name of the author. We might conclude that this particular set was brought to A mdo Shar khog by a local monk, such as Aku Yako, directly from G.yung drung gling. It might have been written by Phun tshogs rnam rgyal himself or one of his immediate disciples. The ninth and last abbot of the monastery was Shes rab bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1911-1979). Although we do have the dates of ordination of the nine abbots, from the third abbot to the present one, we can estimate roughly one hundred and fifty years with six to ten generations of masters at the most. The lineage has continued through the successive abbots of Sman ri⁶⁸ and to the last one of G.yung drung gling. It

⁶⁶ RGPhGTh f.1539.

⁶⁷ RGPhGTh f.1540.

⁶⁸ The present Throne holder of Sman ri, Lung rtogs Bstan pa'i nyi ma (b. 1929), a native of A mdo Shar khog, is a practitioner of this lineage, which runs in his family and is attached to the Skyang tshang monastery. He therefore not only brings his own lineage back to the Sman ri tradition, thus creating a loop, but is also a member of the direct transmission of the Black Phur pa from Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan through the abbatial seat of Sman ri. On Skyang tshang monastery see Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 614-617.

spread to A mdo Shar khog and to Ye shes monastery in Nyag rong. From Sman ri it spread to Rnga ba and Snang zhig monastery, which in turn transmitted it further to the north and southwest of A mdo.

What seems obvious from the information detailed above is that Sman ri may have played a central role in the formation and propagation of the practices of the Black Phur pa cycle. As we will see below, a vast collection of miscellaneous rites were created and added to the practice of the Black Phur pa by the Pandits of Sman ri. Thus, we could almost suggest that besides the basic textual lore (*gzhung*) which is attributed to Khu tsha zla 'od's discovery of the treasure texts in Bhutan, the rest of the elements used during the performance of the full series of rites may have been mostly Sman ri productions. This brings up the question of the role of Sman ri in the overall formation of what is known as Bon today and the introduction of a number of elements which may not have existed before. In this manner, Sman ri, which portrays itself as the bastion of Bon orthodoxy, may have played a more dynamic role, in that it may not have merely passed on the teachings and traditions of the past to the next generations in the form that it had received them, but rather may have contributed significantly to their elaboration and renewal through the process of reinterpretation and editing. Sman ri might be the central institution that restructured the overall tradition of Bon.

In order to reconstruct the lineage transmission process from Sman ri to G.yung drung gling to Ye shes monastery, one of the lineage holders of the latter institution has left us his own terse account of the succession of masters and the process of transmission. This is the object of our investigation in the next section.

The Records of Tshul khrim mchog rgyal

In the Spring of 2006, I was fortunate to discover a handwritten account of the Black Phur pa lineage of masters as it was transmitted to Tshul khrim mchog rgyal (alias G.yung drung mchog rgyal), a master of Ye shes dgon pa in Khams and an important disciple of Shar rdza Bkra shis rgyal mtshan. The original manuscripts (YDTshGPhPNPGRm⁶⁹) were most likely written by his own hand or that of his associate, Pad ma blo gros.⁷⁰ It is part of a larger corpus of memoirs that recorded all the empowerments (*dbang*), scriptural transmissions (*lung*) and instructions (*khrid*) that the former received. His lists of transmission lineages are extensive. They provide details organized along the Tantric cycles (*rgyud skor*) he received, such as Phur pa nag po, Rta mgrin, Dbal gas, and a host of others. It details the various texts within the corpus that are transmitted separately along the

⁶⁹ YDTshGPhPNPGRm, my own provisional title for *g.yung drung mchog rgyal phur pa nag po'i brgyud rim*.

⁷⁰ I received this information from a monk at Ye shes dgon, G.yung drung bstan 'dzin (alias Stag bon, pronounced Tabei in the local dialect), Spring 2006. Tabei has written a short biography of Padma blo gros, which has not been published yet, entitled: *Be ro'i thugs sprul rje btsun padma blo gros kyi mdzad rnam mdor bsdu gsal ba'i me long bzhugs* (2007). See also Achard, *Enlightened Rainbows*: 41, 43, 62, and *passim*.

traditional lines of empowerment, scriptural transmission, and instruction. Those for the Phur pa cycle are texts such as the *Great Pledge* (*mta' chen*), the *Tiger's Cloak* (*stag gon*), which are preliminary rituals, and other sections of the corpus. These accounts were written on handmade paper measuring roughly six centimeters by twenty-nine centimeters. There are different sections to the manuscript, which comprises nine folios along with another folio detailing the lineage of the empowerment and the long life rituals (*tshe sgrub*) of Phur pa. Both sets of documents are concluded with the author's name. The narration is rather concise, just enough to record names, sometimes the location, texts and ritual cycles. It does not elaborate on the life of the master or give dates. Nevertheless it provides us with valuable information on lineage transmission and also offers a short glimpse of its history.

Tshul khrim mchog rgyal begins this Dbal phur pa nag po section by detailing the various components of this *yi dam's* corpus of key texts. The author begins by identifying the principal written sources (*dpe rtso*) of the corpus. Those are the *Great Pledge* (*gta' chen*)⁷¹, the "Celestial Line" (*gnam thig*), the *Short Verbal Transmission* (*shog chung*), the *Four Notes* (*tho bzhi*), and the *Tiger's Cloak* (*stag gon*).

The following texts are part of the corpus as received by the author and appear to constitute the traditional elements for ritual purposes. These are to be found in the corpus of *phur nag sgrub thabs* (*Ye shes dgon pa'i phur nag sgrub thabs*, YG PhNGTh) as used at Ye shes dgon in Nyag rong.

Core texts of the Black Phur pa transmission are:

- *The Great Pledge, the unravelling of the extensive array and the steering Four Notes* (*gta' chen bkod pa rgyas ba bkrol ba tho bzhi bskyod*) (f. 5-15).
- *The general points in regards to the Profound Perfection of the 25 lore* (*gting rdzogs kyis spyi don nyi shu rtsa lnga'i gzhung*) (76-162).
- *The purification of the Peaceful deities and mothers, the accomplishment of the root of the Great Sphere* (*zhi ba ma sang dbyings chen rtsa ba'i bsgrub pa*) (65-75)

Our author proceeds to list other parts of the ritual texts under general headings, some of which correspond to the titles of booklets titles and others to sections within a great volume. The following headings which, for most of them, speak to their functions, include: Refuge (*skyabs 'gro*, 88-89); Prayers (*gsol 'debs*, 90-93); Prostrations to the masters of the lineage (*brgyud phyag*); Miscellanea for the feast offering (*tshogs kyi cha lag*); The sprinkling of the Feast offerings; Correcting the essential points (*gnad bskang*, 142-162); Humans and demons (*mi bdud*); Offerings of the remaining *gtor ma* (*lhag ma*); The thousand recitations that are emanating magic (*bsnyen pa'i stong 'dzab 'phro*); The thousand recitations that are the praises of magic (*bsnyen pa'i stong 'dzab kyi bstod pa*); The mirror of purification (*gsal byed me long*); Exhortations of the hundred and eight underlings (*las mkhan brgya rtsa brgyad kyi bskul pa*, 214-278); Dissolution of the hundred and [eight] underlings (*las mkhan brgya rtsa bsdu ma*).

Exhortations of the six guardians of treasures (*gter bdag drug gi bskul pa*); The practice of raising the oppressive [power] of the nails (*gzer gnong bro yi las*)

⁷¹ YG PhNGTh f. 1-15.

byang); The everlasting circle of long life (*tshe grub g.yung drung 'khyil pa*, 287-304); Collecting prognosis (*phya tshe bsdu ma*, 305-316); Countering the various weapons (*bzlog pa las kyi mdel rnams*); The purification of the group of countering weapons (*bzlog mdel 'gres byang shog pa*); The exorcism of the point of the thousand daggers (*phur bu stong gi rtse bzlog*); The exorcism of the falcon-wolves (? , *khra spyang gi bzlog pa*, 317-351); Purification of the demons of the falcon-wolves (*khra spyang gi 'gres byang shog gcig*); The exorcism of the calamities among humans and animals [inflicted] by the army of curses of the [demonic] underlings (*las mkhan byad kha dmag ltas mi phyugs yams bzlog*, 352-363); Instructions on the actions of enduring (*mnaq pa las bya gi man ngag*, 381-389); and The lamp on the practice manual of memory (*brnag pa las kyi byang bu'i sgron ma*, 390-487).

The author further cites a certain Pad sprul⁷² who, in his collected injunctions, added that following the end of the exorcism (*bzlog*) and the erecting of the *mdos* (YG PhNGTh 299-316), the expelled infected substances (*ram sgo dbyed*) should be burned in a burnt offering (*sbyin sreg*).⁷³

These texts correspond to a certain degree to the various components that comprise the lore of Phur nag. The central text of this cycle is the *Great Ritual of the Black Phur pa* (*Phur nag bsgrub chen*). It is considered the original text excavated by Khu tsa and is generally referred to as the lore (*gzhung*). When a practitioner of Black Phur pa wants to conduct daily recitations of this cycle, it is generally the lore sections that are deemed essential to recite. The Phur nag has twenty-five lore or twenty-five methods or sequences. These are made of ritual sections such as requesting blessings from the masters of the lineages, the construction of the circle of deities, the recitation of mantras, etc. For lack of space, this will be treated in future articles on the Bon Phur pa. However, this also points to the very composite nature of the Phur nag tradition. It demonstrates how what is now considered a complete corpus of texts was also understood as a collation of diverse material all relating to the central deity, Phur pa.

Tshul khrim mchog rgyal, in the record of his Phur nag lineage, does not elaborate further either on the content of these manuals or on the rationale of the practices involved. He pursues his terse narration directly, without any introduction, with the names and places of the masters of the lineage. Although very similar in most cases, his records include a few more masters than the initiation text. Also, he clearly states that the following list is for the transmission of the aforementioned titles and rites.

The list of Tshul khrim mchog rgyal begins⁷⁴ with the vast expanse of the Sphere of Suchness (*bon nyid dbyings kyi klong*). Then in the fortress of the pure land where 'Og min is displayed and where the king of the gods (*lha*), Mkha' 'gying, dwells as the Teacher of the Sphere (*dbyings*) in his perfected body of enjoyment (*long spyod rdzogs pa'i sku*). The lineage is moved to the fortress of Brum E in the Sphere of the Great Bending Backward (*dgyed pa chen po'i dbyings*), where the Great Mother Byams ma showers blessings (*byin rlabs*) of compassion from her citadel (*gsas*) of turquoise flooring in her Tent

⁷² I cannot identify which reincarnation of the Smon rgyal lineage it is. Maybe Bstan 'dzin nyi ma bzang po. See Achard, *Enlightened Rainbows*, 59.

⁷³ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f.2.

⁷⁴ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 2.

of Harmony (*mthun gur*), and teaches. Then she transmits the teachings (*bshad*) to the Teacher Gshen rab mi bo, in his emanation body (*sprul sku*) shining like a peacock feather (*rma lo mdangs ldan du*).

After writing all the names of the first mythical lineage holders and after mentioning how the lineage went to China with Bon po Dbal bon 'bar lha⁷⁵ gsas in Mthing 'brang in China, he went to teach the *bon po* of Bod (i.e. Tibet), Gsas mkhar me 'bar, at Lha'i thang in Ya[r] yul.

At this point Tshul khrim mchog rgyal writes: "These quintessential learned ones were concerned about the disappearance of scholars and knowledge [of Bon] in Central Tibet." He further points out that these very texts mentioned above were transmitted through the lineage to the great soul (*bla chen*), Dran pa nam mkha'. He continues by mentioning that in those days, the reigning monarch and other great souls had poisoned minds and this is why G.yung drung bon fell. Dran pa nam mkha' was concerned for the survival of the tradition. He divided the collection of texts into three groups, those concerning the transmissions [of the tantras] (*brgyud*), the commentaries ('*grel*) and the root-texts in accordance with scriptural transmission (*lung*), meaning (*don*) and increasing activities (*rgyas pa*). The first divisions of the Tantra comprise: the Nine Tantras, the commentary making the Tenth, the three methods (*thabs*), the four injuries (*gnod*), and the five keepings ('*chang*).

The second division was made of: the six topics (*don*), the twenty-one small meditations (*sgrubs*), together with sharp instruction (*man ngag rno*), and the nine bitternesses (*kha tsha dgu*), together mixed with counterfeit (*ma grub*) material.

The third division was made of: the cycle of miscellaneous rites ('*phrin las*), essentials derived from experience (*nyams su blang ba thig*) and small commentaries ('*grel chung*). Also included were the three purifying actions of the miscellaneous rites (*phrin las las byang gsum*), the two root commentaries (*rtsa 'grel pa gnyis*), and the three circles ('*khor lo gsum*). Added to that were the three exorcisms (*zlogs pa gsum*) together with the three applications (*las sbyor gsum*).

Furthermore the essential instruction for *mdos* were also concealed together with four small rituals from the cycle of the meaning, the five ornaments of light, the four scriptures (*lung*), the four instructions (*man ngag*), four rituals (*thabs*), the nine conditions (*cha rkyen dgu*), and six texts from the hidden precepts class.⁷⁶

This list of texts purports to represent what was believed, during the time of the author, to be the complete transmission of Black Phur pa received by Dran pa nam mkha' during the time of Khri Srong lde btsan. A son of the king, Mu thig (Mu thug according to Shar rdza pa)⁷⁷, together with the *bon po* from Khyung po, Gyer zla med, concealed the texts at Spa gro phug gcal.⁷⁸

Many of the names and titles do not refer to actual separate pieces of writings as explained above. They may refer to a wide variety of sources, methods, commentaries and techniques. Although their titles appear to hint at the arsenal of war magic, that is exorcism, the hurling of magical weapons

⁷⁵ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 3.

⁷⁶ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 3b.

⁷⁷ Karmay, *Treasury*, 102-103.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

and the use of other similar implements, some allude to hosts of deities, pith instructions, and so forth. The exact nature of all this remains to be investigated and will be taken up in a later study.

The text continues⁷⁹ with the transmission of the more readily identifiable names and places. This would then constitute the later propagation in our historical age.

Khu tsha zla 'od (alias Lha rje) rediscovered a number of texts at Spa gro phug gcal in Bhutan, such as the *Sha dbal nag po klong gsas rgyud*, five root tantras, the *Rgya mdud 'khyil pa mkhyi' (?) rgyud* and others. These texts of the Black Phur pa cycle in three sections were eventually appropriated by Mgar 'Bum chung and his son Mgar ston Khro rgyal. These were passed to the Me family members, Me ston Tshul khirms stag; then to Me ston Shes rab bdud rtsi;⁸⁰ to Me sgom Khyung tum; Me ston Rgyal mtshan 'od zer; Me ston Ra lcam; Me ston Zhi ba ngang ldan; 'Grom chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan and Me ston Ye shes rgyal mtshan, then to Mkhas grub Kun bzang rgyal mtshan.

The latter transmitted the lineage to the founder of Sman ri, Mnyam med chen po Shes rab rgyal mtshan. The transmission lineage of Tshul khirms mchog rgyal follows the same as those previously seen from the *tsa ka li*: that is, from the founder of Sman ri, it passes to the second abbot, Ston pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan. From him, it was transmitted to his successor Nam mkha' ye shes, then to Mkhas grub Kun bzang rgyal mtshan, to Rang shar Rin chen rgyal mtshan, and then to Mtshan ldan Tshul khirms rgyal mtshan (sixth abbot). The text here is marked with the sign of the Three Jewels or three small circles arranged in a triangle. It also denotes a change in the transmission which does not continue along the lineage of either Sman ri or G.yung drung gling.

Thus, from Sman ri Tshul khirms rgyal mtshan, it passes to Shes rab blo gros, then to Bru Nam mkha'i g.yung drung, to Rin chen rnam rgyal, and to Kun mdun rin chen lhun grub. The latter passed it to 'Gar bla ma G.yung drung rgyal mtshan who then passed it to Skam bla ma Lha bu, to Sga ring G.yung drung gtsug phud, to Skam bla ma G.yung drung nyi ma rgyal mtshan, to Mkha' chen Nyi ma bstan 'dzin, to U ti bla ma Rnam dag tshul khirms, to Rgyal rong Bsod nams rgyal mtshan,⁸¹ to another Rgya rong pa, Ha ra wer zhi, to Rtogs ldan Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, to Rtogs ldan Lha rgyal bkra shis, to Drongs Tshul khirms rnam dag, to the second Drongs Bkra shis rgyal mtshan, better known as Shar rdza rin po che⁸², then to the author, Tshul khirms mchog rgyal.

The author further adds another lineage transmission of the same above which he received and derived from Sme ston Zhi ba ngang ldan (mentioned above), who passed the teachings to 'Gron ston Blo gros rgyal

⁷⁹ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 4-4b.

⁸⁰ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 5.

⁸¹ This abbot is mentioned on the stele of the Bon po monastery of G.yung drung lha steng (f. 1046) which was reconstructed between 1766 and 1768 before being destroyed by the Chinese army in 1778 and converted into a Dge lugs monastery. Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 556. He was a contemporary of Kun grol grags pa (b. 1700) and was the monk who ordained the forty-fourth king of Chu chen in Rgyal rong, Nam mkha' rgyal po. Karmay, *Feast*, 52, 130.

⁸² YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 5b.

mtshan. He in turn taught Bru ston 'Dul ba rgyal mtshan, and the lineage passed to Bru btsun Rgyal ba g.yung drung, to Rtogs ldan Nam mkha' 'od zer, to Mtha' bral Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, to Mtshungs med Bsod nams blo gros, to Nam mkha' bsod nams, to Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan, to Rnal ma ka ra, to Mkhas grub Rin chen blo gros, to Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan, to Rgyal tshabs Rin chen rgyal mtshan, to Kun bzang rgyal mtshan, to She tsu drung mu, to Bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, to G.yung drung rgyal mtshan, to Shes rab blo gros, to Sku mdun Shes rab 'od zer, to Drom 'od zer rgyal mtshan. This is one transmission.

This 'Od zer rgyal mtshan transmitted the teachings to Bru Nam mkha g.yung drung, then it passed to Bru ston Rin chen rnam dag,⁸³ to Mkhan chen Rin chen rnam rgyal, to 'Gar bla ma G.yung drung rgyal mtshan, to Skam bla ma Mkhyen rab nyi ma'i snying po, to Bla ma G.yung drung gtsug phud, to Skam bla ma G.yung drung nyi rgyal, to U ri bla ma Rnam dag tshul khirms, to Rgyal rong Bsod nams mchog rgyal, to Bla ma Ye shes rgyal mtshan, to Rtogs ldan Lha rgyal bkra shis, to Tshul krims rnam dag, who passed it to Drong Bkra shis and to Tshul krims mchog rgyal.

A third alternative transmission noted is that of the *Yang gzhung rkyang rgyud rim*, an unidentified text or set of teachings that may have been part of oral lore and put down into writing by Mkhan chen Rin chen lhun grub (the seventeenth abbot of Sman ri as above), who began to transmit it to She rab bstan 'dzin (eighteenth abbot), and it was passed to She rab dbang rgyal (nineteenth abbot), to Grub rgyal ba 'od zer, to Rab byams Bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, to Rme'u Tshul khirms dbang rgyal, to Skam bla ma G.yung drung nyi rgyal, to Mkhan chen Nyi ma bstan 'dzin, to Drongs Rnam dag tshul khirms, to Rtog ldan Lha rgyal bkra shis,⁸⁴ to Drongs Tshul khrim rnam dag, to Drongs Bkra shis rgyal and finally to our author.

Alternative lineages are not uncommon in these transmission lineages and when the characters are identifiable, they help us to understand better the movements of these sets of religious practices.

Other separate transmissions are those of the Peaceful deity (*zhi ba*) rite for protection, exorcism, killing (*bsrung*, *bzlog*, *bsad pa*) also part of the Phur nag corpus. The transmission started through Sku mdun Shes rab 'od zer (the tenth abbot of Sman ri), who passed it to Bru Nam mkha' g.yung drung, to Bru G.yung drung phun tshog, to Sprul sku Shes rab phun tshog, to Rtogs ldan Blo gros grags pa, to G.yung drung rgyal mtshan, to Shes rab dbang rgyal, to Rgyal ba 'od zer, to Bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, Mkhan Bsod nams blo gros, to Drongs Bzod pa rgyal mtshan, to Mkhan Nyi ma bstan 'dzin, to Drongs Rnam dag tshul khirms, to Rgyal rong Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, to Rgyal rong Ye shes rgyal mtshan, to Lha rgyal bkra shis and Tshul khirms rnam dag. The latter transmitted it to Rong Bkra shis rgyal mtshan, then to the author.

The methods of the *Tantra of the Lamp which Illuminates the Tradition of Dbal phur* (*Dbal phur phyag bzhes snang gsal sgron ma'i rgyud*) are those concerning the arrangement of the offerings and of the ritual implements "in the manner of Rgyal ba Mnyam med rin po che" (i.e. Shes rab rgyal mtshan). These were transmitted from Mkhan chen Shes rab dgongs rgyal (twenty-second abbot of Sman ri) to Sum ldan bzod pa rgyal mtshan, then to Mkhan chen Nyi ma bstan 'dzin, to Drongs Rnam dag tshul khirms, to Rgyal rong

⁸³ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 6.

⁸⁴ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 6b.

Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, to bla ma Ye shes rgyal mtshan, to Rtogs ldan Lha rgyal bkra shis and Tshul khriims rnam dag. The latter transmitted it to Shar rdza pa Bkra shis rgyal mtshan, the master of our author.⁸⁵

The root sadhana (*rtsa sgrub thabs*) of Dbal phur is described as having been transmitted from Mkhan chen Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (the sixth abbot of sman ri) to Bsod nams ye shes (seventh abbot), to Bsod nams g.yung drung (eighth abbot), to Phun tshogs drung mu, to Bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, to G.yung drung rgyal mtshan, to Shes rab 'od zer, to Bru Nam mkha' g.yung drung, to Rin chen 'od zer, to Bstan ma(?) rgyal mtshan, to Kun dga' phun tshogs, to Tshe dbang lhun grub phun tshogs, to Bstan pa dbang rgyal, to Rtogs ldan G.yung drung phun tshogs, to Dbon sprul Ye shes bstan 'dzin⁸⁶, to Rab bla G.yung drung bon bstan, to Dge sbyang Pad ma blo gros, and to the author. Hence, the root-text tradition must have implied that the lineage comes from Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan, and only mentions its start, like the other aforementioned sources, from a later Sman ri associated figure to highlight where it separated from that institution. In the case of the root-text, it must be so understood. However, for miscellaneous sources, it might or might not imply similar antiquity. It may suggest that the first person in the lineage is either the creator for that particular section or that he was the first known link to an otherwise oral tradition of uncertain antiquity.

The lineage of masters for the *Dbal phur zhi ba gser mig g.yu spras sam gser gyis yong zhun* and the *Dbal phur 'phrin las srog len gnyis rim gyis brgyud* begins with Kun grol Nam mkha' grags pa⁸⁷ and continues with Rtogs ldan Shes rab g.yung drung (most likely the same abbot from Rgyal rong mentioned above), and with Sum ldan Bkra shis rgyal mtshan (Shar rdza rin po che) who transmitted it to Tshul khriims mchog rgyal. This definitely points to a New Bon influence introduced into the Phur nag tradition of Nyag rong. However, this needs to be further researched and assessed.

The corpus of the *Dbal phur 'bar gnog rin chen gter mdzad (mdzod?) rtsi rgya dang rgyud rim* and its associated texts on petitions to the masters, the sequences of the apparitions of members of the divine circle (*dkyil 'khor*), miscellaneous ritual practices associated with the protector Me ri,⁸⁸ refuge and request,⁸⁹ directives on initiation ritual, on conciliation (*rgyud skang*) with the spiritual guests, secret rites (*gsang sgrub*) and a host of other related practices such as exorcisms (*bzlog*), belonging to both the Black Phur pa cycle and other Phur pa traditions, among others, were transmitted to our author from Drongs Bkra shis rgyal mtshan (Shar rdza rin po che) as above. It does not stipulate how far back these come from or whether they were initiated by his master or not.

⁸⁵ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 7.

⁸⁶ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 7b.

⁸⁷ "Nam mkha' grags pa is the 5th Kun grol incarnation. His *gter ston* name was bDud 'dul gling pa and he was a direct master of Shardza Rinpoche. Nam mkha' grags pa is his incarnation name in the Kun grol line of *sprul sku*." Thanks to Jean-Luc Achard for these precisions and corrections.

⁸⁸ Me ri is a distinctively Sman ri protector associated with Zhang zhung lineages. See Kvaerne, Per. "Bon po Tantric deities." In *Bon, The Magic*, 169-174.

⁸⁹ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 8.

The last section concludes with the transmission records of another cycle of practice, the *Me ri snying thig*.⁹⁰

Another very short document, handwritten by Tshul khriims mchog rgyal, records the transmission lineage of the empowerment rite (*dbang*) and long life (*tshe sgrub*) rituals. It begins with Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan, and passes to Rin chen rgyal mtshan, then to Nam mkha' ye shes, to Kun bzang rgyal mtshan, to Mnyam med bkra shis rgyal mtshan, to Shes rab rin chen, to Blo gros 'od zer, to Lhun grub dbang gi rgyal mtshan, to Zhu Yas rgyal grags pa, to Drang srong Bstan pa' od zer, to Phun tshogs grags pa, to Shes rab blo gros, to Rgyal mtshan tshul khriims, to Grags pa rgyal mtshan, to Bsod nams tshe dbang, to Kun bzang lhun grub, to Mchog sprul G.yung drung phun tshogs, to Zhu Bstan 'dzin lha rgyal, to Zhu btsun (f. 1b) rgyal grags pa, to Sku mdun Bsod nams blo gros, to G.yung drung bstan dbang, to Smon btsun Bstan 'dzin tshul khriims⁹¹ and Rgyal ba lhun grub, to Smon sprul Ye shes bstan 'dzin, Rab bla Rin chen rnam rgyal, to Dbal khyung bon gter (ston)⁹² Tshul khriims mchog rgyal. Its line is orthodox in that it originates with the founder of Sman ri Shes rab rgyal mtshan; however, some masters of the Smon rgyal monastery were also well known proponents of New Bon teachings. This also shows that, as explained previously in the case of Ye shes monastery, the institution of transmitting both systems, the Old *gter ma* and the New *gter ma* teachings, was already established early on in the Khams region.

The Tsa ka li of Dbal phur from Bon brgya Monastery

In the Spring of 2004, I was able to accompany a friend, a lay tantric lama, to visit his master, A lag bon brgya, at his monastery in Reb gong (Tongren Xian) in Amdo (Qinghai). While visiting this Bon po scholar, he generously offered me his assistance for my research on Phur pa. I was able to photograph not only paintings and statues in his monastery, but also a deck of tsa ka li. The first part is the set of the masters of the lineage (*bla ma brgyud rim*) comprises seventy one cards. From the successor to Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan to the last card, there are twenty four masters depicted in this set. Since the first forty seven masters' identity, from Stag la me 'bar to Mnyam med bla ma, are the same, I will not restate them. However, the

⁹⁰ YDTshGPhPNPGRm f. 8. *Me ri gyad phur gyi sgrub pa nyams len snying thig* is in the *Bon gyi brten 'gyur chen mo*, 2nd ed., vol. 22, pp. 731-735. It has been translated into English by Kurt Keutzer with Ponlop Trinley Nyima as: *An Essential Heart Practice for Accomplishing Me Ri Gyad Phur*. Privately published, non dated (text not seen by myself). Thanks again to Jean-Luc Achard for these informations.

⁹¹ Smon btsun bsTan 'dzin tshul khriims was a disciple of Tshe dbang 'gyur med, the son of bDe chen gling pa (1833-1893). He was himself a *gter ston* and was then named *gTer gsas rin po che* bsTan 'dzin tshul khriims. He came to meet Shardza one year before the latter's 'ja' lus and received from him teachings on the *bKa' lung rgya mtsho* (and most certainly other instructions). He was an important lineage holder of bDe chen gling pa's treasures in sDe dge and he also worked with Khyung-sprul g.Yung drung mchog dbang. Both were indeed important New Bon lineage holders. Thanks to Jean-Luc Achard for these informations.

⁹² Tshul khriims mchog rgyal was definitely a monk of Ye shes monastery. It is interesting to find here this self-ascribed designation of a Treasure-text discoverer associated with the Dbal khyung monastery of Gsang sngags gling pa. Both the latter and Shar rdza rin po che were close friends and visited each other. Since the former was very active in Nyag rong it is not surprising that our author received many transmissions from him.

followers in the footsteps of the founder of Sman ri provides us with the history of how the Black Phur pa tradition may have made its way to Reb gong. The list of these miniature paintings goes as follow:

47. Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan, founder of Sman ri in 1405
48. Rin chen rgyal mtshan (second abbot)
49. Nam mkha' ye shes (third abbot)
50. Kun bzang rgyal mtshan (fourth abbot)
51. Rin chen rgyal mtshan (fifth abbot)
52. Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (sixth abbot)
53. Bsod nams ye shes (seventh abbot)
54. Bsod nams g.yung drung (eighth abbot)
55. She tsu drung mu (ninth abbot)
56. Bsam bstan rgyal mtshan (tenth abbot)
57. G.yung drung rgyal mtshan (eleventh abbot)
58. Shes rab blo gros (twelfth abbot)
59. Shes rab 'od zer (thirteenth abbot)
60. Gtsug phud 'od zer (fourteenth abbot)
61. G.yung drung tshul khriims (fifteenth abbot)
62. Rin chen 'od zer (sixteenth abbot)
63. Rin chen lhun grub (seventeenth abbot)
64. Shes rab bsTan 'dzin (eighteenth abbot)
65. Shes rab dbang rgyal (nineteenth abbot)
66. G.yung drung dbang rgyal (twentieth abbot)
67. Phun tshogs rnam rgyal (twenty-first abbot)
68. Bsod nams blo gros (twenty-second abbot)
69. Zla ba rgyal mtshan (first abbot of G.yung drung gling)
70. Bstan pa'i nyi ma (sixth abbot of G.yung drung gling)
71. The latter taught [Bon brgya] Phun tshogs dbang rgyal, who brought a period of prosperity to the Bon brgya temple.⁹³ His home institution was called Rgyal mtshan kun gling. It is not certain whether this refers to the temple in Reb gong.

The seventy-second card is reserved for one's root-master (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*).

As these records show, this tradition stems directly from Sman ri via G.yung drung gling. It involves ritual procedures, recitation, drumming, chanting, and dances (which are not regularly performed in Reb gong), as well as meditative directions, which should be in conformity with the Sman ri tradition. If we were to rely only on this information, we might easily conclude that this Black Phur pa tradition is either quite recent in Reb gong, or that its lineage has been renewed every generation through Reb gong's students who in turn re-established the transmission every generation, or that this set, which consists of photographs and is not an original local production, is only partly representative. In fact, after speaking with Bon brgya rin po che at the eleventh conference of the IATS, the last probability was confirmed. In fact, Bon brgya rin po che has two lineages of Phur nag, both stemming from Sman ri by different routes.

⁹³ Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 285.

The first starts with Shes rab dgong rgyal (alias Bsod nams blo gros), the abbot of Sman ri, who transmitted the lineage to an A mdo ba by the name of G.yung drung shes rab. He in turn taught Rtsi zhig chos rje, who in turn passed it to Rgyal ba tshul khrims, then to Bon brgya Rang shar rig bgrol (grol?), to Bon brgya G.yung drung phun tshogs, to Bon brgya Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, then to the contemporary master Bon brgya Dge legs lhun grub rgyal mtshan.⁹⁴

The other transmission begins again with Shes rab dgong rgyal (alias Bsod nams blo gros), and continues with Skyang sprul Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, who was invited to be the head of the Skyang tshang monastery in Zung chu (Songpan) in 1828.⁹⁵ His lineage was passed on to Snang ston Zla ba rgyal mtshan (a teacher of Snang zhig monastery in Rnga ba) and then to Bstan 'dzin g.yung drung dbang rgyal, Lung rtogs skal bzang rgyal mtshan, and Bon brgya Lhun grub rgyal mtshan, concluding with the present master Bon brgya Dge legs lhun grub rgyal mtshan.

The Snang zhig dgon chen's Transmission

Snang zhig monastery⁹⁶ is the largest Bonpo institution in the world. It is located in the northern part of Sichuan and has over eight hundred monks. It is the major academic institution within the borders of the PRC for Bon pos and possesses two schools for ritual practice (*sgrub gwra*) and Bon teachings (*bshad gwra*). Since its reopening in the late 1980s, it has taken on the role of training monks and educating them through a curriculum culminating with the *dge bshes* degree. In this function, it has replaced the traditional roles Sman ri and G.yung drung gling in Central Tibet used to play in the past. Its lineage is therefore central to the dissemination of Bon teachings in all the regions of China and abroad.⁹⁷ It was established in 1108 in the Rnga ba valley, and its first master was Do 'phags chen po or Snang zhig Yon tan rgyal mtshan.⁹⁸ The masters of the monastery follow the tradition of the Old *gter ma* practices and do not indulge in or teach the Bon gсар systems. Its lineage relies heavily on the Sman ri traditions, from which it claims its pedigree. In the past, its masters established satellite institutions in the region of A mdo Shar khog, which is presently the only prefecture in Tibetan territories with a Bon po population outnumbering the Tibetan Buddhists. Distant monasteries in Khams, Amdo and Central Tibet send their monks to Snang zhig to study. As previously mentioned, the transmission of lineage is

⁹⁴ Bon brgya Dge legs lhun grub rgyal mtshan is the *sprul sku* of G.yung drung phun tshogs gling while Bon brgya Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan was the *sprul sku* of Rang shar rig grol (grol?). Personal communication August 27, 2006.

⁹⁵ Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 615.

⁹⁶ See also Kvaerne "The monastery of sNang zhig of the Bon religion in the rNga pa District of Amdo." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 3, (1990), 531. Bya 'phur nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, *phyogs las*; Donatella Rossi, "The Monastic Lineage of Snang-zhig Dgon-pa in Amdo." *The Tibet Journal* 23: 4 (1998): 58-71; Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 531.

⁹⁷ Snang zhig monastery now has scholars living outside the frontiers of the PRC, for example in Canada (Dge bshes G.yung drung in the Comox Valley in the Vancouver area) and is consequently spreading its lineages and teachings around the world. See Des Jardins, J.F. Marc. "Tibetan religions in British Columbia." *Asian Religions in British Columbia*. Edited by Daniel Overmyer and Larry de Vries. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 2009.

⁹⁸ Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 527-532.

part of the curriculum of all monasteries, and in participating in these activities, the monk-students bring back this institution's lineages and ritual methods. Its importance, therefore, cannot be underestimated.

The Black Phur pa lineage remains to be investigated in more detail. There are at least three distinct and related lines of succession of the teachings in this establishment. These are the Bya 'phur, the Rgya 'obs and the Snang zhig sprul sku lineages. In addition, the lineages of recognized *sprul sku* are further complicated by the *bla brgyud* system which automatically makes every male member of the extended family an incarnation. The Snang zhig family, which produces the leaders of the monastery (*dgon bdag*), no doubt possesses a number of convergent and alternative lineages of Phur nag. The current Snang zhig *sprul sku*, Bskal bzang blo gros rgya mtsho, is the thirty-ninth generation to occupy the throne of the institution, and practices Phur nag as his personal tutelary deity (*yi dam*). Personal experience in the study of Bon lineages makes me believe that most Bon po families carry a family *yi dam* and that this practice, when not abandoned, has continued through the generations to the present.⁹⁹ The personal *yi dam* of most monks is often that which has been worshipped in their home. The continuity of the practices entails the blessings of past generations and lends a spiritual boost believed to help in miscellaneous rites associated with the deity and progress along the path to Enlightenment.

The representative masters (*rgyal tshab*) of Snang zhig for the Black Phur pa are currently held by the Snang zhig and Rgya 'obs *sprul sku*, or represented by the *mkhan po* of their meditation school (*sgrub grwa*). The short lineage of the Rgyal 'obs starts with Sman ri as its source and was established quite late under the thirty-fourth abbot of Snang zhig.

1. Nam mkha' blo gros (b. 1891, a *rgyal tshab* of Sman ri)
2. Snang ston Blo gros thogs med (thirty-fourth abbot of Snang zhig)
3. Snang zhig Bstan pa'i nyi ma (thirty-fifth abbot)
4. Rgya 'obs Bstan pa'i rgyal (*rgyal tshab*)
5. Snang ston Nam mkha' blo gros (thirty-seventh abbot)
6. Rgya 'obs Sangs gyas bstan 'dzin (*rgyal tshab*)
7. Rgya 'obs Bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal (b. 1928)
8. Mkhan po Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (b. 1965), a former abbot of the *sgrub grwa* of Snang zhig, schooled at the New Menri monastery in Dolanji (India) and installed (in the early 2000s).

Phur pa in A mdo Shar khog

In the spring of 1992, I was very fortunate to acquire inadvertently a handwritten manuscript of the *sādhana* of Phur nag. This local production, beautifully written, possesses a short list of the masters of this area. It has not been possible to identify which monastery they were attached to. There

⁹⁹ Snang zhig monastery counts 717 families that have been attached to it for many generations. Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 530-531.

are twelve monastic institutions in the Shar khog area and a number of attached retreat centers (*sgrub gwra*) and village temples (*lha khang*).¹⁰⁰

This unique local production contains a host of smaller ritual texts, common to other *phur nag sgrub skor* (PhNGrThKh). There are lists of lineage masters in two sections. The first, the *brgyud phyag* or “Prostrations to [masters of] the lineage,” lists the names without specifying the location of their tenure. The second, *brgyud 'debs* or “lineage entreaties”, specifies the location of the masters which are all the same as mentioned in previous works. The text of the PhNGrThKh begins with:

1. Rdzogs sku Mkha' 'gying,
2. The Great Mother Byams ma,
3. Sprul sku Ston pa gshen rab,
4. Kha yal me 'bar,
5. Drag po gnod sbyin 'dul,
6. Dbal chen 'od,
7. 'Od dpung,
8. Khyung slag can,
9. Stag la,
10. Dru gu me 'bar,
11. 'Ol ldan mig jig,
12. Ti ti me slag,
13. Bram ze me 'bar,
14. A ka ru nag,
15. Tsen tsen lce ring,
16. Dbal 'bar Ti gsas,
17. Li bon sprungs rgyugs,
18. Zhang zhung ting gsas,
19. Smra bon lha sras,
20. Kha 'byams drag po,
21. Dbal 'bar lha gsas,
22. Gsas mkhar me 'bar,
23. Gyer spungs dran pa,
24. Dbal bon gshen rnam (the Heroic bon gshen),
25. Khu tsa zla 'od,
26. Mgar ston khro rgyal,
27. bla ma Bru sha Khyung gi rgyal mtshan,
28. Tshul khrims stag,
29. Shes rab bdud rtsi,
30. Me sgom khyung tum,
31. Me ston rgyal mtshan,
32. Me ston ra lcam,
33. Zhi ba ngang sldan,
34. 'Gro mgon blo gros,
35. 'Dul ba rgyal mtshan,
36. Mkhas btsun rgyal ba,
37. Rtogs ldan nam 'od,
38. Mtha' bral bsod rgyal (Dben sa monastery),
39. Mtshungs med bsod blo,
40. Mkhas grub nam bsod,
41. Sprul sku tshe ldan,
42. Mkhas btsun nam rin,
43. Rnam rgyal ka ra,

¹⁰⁰ Karmay et al, *A Survey*, 605-635.

44. Mkhas grub chen po,
45. Rin chen blo gros,
46. Ye shes rgyal mtshan,
47. Kun bzang rgyal mtshan,
48. Shes rab rgyal mtshan (first abbot of Sman ri),
49. Rin chen rgyal mtshan (second abbot),
50. Nam mkha' ye shes (third abbot),
51. Kun bzang rgyal mtshan (fourth abbot),
52. Rin chen rgyal mtshan (fifth abbot),
53. Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (sixth abbot),
54. Bsod nams ye shes (seventh abbot),
55. Bsod nams g.yung drung (eighth abbot),
56. She tsun drung mu (ninth abbot),
57. Bsam ldan rgyal mtshan (either and alternative name for an abbot or a teacher-lineage holder)
58. G.yung drung rgyal mtshan (eleventh abbot of Sman ri)
59. Shes rab blo gros (twelfth abbot)
60. Shes rab 'od zer (thirteenth abbot)
61. Gtsug phud 'od zer (fourteenth abbot)
62. G.yung drung tshul khriims (fifteenth abbot)
63. Rin chen 'od zer (sixteenth abbot)
64. Rin chen lhun grub (seventeenth abbot)
65. Shes rab bstan 'dzin (eighteenth abbot)
66. Shes rab dbang rgyal (nineteenth abbot)
67. G.yung drung dbang rgyal (twentieth abbot),
68. Phun tshogs rnam rgyal (twenty-first abbot),
69. Bsod nams blo gros (twenty-second abbot),
70. Zla ba rgyal mtshan (founder of G.yung drung gling),
71. Nyi ma bstan 'dzin (twenty-third abbot of Sman ri),
72. Bskal bzang nyi ma (second abbot of G.yung gling),
73. Phun tshogs dbang rgyal (third abbot of Smin grol gling¹⁰¹),
74. Shes rab blo ldan (fifth abbot of the Bslab gsum dbang phyug at G.yung gling),
75. Bstan pa'i nyi ma (sixth abbot of G.yung gling),
76. Shes rab bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (ninth abbot of G.yung gling),
77. Bka' drin gsum ldan rtsa ba'i bla ma.

There are a few old monks in the Songpan area who studied at G.yung-drung gling in their youth. One such master is Aku Yakho of Rin spungs monastery. His *yi dam* is Phur nag and he has practiced it since he was a very young monk. He knows the main text of the ritual (*sgrub chen*) by heart and also performed a long retreat of Phur nag at Brag g.yung drung kha hermitage before it became a nunnery.¹⁰² From the time of G.yung drung bstan rgyal to today, the Rin spungs monastery has represented itself as a branch of Sman ri and G.yung-drung gling. It used to send its monks to Sman ri for study. The situation apparently still persists and some younger monks have made their way to the New Menri, rebuilt in the Dolanji area of Northern India.

¹⁰¹ This monastery is Rin spungs bkra shis smin grol gling, in the A mdo Shar Khog (Songpan) region where this manuscript comes from. The monastery was renamed this way after G.yung drung bstan rgyal (b.1768) became its head. Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 608.

¹⁰² On this hermitage and nunnery, see Karmay *et al.*, *A Survey*, 626-628.

From this we can assert that the owner of the *Phur nag sgrub skor* (PhNGrThKh) above was a patron or a monk of the Rin spungs Monastery in A mdo Shar khog. It also points out how Sman ri and G.yung drung gling's contributions to the Black Phur pa have been central to this particular system of practice, which thrived in regions as far away as A mdo Shar khog and A mdo Reb gong.

Conclusion

Comparative examination of the lineages of the Black Phur pa tradition confirms the importance of Sman ri as the source of this tradition in contemporary Bon. In this, we can understand the role of this institution not merely as a link in the chain of spiritual transmission but also as having a formative role in the creation of the Black Phur pa practices. As the manuscripts of Tshul khriims mchog rgyal from Nyag rong have shown, many of the ancillary texts and rituals of Phur nag originated in Sman ri. All the ritual source texts of Phur pa that are not *gter ma*, and those encountered in this article, stem from the tradition of Mnyam med Shes rab rgyal mtshan. Therefore, a preliminary conclusion would be to consider all non-*gter ma* Phur pa material (i.e. ritual manuals, praises, commentaries, etc...) as either products of or as having been either edited by or channelled through Sman ri. This helps us to establish a compelling argument in favour of ascribing the sole historical provenance of this tradition to Sman ri. Despite traditional claims and lineage accounts which regard Zhang zhung and Bhutan as the source of Phur nag, it is reasonable to consider Sman ri as the creator of the contemporary G.yung drung Bon practices of Phur nag. Other practices that were rediscovered later exhibit a substantially different pedigree, but the analysis of these would require another series of articles. This does not mean, however, that Sman ri was the sole creator of G.yung drung Bon: other important ritual practices and traditions, for example the Ma rgyud, come from other centers such that of the Gshen family in Dar lding.

Contemporary lineages help us take the pulse of Bon and analyze its present situation. Among the institutions that are most closely aligned with Sman ri, such as Rin spungs and Snang shig, we find the Black Phur pa practiced, but not as the object of sacred dances and public display. Although A la bon brgya's institution did receive the Sman ri tradition from Snang zhig, it is seldom practiced there today.¹⁰³ Bon brgya rin po che heads a lay-based organisation, the Bon po sngags mang or the Congregation of Lay Tantric Practitioners. The main tutelary deity of this group, which is rather large and influential in this region, is Dbal gsas, the head of the *gsas mkhar mchog lnga* or the Five Supreme Ones of the Citadel. Phur pa is one of these. Dbal gsas is believed to be the commander of this group and lay tantric lama usually focus on him in order to practice their skills, which involve weather control by magic, exorcism, fertility and a host of other practices aimed at mundane results.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Personal information from the present head of the lineage, A la Bon brgya, July 2005.

¹⁰⁴ On this deity and its iconography, see Per Kvarne. *The Bon Religion of Tibet: The Iconography of a Living Tradition*. (London: Serindia Publications, 1995), 92-97.

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Ye shes dgon pa'i phur nag sgrub thabs. Print of the photocopy of a handwritten manuscript, undated and unsigned. Yes shes Monastery, Nyag rong (Xinlong), circa 1995.


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**Edition critique des instructions
de Bru rGyal ba g.yung drung sur la pratique de la Claire-Lumière (*'od
gsal*) selon le cycle du *Phyag khrid* du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud***

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1. Introduction

epuis la publication de l'article "Mesmerizing with the Useless?" dans un précédent numéro de la *RET*¹, j'ai reçu un nombre assez inattendu de messages téléphoniques ou électroniques extrêmement favorables aux remarques énoncées dans cet article, de la part de chercheurs, de traducteurs et de personnes intéressées à titre individuel par ce type de littérature. Certaines questions soulevées dans ces messages portent avec raison sur les solutions que l'on peut trouver à cet état de fait littéraire qui s'impose comme le contre-exemple même de ce qu'un éditeur de textes tibétains devrait proposer à ses lecteurs potentiels. L'une des réponses qui me vient naturellement à l'esprit est celle de l'éducation professionnelle minimale que ces éditeurs devraient recevoir en terme d'édition, non seulement par respect pour les textes qu'ils éditent ou ré-éditent, mais également par respect du public qui les achète. L'un des points soulevés dans ces courriers — basé sur le célèbre adage anglophone *approve or improve* — est d'une pertinence évidemment redoutable. Il ne me laisse d'autre choix que de confirmer ma désapprobation appuyée du travail éditorial effectué sur l'édition de Triten Norbutse du *Phyag khrid* de Bru rGyal ba g.yung drung (1242-1290) et de proposer un exemple de la tâche à accomplir sur ce type de textes, plusieurs fois réédités et avec de meilleurs résultats. Pour cela, il convient de produire une édition critique du texte, basée sur les versions les plus pertinentes déjà existantes. Le but d'une telle édition est évident pour tous ceux qui travaillent sur ce matériel².

L'absence du texte central de la pratique méditative sur la Claire-Lumière (*'od gsal*) dans l'édition de Triten Norbutse est apparue à certains possesseurs de ce volume comme le signe d'une rupture avec le respect de la tradition et comme l'expression d'une dynamique éditoriale essentiellement motivée par des questions financières. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'insister davantage sur ce point, mais il n'est pas non plus inutile de le rappeler. En particulier si l'on ne partage pas cette vision des choses et si l'on replace le problème dans la perspective des règles qui entourent les textes appartenant au corpus du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*.

¹ Achard, "Mesmerizing with the Useless? A book-review inquiry into the ability to properly reprint older worthy material", *RET* no. 19, p. 133-143.

² *Res ipsa loquitur*.

En effet, si l'on s'en tient simplement aux règles qui régissent le cycle auquel les instructions de Bru rGyal ba sont rattachées, le problème prend une autre dimension et devient beaucoup plus délicat du point de vue de la tradition. Ces instructions représentent la codification des préceptes pratiques de la *Transmission Orale du Zhang chung* (*Zhang chung snyan rgyud*) et l'une de ces règles stipule clairement qu'il est interdit d'y ajouter ou d'en retrancher quoi que ce soit. Dans cette perspective, et ainsi que Yongdzin Rinpoche (Lopön Tenzin Namdak) l'a précisé dans nombre de ses enseignements récents, la transgression de cette règle est plus que problématique³.

Le problème est que les règles dont il est question sont respectées avec une certaine tendance au laxisme. Il n'est que de consulter les diverses éditions des textes formant le corpus élargi du *Zhang chung snyan rgyud* — avec les trois sortes *Nyams rgyud* et le *Phyag khrid* dont un texte est l'objet du présent article — en les comparant entre elles pour se rendre compte des différences qui les animent. Evidemment, les différences orthographiques ne sont pas toutes prégnantes de sens, loin s'en faut, mais elles montrent à elles seules que le respect des règles n'est finalement guère plus que formel. L'on sait grâce à Yongdzin Rinpoche que son maître, Yongdzin Sangye Tenzin (1912-1978), a préparé son édition xylographique du *Phyag khrid* et du *Zhang chung snyan rgyud* avec autant de précision que possible⁴. Dans cette perspective, son édition du *Phyag khrid* est incomparable avec celle de Triten Norbutse que les lecteurs, traducteurs et chercheurs pourront oublier sans grande perte.

³ Ces règles sont énoncées *inter alia* dans le *Nyams rgyud 'bring po sor bzhaq*, p. 23-25, 74, etc. (et en fait en plusieurs endroits des diverses versions de la *Transmission Orale*, exception faite de la version *Thor bu*). Elles portent sur quatre points : 1. ne pas altérer l'enseignement avec des références à des sources extérieures (*gzhung gzhan*) au cycle; 2. ne pas altérer les textes avec l'ajout de notes interlinéaires (*yig chung*); 3. ne pas altérer les préceptes avec les mots des hommes (*mi tshig*); et 4. s'appuyer sur des expériences d'accomplissements authentiques qui ne doivent pas être corrompues et qui doivent être conformes aux préceptes. Certains appliquent de nos jours ces règles à l'interdiction de compositions de commentaires, mais cela va à l'encontre à la fois de la tradition ancienne (théoriquement illustrée par sNang bzher lod po, puis bien plus tardivement par U ri bSod nams rgyal mtshan et Bru rGyal ba lui-même qui, si cette supposée interdiction portait sur la composition de commentaires, l'auraient certainement suivie), mais surtout de la version actuelle du *Zhang chung snyan rgyud* dont les quatre textes principaux sont accompagnés d'ouvrages supplémentaires ou de commentaires directs (et même d'un auto-commentaire pour l'un d'entre eux). Les différences de styles dans ces textes supplémentaires démontrent qu'il ne sont pas de la même main et donc qu'une tradition exégétique minimale a été à l'œuvre dans la compilation du cycle tel qu'on le connaît maintenant. Précisons qu'aucune des quatre règles énoncées ci-dessus ne figure dans le *Zhang chung snyan rgyud* lui-même et qu'on ne les retrouve que dans le *Nyams rgyud* qui doit être théoriquement plus tardif. L'absence de mention de ces quatre règles dans le *sNyan rgyud* explique peut-être la présence de tous ces commentaires dans le cycle tel qu'on le connaît depuis au moins le 13^e siècle.

⁴ Elle n'est elle-même pas exempte de fautes. Il y a également des textes manquants dans son édition du *Zhang chung snyan rgyud*, mais leur absence ne provient pas d'un manque de professionnalisme ou d'attention au travail xylographique effectué: il découle simplement du fait que ces textes n'étaient pas disponibles au moment de la gravure des planches. Les textes manquants sont : les divers *'chad thabs* et autres *rnam thar* (telles que celles rédigées par Yang ston chen po), le *Rig pa'i rtsal dbang gi tantra*, le *Ye dbang chen mo*, ainsi que le *Thig le drug pa* et le texte contenant la pratique d'activités du Buddha Primordial (*Kun bzang don gyi phrin las*). Dans cette optique, l'édition préparée par Shardza Rinpoche est très certainement la plus complète parce qu'elle inclut la majorité de ces textes manquants, qu'elle rétablit la structure versifiée de certains passages, etc.

La règle de restriction quant à l'ajout de textes, qu'il s'agisse de commentaires ou de compositions présentées comme des révélations, est somme toute beaucoup plus problématique qu'un oubli et soulève un grand nombre de questions relativement à l'originalité de certains traités considérés comme des ouvrages authentiques attribués à Tapihritsa (et *transcrits par sNang gzher lod po). Les différences de style dans les divers textes qui composent la collection actuelle montrent à n'en pas douter la présence de mains diverses dans les rédactions. Mais, plus problématique encore, cette interdiction d'ajout de matériel exégétique n'exclut en revanche pas les altérations orales qui affectent les enseignements de ces cycles. Celles-ci semblent tacitement tolérées ou plutôt tout simplement inconnues de la hiérarchie bon po⁵. On sait que certains par exemple attribuent l'existence de représentations particulières dans le *Zhang zhang snyan rgyud* alors que celles-ci n'y figurent en aucune manière⁶. L'on est ainsi en droit de se demander si l'adjonction éventuelle de commentaires contemporains ne doit pas répondre à une nécessité de conserver la canonicité de l'interprétation de ces textes à une période de l'histoire où ils sont le plus à même d'être mal interprétés, voire même totalement déformés dans leur sens. En effet, et répétons-le, si l'interdiction portant sur l'ajout de commentaires était certainement connue de maîtres tels que Bru rGyal ba (1242-1290) ou U ri bSod rgyal (13^e siècle), l'on peut s'interroger sur la raison qui les a poussés à rédiger le matériel exégétique qu'ils ont laissé à la postérité, en transgression flagrante des règles établies par la tradition. Il se peut qu'à leur époque, certains déviaient déjà de l'interprétation correcte et qu'il était impératif d'en maintenir la canonicité pour les générations à venir. Dans cette perspective, les altérations orales contemporaines portant sur les enseignements de ce cycle complexe qu'est le *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* (altérations mises par écrit dans des publications destinées au grand public) m'apparaissent comme autant de sonnettes d'alarme qui doivent pousser le chercheur à investiguer la canonicité de l'interprétation de ces textes auprès des patriarches actuels de la lignée, avant que l'authenticité de l'enseignement ne soit définitivement altérée par la nature de ces commentaires oraux et la disparition des maîtres de la génération la plus âgée.

2. Les thèmes du texte

Les enseignements décrits dans le texte édité ci-dessous appartiennent aux instructions sur la Claire-Lumière (*'od gsal*), à ne pas confondre avec la

⁵ Par hiérarchie, j'entends ici principalement l'autorité spirituelle de Yongdzin Rinpoche et de l'Abbé de Menri, Lungtok Tenpai Nyima. Je doute fort que l'un comme l'autre prennent le temps d'analyser ce qui est écrit en langues occidentales sur ce corpus de textes, à commencer par le second commentaire inclus dans le volume intitulé *The Twenty One Nails* (p. 123-246), ou bien dans le *Wonders of the Natural Mind* de Geshe Tenzin Wangyel.

⁶ Tenzin Wangyel, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Les conceptions telles que celles des trois sortes de *rig pa* (*ye rig*, *khyab rig*, et *bsam rig*) n'existent pas dans le corpus du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*. Par ailleurs, la définition de *khyab rig* dans ce livre est erronée car elle laisse à penser que les objets matériels ont un *rig pa*, ce qui contredit non seulement la logique la plus basique, mais également le *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* qui différencie clairement les objets (*yul*) comme étant inertes (*bem po*) et dénués de *rig pa*.

pratique de même nom dans le contexte des tantras (comme dans les six yogas de Nāropa par exemple). En effet, cette Claire-Lumière correspond à ce que l'on désigne dans le rDzogs chen comme la pratique du Franchissement du Pic (*thod rgal*). Exception faite d'un contexte très particulier, cette expression (i.e. *thod rgal*) n'est pas employée dans le corpus du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, ni dans les textes anciens de rDzogs chen dans le Bon.⁷ Dans la littérature tibétaine plus générale, on la rencontre dans divers "environnements littéraires et sémantiques" largement différents, parmi lesquels on peut énumérer les cas suivants (non-exhaustifs) :

- le contexte des niveaux spirituels des pratiquants, répartis en adeptes à la compréhension instantanée (*chig char ba*), directe (*thod rgal ba*), et graduelle (*rim skyes pa*, *rim gyis pa*),
- le contexte des *samapātti*, tel que celui du *vyutkrāntakasamāpatti* (*thod rgal du snyoms par 'jug pa*) dans le système de la *Prajñāpāramitā*⁸,
- le contexte de la cache de *gter ma* à distance (*thod rgal du sba ba*)⁹,
- le contexte de la pratique du Franchissement du Pic Spontané (*lhun grub thod rgal*) dans les enseignements rDzogs chen.¹⁰

Dans les textes rDzogs chen, l'idée qui sous-tend la pratique du Franchissement du Pic est celle d'un parcours rapide de la Voie, menant au Plein Eveil en l'espace d'une seule naissance, et plus précisément au cours de la vie elle-même, le *parinirvāṇa* à la fin de la vie n'étant que le témoignage de la vérité éternelle de l'impermanence¹¹. L'ensemble de cette pratique consiste dans la familiarisation graduelle avec l'éclat du Discernement (*rig pa'i mdangs*), jusqu'à l'expression paroxystique de ce dynamisme culminant dans l'Eveil lui-même.

La Voie parcourue par l'adepte dans ce contexte s'appuie sur la contemplation des visions (*snang ba*) de l'état naturel, spécificité particulière (litt. "richesse exclusive" [*khyad nor*]) du système rDzogs chen, que l'on ne rencontre pas ailleurs dans le Bouddhisme Tibétain. Cette contemplation visionnaire est le cœur même du rDzogs chen et s'organise généralement en fonction de Quatre Visions (*snang ba bzhi*), à savoir :

- la Vision de la Réalité Manifeste (*bon nyid mngon sum gyi snang ba*),
- la Vision de l'Accroissement des Expériences Lumineuses (*nyams snang gong 'phel gyi snang ba*),

⁷ Le binôme *thod rgal* apparaît bel et bien dans *Les Préceptes en Douze Chapitres* (*Man ngag le'u bcu gnyis*) de la première section du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, mais pas avec la même signification. Dans ces *Préceptes*, il apparaît dans le contexte des trois niveaux d'adeptes (décrits ci-après). Voir *Man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*, p. 213-214. On verra également qu'il apparaît dans le même contexte des trois niveaux d'adeptes dans le texte édité ci-dessous.

⁸ Sur ce point, voir J. May, Chojyo, *Hobogirin*, vol. IV, p. 346. Dans ce contexte, il s'agit de l'un des neuf accès-à-l'égalité (*snyoms 'jug dgu*).

⁹ Tulku Thondup, *Hidden Teachings of Tibet*, p. 258 n. 246. Selon les informations privées que j'ai pu obtenir en 1994 d'un *gter ston* contemporain qui souhaite rester anonyme, cette faculté ne relève pas du domaine d'activité des *gter ston* "ordinaires". A ma connaissance, les références à ce type de "haut-faits" sont plutôt rares dans la littérature.

¹⁰ Voir également l'entrée *thod rgal* de Dan Martin dans le dictionnaire du THDL pour des références à l'occurrence du terme dans le contexte de l'Abhidharma.

¹¹ Sauf pour ceux qui parviennent au Corps du Grand Transfert (*'pho ba chen po'i sku*) et qui ne manifestent pas de mort.

- la Vision du Paroxysme du Discernement (*rig pa tshad phebs kyi snang ba*), et
- la Vision de l'Épuisement de la Réalité (*bon nyid zad pa'i snang ba*).

En réalité, le *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* n'utilise pas cette terminologie mais a recours à une classification en cinq visions (ainsi qu'on l'a vu dans "Mesmerizing with the Useless?"), les visions 2 et 3 de la classification en cinq correspondant à la deuxième étape des Quatre Visions. Le système à cinq visions se décline de la sorte :

- l'Accroissement des visions (*snang ba 'phel ba*),
- le Déploiement des visions (*snang ba mched pa*),
- l'Augmentation des visions (*snang ba rgyas pa*),
- la Perfection des visions (*snang ba rdzogs pa*), et
- l'Aboutissement ultime des visions (*snang ba mthar thug pa*).

Dans le *Phyag khrid*, ces visions sont définies comme une intensification progressive des manifestations de l'état naturel consécutivement à la familiarisation (*goms pa*) avec le dynamisme du Discernement (*rig pa'i rtsal*) lui-même. Selon Shardza Rinpoche (*dByings rig mdzod*, vol. II, p. 326-327), les deux classifications en quatre et cinq visions co-existent sans contradiction dans le Bon, mais certains les distinguent en appliquant le schéma en quatre aux Visions du Jour (*nyin snang*)¹² et celui en cinq aux Visions de la Nuit (*mtshan snang*)¹³.

Le développement de ces visions s'appuie sur un ensemble de points-clefs (*gnad*), généralement au nombre de quatre ou six, qui permettent de maîtriser l'éclat du Discernement demeurant dans le corps. Cet éclat (*mdangs*) imprègne la totalité du corps, mais est plus particulièrement localisé dans le cœur ou Tente Brune des Cornalines (*mchong gur smug po*) qui est connectée aux yeux (techniquement désignés comme des Lampes d'Eau [*chu'i sgron*]) par un canal reliant ces derniers au cœur. Comme on l'a vu ailleurs¹⁴, l'ensemble des techniques yogiques permettant de se familiariser avec ces points-clefs est décrit dans la deuxième partie du texte central de sa compilation, *La Pratique Principale des Instructions sur les Profonds Points-Clefs* (*Zab mo gnad kyi gdams pa dngos gzhi*), qui fournit la description complète des préceptes à appliquer¹⁵.

3. La structure du texte

Afin de rendre un peu plus explicite la présentation du texte donnée

¹² C'est-à-dire la pratique du Franchissement du Pic s'appuyant sur les supports diurnes tels que le soleil, le ciel, une lampe à beurre, etc.

¹³ Autrement dit à la pratique nocturne mais également aux retraites dans l'obscurité (*mun mtshams*).

¹⁴ Achard, *passim*.

¹⁵ Des transcriptions d'enseignements de Yongdzin Rinpoche sur ces textes, et en particulier sur les préceptes portant sur la pratique de la Claire-Lumière (*'od gsal*) ont fait l'objet de publications en langue anglaise. Voir Lopön Tenzin Namdak, *The Main Dzogchen Practices*, *passim* et *id.*, *The Meditation on Clear Light* (tous deux transcrits par Gerd Manusch).

ailleurs¹⁶, voici en français le schéma de sa structure, tel que Bru rgyal ba l'a défini pour élaborer le corpus d'instructions sur la pratique de la Claire-Lumière :

1. La manière de méditer et de progresser sur le parcours de la Voie
2. La manière de chasser les souillures de l'intellect qui médite
 - 2-1. Les obstacles extérieurs liés aux personnes et à l'environnement
 - 2-2. Les obstacles intérieurs liés aux maladies
 - 2-3. Les obstacles secrets
 - 2-3-1. Les obstacles à la Vue
 - 2-3-2. Les obstacles à la Méditation
 - 2-3-3. Les obstacles à la Conduite
3. L'émergence des visions de la Claire-Lumière
 - 3-1. Le mode d'émergence des visions
 - 3-1-1. La contemplation des visions extérieures
 - 3-1-2. Le développement des expériences intérieures
 - 3-2. L'intensification des Cinq Visions
 - 3-2-1. L'Accroissement des Visions
 - a. Expériences visionnaires extérieures
 - b. Expériences sapientiales intérieures
 - 3-2-2. Le Déploiement des Visions
 - a. Expériences visionnaires extérieures
 - b. Expériences sapientiales intérieures
 - 3-2-3. L'Augmentation des Visions
 - a. Expériences visionnaires extérieures
 - b. Expériences sapientiales intérieures
 - 3-2-4. La Perfection des Visions
 - a. Expériences visionnaires extérieures
 - b. Expériences sapientiales intérieures
 - 3-2-5. L'Aboutissement ultime des Visions
 - a. Expériences visionnaires extérieures
 - b. Expériences sapientiales intérieures
 - 3-3. L'application à la gradation des Voies (*lam*)¹⁷.

Les sources utilisées dans ce chapitre sur la Claire-Lumière sont en priorité

¹⁶ Achard, "Mesmerizing with the Useless?", p. 141.

¹⁷ Je réalise en effectuant cette présentation en français que Per Kvaerne, le pionnier des études rDzogs chen dans le Bon, avait déjà présenté la structure de ce texte (et de tout le cycle du *Phyag khrid*) dans son "Bon po Studies part II", p. 329. Ce point aurait dû être mentionné in "Mesmerizing with the Useless ?".

des textes-phares du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, à commencer par *Le Traité des Vingt-et-Un Sceaux* (*gZer bu nyer gcig gi gzhung*) qui est le texte-racine de la section secrétissime du cycle, et *Les Instructions sur les Six Lampes* (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, texte-racine de la section intérieure du cycle), l'auteur alternant régulièrement les citations de ces deux textes. L'on y trouvera également des références à d'autres ouvrages canoniques (sans mention explicite autre que *gsung rab*) ou encore aux *Six Avis* (*Lung drug*), une source provenant d'un autre cycle *rdzogs chen*, à savoir le corpus de la *Triple Proclamation de la Grande Perfection* (*bsGrags pa skor gsum*)¹⁸.

4. Editions utilisées

Quatre éditions ont été utilisées pour comparaison lors de l'établissement de l'édition critique du texte. La version de base qui sert de référence est A. Les versions B et C sont extrêmement proches, B étant certainement une édition moderne (en *dbu chen*) de C (en *dbu med*). L'édition D, calquée sur A ne présente rien de particulièrement pertinent ou intéressant et n'a été en réalité consultée qu'en cas de doute effectif. Sa dépendance évidente sur A en fait une simple édition plus récente, introduisant des erreurs (certes mineures mais inutiles) intervenues lors de la saisie du texte.

A — Edition xylographique du *Phyag khrid* préparée par Yongdzin Sangye Tendzin au Tibet avant l'exil et publiée in : *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor and sNyan rgyud nam mkha' 'phrul mdzod nges skor*, published by Sherab Wangyal, Dolanji, 1972, pp. 657-673.¹⁹

B — Edition du *Phyag khrid* incluse dans la collection *Gangs can ti se bon gzhung*, vol. 20 (*rDzogs chen man ngag bka' rten gyi skor*), 2009, pp. 340-349.

C — Edition lithographique d'un manuscrit du *Phyag khrid*, éditée sous le titre de *sNyan rgyud kyi sngon 'gro rim pa rnams*, Dolanji, ca. 1965. Ce manuscrit a été reproduit dans le *Bon gyi brten 'gyur chen mo*, vol. 138, pp. 107-130²⁰.

D — Edition de Ratsa Geshe Tenzin Dargye, Triten Norbutse, 2002 (format livre A5).²¹

L'édition de Triten Norbutse, qui pourrait porter le sigle E dans la liste des références, n'est ici d'aucune utilité parce qu'elle est incomplète. L'édition de

¹⁸ Dans la mesure où le *Phyag khrid* est un manuel du *sNyan rgyud* et non du *Nyams rgyud*, si la règle quadruple mentionnée au début de cet article devait s'appliquer au *sNyan rgyud* lui-même, Bru rGyal ba serait encore une fois ici en contradiction flagrante avec cette règle, ce dont il est permis de douter.

¹⁹ Blezer, "A Brief Bibliographical Key", p. 136 = Sh2.

²⁰ Blezer, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

²¹ A ne pas confondre avec l'édition de Triten Norbutse réalisée en 2008 pour la collection *Sangs rgyas g.yung drung bon gyi dpe tshogs*. Cette édition est simplement mentionnée ici à titre de référence plus ou moins exhaustive, mais elle n'a pas été utilisée pour l'édition critique parce qu'elle est de toute évidence basée sur A et C et qu'elle ne fait que rajouter des coquilles et des lectures inexactes.

2010 de Menri (dont je dois la connaissance à l'obligeance de Mr Gerd Manusch) ne m'est pas accessible à l'heure où j'écris ces lignes.

5. Edition critique

A titre de précision, j'ai noté toutes les omissions des *shad* (/) d'une version à l'autre dans la mesure où leur présence (ou absence) peut être également — certes pas dans tous les cas — un élément porteur de sens dans la traduction. L'on verra ainsi que la manière de lire certaines parties du texte diffère parfois grandement dans les versions A et B&C, en raison de la présence ou de l'omission d'un *shad*. Notons toutefois que cette présence ou cette absence n'est pas systématiquement le signe d'une différence de compréhension d'une version à l'autre.

Les variantes de lecture dans les diverses versions ne sont pas non plus toutes porteuses de sens, comme la récurrence de *dang chas pa* pour *dang bcas pa*, de l'archaïque *las sogs pa* (endémique dans les textes bon po) pour *la sogs pa*, etc., les lectures des *ste* en *te* (et *vice versa*), des *ci* en *ji*, des *gcig* en *zhig* ou *cig*, des *pa* en *ba*, etc.

Finalement, l'on ne manquera pas de remarquer, malgré l'abondance des notes indiquant des variantes, que les versions du texte sont étonnamment proches les unes des autres et que l'on ne trouve pas de différences fondamentales ou radicales au point d'empêcher la collation systématique de toutes les lectures et d'aboutir à une édition de référence qui devrait servir de base à toutes les traductions du texte. Ce que l'on peut dire c'est que l'on est en présence de deux sources textuelles à la fois différentes et extrêmement proches. Elles sont proches parce que les variantes — bien que très nombreuses — sont souvent insignifiantes du point de vue du sens du texte, mais elles diffèrent dans la mesure où B & C contiennent (en de rares endroits) des micro-phrases que l'on ne retrouve pas dans la version de Yongdzin Sangye Tenzin.

Il est malheureusement impossible de retracer l'histoire des éditions du texte jusqu'à Bru rGyal ba lui-même (faute d'un manuscrit autographe ou remontant à ses disciples directs) et il semble que les versions les plus anciennes qui sont parvenues jusqu'à nous de ce '*Od gsal sgom pa'i khrid rim* ne remontent guère au-delà du 18^e siècle²².

²² Ce point reste toutefois sujet à discussion car nous ne sommes pas à l'abri de la découverte d'un manuscrit ancien de ce cycle, comme cela a été récemment le cas pour les *Instructions sur le A Primordial (A khrid)*. L'on sait tous que les monastères Bon po (même ceux de l'exil) renferment plus de textes inédits (ou peut-être de versions inédites de textes déjà connus) que nous le soupçonnons généralement. Le *Phyag khrid* ne semble pas avoir été un cycle rare ou difficile à obtenir, si j'en crois les informations recueillies auprès de Yongdzin Rinpoche. L'on peut donc espérer que des recherches dans les bibliothèques autochtones nous apporteront quelques lumières sur ce sujet.

[Ca]²³[657]// lam nyams su len pa 'od gsal sgom²⁴ pa'i khrid rim²⁵ bzhugs so//

[658]/kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mngon du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/

gnyis pa lam nyams su blang²⁶ ba²⁷ 'od gsal sgom²⁸ pa'i khrid la gsum ste/ sgom²⁹ tshul lam gyi rim pa brkyang³⁰ thabs dang/ sgom³¹ byed blo³² yi³³ dri ma bsal³⁴ lugs dang/ bsgoms³⁵ pas nyams dang 'od gsal 'char tshul lo/dang po la/³⁶ skye shis³⁷ gting nas 'jigs shing³⁸ byang chub don du gnyer ba/ dad pa skyo ngas med cing bla ma gtsug tu khur ba/ 'jig rten bya ba

²³ Le sigle *Ca* indique qu'il s'agit de la cinquième section du cycle du *Phyag khrid*. Le présent texte est en effet précédé par les sections *Ka* (*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus rnam thar dang bcas pa*, p. 539-589), *Kha* (*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon spyod dgu rim*, p. 591-607), *Ga* (*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi khrid rim lag len*, p. 609-638), et *Nga* (*gZhi rang ngo sprod pa gcer mthong lta ba'i khrid rim*, p. 639-655). Il est suivi par le reste du cycle (sections *Cha-Ja*) qui couvre les pages 675-713, les pages 715-726 étant consacrées aux *Sept Cycles de la Claire-Lumière* ('*Od gsal bdun skor*, précédé par le *Nag khrid 'od gsal gyi mtshams bcad yig chung*) qui ne sont pas de la main de Bru rGyal ba (Karmay, *A Catalogue of Bon po Publications*, p. 109) et qui ne portent pas de sigle. De toute évidence, devant cette absence de sigle, l'on peut penser que Yongdzin Sangye Tendzin considérait le *Nag khrid* et les *Sept Cycles de la Claire-Lumière* comme n'étant effectivement pas des compositions de Bru rGyal ba et, selon Yongdzin Rinpoche, il les a insérés dans son édition parce que ces deux textes complètent le cycle en termes de pratiques à accomplir. Par ailleurs, et contrairement à ce qui est présenté dans l'édition de Triten Norbutse, l'on voit très clairement, d'après les titres listés ci-dessus, que le *Phyag khrid* est un manuel de pratique du *sNyan rgyud*, pas du *Nyams rgyud* (erreur fréquente et régulièrement répétée par les moines de la jeune génération éduqués en exil).

²⁴ B&C: *bsgom*.

²⁵ Omis in B&C.

²⁶ C: *blangs*.

²⁷ C: *pa*.

²⁸ B&C: *bsgom*.

²⁹ C: *bsgom*.

³⁰ B: *skyong*. C: *skyang*.

³¹ C: *bsgom*.

³² B&C: *blo'i*.

³³ Omis in B&C car *de facto* inclus dans la forme *blo'i*.

³⁴ B&C: *gsal*, manifestement une erreur.

³⁵ B&C: *bsgom*.

³⁶ *la/* omis in C.

³⁷ C: *'chi*.

³⁸ B&C: *shing/*.

btang nas/³⁹ rig pa rkyang 'ded nus pa'i gang zag gis/ gong du gdams pa'i dmar khrid phyag len ngo sprod las⁴⁰ sogs rdzogs par thob nas/⁴¹ skyong bar 'dod na/ dben zhing dge ba 'phel ba'i gnas chen nam/ yang na mtsho gling nags phug gangs brag las⁴² sogs mtho zhing gtsang ba⁴³/ khyad par du⁴⁴ nyin mtshan gyi gnas gong ltar stabs⁴⁵ bde bar^{46/47} 'thad pa'i⁴⁸ grogs bcud ldan re re tsam las med par byas te/ brtan pa ma thob bar du g.yeng ba spang⁴⁹/ ngal dub⁵⁰ mi bya/⁵¹ mtshams bsdam/ ngag gzhan dang mi bsre/ zas gos cha bsnyam⁵²/ 'du 'dzi'i 'khrul⁵³ thag bcad/ mthun rkyen legs

[659] par 'dzoms⁵⁴ pa dang/ lar⁵⁵ thabs lam⁵⁶ 'khrid⁵⁷ tshul dang/ bogs 'don lam khyer ngo sprod las⁵⁸ sogs mang⁵⁹ du⁶⁰ gsungs kyang/ gal che shos⁶¹ kho rang la thugs⁶² pas/ rig pa sgrib med 'od gsal chen po'i don la/ rtse gcig tu⁶³ hril gyis dril nas⁶⁴ rlung sems gnad kyi gdams pa dang/⁶⁵ mtshan snang skabs sbyar du sprad de nyams su blang⁶⁶/ len tshul ni⁶⁷ bla ma bcud ldan dang/ gdams pa zab mo'i dgongs pa lon⁶⁸ pas sgom⁶⁹ shes pa dang/ brtson 'grus drag pos dar tsam yang btang snyoms su mi lus⁷⁰ par brtson par⁷¹ bsgom pa dang/ lo zla zhag grangs ci song yang⁷² nyams myong rgyud la ma shar bar la sran nus pa⁷³ yun ring du bsgom pa dang/ dus dang rnam pa kun tu/⁷⁴ gang gis kyang bar ma chod par⁷⁵ 'di nyid la rkyang ded⁷⁶ byed

³⁹ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁴⁰ B&C: *la*.

⁴¹ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁴² B&C: *la*.

⁴³ B&C: *la*.

⁴⁴ Omis in B&C.

⁴⁵ + *su* in B&C.

⁴⁶ B&C: *ba*.

⁴⁷ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁴⁸ + *sa ru* in B&C.

⁴⁹ B&C: *spangs*.

⁵⁰ + *kyi las* in B. + *kyis las* in C.

⁵¹ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵² B: *snyams*.

⁵³ B&C: '*grul*, manifestement une erreur.

⁵⁴ B&C: '*tshogs*.

⁵⁵ Omis in B&C.

⁵⁶ + *dang* in B&C.

⁵⁷ B&C: *khrid*.

⁵⁸ B&C: *la*.

⁵⁹ Omis in C.

⁶⁰ C: *dur*.

⁶¹ C: *shogs*.

⁶² B&C: *thug*, qui s'avère une meilleure lecture, de toute évidence.

⁶³ C: *du*.

⁶⁴ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁶⁵ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁶⁶ B&C: *blangs*.

⁶⁷ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁶⁸ C: *longs*.

⁶⁹ B&C: *bsgom*.

⁷⁰ B&C: '*jog*.

⁷¹ B&C: *pas*.

⁷² + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁷³ B&C: *pas*.

⁷⁴ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁷⁵ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

cing⁷⁷ bsgom⁷⁸ pa dang/ bzhi po de tshul dang mthun par bskyangs⁷⁹ shing⁸⁰
 bsgoms⁸¹ pas⁸²/ phyi'i snang ba 'char tshul/ nang gi nyams myong skye
 tshul thams cad⁸³ 'jug pa gcig⁸⁴ tu^{85/86} zla⁸⁷ ba⁸⁸ yar gyi ngo bzhin je 'phel je
 rgyas la 'byung ste/ gzer bu las/⁸⁹
 dben la nyams dga'i dben sa⁹⁰ ru/
 skye shis⁹¹ gting nas 'jigs

[660] pa'i gang zag gis/
 kun gzhi ngos bzung rig pa'i⁹² dmar thag bcad/ ces dang/
 lde mig las/
 mos pa'i phyogs su las byas na⁹³ /
 ngal ba med par kun yang⁹⁴ 'grub/ ces gsungs so/

gnysis pa la^{95/96} gnas lugs theg chen gyi don nyams su len par byed pa la/
 phyi mi dang mi min⁹⁷ gyi⁹⁸ bar chod⁹⁹/ nang 'du ba nad kyis¹⁰⁰ bar chod¹⁰¹/
 gsang ba bsgom pa nyams kyī bar chod¹⁰² 'byung bas/

de'i dang po la/ 'jig rten gyi 'phreng thogs^{103/104} nye 'brel gyi gdung
 sems/ yul nor gyi zhen chags/¹⁰⁵ 'du 'dzi¹⁰⁶ thams cad bdud du shes par

⁷⁶ B&C: 'ded du.

⁷⁷ + bar chad med par in B&C.

⁷⁸ C: sgom.

⁷⁹ B: brkyang. C: skyang.

⁸⁰ B&C: zhing.

⁸¹ B&C: bsgom.

⁸² B&C: pa dang/.

⁸³ + shad (/) in B&C.

⁸⁴ C: cig.

⁸⁵ C: du.

⁸⁶ Omission du shad (/) in B&C.

⁸⁷ Omis in B&C.

⁸⁸ Omis in B&C.

⁸⁹ Dans toutes les versions du texte original du *gZer bu* qui ont été consultées pour la présente édition critique, les deux premières lignes de la citation sont inversées par rapport à celle donnée ici. La lecture originale doit certainement être : *skye shis gting nas 'jigs pa'i gang zag gis/ dben la nyams dga'i ri khrod dgon pa ru/*. Il faut également noter quelques différences selon les versions du texte-racine (éd. du Nyag rong, etc.) dans lesquelles *gang zag gis*, in fine de la première ligne, est lu comme *skal ldan gyis*.

⁹⁰ En lieu et place de *dben sa*, la version B donne la lecture *ri khrod dgon pa ru/* qui est la bonne lecture, conforme à toutes les versions du texte-racine consultées. C donne la lecture erronée *ri khrid* pour *ri khrod*.

⁹¹ B&C: 'chi.

⁹² B&C: pa.

⁹³ C: nas.

⁹⁴ C: kyang.

⁹⁵ Omis in B.

⁹⁶ Omission du shad (/) in B&C.

⁹⁷ B&C: ma yin.

⁹⁸ B&C: pa'i.

⁹⁹ B&C: chad.

¹⁰⁰ B&C: kyī, évidemment une meilleure lecture.

¹⁰¹ B&C: chad.

¹⁰² B&C: chad gsum.

¹⁰³ B&C: thog.

¹⁰⁴ Omission du shad (/) in B&C.

¹⁰⁵ Omission du shad (/) in B.

byas la/ legs par mi khyu nas 'bud do/ gdon la rim 'gro¹⁰⁷ bya¹⁰⁸ bka' bsgo
gtor tshogs¹⁰⁹ sbyin/¹¹⁰ phung po gzan du bskyur ro/

gnyis pa¹¹¹ la/¹¹² 'khrul 'khor rtsa¹¹³ rlung dang dmigs pa¹¹⁴ sgra skad¹¹⁵
sogs¹¹⁶ gags sel bzhin du bcos¹¹⁷/ 'phra'u¹¹⁸ rnam byung rgyal du btang¹¹⁹
ngo/

gsum pa la/¹²⁰ bsgom pa nyams kyi gags¹²¹ mang yang/ bsdus na lta
spyod¹²² sgom¹²³ gsum¹²⁴ du¹²⁵ 'dus pas/ lta ba la tshig gi rdzong la zhen/
don gyi 'gag¹²⁶ la dred¹²⁷ pa'i¹²⁸ kha 'byams su song ba dang/ go blo yod
kyang rang mtshan ma shar ba'i don spyir¹²⁹ shor ba dang/ da lta nyams su
mi len par¹³⁰ phyi dus 'debs pa'i re 'dod du shor ba dang/ yin lugs ma shes
par¹³¹ tshod¹³² bzo¹³³ blo byas su shor ba dang/ spros mtha' ma chod par
phyogs gcig¹³⁴ tu lta bas rtse gnyis su zhen pa dang lnga¹³⁵ yi¹³⁶ gol sa ru ma
shor bar bya/ sgom¹³⁷ pa la bde ba la mngon par¹³⁸ zhen pa dang/ gsal ba la
nges shes¹³⁹ skye¹⁴⁰ ba¹⁴¹ dang/ mi rtog pa¹⁴² mchog tu 'dzin pa dang/ dran
'dzin¹⁴³ med pas¹⁴⁴ glen bsgom¹⁴⁵ du song

¹⁰⁶ 'du 'dzi omis in B&C.

¹⁰⁷ gro/ in B&C.

¹⁰⁸ Omis in B&C.

¹⁰⁹ B&C: ma.

¹¹⁰ Omission du *shad* (/) in B.

¹¹¹ + *nad* in B&C.

¹¹² Omission du *shad* (/) in B.

¹¹³ Omis in B&C.

¹¹⁴ B&C: la/.

¹¹⁵ + *la* in B&C.

¹¹⁶ + *pas* in B&C.

¹¹⁷ B&C: 'chos.

¹¹⁸ B&C: *phra bu*.

¹¹⁹ B&C: *gtong*.

¹²⁰ la/ omis in B&C.

¹²¹ + *la* in B&C.

¹²² B&C: *bsgom*.

¹²³ B&C: *spyod*. Ce type d'inversion dans l'ordre de *bsgom* et *spyod* n'est pas rare. Il est de toute façon sans conséquence aucune.

¹²⁴ Ajouté sous la ligne in C.

¹²⁵ B&C: *la*.

¹²⁶ B&C: 'gags.

¹²⁷ B: *bred*. C: *bde*.

¹²⁸ C: *ba'i*.

¹²⁹ B&C: *spyi ru*.

¹³⁰ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

¹³¹ B&C: *pa'i*.

¹³² B&C: 'ol tshod.

¹³³ B&C: *bzos pa'i*.

¹³⁴ C: *cig*.

¹³⁵ B&C: *lnga'i*.

¹³⁶ Réduit in B&C avec la lecture précédente *lnga'i*.

¹³⁷ C: *bsgom*.

¹³⁸ B&C: *du*.

¹³⁹ B: *pa'i*.

¹⁴⁰ B: *skyes*.

¹⁴¹ B: *pa*.

¹⁴² + *la* in B&C.

¹⁴³ B&C: *bzhin*, manifestement une erreur.

[661] ba dang/ bying rmugs¹⁴⁶ 'thibs pas gsal mdangs ma thon¹⁴⁷ pa¹⁴⁸ dang/
 rgod lding¹⁴⁹ 'thor bas gnas cha med pa dang/ 'dred 'dzur 'thab¹⁵⁰ pas
 skyed¹⁵¹ bogs med pa rnams kyi¹⁵² gol sa ru ma song ba¹⁵³ dang¹⁵⁴/ spyod pa
 la zol zog tho cho'i¹⁵⁵ spyod pa dang/ ched byas tshul chos¹⁵⁶ kyi spyod pa
 dang/ btang snyoms le lo'i spyod pa dang/ sdug¹⁵⁷ brtsir rang bcings kyi
 spyod pa dang/ log lta tha mal gyi spyod pa dang lnga'i gol sa ru ma song
 bar byas¹⁵⁸ te¹⁵⁹/ gsung rab las/

yid bzhin¹⁶⁰ nor bu rin po che tshol du 'gro ba'i tshong pa lam du zhugs pa
 la/

gnod par byed pa'i dgra mang bas/

skyes bu dag go cha bgo bar bya'o/ sogs¹⁶¹ gsungs so/

gsum pa bsgoms¹⁶² pas nyams dang 'od gsal 'char tshul la gsum ste/ dang
 po shar ba'i snang ba byung¹⁶³ tshul dang/ de nas goms¹⁶⁴ pa'i snang ba 'phel
 tshul dang/ de dag gi¹⁶⁵ lam gyi rim pa dang sbyar ba'o/

dang po la gnyis te/ phyi'i snang ba mthong tshul dang/ nang gyi nyams
 myong bskyed tshul lo/

dang po la/¹⁶⁶ sgron ma las/

rtsal gyi sbyang¹⁶⁷ thabs bstan pa ni/

'gyu ba zer gyi nya mo de/

mun khang 'od kyi rgya la bzung/

kun gsal rig pa'i me long de/

snang gsal nam mkha'i mthongs su bstan/

dran pa sems kyi mdung mo de/

snang ba 'od kyi phub la gtad/

de¹⁶⁸ tshe gzugs sku'i sa bon mthong/

¹⁴⁴ B&C: pa.

¹⁴⁵ B: sgom.

¹⁴⁶ + su in B&C.

¹⁴⁷ B: mthong. C: thong.

¹⁴⁸ B: ba.

¹⁴⁹ B&C: ldings.

¹⁵⁰ B&C: 'thas.

¹⁵¹ B&C: bskyed.

¹⁵² B&C: kyi's/.

¹⁵³ B&C: bar.

¹⁵⁴ B&C: bya.

¹⁵⁵ B&C: co'i.

¹⁵⁶ B: 'chos.

¹⁵⁷ B&C: bsdug.

¹⁵⁸ B&C: bya.

¹⁵⁹ B&C: ste.

¹⁶⁰ + gyi in B&C.

¹⁶¹ B: zhes. C: ces.

¹⁶² C: bsgom.

¹⁶³ B&C: 'byung.

¹⁶⁴ B&C: bsgom. On verra *infra* que B&C donnent bien la lecture *goms pa* dans cette seconde section consacrée à l'Accroissement des Visions (*snang ba 'phel ba*).

¹⁶⁵ Omis in B&C.

¹⁶⁶ shad (/) omis in B&C.

¹⁶⁷ B: sbyong.

*mkha'*¹⁶⁹ *la skar tshogs shar ba 'dra/ zhes gsungs pa ltar/*

nyams su blangs pas/ dang po'i dus su/ 'byung¹⁷⁰ lnga'i rtags gong ltar
dang^{171/172} gzhan yang 'od dang zer dang/ za 'og gi snam bu kha phye
ba'am/ gzha' tshon shar ba'am/¹⁷³ dkyil 'khor bris pa¹⁷⁴ lta

[662] *bur*¹⁷⁵ *grangs med pa/*¹⁷⁶ *bsam gyis mi khyab pa*¹⁷⁷ *phyar ba'am/*¹⁷⁸ *re*
*lde 'am goms pa dang yul gru 'am/*¹⁷⁹ *nam mkha' bar snang gang bar 'char*
*te*¹⁸⁰ */ zhing khams kyi gzhi yin no/ de dag gi nang du gzugs sku'i sa bon/*¹⁸¹
*thig le skar*¹⁸² *tshogs bkram*¹⁸³ *pa*¹⁸⁴ *ltar 'char te*¹⁸⁵ */ gzer bu las/*

*snang ba 'i*¹⁸⁶ *'od lnga'*¹⁸⁷ *zhing khams dkyil 'khor gzhi*¹⁸⁸ */*

thig le gur khang rigs lnga'i gzhal yas khang/

*lhag mthong sku las*¹⁸⁹ *sna tshogs gzugs skur shar/ ces*¹⁹⁰ *gsungs so/*

*gnyis pa*¹⁹¹ *de'i dus su dge sbyor la*^{192/193} *sprin bar gyi nyi ma lta bu*¹⁹⁴
*hrab hrib tu byed pa/*¹⁹⁵ *the tshom za ba ya nga ba*¹⁹⁶ *'byung ste/ thun*
*sgom*¹⁹⁷ *gyi 'go*¹⁹⁸ *yin/*¹⁹⁹ *tshes gcig*²⁰⁰ *gnyis kyi zla ba dang 'dra'o/*

*gnyis pa de nas*²⁰¹ *goms pa'i snang ba 'phel tshul la lnga ste/ snang ba*

¹⁶⁸ B&C: *de'i*.

¹⁶⁹ B: *mkhal*, évidemment une coquille.

¹⁷⁰ + *ba* in C.

¹⁷¹ C: *la*.

¹⁷² Cette ligne entière est manquante in B qui reprend simplement à *gzhan yang...* après *...gsungs pa ltar/*.

¹⁷³ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

¹⁷⁴ *bris pa* est écrit au-dessus de la ligne in C.

¹⁷⁵ B&C: *bu*.

¹⁷⁶ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

¹⁷⁷ + *shad (/)* in B.

¹⁷⁸ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

¹⁷⁹ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

¹⁸⁰ B&C: *ste*.

¹⁸¹ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

¹⁸² C: *dkar*.

¹⁸³ B&C: *bkra*.

¹⁸⁴ B&C: *ba*.

¹⁸⁵ B&C: *ste*.

¹⁸⁶ B&C: *ba*.

¹⁸⁷ B&C: *lnga'i*.

¹⁸⁸ C: *bzhi*.

¹⁸⁹ B&C: *la*.

¹⁹⁰ B: *zhes*, manifestement une mauvaise lecture de la finale, laquelle attend grammaticalement la forme *ces* (les erreurs de même type seront désormais simplement notées sans remarque).

¹⁹¹ + *la/* in B&C.

¹⁹² B&C: *ni*.

¹⁹³ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

¹⁹⁴ B&C: *bzhin/*, en lieu et place de *lta bu*.

¹⁹⁵ Omission du *shad (/)* in B.

¹⁹⁶ *ya nga ba* est remplacé par *la sogs pa* in B&C.

¹⁹⁷ C: *bsgom*.

¹⁹⁸ B&C: *mgo*.

¹⁹⁹ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁰⁰ C: *cig*.

²⁰¹ B&C: *la*.

'phel ba'i tshul dang/ snang ba mched pa'i tshul dang/ snang ba²⁰² rgyas
pa'i tshul dang/ snang ba²⁰³ rdzogs pa'i tshul dang/ snang ba mthar thug
pa'i shar tshul lo/

dang po la gnyis las²⁰⁴/ dang po phyi ltar/²⁰⁵ gong ltar rtse gcig tu nyams
su blangs pas/ dus ci²⁰⁶ zhig la snang ba 'phel ba'i nyams²⁰⁷ 'char te²⁰⁸/ 'od
gsal gyi snang ba grangs med par shar ba rnams kyi nang du/ shel mdog rig
pa'i thig le sran ma tsam dang/ de bas²⁰⁹ che ba dang/ rkyang pa dang/²¹⁰
gnyis 'brel²¹¹ gsum 'brel²¹² dang/²¹³ mang po 'brel²¹⁴ ba dang/ gyen la 'brel ba
dang²¹⁵/ 'phred²¹⁶ la 'brel ba²¹⁷ dang/ rig pa'i snying po thugs rje'i nyag thag
ces bya ba/ dngul dkar gyi skud pa 'am/ dar dkar gyi²¹⁸ nyag thag lta bu la/
lu gu brgyud²¹⁹ kyi thig le/²²⁰ 'phreng ba brgyud pa²²¹ lta bu²²² dang/ ma
brgyus²²³ pa rkyang pa'i²²⁴ nyag

[663] thag gis sbrel ba lta bu²²⁵ dang/ thig le dang ma 'brel ba'i²²⁶ nyag thag
brkyang²²⁷ pa las²²⁸ sogs du mar snang²²⁹ la/ de yang²³⁰ 'byung ba²³¹ thams
cad gnad du ma 'chun pas/ kha dog thams cad dkar shas che ba'am/ gang
rung²³² re re rkyang pa²³³ dang²³⁴/ cung zad zin pas kha dog lnga ka tshang
ba²³⁵ yang²³⁶ re re tsam du²³⁷ 'byung la/ shas che²³⁸ ba²³⁹ kha dog phyogs re

²⁰² Omission de *snang ba* in B&C.

²⁰³ Omission de *snang ba* in B&C.

²⁰⁴ B&C: *kyis*.

²⁰⁵ *phyi ltar*/ omis in B&C.

²⁰⁶ B&C: *ji*.

²⁰⁷ + *snang* in B&C.

²⁰⁸ B&C: *ste*.

²⁰⁹ B&C: *las*.

²¹⁰ Omission du *shad (/)* in B.

²¹¹ B&C: *brtsegs*.

²¹² B&C: *sbrel*.

²¹³ Omission du *shad (/)* in B.

²¹⁴ B: *sbrel*.

²¹⁵ *dang* omis in B&C.

²¹⁶ C: *phrad*.

²¹⁷ + *la sogs* in B&C.

²¹⁸ Omis in B&C.

²¹⁹ B&C: *rgyud*.

²²⁰ Omission du *shad (/)* in B.

²²¹ *brgyud pa* omis in B&C.

²²² + *rgyus pa* in B&C.

²²³ B: *rgyus*.

²²⁴ B&C: *pa*.

²²⁵ *lta bu* omis in B.

²²⁶ Omis in B.

²²⁷ B&C: *rkyang*.

²²⁸ B&C: *la*.

²²⁹ + *ba* in B&C.

²³⁰ *de yang* omis in B&C.

²³¹ B&C: *lnga*.

²³² C: *ru*, manifestement une coquille.

²³³ B&C: *pa'am*.

²³⁴ Omis in B&C.

²³⁵ B&C: *ba'am*.

²³⁶ Omis in B&C.

²³⁷ *tsam du* omis in B&C.

²³⁸ B&C: *cher*.

rkyang pa mang du 'char/ thig le de dag gi dkyil na lha sku'i nram pa snang
tsam/ brtag²⁴⁰ na gsal rgyu med pa'i²⁴¹ 'phra²⁴² mo re re²⁴³ tsam²⁴⁴ yang gnas
so/ gzhan yang 'od dang²⁴⁵ zer dang/²⁴⁶ thig le de dag kyang²⁴⁷ dar tsam²⁴⁸
mi sdod la^{249/250} ri gzar kha nas chu 'bab²⁵¹ lta bu 'am/ dngul chu 'thor 'dril
ci²⁵² bzhin du/ g.yo 'gul 'thor 'dril dang bcas pa²⁵³ snang ste/ sgron ma las/

*de la goms shing 'dris pa yis/
goms pa'i khyad par rnam lnga 'byung/
dang po snang ba 'phel bar 'gyur/
dngul chu 'thor 'dril bzhin du mthong/ zhes dang/*

*gzer bu las/
rig pa'i zer dang thugs²⁵⁴ rje' i²⁵⁵ nyag thag ni/
dang po ri gzar kha nas chu 'bab 'dra/ zhes²⁵⁶ so/*

gnyis pa²⁵⁷ nang la²⁵⁸ de'i dus su rtse gcig²⁵⁹ gi nyams 'char te/ shes pa
gsal la mi 'phro ba/²⁶⁰ dangs²⁶¹ sang²⁶² nge ba gnas pa'i nyams/ stong rig ma

²³⁹ Omis in B&C.

²⁴⁰ B&C: *brtags*.

²⁴¹ B&C: *pa'i*.

²⁴² C: *phra* (sans 'a chung).

²⁴³ Omis in B&C.

²⁴⁴ Omis in B&C.

²⁴⁵ Omis in B&C. Il est pratiquement certain que la lecture 'od dang zer soit la bonne (et non pas 'od zer), dans la mesure où trois éléments sont à prendre en compte ici. En effet, comme le montre rGyal rong Rig pa rang shar dans son *Avènement de la Vue (lTa ba thog dbab*, vol. I, p. 158), les trois modalités de l'expression du Discernement sous sa forme visionnaire sont celles des lumières ('od), des rayons (zer) et des chaînes de Thiglés (*thig le nyag thag*). Voir également Shardza Rinpoche, *dByings rig mdzod*, vol. II, p. 61, qui cite le même passage de l'*Avènement de la Vue* avec les trois éléments clairement distingués. Cette manifestation triple forme ce que les textes désignent comme la Vision Supérieure des Lumières propres à la Clarté visionnaire (*snang gsal 'od kyi lhag mthong*), l'une des trois modalités de la Vision Supérieure exposées dans les textes Dzogchen, avec la Vision Supérieure précellente et immaculée (*dri med mchog gi lhag mthong*), et la Vision Supérieure correspondant au Paroxysme de la réalisation de la Réalité (*bon nyid rtogs tshad kyi lhag mthong*). Littérairement, l'exposé de ces diverses modalités est inconnu du corpus du *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* (qui, en matière de *lhag mthong*, est essentiellement focalisé sur le Discernement de la Vision Supérieure [*lhag mthong gi rig pa*]), mais figure en bonne place dans l'*Avènement de la Vue*.

²⁴⁶ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

²⁴⁷ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

²⁴⁸ + *gcig* in B&C.

²⁴⁹ Omis in B&C.

²⁵⁰ Omis in B&C.

²⁵¹ C: 'babs pa.

²⁵² Omis in B&C.

²⁵³ C: *par*.

²⁵⁴ B&C: *thig*.

²⁵⁵ B&C: *le'i*. La lecture *thugs rje'i* en lieu et place de *thig le'i* (des versions B&C) est confirmée par le texte-racine du *gZer bu* (p. 568), ainsi que par le commentaire de ce texte, attribué à sNang bzher lod po (p. 593).

²⁵⁶ + *gsungs* in B. C donne la lecture : *ces gsungs so*.

²⁵⁷ + *la/* in B&C.

²⁵⁸ *nang la omis* in B&C.

²⁵⁹ C: *cig*.

²⁶⁰ Omission du *shad* (/) in B&C.

²⁶¹ B&C: *dwangs*.

bu 'phrod pa'i srab cam²⁶³ me²⁶⁴ ba de/ thun la zhugs dus gsal bar 'ong ste/
dga' ba khyad par can skye/ bzhug²⁶⁵ dus²⁶⁶ cung mi gsal te/ rkyen kha la
rag lus pas²⁶⁷ dge sbyor gcig²⁶⁸ skye ba de ni/ thun sgom zad sar skyol ba yin
te/ tshes gsum bzhi'i²⁶⁹ zla ba dang 'dra²⁷⁰ /

gnyis pa mched pa'i tshul la/²⁷¹ gnyis kyi²⁷² dang po la/ phyogs

[664] thams cad 'od gsal gyi snang bar²⁷³ 'char zhing/ de dag gi nang du shel
mdog rig pa'i thig le yang kha yar 'char zhing/ 'byung ba lnga kha²⁷⁴ gnad
du 'chun zhing²⁷⁵/ shas cher²⁷⁶ 'od lnga gur khang gi²⁷⁷ thig le re re la²⁷⁸ mu
khyud lnga lnga dang ldan pa/²⁷⁹ gsal la dwangs pa/ bkra la gsal ba/ nyag
thag rnam kyang dkar po kha yar kyang 'char zhing/ shas cher kha dog sna
tshogs lu gu rgyud kyi thig le phreng²⁸⁰ ba brkyang²⁸¹ ba²⁸² lta bu la yang/²⁸³
mu²⁸⁴ khyud lnga lnga²⁸⁵ dang ldan pa/ de dag gi dkyil nas²⁸⁶ gzugs sku'i
rnam pa 'phra mo 'am/ yig 'bru 'am/²⁸⁷ mchod rten las²⁸⁸ sogs²⁸⁹ gang yang
rung ba'i gzugs kyi²⁹⁰ rnam pa sna tshogs dang/ de dag gi bar du gzhan
yang/²⁹¹ 'od dang zer dang/²⁹² gzugs brnyan las²⁹³ sogs kyi rnam pa la/ 'di
'char dang 'di mi 'char gyi nges pa med de/ shar ba dag²⁹⁴ kyang sngar bas
cung zad dal zhing g.yung ba/²⁹⁵ cung tsam sdod tshugs par 'char te/ sgron

²⁶² B&C: *sing*.

²⁶³ B&C: *phyal*.

²⁶⁴ B&C: *le*.

²⁶⁵ B: *gzhug*.

²⁶⁶ B&C: *tu*.

²⁶⁷ B: *pa'i*.

²⁶⁸ B&C: *cig*.

²⁶⁹ B: *gzhi'i*.

²⁷⁰ B&C: *'dra'o*.

²⁷¹ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁷² + *shad* in B. C donne la lecture *kyis/*.

²⁷³ B&C: *ba*.

²⁷⁴ B&C: *ka*.

²⁷⁵ B&C: *pas*.

²⁷⁶ B&C: *che*.

²⁷⁷ B&C: *gis*, de toute évidence une coquille.

²⁷⁸ Omis in C.

²⁷⁹ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁸⁰ C: *'phreng*.

²⁸¹ B&C: *rkyang*.

²⁸² C: *pa*.

²⁸³ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁸⁴ C: *ma*, évidemment une erreur.

²⁸⁵ Omis in B&C.

²⁸⁶ C: *na*.

²⁸⁷ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁸⁸ C: *la*.

²⁸⁹ + *pa* in B&C.

²⁹⁰ Omis in B&C.

²⁹¹ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁹² Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

²⁹³ B&C: *la*.

²⁹⁴ B&C: *rnam*.

²⁹⁵ Le texte est pratiquement illisible dans ma version entre *shar ba rnam* et *zhing g.yung ba*.
Leçon correcte du texte original est bien celle donnée par A. Dans son *Commentaire* (p.
404), U ri bSod rgyal donne une lecture plutôt différente : *mkha' la nyi ma lhag shar ltar rol*.
Bru rGyal ba, dans son propre *Commentaire* (p. 466), donne la lecture fournie in A.

ma las/

de nas snang ba mched par 'gyur/
mkha' la nyi zla lhag ltar mthong/²⁹⁶
rig pa 'od kyi gur khang²⁹⁷ mthong/ zhes dang/

gzer bu las/

gnyis pa chu bo klong²⁹⁸ du²⁹⁹ phebs³⁰⁰ pa 'dra/ zhes³⁰¹ dang³⁰²/

snang ba mched dus/ zer dang thig le 'od dang/³⁰³ nyag thag thams cad
sngar bas dal ba g.yung ba/ dar tsam sdod tshugs pa³⁰⁴ zer dang nyag thag
rkya rkang gi tshul du mgyogs bul du³⁰⁵ snang ba'o/

gnyis pa la/³⁰⁶ gong gi rtse gcig³⁰⁷ gi nyams srab³⁰⁸ po³⁰⁹ de nyid spros bral

²⁹⁶ C lit cette ligne : *mkha' la nyi zla shar ltar mthong/*.

²⁹⁷ B donne *gur khang* en lieu et place de *'khor lo*. Il semble en fait que Bru rGyal ba ait condensé les deux vers *rig pa 'od kyi 'khor lo mthong/ thig le 'od kyi gur khang mthong* en un seul. La version du *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* lui-même donne cette lecture avec les deux vers non condensé (p. 349). Les deux commentaires — de U ri bSod nams rgyal mtshan et de Bru rGyal ba — des *Six Lampes* (*sGron ma drug*) confirment cette lecture. U ri, par exemple, interprète ces vers comme renvoyant à des visions différentes (p. 404): lors du déploiement (*mched pa*) des visions, les *thig le* augmentent sensiblement de taille, jusqu'à atteindre celle du soleil et de la lune brillant dans le ciel. Les "roues de lumières du Discernement" (*rig pa 'od kyi 'khor lo*) qui se manifestent alors renvoient aux visions d'ocelles de paon (*rma bya'i mdongs*). Celles des dômes lumineux de *thig le* (*thig le 'od kyi gur khang*) renvoient à un ensemble de manifestations dont les *thig le* apparaissent comme des dômes semblables à des tentes (*gur khang*). Dans son *Commentaire* (p. 466), Bru rGyal ba ne conserve que le deuxième vers (celui des dômes lumineux de *thig le*) et omet la référence aux "roues de lumière" (*'od kyi 'khor lo*) comme si la version du texte-racine qu'il a commentée ne comprenait pas ce vers. Il me semble qu'il s'agit d'un oubli ou bien que l'auteur s'est basé sur une version défectueuse du texte-racine dans la mesure où ce vers se retrouve dans toutes les versions consultées (e.g., xylographe de sDe dge, fol. 15b.3; édition de Triten Norbutse, p. 415; édition du *Kanjur*, vol. 171, p. 222.5, etc.). L'hypothèse de la version défectueuse me semble à retenir parce que l'auteur cite ce passage de la même manière dans son *Commentaire* et a, de toute évidence, utilisé le même texte-racine pour le présent texte.

²⁹⁸ C: *rlungs*. B: *rlungs*, corrigé en *klungs* entre crochets. La lecture *klungs* est confirmée par le texte-racine du *gZer bu*, p. 568. En revanche, le *Commentaire* du *gZer bu* attribué à Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po (*8e siècle) donne la lecture *klong* (p. 593). L'édition du texte-racine du *gZer bu* dans la version de Triten Norbutse donne la lecture *klong* (p. 723), ainsi que le *Commentaire* (p. 755). Dans tous ces cas de figure, les variantes sont, du point de vue du sens, peu importantes car elles renvoient à l'abîme (*klong*) aquatique ou abyssal d'un large fleuve, qui reste l'image à retenir. Cette phase visionnaire marque une étape décisive dans la pratique de la Claire-Lumière, notamment en raison de la stabilisation progressive des visions qui la caractérise (stabilisation qui faisait défaut au cours de la phase visionnaire précédente).

²⁹⁹ B&C: *su*.

³⁰⁰ B&C: *'bebs*.

³⁰¹ C: *ces*.

³⁰² B&C: *pas*.

³⁰³ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

³⁰⁴ + *shad (/)* in B, suggéré in C (par un espace blanc).

³⁰⁵ Omis in C.

³⁰⁶ Omission du *shad (/)* in B&C.

³⁰⁷ C: *cig*.

³⁰⁸ C: *sram* (?), lecture incertaine mais de toute évidence erronée).

³⁰⁹ C: *mo*.

gyi nyams su³¹⁰ 'char te/ ci³¹¹ zhig³¹² la phyi nang thams cad rang grol chen
 por khrol gyis song ste³¹³/ de yang³¹⁴ g.yo med rang gsal chen po'i
 [665] ngang las³¹⁵ mi 'da' ba³¹⁶/ rgya mtsho rlung gis ma bskyod pa lta bu/
 mtshan ma'i spros pa thams cad dang bral ba gcig³¹⁷ tu lhag gi³¹⁸ 'char te³¹⁹/
 dper na tshes lnga drug gi zla ba dang 'dra'o/ sgom pa'i dus su shin tu
 'phel/ ma sgom³²⁰ kyang skabs skabs su 'byung ba'o³²¹/ de ni sems pa'i³²²
 ngang sgom sleb pa yin no/

gsum pa snang ba rgyas tshul la³²³ gnyis kyi dang po la/³²⁴ nang na³²⁵
 mchog gi 'od gsal cung zad mngon du 'char³²⁶ te/ da³²⁷ ltar gyi ma dag pa
 me chu sa rlung gi³²⁸ rang rgyud pa 'di 'gags nas³²⁹ dag pa sku yi³³⁰ sa bon
 dang/ zhing khams kyi snang ba 'char te/ snang ba phyogs mtshams steng
 'og mdun rgyab thams cad 'od gsal gyi rang bzhin la/ 'od lnga'i thig le³³¹
 phub tsam³³²/ re lde³³³ tsam³³⁴ yul gru³³⁵ tsam³³⁶/337 chung ba nyung 'bru
 tsam las³³⁸ sogs sna tshogs³³⁹ su 'char zhing/ de dag re re la yang/ thig le
 lnga lnga³⁴⁰ gyes pa dang/ de la 'od gyen 'greng³⁴¹ rtsibs shar/³⁴² mu khyud
 can las³⁴³ sogs kyi³⁴⁴ spras pa dang/ phyi rim 'od kyi pad ma 'khor lo
 g.yung drung rin po che las³⁴⁵ sogs kyi bskor ba/ de'i phyi rim sgo sgo

³¹⁰ Omis in B.

³¹¹ B&C: *ji*.

³¹² + *gcig* in B. + *cig* in C.

³¹³ B&C: *nas*.

³¹⁴ *de yang* omis in B&C.

³¹⁵ B&C: *la*.

³¹⁶ B&C: *bar*.

³¹⁷ B: *zhig*. C: *cig*.

³¹⁸ B&C: *gis*, de toute évidence une meilleure grammaticale que celle du xylographe.

³¹⁹ B&C: *ste* (non conforme à la règle de déclinaison de cette particule).

³²⁰ B: *bsgoms*. C: *sgoms*.

³²¹ C: *ngo*.

³²² B: *dpa'i*. Les lectures [*sems*] *pa* et [*sems*] *dpa'* alternent classiquement dans les textes bon pos.

³²³ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

³²⁴ Le *shad* est suivi de la phrase suivante in B&C, qui manque au xylographe : *rlung gi snang ba rang rgyud pa 'di nyid 'gags nas/*.

³²⁵ B&C: *nas*.

³²⁶ B&C: *shar*.

³²⁷ B&C: *de*.

³²⁸ B&C: + *snang ba*, une lecture qui manque manifestement au xylographe, lequel est peu compréhensible en raison de cette omission.

³²⁹ + *shad* in B&C.

³³⁰ 'i in B&C.

³³¹ + *sba* in B&C.

³³² + *dang* in B&C.

³³³ B&C: *lde'am*.

³³⁴ Omis in B&C.

³³⁵ B&C: *gru'am*.

³³⁶ Omis in B&C.

³³⁷ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³³⁸ B&C: *la*.

³³⁹ *sna tshogs* omis in B&C.

³⁴⁰ B&C: *lngar*.

³⁴¹ B&C: 'breng.

³⁴² *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³⁴³ B&C: *la*.

³⁴⁴ B&C: *kyi*.

³⁴⁵ B&C: *la*.

rgyan³⁴⁶ dang bcas³⁴⁷ pa/ legs par dod cing tshang ba/ dkyil na sku'i nram
 pa dod tsam dang/³⁴⁸ phyed rdzogs tsam³⁴⁹ dang³⁵⁰ dbu dod pa dang/ sa
 bon yig 'bru gsal ba las³⁵¹ sogs/³⁵² 'od zer nyag thag dang bcas pa/³⁵³ thams
 cad che chung bsam gyis mi khyab pa/³⁵⁴ mang nyung snang yul gang ba
 'byung ste/ de ltar gyi snang ba de dag res 'ga' g.yo 'gul med par gnas
 shing³⁵⁵/ res 'ga' cung zad³⁵⁶ 'grims³⁵⁷ pa³⁵⁸ ste³⁵⁹/ gzer bu las/
 gsum pa bya khras³⁶⁰

[666] gzan tshol ba³⁶¹ lta bur 'gyur/ zhes³⁶² dang/
 sgron ma las/

de nas snang ba rdzogs³⁶³ par 'gyur/
 rigs lnga rdzogs sku³⁶⁴ dkyil 'khor mthong/ zhes³⁶⁵ so/

gnysis pa la³⁶⁶ gong gi spros bral rang grol gnas cha mthug³⁶⁷ po dang bcas
 pa³⁶⁸/ ci³⁶⁹ zhig³⁷⁰ gcig³⁷¹ la rig pa gzhi med/ ye³⁷² stong³⁷³ rtsa bral chen po
 gcig³⁷⁴ tu har gyis song nas/ phyi nang yul shes 'khor 'das ci byung ci shar
 ba thams cad/³⁷⁵ kho'i ngang du ro gcig³⁷⁶ pa zhig³⁷⁷ 'byung bas/ de la du ma
 ro gcig³⁷⁸ gi sgom³⁷⁹ zhes bya ste/ tshes brgyad dgu'i zla ba dang 'dra ste/
 sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa la phyed sleb tsam yin/ ngang sgom zad sar

³⁴⁶ C: *brgyan*.

³⁴⁷ B&C: *chas*.

³⁴⁸ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³⁴⁹ Omis in B&C.

³⁵⁰ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

³⁵¹ B&C: *la*.

³⁵² *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³⁵³ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³⁵⁴ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³⁵⁵ C: *cing*.

³⁵⁶ B&C: *tsam*.

³⁵⁷ B&C: 'dril.

³⁵⁸ Omis in B&C.

³⁵⁹ B: *te*.

³⁶⁰ B&C: *khra*, lecture confirmée par le texte-racine des *Vingt-et-Un Sceaux* (p. 568) et par le *Commentaire* de sNang zher lod po (p. 593).

³⁶¹ Omis in C.

³⁶² C: *ces*.

³⁶³ Sur ma copie du xylographe (photocopie effectuée sur l'exemplaire appartenant à Lopön Tenzin Namdak Rinpoche), *rdzogs* est biffé et correctement corrigé en *rgyas*. Cette lecture est confirmée par C.

³⁶⁴ B&C: *sku'i*.

³⁶⁵ + *gsungs* in B. C: *ces gsungs*.

³⁶⁶ B&C: *las*.

³⁶⁷ B&C: 'thug.

³⁶⁸ + *de nyid*/ in B&C.

³⁶⁹ B&C: *ji*.

³⁷⁰ B&C: *ltar*.

³⁷¹ B&C: *cig*.

³⁷² La partie soulignée est manquante in B mais présente in C.

³⁷³ + *gsal* in B.

³⁷⁴ B: *zhig*. C: *cig*.

³⁷⁵ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

³⁷⁶ C: *cig*.

³⁷⁷ C: *cig*.

³⁷⁸ C: *cig*.

³⁷⁹ B&C: *bsgom*.

skyol nas/ klong sgom 'go tshugs³⁸⁰ pa yin no/
 bzhi pa snang ba rdzogs pa'i 'char tshul la^{381/382} gnyis kyi dang po la/
 mchog gi 'od gsal mngon du gyur te³⁸³ / sangs rgyas kyi sku³⁸⁴ zhing khams
 rang la lhun grub tu yod pa/³⁸⁵ de nyid³⁸⁶ gab sbas med par mngon du 'char
 te³⁸⁷ / de yang rang snang dag pa'i³⁸⁸ zhi rgyas dbang drag gi dkyil 'khor³⁸⁹
 chen po ma 'dres pa³⁹⁰ so so nas³⁹¹ bkra la gsal ba/ rtsig³⁹² pa sgo sgo rgyan
 snam bu dang bcas pa^{393/394} khyung gur khyung 'dab bre bum/³⁹⁵ gdugs
 tog³⁹⁶ bya ru dang bcas pa'i nang na³⁹⁷ / zhi rgyas la nyi zla padma g.yung
 drung/³⁹⁸ 'khor lo rin po che las³⁹⁹ sogs⁴⁰⁰ skyon med dag pa'i gdan dang⁴⁰¹
 dbang drag la dregs pa lha klu dri za gcan lnga las⁴⁰² sogs⁴⁰³ thul⁴⁰⁴ rtags kyi
 gdan dang⁴⁰⁵ / phyi nang gi rigs lnga gtso la 'khor gyis bskor ba/ yang sprul
 pho nya las byed dang bcas⁴⁰⁶ pa'am/ zhi rgyas dbang drag gi lha tshogs
 bsam gyis mi khyab pa/ rang rang gi gdan la bzhugs shing^{407/408} de dag
 thams cad kyang rgyan⁴⁰⁹ dang cha lugs/ mtshan dang⁴¹⁰ dpe byad^{411/412} sku
 mdog

[667] phyag mtshan thams cad rdzogs pa/ che chung ni che tshad chung
 tshad tshad⁴¹³ las⁴¹⁴ 'das pa/ mang nyung bsam gyis mi khyab par⁴¹⁵ 'char
 la/ de dag gi⁴¹⁶ bar bar du 'od lnga'i thig le yan man dang phan tshun thams

³⁸⁰ B&C: *zug*.

³⁸¹ Omis in B&C.

³⁸² *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

³⁸³ B&C: *ste*.

³⁸⁴ + *dang* in B&C.

³⁸⁵ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

³⁸⁶ + *shad (/)* in B&C.

³⁸⁷ C: *ste*.

³⁸⁸ B&C: *pas*.

³⁸⁹ B&C: +/ *pho brang*.

³⁹⁰ + *shad (/)* in B&C.

³⁹¹ B: *la*. C: *na*.

³⁹² B&C: *brtsig*.

³⁹³ Omis in B&C.

³⁹⁴ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

³⁹⁵ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

³⁹⁶ C: *rtogs*, évidemment une mauvaise lecture.

³⁹⁷ Omis in B.

³⁹⁸ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

³⁹⁹ B&C: *la*.

⁴⁰⁰ + *pa* in C.

⁴⁰¹ + *shad (/)* in B&C.

⁴⁰² B&C: *la*.

⁴⁰³ + *pa/* in B&C.

⁴⁰⁴ + *pa* in B. + *ba* in C.

⁴⁰⁵ B&C: *la*.

⁴⁰⁶ B&C: *chas*.

⁴⁰⁷ B&C: *pa*.

⁴⁰⁸ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

⁴⁰⁹ C: *brgyan*.

⁴¹⁰ Omis in B&C.

⁴¹¹ Omis in B. &C

⁴¹² *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

⁴¹³ Omis in B&C.

⁴¹⁴ B&C: *la*.

⁴¹⁵ B&C: *pa*.

⁴¹⁶ Omis in C.

cad du⁴¹⁷ lnga lnga 'char te/ de'i dkyil na rigs lnga rdzogs par bzhugs pa dang/ yang thig le gzhi gcig⁴¹⁸ la zhing khams phyogs bzhi dbus lngar bcad pa'i nang du⁴¹⁹ rigs lngar⁴²⁰ bzhugs pa dang/ yang thig le'i dbus⁴²¹ su⁴²² rigs rtags lnga⁴²³ pa⁴²⁴ bzhugs pa dang/ yang dkyil 'khor⁴²⁵ sogs la bkram⁴²⁶ pa⁴²⁷ lta bu'i lha gdan la bzhugs pa dang/ lha yang rdzogs sku sprul sku las⁴²⁸ sogs gang du yang⁴²⁹ snang la/ dag snang gi 'char tshul bsam gyis mi khyab pa gcig⁴³⁰ 'byung zhing⁴³¹ de'i dus kyi gzhal yas dang/⁴³² thig le zer dang nyag thag sku dang bcas pa thams cad/⁴³³ g.yo 'gul med par gnas pa 'byung ste/ sgron ma las/

de nas snang ba rdzogs par 'gyur/

lhun grub phyag rgya'i dkyil 'khor mthong/

snang ba 'od kyi zhing khams mthong/

cho 'phrul g.yo 'gul med par mthong/ zhes dang/

gzer bu las/

bzhi pa rus sbal mkhar⁴³⁴ gzhong du tshud⁴³⁵ pa dang⁴³⁶ 'dra/ zhes⁴³⁷ gsungs so/

gnysis pa la⁴³⁸/ du ma ro gcig gi dge sbyor gyi⁴³⁹ nyams rtogs kyi rlom pa cung tsam dang chas⁴⁴⁰ pa/ de nyid ci zhid la bsgom bya sgom byed kyi blo rtsol thams cad sems su grol nas/ bsgom med yengs med kyi ngang la rig pa rgyun chags su gnas shing/ de las mi 'da' bar 'byung ste/ de'i dus su blos ched du sgom⁴⁴¹ mi dgos/ ngang gi⁴⁴² cung tsam dran dgos pa de la bsgom

[668] med yengs med kyi sgom⁴⁴³ zhes bya ste/ dper na⁴⁴⁴ bcu bzhi'i zla ba bzhin du⁴⁴⁵ sangs rgyas kyi sa la sleb tu⁴⁴⁶ cha ba yin/ mthar thug rtogs pa'i

⁴¹⁷ Omis in B.

⁴¹⁸ C : *cig*.

⁴¹⁹ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁴²⁰ B&C: *lnga*.

⁴²¹ B&C: *bar*.

⁴²² B&C: *du*.

⁴²³ Omis in B&C.

⁴²⁴ B&C: *la*.

⁴²⁵ + *la* in B&C.

⁴²⁶ B&C: *bkra*.

⁴²⁷ B&C: *ba*.

⁴²⁸ B&C: *la*.

⁴²⁹ Omis in B.

⁴³⁰ C: *cig*.

⁴³¹ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁴³² *shad* (/) omis in B&C + 'od dang.

⁴³³ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁴³⁴ B&C: 'khar.

⁴³⁵ B&C: *bcug*.

⁴³⁶ Omis in B&C.

⁴³⁷ C: *ces*.

⁴³⁸ B&C: *las*.

⁴³⁹ Omis in B&C.

⁴⁴⁰ B&C: *chas*.

⁴⁴¹ C: *bsgom*.

⁴⁴² C: *gis* (de toute évidence une bien meilleure lecture).

⁴⁴³ B&C: *bsgom*.

⁴⁴⁴ + *tshe bcu gsum* in B&C.

⁴⁴⁵ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

klong sgom⁴⁴⁷ yang rgyud la nges par shar/ mngon du legs par ma gyur
tsam gyi skabs so/

Inga pa⁴⁴⁸ snang ba mthar thug pa'i 'char tshul la gnyis kyi dang po⁴⁴⁹/ de
ltar shar ba'i zhing khams thig le 'od zer lha sku las⁴⁵⁰ sogs/⁴⁵¹ rang snang
dag pa'i 'char tshul la^{452/453} spros bcas dngos mtshan can thams cad kyang/
stong nyid rtsa bral kun gzhi spros med kyi klong du mal gyis thim/ 'ubs⁴⁵⁴
kyis 'dus⁴⁵⁵ nas rtsol bcas spros pa'i mtshan ma thams cad khrol gyis 'gro⁴⁵⁶
ste^{457/458} sgra 'od zer gsum lha sku ye shes kyi snang ba thams cad sems su
'dus shing/ dmar thag rbad kyi⁴⁵⁹ chod pa ste/ sgron ma las/

zer ni⁴⁶⁰ rig pa'i rang zer tel/
stong pa'i⁴⁶¹ gzugs brnyan chu zla'i⁴⁶² tshul/
sgra ni rig pa'i rang sgra ste/
stong pa'i rang sgra brag cha'i tshul/
'od ni rig pa'i rang 'od de/
stong pa'i 'od ni 'ja' tshon tshul/⁴⁶³

zhes⁴⁶⁴ dang⁴⁶⁵ lung drug las/
bye ma snyed⁴⁶⁶ kyi bder gshegs mthong ba ni/
rmi lam sbrang rtsi 'thung yang⁴⁶⁷ sad pas⁴⁶⁸ yul phyogs med/
mi gnas mi mthong stong la⁴⁶⁹ phyogs dang bral/
'di zhes bstan dka' dig⁴⁷⁰ ma'i⁴⁷¹ rmi lam 'dra/ zhes⁴⁷² dang/
gzer bu las/
Inga pa 'byung bzhi⁴⁷³ zad pa'i nam mkha' 'dra/ zhes dang⁴⁷⁴/

⁴⁴⁶ B&C: du.

⁴⁴⁷ C: bsgom.

⁴⁴⁸ B: ba.

⁴⁴⁹ + la in B&C.

⁴⁵⁰ B&C: la.

⁴⁵¹ shad (/) omis in B&C.

⁴⁵² Omis in B&C.

⁴⁵³ shad (/) omis in B&C.

⁴⁵⁴ C: 'ub.

⁴⁵⁵ B&C: bsdus.

⁴⁵⁶ C: grol.

⁴⁵⁷ B: te.

⁴⁵⁸ Après le shad, la version B a une ligne erronée qui combine la précédente et la suivante:
sgra 'od zer gsum lha sku ye shes kyi snang ba thams cad khrol gyis grol tel/.

⁴⁵⁹ C: gyis (erreur classique).

⁴⁶⁰ C: na (de toute évidence une coquille).

⁴⁶¹ + cho 'phrul in B&C.

⁴⁶² chu zla'i omis in B&C.

⁴⁶³ Ces deux lignes sont remplacées in B&C par : /sku ni rig pa'i rang gzugs tel /stong pa'i rang
gzugs chu zla'i tshul/. Cette lecture est confirmée par le texte même du sGron ma drug (p.
350). La même lecture est donnée par U ri bSod rgyal dans son *Commentaire* (p. 405). Celui
de Bru rGyal ba ne contient pas ce passage.

⁴⁶⁴ C: ces.

⁴⁶⁵ + shad in B.

⁴⁶⁶ B: rnyed (lecture confirmée par une version manuscrite du *Lung drug* [p. 163]).

⁴⁶⁷ B: yangs. Le manuscrit du *Lung drug* fournit quant à lui la lecture mthong byed.

⁴⁶⁸ *Lung drug* : pa'i.

⁴⁶⁹ B: pa (lecture confirmée par le *Lung drug*, p. 163).

⁴⁷⁰ B: lkugs.

⁴⁷¹ B: pa'i.

⁴⁷² C: ces.

⁴⁷³ B&C: ba.

gong gi snang ba⁴⁷⁵ 'char tshul de dag thams cad dang⁴⁷⁶/ sgra 'od zer gsum
las⁴⁷⁷ sogs pa'i⁴⁷⁸ rang snang⁴⁷⁹ thams cad/⁴⁸⁰ ma la bu thim gyi⁴⁸¹ tshul du
kun gzhi'i klong du thim nas/ rang yal du yal rang grol du grol rang chod
du chod/⁴⁸² rang

[669] shar du shar bas/ zad pa'i mthar thug ste/ 'khrul tshul dang gnad
gcig⁴⁸³ tu go ste/ byang⁴⁸⁴ ba'i⁴⁸⁵ phug⁴⁸⁶ dang grol⁴⁸⁷ mtha' 'di la thug ces gzer bu
las gsungs so/

gnyis pa las⁴⁸⁸/ sgom⁴⁸⁹ med yengs med dran pa'i⁴⁹⁰ thag pa cung tsam
dang bcas pa de nyid/⁴⁹¹ ci⁴⁹² zhiq la dran pa'i thag pa⁴⁹³ chad⁴⁹⁴/ sgom⁴⁹⁵ pa'i
brtod⁴⁹⁶ phur thon nas⁴⁹⁷ ci byas thams cad rtsol⁴⁹⁸ bral gyi ngang las mi
'da'/⁴⁹⁹ ci 'char thams cad ye shes su 'char/ bsgom⁵⁰⁰ ma bsgom⁵⁰¹ la khyad
par⁵⁰² med/⁵⁰³ bzhag na sdod⁵⁰⁴ btang⁵⁰⁵ na 'gro⁵⁰⁶ dgos dus slebs⁵⁰⁷/ rang

⁴⁷⁴ B: *pas*, causatif qui est plein de sens ici parce qu'il indique la fin de la citation, alors que la version A laisse entendre que le reste de ce passage est une citation d'un autre extrait du *gZer bu*. De fait, aucun passage de ce type ne figure dans le *gZer bu* lui-même (sous cette forme ou sous des variantes proches) et il faut donc bien conclure que A est erroné sur ce point. En fait, à la fin de tout ce paragraphe se trouve une marque de fin de citation mais elle ne s'applique qu'au vers qui la précède immédiatement.

⁴⁷⁵ C: *ba'i*.

⁴⁷⁶ B&C: *kyang*

⁴⁷⁷ B&C: *la*.

⁴⁷⁸ Omis in B&C.

⁴⁷⁹ + *la shar ba* in C.

⁴⁸⁰ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁴⁸¹ B&C: *gyis*.

⁴⁸² *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁴⁸³ C: *cig*.

⁴⁸⁴ C: *byung*. La lecture dans le texte original du *gZer bu* (p. 577) est celle de *'byung*. Celle de B&C avec *byang sa* ne fait en réalité aucun sens dans ce contexte comme le montre le *Commentaire* attribué à sNang bzher lod po (p. 630).

⁴⁸⁵ B&C: *sa'i*.

⁴⁸⁶ B&C: *phugs*.

⁴⁸⁷ + *ba'i* in B&C.

⁴⁸⁸ B&C: *la*.

⁴⁸⁹ B&C: *bsgom*.

⁴⁹⁰ B&C: *pa yil*.

⁴⁹¹ *shad* (/) omis in B.

⁴⁹² C: *je*.

⁴⁹³ Omis in B&C.

⁴⁹⁴ B&C: *gcod*.

⁴⁹⁵ B&C: *bsgom*.

⁴⁹⁶ B: *rtod*; C: *stod*.

⁴⁹⁷ + *shad* in B&C.

⁴⁹⁸ B&C: *rtsal*.

⁴⁹⁹ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁵⁰⁰ B: *sgom*.

⁵⁰¹ B&C: *bsgoms*.

⁵⁰² Omis in B&C.

⁵⁰³ B insère ici la ligne *gnyid ma gnyid khyad med*/.

⁵⁰⁴ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵⁰⁵ B: *gtong*. C: *gtang*.

⁵⁰⁶ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵⁰⁷ B&C: *sleb*.

dbang rang gis bsgyur⁵⁰⁸ dgra dang bu ru⁵⁰⁹ mnyam/ gser dang bong ba ru⁵¹⁰
 mnyam/ yar la mi re/ mar la mi dogs⁵¹¹ pa ni⁵¹² rtogs pa'i klong sgom⁵¹³
 mngon du gyur te⁵¹⁴/ bco lnga'i zla ba ltar⁵¹⁵ goms pa mthar skyol/ kun tu
 bzang po'i rang sa zin pa yin no/ de yang dper na/⁵¹⁶ brdzun⁵¹⁷ gyis brid
 pa'i phugs bcad⁵¹⁸ na⁵¹⁹ rang skyengs la/⁵²⁰ 'gro ba ltar⁵²¹ snang ba sgra 'od
 zer gsum gyi brdzun⁵²² phugs legs par bcar⁵²³ bas⁵²⁴/ sems su⁵²⁵ thug gis⁵²⁶
 btugs nas⁵²⁷/ ⁵²⁸ chod pa dang⁵²⁹ 'bras bu rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas bya ba
 bzang po gcig⁵³⁰ logs su re ba⁵³¹ yang⁵³²/ da ltar gyi snang ba lha dang gzhal
 yas su gtan la phabs⁵³³ pas⁵³⁴/ re 'dod bzlog la⁵³⁵ ngan byed la khirms bcad
 pas⁵³⁶ de⁵³⁷ phyin chad⁵³⁸ mi byed pa ltar/ gzhi yi⁵³⁹ thog tu 'khrul ba'i phugs
 legs par bcad pas/ phyin chad mi 'khrul ba dang⁵⁴⁰/ rig pa ka dag dri med
 ngo bo nyid kyi don la⁵⁴¹ byung thebs rtsal rdzogs/ shugs

[670] thon lhag⁵⁴² ma lus thag chod⁵⁴³ mngon du gyur pas⁵⁴⁴/ ⁵⁴⁵ de'i ngang las
 ma g.yo⁵⁴⁶ bas⁵⁴⁷ bon sku/ de'i ngang las zag bcas kyi phung po/⁵⁴⁸ zag med

⁵⁰⁸ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵⁰⁹ Omis in B&C.

⁵¹⁰ Omis in B&C.

⁵¹¹ C: *dwogs*.

⁵¹² + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵¹³ C: *bsgom* (une erreur endémique in C).

⁵¹⁴ Omis in B&C.

⁵¹⁵ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵¹⁶ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁵¹⁷ B&C: *rdzun*.

⁵¹⁸ B&C: *bcar*.

⁵¹⁹ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵²⁰ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁵²¹ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵²² Omis in B&C.

⁵²³ B&C: *bcad*.

⁵²⁴ B&C: *na*.

⁵²⁵ B: *la*. Le *la* est ajouté sous la ligne in C. On pourrait très bien le prendre, avec une lecture trop rapide, pour un *zhabs kyu* ajouté à *sems* pour former le *bsdus tshig* * *sems su*, comme dans la version A donc.

⁵²⁶ C: *gi* (intégré dans le *bsdus tshig* * *thugi* = *thug* + *gi*).

⁵²⁷ B&C: *na*.

⁵²⁸ B&C ajoutent ici 'khrul pa'i phugs avant *chod pa dang*/.

⁵²⁹ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵³⁰ B: *zhig*. C: *cig*.

⁵³¹ B&C: *mi*.

⁵³² B&C: *dgos*.

⁵³³ B&C: *phab*.

⁵³⁴ B&C: *la*.

⁵³⁵ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵³⁶ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵³⁷ B&C: *da*.

⁵³⁸ B&C: *ngan*.

⁵³⁹ Omis in B&C.

⁵⁴⁰ B&C: *ste*.

⁵⁴¹ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵⁴² + *ma* in B&C (i.e. *lhag ma ma lus*...).

⁵⁴³ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵⁴⁴ B: *ba*. C: *pa*.

⁵⁴⁵ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁵⁴⁶ B&C: *g.yos*.

⁵⁴⁷ B&C: *pa*.

du grol bas⁵⁴⁹ gdul bya las dag gi snang ngor/ bdag lus mtshan dpe'i⁵⁵⁰
 rgyan gdan khri zhing khams/⁵⁵¹ bkod sprul gyis brgyan pa'i rdzogs sku⁵⁵²
 'char zhing/ de'i 'byung⁵⁵³ khams dang skye mched rtsa dang yan lag⁵⁵⁴
 tshogs drug⁵⁵⁵ sgo lnga las⁵⁵⁶ sogs kyi 'char tshul las/ phyi ltar rgyas pa'i lha
 tshogs brgya⁵⁵⁷ rtsa brgyad las⁵⁵⁸ sogs dang/ nang lta⁵⁵⁹ zhi ba'i lha tshogs
 bzhi bcu rtsa lnga dang/ gsang ba khro bo'i lha tshogs brgyad cu rtsa drug
 las⁵⁶⁰ sogs⁵⁶¹ 'char⁵⁶² ba ni rdzogs sku la/ de dag gi⁵⁶³ 'gro ba gang la gang
 'dul du 'dren pa'i thabs lam sna tshogs su sprul nas/ 'gro ba'i don la g.yel ba
 med par/⁵⁶⁴ ngang ngam shugs las⁵⁶⁵ 'byung⁵⁶⁶ ba ni/⁵⁶⁷ sprul sku ste/ sku
 gsum la phyi dus mi 'debs pa'o/ de tsam na las sgrib sbyong ba dang/ sa
 lam skye ba dang/ bskal⁵⁶⁸ pa du mar 'bad mi dgos par⁵⁶⁹/ drang don rgyu
 'bras kyi rnam bzhas thams cad rdzun du btang nas/ lus rgya 'di'i steng du
 btsan thabs kyi⁵⁷⁰ sangs rgyas da lta nyid du thob pa ste/ sgron ma las/
 snang ba'i rdzun phug⁵⁷¹ sems su zad/
 gzugs sku'i dmar thag sems su bcad⁵⁷²/
 'khrul ba'i phugs chod 'khrul mi srid/
 sku gsum da lta mngon du gyur/
 rgyu 'bras las dbang rdzun po che/
 'di ni sangs rgyas btsan thabs yin/ zhes⁵⁷³ gsungs so /

'o na gdams pa 'di⁵⁷⁴ yi⁵⁷⁵ nyams snang ci tsam na⁵⁷⁶ mthar phyin na /

[671] gzer bu las /
 rtsa⁵⁷⁷ yi⁵⁷⁸ 'phar grangs⁵⁷⁹ bar ma'i tshad bzung ba⁵⁸⁰ /

548 *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

549 + *shad* (/) in B&C.

550 B&C: *dpe*.

551 *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

552 B&C: *skur*.

553 + *khungs* in B&C.

554 + *shad* (/) [invisible] in B&C.

555 B&C: *brgyad*.

556 B&C: *la*.

557 + *dang* in B&C.

558 B&C: *la*.

559 B&C: *ltar*, de toute évidence une meilleure lecture.

560 Omis in B&C.

561 Omis in B&C.

562 B&C: *shar*.

563 B&C: *gi*.

564 *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

565 B&C: *la*.

566 B&C: *byung*.

567 *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

568 C: *skal*.

569 B&C: *pas*.

570 B: *kyis*.

571 B&C: *phugs*.

572 B&C: *chod*.

573 C: *ces*.

574 B&C: 'di'i.

575 Omis in B&C (en raison du génitif déjà présent avec 'di'i).

576 B&C: *nas*.

577 C: *rtsa'i*.

578 Omis in C (en raison du génitif déjà présent avec *rtsa'i*).

*mi ring mi thung bar ma chad pa'i grangs/
brgya la gcig⁵⁸¹ rtsis khri phrag bco brgyad kyis/
snang ba'i goms tshad mtha' ru phyin par 'gyur/ zhes⁵⁸² gsungs⁵⁸³ pas/*

skyes bu'i dbugs 'bring tshad skor brgya la⁵⁸⁴ 'od gsal gyi thun tshad gcig⁵⁸⁵
tu byas pa'i/ thun tshad khri phrag bco brgyad la/ dbang po 'bring gcig⁵⁸⁶ gi
rkyen gzhan gyis⁵⁸⁷ bar ma chod par nyams su blangs na/ mthar thug pa'i
snang ba yan chad rdzogs par 'char/ zhes⁵⁸⁸ bar⁵⁸⁹ go'o/ gzhan yang snang
ba'i 'char tshul lnga'i thad sor⁵⁹⁰ thad sor dpe ris⁵⁹¹ bzhin du yang⁵⁹² ngo
sprad do/

gsum pa de dag lam gyi rim pa dang sbyar ba la shing rta'i srol dang
'dra⁵⁹³ bar⁵⁹⁴ / sngon gyi rgyal 'phags dam pa rnam kyis tshul du lam la
bgrod par byas⁵⁹⁵ te/ de yang dang po bon spyod dgu'i rim pas sdig sgrib
sbyangs⁵⁹⁶ / tshogs gnyis bsags⁵⁹⁷ par byed pa na⁵⁹⁸ tshogs lam dang mthun
la/ de nas mtshan bcas dang/⁵⁹⁹ mtshan med kyis gdams pa gnyis⁶⁰⁰ ni/ ngo
bo nyid kyis don⁶⁰¹ gsal snang bskyed cing/⁶⁰² gnas lugs kyis don la 'byor⁶⁰³
bas/⁶⁰⁴ sbyor lam dang mthun la/ de nas spyi dang bye brag gi 'od gsal la⁶⁰⁵
gdams pa 'di⁶⁰⁶ / rig pa'i ye shes ji ltar mngon du ston pas mthong lam dang
mthun la/ de⁶⁰⁷ nas⁶⁰⁸ bogs 'don gyis gdams pa ni/ ngo bo nyid kyis don shar
ba la⁶⁰⁹ goms shing⁶¹⁰ 'dris par⁶¹¹ byed pa^{612/613} sgom⁶¹⁴ lam dang mthun la/

⁵⁷⁹ C : *grang* (manifestement une erreur involontairement drôle).

⁵⁸⁰ B&C: *la*.

⁵⁸¹ C: *cig*.

⁵⁸² C: *ces*.

⁵⁸³ Omis in B&C.

⁵⁸⁴ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁵⁸⁵ C: *cig*.

⁵⁸⁶ C: *cig*.

⁵⁸⁷ C: *gyis*.

⁵⁸⁸ C: *ces*.

⁵⁸⁹ B&C: *pas*.

⁵⁹⁰ B&C: *so*.

⁵⁹¹ B: *rim*. C: *rims*.

⁵⁹² Omis in C.

⁵⁹³ *dang* 'dra omis in B&C.

⁵⁹⁴ B&C: *ltar*.

⁵⁹⁵ B&C: *bya*.

⁵⁹⁶ B&C: *sbyong*.

⁵⁹⁷ B: *bsog*. C: *sog*.

⁵⁹⁸ B&C: *ni*.

⁵⁹⁹ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁰⁰ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁰¹ + *la* in B&C.

⁶⁰² *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁰³ B&C: *sbyor*.

⁶⁰⁴ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁰⁵ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁰⁶ B&C: *ni*.

⁶⁰⁷ B&C: *gzhan*.

⁶⁰⁸ B&C: *yang*.

⁶⁰⁹ + *shad* in B&C.

⁶¹⁰ C: *zhing* (évidemment une erreur).

⁶¹¹ B&C: *pa*.

⁶¹² B&C: *pas*.

de nas yang dag pa'i don la ngo sprad nas/ rdo rus 'phrod pa ni mthar
phyin pa yin te/ de yang skye ba dang

[672] bskal⁶¹⁵ pa du ma'i rtsol⁶¹⁶ ba la ma ltos par/⁶¹⁷ thabs lam gnad kyis
skye ba gcig⁶¹⁸ gam⁶¹⁹ skad⁶²⁰ cig⁶²¹ gis rang sa zin par byed cing/ lam
bgrod⁶²² med gcig⁶²³ chod/⁶²⁴ 'khrul pa⁶²⁵ spang⁶²⁶ med rang grol/ 'bras bu
sku gsum lhun grub tu ston te/

lam na⁶²⁷ nye lam der rdzogs pa⁶²⁸ / zhes⁶²⁹ dang/

rgyu 'bras las dbang rdzun po che/

'di ni sangs rgyas btsan thabs yin/ zhes sgron ma las gsungs pa⁶³⁰ dang⁶³¹ /

nyams rtogs dang sbyar na/ thun sgom⁶³² gyi dus su rig pa'i ye shes don
spyi⁶³³ yi⁶³⁴ tshul⁶³⁵ du goms⁶³⁶ pas/ tshogs lam dang mthun la/ sgom⁶³⁷ dus
su gsal snang can du 'byung bas/⁶³⁸ sbyor lam dang mthun/ ngang⁶³⁹
sgom⁶⁴⁰ gyi mgo⁶⁴¹ shar ba ni/ rang mtshan gsar du rtogs pas/⁶⁴² mthong
lam dang mthun/ de yang ngang gis goms shing mthar thon par byed pa
ni/⁶⁴³ sgom⁶⁴⁴ lam dang mthun/ klong du gyur pa ni mthar byin⁶⁴⁵ pa'i 'bras
bu'o/⁶⁴⁶ gzhan yang thun sgom⁶⁴⁷ la brtan pa thob pa'i dus su/⁶⁴⁸ rdzu 'phrul

⁶¹³ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

⁶¹⁴ B&C: *bsgom*.

⁶¹⁵ C: *skal*.

⁶¹⁶ C: *brtsol*.

⁶¹⁷ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

⁶¹⁸ Omis in C.

⁶¹⁹ Omis in B&C.

⁶²⁰ Omis in B&C.

⁶²¹ Omis in B&C.

⁶²² C: *bsgrod*.

⁶²³ C: *cig*.

⁶²⁴ *shad (/)* omis in C.

⁶²⁵ B: *ba*.

⁶²⁶ B: *spong*.

⁶²⁷ B&C: *ni*.

⁶²⁸ B&C: *pas*.

⁶²⁹ C: *ces*.

⁶³⁰ B&C: *so*.

⁶³¹ Omis in B&C.

⁶³² C: *bsgom* (lecture éronnée, endémique, on l'a vu, in C).

⁶³³ Omis in B&C.

⁶³⁴ B&C: *gyi*.

⁶³⁵ B: *phul*.

⁶³⁶ B: *bsgoms*. C: *bsgom*.

⁶³⁷ B&C: *ngang sgom*, de toute évidence une correction nécessaire. La correction a été effectuée par Lopön Rinpoche sur son exemplaire, dans la marge supérieure.

⁶³⁸ *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

⁶³⁹ B&C: *klong*, c'est également la bonne lecture, *ngang sgom* intervenant dans la ligne précédente. La correction a, ici aussi, été effectuée par Lopön Rinpoche sur son exemplaire (marge supérieure).

⁶⁴⁰ C: *bsgom*.

⁶⁴¹ B&C: *'go*.

⁶⁴² *shad (/)* omis in B&C.

⁶⁴³ *shad (/)* omis in C.

⁶⁴⁴ C: *bsgom*.

⁶⁴⁵ B&C: *phyin*, évidemment la bonne lecture.

⁶⁴⁶ Il y a un problème d'impression in B, p. 349, qui reprend la ligne : ...*lam dang mthun/ klong du gyur ba ni mthar phyin pa'i 'bras bu'o*. Il s'agit peut-être simplement d'un problème de

lus⁶⁴⁹ kyi⁶⁵⁰ yon tan/ mkhyen pa thugs kyi yon tan/ tshangs pa gsung gi yon tan/ de bzhin du lta ba sgom pa/⁶⁵¹ spyod pa 'phrin las gsal snang/⁶⁵² nyams myong thams cad skyes bu'i⁶⁵³ gang zag dam pa rnam la⁶⁵⁴ 'char ba'i yon tan thams cad 'byung la/ de bzhin ngang sgom⁶⁵⁵ dus su⁶⁵⁶ yon tan de dag thams cad sngar bas⁶⁵⁷ cha cha nas 'phags⁶⁵⁸ te/ g.yung drung sems dpa' rnam kyi rdzu 'phrul/⁶⁵⁹ mngon shes 'phrin⁶⁶⁰ las sku gsung thugs lta dgongs mdzad spyod kyi⁶⁶¹ yon tan thams cad thob pa yin te/ klong bsgom⁶⁶² gyi dus su/⁶⁶³ gong gi de dag las kyang rab tu spags⁶⁶⁴ te/ yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs

[673] rgyas kyi/⁶⁶⁵ sku gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin⁶⁶⁶ las las⁶⁶⁷ sogs⁶⁶⁸ yon tan thams⁶⁶⁹ cad⁶⁷⁰ rgyud⁶⁷¹ la mngon du 'char ro/ gzhan yang phyi 'od gsal gyi mthong snang 'char tshul/ nang dge sbyor gyi nyams myong skye tshul/ bar du rdzu 'phrul gyi⁶⁷² gsal snang las⁶⁷³ sogs pa'i yon tan thams cad/⁶⁷⁴ gang zag rim⁶⁷⁵ skyes pa la⁶⁷⁶ phyi nang thams cad zung 'brel 'jug pa gcig⁶⁷⁷ tu sngar bzhin rim⁶⁷⁸ lta 'char la/ gcig 'char⁶⁷⁹ ba la dang po nas⁶⁸⁰ rtogs pa'i klong bsgom⁶⁸¹ dang/⁶⁸² mthar thug gi⁶⁸³ snang ba 'char/ thod rgal ba ni

fichier, comme cela arrive parfois dans le passage vers le pdf (en particulier si l'original est saisi sur MS Word).

⁶⁴⁷ C: *bsgom*.

⁶⁴⁸ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁴⁹ B&C: *mngon*.

⁶⁵⁰ B&C: *shes*.

⁶⁵¹ *shad* (/) omis in B, également absent in C qui utilise des espaces à la place.

⁶⁵² *shad* (/) omis in B&C (voir la note précédente).

⁶⁵³ B&C: *ba'i*.

⁶⁵⁴ + *shad* (/) in B&C.

⁶⁵⁵ C: *bsgom*.

⁶⁵⁶ + 'char ba'i in B&C.

⁶⁵⁷ + *cher* in B&C.

⁶⁵⁸ B&C: *dpags*.

⁶⁵⁹ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁶⁰ B&C: *phrin*.

⁶⁶¹ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁶² B: *sgom*.

⁶⁶³ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁶⁴ B&C: *dpags*.

⁶⁶⁵ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁶⁶ B&C: *phrin*.

⁶⁶⁷ B&C: *la*.

⁶⁶⁸ + *lga'i* in B&C.

⁶⁶⁹ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁷⁰ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁷¹ C: *brgyud* (de toute évidence une erreur).

⁶⁷² Omis in B&C.

⁶⁷³ B&C: *la*.

⁶⁷⁴ *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁷⁵ C: *rims*.

⁶⁷⁶ B&C: *las/*.

⁶⁷⁷ C: *cig*.

⁶⁷⁸ + *pa* in B&C.

⁶⁷⁹ B&C: *char*.

⁶⁸⁰ B: *nang*.

⁶⁸¹ B: *sgom*.

⁶⁸² *shad* (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁸³ Lu *dang mthun pa'i* in B&C.

'phar zhib⁶⁸⁴ che bas sna tshogs su 'gyur bas⁶⁸⁵/ blo dang bstun nas/⁶⁸⁶gdams pa ngo sprod las⁶⁸⁷ sogs kyang de bzhin byas te⁶⁸⁸/ gcig 'char⁶⁸⁹ ba la gdams pa thog babs su bstan/ rim⁶⁹⁰ skyes pa la gdams⁶⁹¹ pa⁶⁹² mu chags su btab⁶⁹³/ thod rgal ba la thabs lam sna tshogs nas bslab⁶⁹⁴ dgos/ de yang gdams pa blo dang bstun nas 'debs pa ni⁶⁹⁵ shin tu⁶⁹⁶ gnad che'o/ lam nyams su len pa 'od gsal bsgom pa'i khrid rdzogs⁶⁹⁷ so⁶⁹⁸/ ⁶⁹⁹u ya smar ro// sarba mang gam/⁷⁰⁰

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⁶⁸⁴ B&C: 'bub.

⁶⁸⁵ B&C: la.

⁶⁸⁶ shad (/) omis in B&C.

⁶⁸⁷ B&C: la.

⁶⁸⁸ B&C: ste.

⁶⁸⁹ B&C: char.

⁶⁹⁰ C: rims.

⁶⁹¹ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁹² Omis in B&C.

⁶⁹³ C: bstan.

⁶⁹⁴ C: slab.

⁶⁹⁵ Omis in C.

⁶⁹⁶ + yang in B&C.

⁶⁹⁷ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁹⁸ Omis in B&C.

⁶⁹⁹ shad (/) omis i B&C.

⁷⁰⁰ B&C: dge'o//. Notez que c'est bien *sarba mang gam* (et non *sarba/sarva mangalam*) qui est donné in A.

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