

## The Fifteen Great Demons of Children

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**I**f one delves into Tibetan ritual texts pertaining to child-rearing, and for the sake of comparative references, looks for more related writings, one would quite often come upon a term called *byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga*. Sometimes it is mentioned in ritual texts in the prayers to be recited by the ritual master to expel forces harming children. It also appears in the name of a ritual, e.g. *byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga'i mdos* which authors of ritual texts habitually instruct to employ in cases when children encounter obstacles.<sup>1</sup> *Byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga* apparently denotes a group of demons who can endanger children, as sPo bo gter ston bDud 'dul rdo rje (1615-1672) has described them, together with some other demons, as those who "can interrupt the lifespan and vital energy of children" (*byis pa'i tshe srog la bar du gcod par byed pa*).<sup>2</sup> Modern western scholars seem to be unfamiliar with this group of demons, since most essential reference works of Tibetan religion do not bother to make mention of it.<sup>3</sup> Only a small number of scholars have paid attention to it, owing to their devotion to the re-publications of Tibetan

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Mi pham rgya mtsho, *Srid srung byis pa 'tsho ba'i gto bu mang ljon pa*, in *gSung 'bum/Mi pham rgya mtsho* (TBRC W23468, Paro, Bhutan: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey, 1984-1993), vol. 7(dhī), bl. 398, line 2; bl. 399, line 2.

<sup>2</sup> See bDud 'dul rdo rje, *sNying thig tshe yang phur gsum las dbang chen byis pa lha lnga'i dril sgrub*, in *Spo bo gter ston bdud 'dul rdo rje'i zab gter gsungs 'bum* (TBRC W22123, Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1997), vol. 6 (cha), bl. 208, line 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. René Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (Mouton & Co., Publishers, 1956), pp. 310-311.

medical paintings, in which the pictorial form of the fifteen demons are occasionally included.<sup>4</sup> Besides, Schwieger has publicized the drawings of "the fifteen great *gdon* of children" on cardboard that were supposed to be used in rituals and are preserved in the National Museum of Tuva.<sup>5</sup> According to the already published pictures with their accompanied captions, it seems that there are two groups of demons under the same designation *byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga*. However, none of the scholars have discussed the relationship between these two groups of demons in greater detail. Moreover, some relevant questions were also left unanswered, e.g., how the fifteen demons annoy children, what features the fifteen demons possess, etc. In view of the fact that until now no research on this topic is available, this article will try to resolve the abovementioned issues by exploring Tibetan ritual and medical texts pertinent to the subject.

### *In the System of Tibetan Ritual Texts*

A direct way to decipher the term *byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga* would be to look into the ritual text named *byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga'i mdos* (abbr.: *D*), if it is at all available, and to see whether it contains explicit descriptions of the fifteen demons. A text under this title does exist and is in at least four anthologies of ritual texts, one of which is a collection of various *gto* and *mdos* rituals from rediscovered treasure (*gter ma*). These four versions in the four anthologies can be categorized into two groups. While two are from exactly the same printing blocks, the block prints of the other two are entirely identical.<sup>6</sup> According to the colophon, this text was written by Myang Ting

<sup>4</sup> Yuri Parfionovitch, Fernand Meyer and Gyurme Dorje eds., *Tibetan Medical Paintings, Illustrations to the Blue Beryl Treatise of Sangye Gyamtso (1653-1705)* (London: Serindia Publications, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 261-262, nos. 69-99, 115-130; Ian A. Baker, *The Tibetan Art of Healing*, paintings by Romio Shrestha (New Delhi: Timeless Books, 1997), pp. 84-85; Wangle, Byams pa 'phrin las eds. 王镛·强巴赤列编译注释, *Bod lugs gso rig rgyud bzhi'i nang don bris cha ngo mtshar mthong ba don ldan* 四部医典系列挂图全集 (Bod ljongs mi dmang dpe skrun khang, 西藏人民出版社, 1986), pp. 315-318, nos. 53-82; 92-106.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Schwieger, "Tuvian Images of Demons from Tibet", *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 15(2008): pp. 331-336. Schwieger has summarized scholars' knowledge on this term.

<sup>6</sup> The four versions are 1) *gTo 'bum mdos chog nyer mkho'i rigs phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung* (Thimphu: Kunsang Topgay, 1978), bl. 185-191, 2) *gTo 'bum: a collection of various gto and mdos rituals from the famed rediscovered teachings of the past* (microfiche, New York: Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, [197-]), bl. 185-191, 3) *gTo 'bum: Collection of exorcism (gto) rituals as used in Bhutan* (TBRC W27411, Thimphu: Kunsang Topgay, 1978), bl. 363-369, 4) *Mdos*

'dzin bzang po, who is said to have lived in the eighth century.<sup>7</sup> Clues of the nature and of the date of the text suggest the antiquity of the concept under the term *byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga*. In the prayer, which is the main part of the text and is to be recited by the ritual master while implementing the *mdos*-ritual, the names of the fifteen great *gdon* that threaten children are listed. Moreover, their appearance and the type of trouble they could give rise to are also portrayed. These descriptions, which are in two-line verses with seven syllables each, provide a vivid picture of the demon assemblage that can bring enormous trouble to children. Regarding the type of trouble these demons usually generate, the succinctness of the verses makes it difficult to ascertain their precise meaning. More associated texts were thus consulted. These include 1) a manuscript from Dunhuang (*Byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga zhi bar byed pa'i gzungs*, *Pel.tib.0739*), which contains a surviving segment of a ritual text, in which incantations and prayers for pacifying the fifteen great *gdon* of children were written down,<sup>8</sup> 2) a *gto*-ritual text for pacifying the *gdon* of children (*Byis gdon zhi ba'i gto bcos*, abbr.: *TC*),<sup>9</sup> 3) a teaching to householders written by the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud master Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569-1645) (*Khyim pa la phan pa bsgrub pa'i yan lag dang po gdon chen bco lnga zhi bar byed pa'i thabs 'chi med bdud rtsi'i bum bzang*, abbr.: *DB*),<sup>10</sup> and 4) a text written in 1847, which includes *dhāraṇīs* and prayers for pacifying the fifteen great *gdon* of children (*Byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga bzhi bar byed pa dang gzungs le tshan brgyad*, abbr.: *LTG*).<sup>11</sup> All four texts consist of passages depicting the names

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*chog nyer mkho phyogs bsdus dgos 'dod kun 'byung: a collection of mdos rituals for use in various Tibetan Buddhist practices carefully edited from various corrupt manuscripts and blockprints* (microfiche, New York: Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, [198-]), bl. 363-369. While 1) and 2) are from the same printing blocks, the block prints of 3) and 4) are identical.

<sup>7</sup> While describing Zhwa padma dbang chen gyi gtsug lag khang, TBRC denotes it to be a dGe lugs pa temple in Nyi ma lcang ra shang, Mal gro gung dkar rdzong affiliated to Se ra byes, which was founded in about 700 by Myang Ting 'dzin bzang po.

<sup>8</sup> Jin Yasheng, Monique Cohen eds., *Tibetan Documents from Dunhuang in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, vol. 8, Fonds Pelliot Tibétain 0714-0849 (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2009), p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Two versions of this text are available to the author. One is collected in a manuscript compilation: *gTo 'bum dgos 'dod sna tshogs re skong bkod pa: a collection of mdos and gto rituals as followed in Sikkim in the Nyingmapa tradition* (Gangtok, Sikkim: Sherab Gyaltzen Lama, 1978), bl. 662-665. The other is in a ritual collection in modern typographical script: *gTo bcos kyi dkar chag: gTo 'bum dgos 'dod sna tshogs kyi cho ga* (Gangtok: Sikkim Government Press, 1968), 207r1-209v2.

<sup>10</sup> In *gSung 'bum/\_Sangs rgyas rdo rje* (TBRC W23556, Kathmandu: Acarya Shedup Tenzin, 1995- ), vol. 2, bl. 577-608.

<sup>11</sup> This text is preserved in microfiche in Special Collections Department of Leiden University Library.

and appearances of the fifteen demons, as well as the troubles they could bring about, except for *PT 0739*; on account of its deficiency, the appearances of fourteen demons are missing in *PT 0739*. The delineations of the fifteen demons in the last two texts (*DB* and *LTG*), the dates of which are more certain and are later, are almost identical. This involves the majority of the first part of *DB* and nearly the whole text of *LTG*. The majority of the first part of *DB* was quoted from *sTong chen po rab tu 'joms pa'i mdo* (abbr.: *TR*), as the author Sangs rgyas rdo rje has indicated, which is proved to be true by a collation of *DB* with *TR*. A further comparison makes it evident that nearly the whole text of *LTG* is very likely an excerpt out of *TR*; moreover, the passages concerned in *DB* and *LTG* have the same beginning and ending.<sup>12</sup> As for the other two texts that were searched out for clarifying the troubles which the fifteen demons cause, *TC* obviously has a very different nature; and *PT 0739*, though much shorter, seems to share several similarities with *TR*, *DB* and *LTG*. A crosscheck has justified that *PT 0739* contains passages in agreement with *TR*.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, *PT 0739*, *TR*, *DB* and *LTG* can be regarded as being in the same text lineage. *TC*, on the other hand, contains only eleven of the fifteen demons. Besides, some of the demons' names and appearances described in *TC* deviate remarkably from their parallels in the other texts. Hence, *TC* should be treated separately. Descriptions of the fifteen demons in the abovementioned texts are summarized according to text character in the following table. Each demon is enumerated in the sequence of its name, appearance and the afflictions it could cause.

<sup>12</sup> The passage 2v1-5v2 of *DB* is quoted from 82v4-84r6 of *sTong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa'i mdo*, which is collected in *bKa' 'gyur (sDe dge par phud, TBRC W22084, Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-1979, vol. 90 (pha), 63v1-87v1)*. The passage 1v2-8r3 of *LTG* corresponds to 82v4-84r6 in *sTong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa'i mdo*. Having paid homage to the Three Jewels, the author of *LTG* paid homage to *sTong chen mo rab tu 'joms ma (dkon cog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo) /stong chen mo rab tu 'joms ma la phyag 'tshal lo)*. This gives a clue to the association of the text with *TR*.

<sup>13</sup> The first half of *PT 0739* (1r1-1v1) corresponds to 83v6-84r3 in *TR*, while the latter half (1v2-2r4) is in agreement with 83r3-7 in *TR*.

	<i>D</i> <sup>14</sup>	<i>TC</i> <sup>15</sup>	<i>PT 0739, TR, DB, LTG</i>
1	'jam pa po ba glang gzugs khod kyi byis pa mig 'phrul byed	'jam pa po rkyang gi gzugs byis pa'i ming ni bsgyar <sup>16</sup> bar byed	'jam pa po ba lang gzugs mig <sup>17</sup> ni rab tu 'gyur <sup>18</sup> bar bgyid
2	ri dvags <sup>19</sup> rgyal po ri dvags <sup>20</sup> 'dra byis pa lkug dang skyug <sup>21</sup> par byed	ri dvags rgyal po ri bdvags 'dra zas rnams mi za skyag <sup>22</sup> par byed	ri dags <sup>23</sup> rgyal ri dvags 'dra skyugs pa mi <sup>24</sup> bzad <sup>25</sup> skyug par 'gyur
3	skem byed gzhon nu'i gzugs byis pa mchin pa dar bar byed	skem byed gdon gzhon nu 'dra byis pa'i lus ni 'dra bar bar <sup>26</sup> byed	skem byed gzhon nu'i gzugs skem byed pas ni byis <sup>27</sup> pa 'gul
4	brjed <sup>28</sup> byed va yi gzugs byis pa 'bod cing brang 'byin byed <sup>29</sup>	brjed <sup>30</sup> byed gdon va yi gzugs khro bzhin rku ba'i sgra yang 'byin	brjed byed va 'dra 'gre <sup>31</sup> zhing de ltar sgra yang 'byin/ /dbu ba dang <sup>32</sup> ni kha chu 'dzag
5	khu tshur can bya rog gzugs khu mtshur 'chang zhing byed cing na	khu tshur can bya rog gzugs byes <sup>33</sup> pa sgar chen bya rog 'byin	khu tshur <sup>34</sup> can bya rog gzugs khu tshur <sup>35</sup> 'chang zhing 'gyed <sup>36</sup> par bgyid
6	ma mo	--	ma mo

<sup>14</sup> *Byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga'i mdos*, collected in *gTo 'bum* (gter ma) etc., c. 8<sup>th</sup> century, see footnote 6. The four versions as indicated in footnote 6 are compared. Variations are signified in the footnotes, in which K represents text 1) and 2) as indicated in footnote 6.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 9. The two versions indicated in footnote 9 are compared. The manuscript was used as the basis of comparison. Variations of the other text collected in *gTo bcos kyi dkar chag* (abbreviated to T) are signified in the footnotes.

<sup>16</sup> T: bsgyur.

<sup>17</sup> PT 0739: myig.

<sup>18</sup> PT 0739: 'gyur=gyur.

<sup>19</sup> K: ri dvags=ri dag.

<sup>20</sup> K: ri dvags=ri dag.

<sup>21</sup> K: skyug=kyugs.

<sup>22</sup> T: skyugs.

<sup>23</sup> DB: dvags.

<sup>24</sup> PT 0739: myi.

<sup>25</sup> DB: zad.

<sup>26</sup> T: bar bar=bar.

<sup>27</sup> LTG: gyis?

<sup>28</sup> K: /brjed=rje.

<sup>29</sup> K: byid.

<sup>30</sup> T: brjid.

<sup>31</sup> LTG: 'ug?

<sup>32</sup> PT 0739: nga, there is a blank space before the syllable nga.

<sup>33</sup> T: byis.

<sup>34</sup> PT 0739: tsur.

<sup>35</sup> PT 0739: tsur.

<sup>36</sup> PT 0739, DB, LTG: 'byed.

	bud med gzugs byis pa rgod cing brang 'byin byed		mi yi gzugs rgod <sup>37</sup> cing de bzhin sgra yang 'byin
7	dza mi ka rta yi gzugs byis pa nu ma 'thung mi ster	dza mi ka rta yi gzugs nu zho mi 'thung sgra yang 'byin	dza mi ka rta yi gzugs nu zho nu bar <sup>38</sup> mngon mi <sup>39</sup> dga'
8	'dod pa can rdo rje gzugs byis pa gnyid logs ngu bar byed	--	'dod pa <sup>40</sup> can rdo rje'i gzugs mal na gnyid log ngu bar 'gyur
9	nam gru khyi yis <sup>41</sup> gzugs byis pa lce la sos 'char 'jug	--	nam gru khyi yi gzugs lce la sos ni 'cha' <sup>42</sup> bar bgyid
10	srul po phag gis gzugs ku co 'don cing sgra yang sgrog	srul po'i gdon phag gi gzugs ku co 'don cing sgra yang 'byin/ /sbu ba skyug cing kha chung dzag <sup>43</sup>	srul po phag gis gzugs ku co 'don cing sgra yang 'byin
11	ma 'gags byed pa byi ba'i gzugs byis pa sna tshogs na bar byed	ma dga' rta byed byis pa'i gzugs <sup>44</sup> rnam rgan mchog gi gzugs su ston/ /sna yis <sup>45</sup> dri la chong bar byed	ma dga' byed pa byi la'i gzugs rnam pa sna tshogs gzugs su 'gyur
12	bya yi lag can <sup>46</sup> shang shang gzugs byis pa snal ba'i dri 'byin byed	--	bya 'dab chags gzugs mnam pa'i <sup>47</sup> dri ni 'byung bar 'gyur
13	gnya' lag can bya 'gag gzugs byis pa 'gul pa 'gag bar byed	nam kha'i gdon bya yi gzugs byis pa <sup>48</sup> mgrin pa 'gag par byed	gnya' lag can bya gag gzugs mgul pa <sup>49</sup> rab tu 'gag <sup>50</sup> par 'gyur
14	bzhin rgyal	bzhin rgyan gdon	bzhin rgyan <sup>52</sup>

<sup>37</sup> PT 0739: dgod.

<sup>38</sup> LTG: par?

<sup>39</sup> PT 0739: mngon mi=mngon bar myi.

<sup>40</sup> PT 0739: 'dod pa='dod.

<sup>41</sup> K: yi.

<sup>42</sup> PT 0739: 'cha.

<sup>43</sup> T: sbu ba skyug cing kha chung dzag=lbu ba skyags zhing kha chu 'dzag.

<sup>44</sup> T: gzugs.

<sup>45</sup> T: yi.

<sup>46</sup> K: can=can 'dab chags.

<sup>47</sup> PT 0739: mnam pa'i=rnal ba'i.

<sup>48</sup> T: pa'i.

<sup>49</sup> DB: 'gul pa.

<sup>50</sup> PT 0739, DB: 'gags.

	'ug pa'i gzugs byis pa rim gyis 'debs par byed	'ug pa'i gzugs rim kyi 'debs shing <sup>51</sup> khru bar byed	'ug pa'i gzugs rims kyis <sup>53</sup> btab cing 'khru bar 'gyur
15	mig 'changs ba pha vang gzugs byis pa skyigs <sup>54</sup> bus 'debs par byed	ming 'chang 'don <sup>55</sup> pha vang gzugs rngam zhing sgyid bu mig <sup>56</sup> par byed	mig <sup>57</sup> 'phyang ba <sup>58</sup> pha vang gzugs skyigs bu dang ni sdam <sup>59</sup> pa 'byung

This initial assortment shows that disagreement of depictions exists among the diverse versions and text lineages, which makes a general conclusion difficult. Since the text group of *TR*, which is collected in the *rGyud 'bum* section of the Tibetan *bKa' 'gyur*, predominates, descriptions in the text group of *TR* are interpreted in the following as a reference. Noteworthy deviations are indicated in the footnotes.

	name	appearance	type of trouble
1	'jam pa po	in the form of an ox <sup>60</sup>	eyes droop severely?
2	ri dags rgyal po	like a stag	not only nausea, but also vomiting <sup>61</sup>
3	skem byed	in the form of a youth	emaciated and trembling <sup>62</sup>
4	brjed byed	in the form of a fox	rolling on the ground and making sounds, frothing and drooling <sup>63</sup>
5	khu tshur can	in the form of a crow	hold the fist and open
6	ma mo	in the form of a human being <sup>64</sup>	excited and making sounds <sup>65</sup>
7	dza mi ka	in the form of a horse	doesn't get pleasure in sucking mother's milk
8	'dod pa can	in the form of a vajra	crying while sleeping in bed
9	nam gru	in the form of a dog	chew on the tongue while

<sup>52</sup> PT 0739, LTG: brgyan.

<sup>51</sup> T: 'debs shing=btab cing.

<sup>53</sup> PT 0739: gyis.

<sup>54</sup> K: kyigs.

<sup>55</sup> T: gdon.

<sup>56</sup> T: mid.

<sup>57</sup> PT 0739: myi.

<sup>58</sup> LTG: pa.

<sup>59</sup> DB, LTG: rngam.

<sup>60</sup> TC: in form of a wild ass.

<sup>61</sup> TC: not eating and vomiting.

<sup>62</sup> D: child's liver expands.

<sup>63</sup> D: shout and exhale.

<sup>64</sup> D: in the form of a woman.

<sup>65</sup> D: restless and exhales.

10	srul po	in the form of a pig	<b>being fed bawling and making sounds</b>
11	ma dga' byed pa <sup>66</sup>	in the form of a cat <sup>67</sup>	<b>various features change forms<sup>68</sup></b>
12	bya yi lag can	in the form of a bird <sup>69</sup>	<b>exhaling fragrant smell</b>
13	gnya' lag can <sup>70</sup>	in the form of a gray duck <sup>71</sup>	<b>the throat is entirely blocked</b>
14	bzhin rgyan <sup>72</sup>	in the form of an owl	<b>caught by epidemic and got diarrhea</b>
15	mig 'phyang ba <sup>73</sup>	in the form of a bat	<b>start hiccuping and gasping</b>

To sum up, the names of these fifteen demons are, except for some variations in spelling, mostly in agreement with those of the Tuvini-an images listed by Schwieger. These names are also consistent with the captions of the drawings under the designation "the fifteen great demons which influence children, as generally known"<sup>74</sup> (*byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga yongs grags*) which are included in the medical paintings commissioned to illustrate the famous commentary *Vaidūrya sngon po* written by Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705).<sup>75</sup>

#### *In the System of Tibetan Medical Literature*

The drawings for the 72<sup>nd</sup> chapter of *Vaidūrya sngon po* include, in addition to the aforementioned fifteen demons, one other demon group, which also relates to children, the members of which are nonetheless very different.<sup>76</sup> The portraits of this additional group of

<sup>66</sup> D: ma 'gags byed pa, TC: ma dga' rta byed.

<sup>67</sup> D: in form of a rat, TC: the body of the child manifests itself in the form of an eminent elderly.

<sup>68</sup> D: to get all kinds of sickness.

<sup>69</sup> D: in the form of a *shang shang* bird.

<sup>70</sup> TC: nam kha'i gdon.

<sup>71</sup> TC: in the form of a bird.

<sup>72</sup> D: bzhin rgyal.

<sup>73</sup> D: mig 'changs ba, TC: mig 'chang 'don.

<sup>74</sup> Translation by Fernand Meyer and Gyurme Dorje, see Yuri Parfionovitch, Fernand Meyer and Gyurme Dorje eds., *Tibetan Medical Paintings, Illustrations to the Blue Beryl Treatise of Sangye Gyamtso (1653-1705)*, vol. 2, p. 261, no. 84, drawings for the 72<sup>nd</sup> chapter ("Curing child diseases", *byis pa'i nad gso ba*) of *Vaidūrya sngon po*.

<sup>75</sup> The complete title of *Vaidūrya sngon po* is *gSo ba rig pa'i bstan bcos sman bla'i dgongs rgyan rgyud bzhi'i gsal byed vaidūrya sngon po'i ma lli ka*, see TBRC W1PD3 (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), vol. 2, bl. 129-144.

<sup>76</sup> They are under the heading "*gso ba rig pa'i gdon chen bcu gnyis sam las mkhan gnyis*



fifteen demons appear twice in the same medical painting. Besides the abovementioned position (drawings for Chapter 72), their portrayals, which are basically the same but only in different postures,<sup>77</sup> constitute the drawings for Chapter 73 ("Curing child diseases caused by demons", *byis pa'i gdon nad gso ba*) of *Vaidūrya sngon po*. Their double presence seems to imply the importance of this second group of demons in treating child disease in the Tibetan medical tradition. In order to verify this assumption, important medical texts, which are listed in the following, were examined:

1. *sByor ba brgya pa dang yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa soggs* by Nagarjuna, *Zla ba mngon dga'*, Vagbhata (Chapter 3: *byis pa'i gdon gso ba*).
2. *Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa* by Vagbhata (*sDe dge bsTan 'gyur*)
3. *gTSang stod zin thig dang yang thig* by Dar ma mgon po (11 cent.) (Chapter 82: *byis gdon gso ba*).
4. *Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa* by rNam rgyal grags pa bzang po (1395-1475) (Chapter 88: *byis pa'i nad gso ba*).
5. *gSo rig 'bum bzhi* by dPyad bu khri shes (Chapter 68: *byis pa'i gdon nad gso ba*)
6. *rGyud bzhi* (lcags po ri par ma) (Chapter 73: *byis pa'i gdon gso ba*).
7. *rGyud bzhi'i gsal byed vaidūrya sngon po* by Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) (Chapter 73: *byis pa'i gdon nad gso ba*).
8. *rGyud bzhi'i 'grel chen las/ man rgyud le'u re gcig nas le'u gya bzhi bar gyi 'grel ba* by TShe rnam (1928-2005) (*gsung 'bum*, section 9: *byis pa gso ba*)

In the related chapters of all these texts, the names of the demons that can bring trouble to children are enumerated. Except for a few exceptions, their names are basically in agreement with those cited in the medical painting mentioned above. Nevertheless, their number differs among twelve, fourteen and fifteen. Compared with the de-

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*sprul gzhi lha chen bcas bco lnga*", which was translated by Fernand Meyer and Gyurme Dorje to "according to medical science, [the following are] the great demons [who influence children and] number twelve, or fifteen with the addition of their two active [emissaries] and Mahādeva who is their manifestational basis", see Yuri Parfionovitch, Fernand Meyer and Gyurme Dorje eds., *Tibetan Medical Paintings, Illustrations to the Blue Beryl Treatise of Sangye Gyamtso (1653-1705)*, vol. 2, p. 261, no. 68.

<sup>77</sup> They are under the heading "primary and secondary causes of demonic [influence] among child diseases" (*le'u bdun gsum pa byis pa'i gdon gyi rigs*), see *ibid.* no. 115.

pictions in the ritual texts, according to which the number of the type of trouble the demons could bring is mostly not more than two, these texts itemize the symptoms of being possessed by each of these demons, the amount of which varies from four to more than twenty. Besides, none of the texts describes the appearances of these demons, although they are illustrated in the abovementioned medical painting and some of them can be surmised from their names.

Examined from the consistency of the names of the demons as well as the symptoms specified, the above medical texts can be classified into three groups. Text Nos. 1 & 2, the depictions of which are approximately identical and are the most elaborate of all the texts, can be regarded as one group. A careful comparison shows that text Nos. 6-8 share the same source, which is understandable, since they are *rGyud bzhi*, a classic of Tibetan medicine, and its commentaries. Moreover, text Nos. 4-8, the depictions of which are the shortest among the three groups, belong very likely to the same text tradition, in view of the fact that there is very little discrepancy in the delineation concerning the names, the number of the demons and the symptoms of the disease.<sup>78</sup> Text No. 3, on the other hand, having medium length of description among the three groups, is to be dealt with separately. That many of its delineations exhibit likeness to those of group 1 makes text No. 3 look like a condensed form of text Nos. 1 & 2, with many of their contents being left out. The names of the demons and the symptoms of possession are sorted out in Appendix I. Each name of the demons is preceded by a number according to the sequence of their presence in the texts and is followed by the symptoms resulting from their possession. For the sake of an easier side-by-side comparison, the sequence of the symptoms appearing in the third text group was chosen as a standard in the table, while the symptoms listed in the first and the second text groups were reordered. Interpretations of the symptoms are to be found in Appendix II.

It is observable that the number of the demons relating to child diseases varies among texts. While texts Nos.1-3 (group 1 & 2) introduce twelve demons, text Nos. 4-8 (group 3) put two/three more demons forward in addition to the twelve. On account of a comprehensive examination, their names are listed below.

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<sup>78</sup> It is worth mentioning that text No. 5 is a Bon treatise on Tibetan medicine. Its author dPyad bu khri shes was the son of the legendary founder of Bon-religion gShen rab mi bo, see Namkha'i Norbu, *Zhang bod lo rgus Ti se'i 'od* (Peking: Bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1996), p. 65.

group	group 1	group 2	group 3
text	text Nos. 1&2	text 3	text Nos. 4-8
1	skem byed	skem byed	skem <sup>79</sup> byed
2	skem byed brjed byed	sa ga	sa ga
3	lug thug gdon	lug thug	lug gdong <sup>80</sup>
4	khyi yi gdong	khyi gdon	khyi gdong <sup>81</sup>
5	yi dvag	yi dvags	yi dvags <sup>82</sup>
6	bya gdon	bya gdon	bya gdong <sup>83</sup>
7	srul mo	srul mo	srul mo
8	grang ba'i srul mo	lus hrul	grang ba'i srul mo
9	srul mo long ma	lung ma	srul mo long ba <sup>84</sup>
10	bzhin rgyan can	bzhin rgyas can	bzhin rgyas <sup>85</sup>
11	nam gru	nam gru	nam gru
12	nam gru skem mo	nam gru skyem [skem] mo	nam gru skem po <sup>86</sup>
13	--	--	rgyal po
14	--	--	bsen mo
15	--	--	lha chen po <sup>87</sup>

Roughly speaking, few discrepancies pertaining to the designations of the first twelve demons are noticeable in the eight medical texts. These twelve demons were further categorized by most texts into "the five possessing a male body" (*skyes pa'i gzugs can lnga*) and "the seven possessing a female body" (*bud med gzugs can bdun*), except for text No. 3 which does not refer to these two expressions at all and text No. 4 which, without specifying the characteristics of the first five demons, only uses the term "possessing a female body" (*bud med lus can*) to introduce the sixth to the twelfth demons. All of the texts in group 3 refer to two additional demons *rgyal po* and *bsen mo*, and except for text No. 4 they entitle both demons "the two workers, messengers *rgyal po* and *bsen mo*" (*las mkhan pho nya rgyal po bsen mo gnyis*). Text No. 8 even cites one more demon "the manifestation basis, the great god" (*sprul gzhi lha chen po*) to make the number of this group of demons total fifteen.

Discernible differences exist between the demons portrayed by medical literatures and those by ritual texts. In regard to the members of the group of demons, only four demons (*skem byed*, *nam gru*, *srul po/srul mo*, *bzhin rgyan*) were recruited by both the ritual and the medical traditions, in which their roles are very different. Apart from the members, the quantity of the demons in both traditions is not entirely identical, either. Compared with the ritual texts that nearly

<sup>79</sup> Text 4: skyem [skem]; text 5: skem [skem].

<sup>80</sup> Text 4: gdon [gdong].

<sup>81</sup> Text 4 & 5: gdon [gdong].

<sup>82</sup> Text 4 & 5: dags [dvags].

<sup>83</sup> Text 4: gdon [gdong].

<sup>84</sup> Text 4: long ba=long ma; text 5: srul mo long ba=srul po'i ling [long] mig.

<sup>85</sup> Text 4: gshing [bzhing] rgyas.

<sup>86</sup> Text 4: skem po=skyem mo [skem po]; text 5: skem po=skem pa [po].

<sup>87</sup> Appears only in text No. 8.

homogeneously name the group of demons "the fifteen great demons of children" (*byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga*), only one half of the medical literatures are willing to grant the demons a group designation; among them only two have indicated their numbers. While text No. 3, the earliest in terms of the date of composition, referred the demons group as "the twelve great demons of children" (*byis pa'i gdon chen bcu gnyis*), the latest text, No. 8, designated them as "the fifteen great demons of children" (*byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga*).<sup>88</sup>

The increased amount of demons was probably a development by the medical texts which were completed later. That the first twelve demons are related to child diseases had undoubtedly reached a consensus in the medical literature. At the beginning of chapter 73 of *rGyud bzhi*, the demons of children (*byis pa'i gdon*) were specified as follows:

Their types (*rigs*) are said to be twelve, [namely] the five kinds having a male body and the seven having a female body, [they are] the manifestations of the son of Mahādeva who possesses six faces (*skem byed gzhon nu gdong drug gi sprul pa*).<sup>89</sup>

Similar narrations were found in most of the other texts.<sup>90</sup> The recruitment of the two demons *rgyal po* and *bsen mo* into this group of twelve demons took place at first in a silent manner. *rGyud bzhi*, as well as texts Nos. 4 and 5, included "the two workers, messengers, *rgyal po* and *bsen mo*" in the individual indications (*bye brag rtags*) of possession of each demon without explaining the reason or their

<sup>88</sup> Text No. 3: *byis pa'i gdon chen bcu gnyis*; text No. 5: *byis pa'i gdon chen*; text No. 6: *byis pa'i gdon*; text No. 8: *byis pa'i gdon / byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga*.

<sup>89</sup> *de rigs skem byed gzhon nu gdong drug gi /sprul pa skyes bu'i gzugs can rnam pa lnga /bud med gzugs can bdun te bcu gnyis bshad/* See *rGyud bzhi (grva thang par ma*, TBRC W29627, Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), p. 406; *rGyud bzhi (lcags po ri par ma*, TBRC W30134, Leh: T.S. Tashigangpa, 1978), 144v1-2. The appellation *skem byed gzhon nu gdong drug* was already authenticated by text No. 3 to be the son of Mahādeva: *skyem [skem] byed gzhon nu gdong drug de/ dbang phyug chen po'i sras su btsas/* see *Dar ma mgon po, gTSang stod zin thig dang yang thig* (TBRC W2DB13635, Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), p. 348.

<sup>90</sup> Text Nos. 1 & 2: *sngon gyi skem byed bsrung ba'i phyir/ gdon ni skyes pa'i gzugs can lnga/ bud med kyi ni gzugs can bdun/ lha chen po yi sprul pa yin/* see Nagarjuna, *Zla ba mngon dga'*, Vagbhata, *sByor ba brgya pa dang yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa sogs* (TBRC W00PD1011354, Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), p. 575; text No. 4: *byis pa'i gdon nad gdong drug sprul pa ni/* see *Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa*, in *bsTan 'gyur (sDe dge*, TBRC W23703, Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Choedhey, Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1982-1985), vol. 198, 52v6; text No. 5: *gdon ni byis sba'i [pa'i] gdon chen skyem [skem] byed gzhon nu yi/ sprul pa skyes pa'i gzugs can rnam pa lnga/ bu mad [bud med] gzugs can bdun dang bcu gnyis yod//* see *dPyad bu khri shes, gSo rig 'bum bzhi* (TBRC W1GS4, Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), p. 493.

derivation. A short passage at the beginning of the preceding chapter 72 (*byis pa'i nad gso ba*) of *rGyud bzhi* helps to clarify the relationship between the twelve demons and the two added later:

Regarding the circumstances relating to demons, although there are many [demons], the demons of children number twelve, which are produced by the two workers, messengers, *rgyal po* and *bsen mo*.<sup>91</sup>

This passage simultaneously confirms the amount of the demons of children to be twelve. *Vaidūrya sngon po* made a further attempt to remove the vagueness concerning the identity of the two demons *rgyal po* and *bsen mo* by quoting an earlier text. Exactly the same passage was also cited by one other famous medical literature *Mes po'i zhal lung* to introduce the types (*rigs*) of demons relating to children (*byis pa'i gdon*).<sup>92</sup>

It is said in *brGyad pa'i snying po bsdu pa* that the twelve demons of children are the manifestations of the son of Mahādeva who possesses six faces, [namely] the five having a male body and the seven having a female body. [If added by] the two workers, messengers, [their number would come to] fourteen. *rGyal [po]* and *bsen [mo]* both are supplemented from other places.<sup>93</sup>

The last sentence of this passage would surely arouse the curiosity of readers. A passage in the beginning section of the preceding chapter 72 (*byis pa'i nad gso ba*) of *Vaidūrya sngon po* appears to be a good explanation of the query where the two demons come from.

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<sup>91</sup> *gdon rkyen mang yang byis gdon bcu gnyis yod/ las mkhan pho nya rgyal bsen gnyis kyis byed//* see *rGyud bzhi (grova thang par ma, TBRC W29627)*, p. 396.

<sup>92</sup> Blo gros rgyal po, Blo bzang chos grags, dKon mchog chos grags, *Mes po'i zhal lung* (TBRC W30438, Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 429-430. Blo bzang chos grags, one of the authors of *Mes po'i zhal lung*, was the fifth Dalai Lama's court physician. For *Mes po'i zhal lung* and the role of Blo bzang chos grags, see Olaf Czaja, "The Making of the Blue Beryl—Some Remarks on the Textual Sources of the Famous Commentary of Sangye Gyatsho (1653-1705)", in Schrempf, Mona ed., *Soundings in Tibetan Medicine, Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (Brill: Leiden/Boston, 2007), p. 347, fn.6, p. 348, fn. 10, p. 350, fn. 19, pp. 357, 361.

<sup>93</sup> *de yang brgyad pa'i snying po bsdu par/ skem byed gzhon nu gdong drug gi sprul pa skyes bu'i gzugs can lnga bud med kyi gzugs bdun te byis gdon bcu gnyis/ las mkhan pho nya gnyis te bcu bzhi stel rgyal bsen gnyis ni gzhan nas kha bkang [read bskang] ste bshad ces dang/* see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *rGyud bzhi'i gsal byed vaidūrya sngon po*, vol. 2, p. 1085. The text *brGyad pa'i snying po bsdu pa* cited in this passage is not the same as text Nos. 1&2.

Regarding the circumstances relating to demons, although there are many [demons], in fact the demons of children number twelve and their transformer the two workers, messengers: *rgyal po* is the owner of property (*dkor bdag*) who belongs to the Eight Classes of Gods and Spirits (*sde brgyad*) and *bsen mo* is a type of female demon. The fourteen [demons] explicitly indicated here are harmed by those who say that together with the manifestation basis, the great god [the number of the demons] amounts to fifteen.<sup>94</sup>

Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho has not only elucidated the origin of the two demons, but also expressed his objection to include the manifestation basis, the great god (*sprul gzhi lha chen po*) into this group of demons. This objection suggests the existence of the statement that the group of demons numbers fifteen, which should already have become quite popular in the seventeenth century. The same position was claimed in *Mes po'i zhal lung*, in which it says:

Generally speaking, "the fifteen great demons of children" are said to be known by all, nevertheless, here, in the perspective of this very great tantra, the demons of children are said to be fourteen: the five possessing a male body, the seven possessing a female body, and the two workers, messengers *rgyal po* and *bsen mo*.<sup>95</sup>

The "fifteen great demons of children known by all" indicated in this paragraph should be equivalent to those illustrated in the medical painting under the heading "the fifteen great demons which influence children, as generally known" (*byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga yongs grags*), i.e., the fifteen great demons of children depicted in the ritual texts discussed above. Their designation could have been interfered with by some authors of medical literatures in efforts to make the

<sup>94</sup> *gdon rkyen ni mang yang ngo bo byis gdon bcu gnyis yod cing/ de'i kha bsgyur las mkhan pho nya rgyal po ste sde brgyad kyi khongs su gtogs pa'i dkor bdag dang/ bsen mo ste mo gdon gyi rigs gnyis/ 'dir dngos bstan bcu bzhi/ sprul gzhi lha chen po bcas bco lngar bshad pa rnam kyis 'tshe bar byed pa* Similar narrations on *rgyal po* and *bsen mo* are found in a later text *rGyud bzhi'i brda' bkrol rnam rgyal a ru ra'i phreng ba'i mdzes rgyan*. In the beginning of its chapter 72 (*byis nad gso ba*) it says: *las mkhan pho nya ni kha bsgyur byed pa po/ rgyal ni dkor bdag sen mo ni mo gdon gyi rigs te mo 'dre dang gson 'drer grags sol/* see Lung rigs bstan dar (birth 18 cent.), *rGyud bzhi'i brda' bkrol rnam rgyal a ru ra'i phreng ba'i mdzes rgyan* (TBRC W29482, Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), p. 347.

<sup>95</sup> *spyir yongs grags su byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga zhes bshad kyang/ 'dir rgyud chen 'di nyid kyi dgongs par byis gdon skyes pa'i gzugs can lnga/ bud med kyi gzugs can bdun/ las mkhan pho nya rgyal bsen gnyis te bcu bzhi bshad pa*, see Blo gros rgyal po, Blo bzang chos grags, *dKon mchog chos grags, Mes po'i zhal lung*, vol. 2, p. 431.

group of demons described in the medical tradition number fifteen. The result of such endeavor was that, in addition to the traditionally acknowledged twelve demons and the later accepted two workers/messengers by authoritative medical works, "the great god" (*lha chen*) was taken in the group.

Although both *Vaidūrya sngon po* and *Mes po'i zhal lung* recognize only fourteen demons, the assertion of fifteen demons was still maintained in later medical writings. For example, text No. 8 says:

As is said in *sNying po bsdu pa* that "[they are] manifested by the great god", the fourteen great demons of children, having been counted together with the manifestation basis, the great god, become the fifteen great demons of children.<sup>96</sup>

The verse in *sNying po bsdu pa* was also cited by another medical text *rGyud bzhi'i brda' bkrol nam rgyal a ru ra'i phreng ba'i mdzes rgyan*, which was written around the eighteenth century, to support the proposition of the fifteen great demons. The second sentence of its chapter 73 (*byis gdon gso ba*) reads:

It is said that there are the well-known fifteen demons of children; however, here, the above twelve [demons] together with *rgyal po* and *bsen mo* both make fourteen. Moreover, it is said in *sNying po bsdu pa* that "[they are] manifested by the great god". Together with the manifestation basis, there are fifteen.<sup>97</sup>

Nevertheless, none of the texts that have included the manifestation basis, the great god in the group of demons, have devoted space to describe the symptoms of the children when being possessed by it. This confirms that the great god was in fact constrainedly taken into the group.

A main reason why later medical writings still concede the fifteen demons could be that authors of the significant medical literatures *Vaidūrya sngon po* and *Mes po'i zhal lung* both somehow support the statement of the fifteen demons. Although *Mes po'i zhal lung* claimed that according to *rGyud bzhi*, the number of the demons should be fourteen, it continued in the following section to expound the way of

<sup>96</sup> /*snying po bsdu pa las/ lha chen gyis ni sprul pa yin/ /zhes pa ltar byis pa'i gdon chen bcu bzhi dang sprul gzhi lha chen po bcas bgrangs nas byis pa'i gdon chen bco lnga'o/* see TShe rnam, *rGyud bzhi'i 'grel chen*, in *gSung 'bum/ TShe rnam* (TBRC W29701, [lHa sa]: [s.n.], [2004?]), vol. 5 (cha), 92v1-2.

<sup>97</sup> *yongs grags byis gdon bco lnga bshad kyang 'dir gong gi bcu gnyis dang rgyal bsen gnyis bcas bcu bzhi bshad la snying po bsdu par/ lha chen gyis ni sprul pa yin zhes pa sprul gzhi bcas bco lnga yod/* see Lung rigs bstan dar, *rGyud bzhi'i brda' bkrol nam rgyal a ru ra'i phreng ba'i mdzes rgyan*, p. 351.

mending by casting off substitutes, etc, in which the fifteen demons illustrated in the ritual text system are included. It explains in detail about the form and the color of the substitutes for each of the fifteen demons as well as the direction of their placement in the ritual, so that the readers would be impressed by the author's knowledge of ritual application.<sup>98</sup> In the same way, the author of *Vaidūrya sngon po* demonstrated his proficiency in rituals for eliminating hindrance. In his other work *Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs zug rngu'i tsha gdun sel ba'i katpu ra dus min 'chi zhag gcod pa'i ral gri* Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho also explicated the form and the color of the substitutes to cope with each of the symptoms, plus the direction in which the substitutes should be placed in the ritual.<sup>99</sup> Surprisingly enough, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho said in the beginning of this chapter (No. 106: *byis gdon gso ba*), while explaining the type of the demons of children (*byis gdon*), that:

Concerning the type, it was taught that there are twelve, [namely] the five male demons and the seven female demons. Moreover, together with the workers *rgyal po* and *bsen mo* both, [as well as] the manifestation basis, the demons of children are renowned as fifteen.<sup>100</sup>

Instead of being consistent with his own position in *Vaidūrya sngon po*, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho approved of the argument, that was opposed by himself, here in *Dus min 'chi zhag gcod pa'i ral gri*. This answers the question why the group of demons illustrated in the medical painting in accordance with the Tibetan medical system totals fifteen. It's no wonder that this statement has been maintained by authors of medical literatures in later generations.

### Concluding Remarks

The designation "the fifteen great demons of children" denotes two different groups of demons in Tibetan literature. One is often referred to in Tibetan ritual texts and is well known by many Tibetan

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<sup>98</sup> Blo gros rgyal po, Blo bzang chos grags, dKon mchog chos grags, *Mes po'i zhal lung*, vol. 2, pp. 432-433.

<sup>99</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs zug rngu'i tsha gdun sel ba'i katpu ra dus min 'chi zhag gcod pa'i ral gri* (TBRC W23739, Leh: T. S. Tashigangpa, 1978), 151r2-151v3.

<sup>100</sup> */rigs ni pho gdon lnga dang mo gdon bdun/ /bcu gnyis gsungs shing las byed rgyal bsen gnyis/ sbrul gzhi bcas pa byis gdon bco lngar grags/* see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs zug rngu'i tsha gdun sel ba'i katpu ra dus min 'chi zhag gcod pa'i ral gri*, 150v4-5.



scholars. The other which appears occasionally in Tibetan medical literatures is however not unanimously acknowledged. Compared with the former group of demons, which through its existence in the Tibetan Tunhuang texts as well as in the literature of rediscovered treasure (*gter ma*) is proved to have a long tradition; the latter was formed much later in a gradual manner. Instead of being fifteen all along like the former group, the number of the demons of the latter group grew from the conventional twelve, to fourteen, and eventually to fifteen. No later than the seventeenth century the group of fifteen demons was specified in the Tibetan medical literature. Its formation was undeniably a consequence of the influence by the renowned designation "the fifteen great demons of children". Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, the famous author of Tibetan medical writings, contributed to this development. Whether he was the originator needs further investigation. Nevertheless, attributable to his important role in the Tibetan history, he, with his equivocal attitude in his different works, has preserved on the one hand the tradition of the authoritative medical literature *rGyud bzhi*, and on the other hand fostered an innovative system which has continued until the present age.

## Appendix I

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
<b>Texts 1&amp;2</b>	<b>Text 3</b>	<b>Texts 4-8</b>
<b>1. skem byed</b> -yang dang yang du mgo bo rdegs -mig gcig mchi ma 'dzag  -so 'cha' -phyogs gcig nyams shing lus rengs la/ rngul bcas skye <sup>101</sup> ba rengs pa -bshang ba khu tshur la bcang -nu zho la mi dga' -skad gsang nyams -sngangs shing ngu -tshil khrag dri bro -mig ni gnyi ga dmar -yang lag nyes nyams pa'am 'chi ba kho nar byed par 'gyur -kha yo -kha chu skyugs pa -mi bзад par gyen du blta -yid mi dga' -mkhur tshos mig dang smin ma gcig g.yo	<b>1. skem byed</b> -mgo bo sdebs [rdeb]  -mig nas mchi 'dzag  -lus dang skye [ske] rengs  -nu zho 'bor -skad nyams -ngu la sngags [dngangs] -ljag [zhag] tshil dri bro -mig gnyis dmar -'chi'am yan lag nyams par byed	<b>1. skem<sup>102</sup> byed</b> -mgo rdeb <sup>103</sup>  -mig gcig mchi <sup>104</sup> ma 'dzag -rngul mang -skyig -so 'cha' -mjing pa rengs <sup>105</sup>  -bshang kha sbar mos 'chang <sup>106</sup> -zho mi 'thung <sup>107</sup>
<b>2. skem byed brjed byed</b>  -dran pa nyams -lbu bar skyug -nu ma rang lce so yis 'debs -gyen du lta -yang dang yang du skra 'bal -bshang dang gci ba 'byin -rke ba 'gugs pa -rnam par 'dud cing glal -rkang lag smin mas gar yang byed	<b>2. sa ga</b> -gnyid yar -dran nyams -lbu skyug -nu ma bzas -gyen lta -skra 'bal ci  -bshang lci [gci] 'byin -ske gug	<b>2. sa ga</b> -gnyid med -dran nyams <sup>108</sup> -lbu bar <sup>109</sup> skyug -nu ma lce la sos 'debs <sup>110</sup> -gnam du blta <sup>111</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Text 1: skyi.

<sup>102</sup> Text 4: skyem [skem]; text 5: skom [skem].

<sup>103</sup> Text 4: rdebs [rdeb].

<sup>104</sup> Text 4 & 5: 'chi [mchi].

<sup>105</sup> Text 4: mjing=jing [mjing], text 5: mjing=jing; text 5: rengs=rings [rengs].

<sup>106</sup> Text 4: bshang kha=gshang [bshang] khar, sbar mos=spar mo; text 5: sbar=spar; text 7: bshang kha=bshang kha sogs la.

<sup>107</sup> Text 5: zho mi 'thung=nu mi 'byung ['thung].

<sup>108</sup> Text 8: snyams.

<sup>109</sup> Text 4: lbu ba; text 5: sbu [lbu] bar.

<sup>110</sup> Text 5: sos 'debs=so 'deb [sos 'debs]; text 6 & 8: sos 'debs=so 'debs; text 7: lce la=lce la sogs par.

<sup>111</sup> Text 4: gnam du blta=gnam la lta [blta]; text 5: gnam du blta=gnam (du) lta.

-kun tu gyo -gnyid yang rims -khrag ni rnag gi dri bro		
3. lug thug gdon -mkhun -'khru -slon par byed pa -lbu ba skyugs pa -sbo zhing rkang pa lag pa dag 'dar  -mig gcig skrang pa yan -lud pa skyigs bus 'debs -chang pa sdom  -skom dad che  -gnyid yar -so yis mchu gnon -yan lag sdud rengs -lug thug dri bro -skad gsang dma' -mdog mi sdug -gyen du lta zhing dgod pa -bar du 'gugs -rims kyis 'debs -brgyal	3. lug thug -'khun -khru ['khru] -skyug  -'dar      -sags [dngangs] pa -skom -cham 'debs -gnyid yar -ma mchu sos gnon -yan lag bsdu <sup>112</sup> rengs -lug thug dri ma bro	3. lug gdong <sup>113</sup> -'khun -sbo <sup>114</sup> 'khru skyug  -rkang lag 'dar  -glo mang <sup>115</sup> -mig dmar skyig <sup>116</sup>  -khu tshur 'chang <sup>117</sup>
4. khyi yi gdong -'dar -rngul -mig ni 'dzums pa -lce dang so mchu dang rkan sgra 'byin -skyugs -bshang ba'i dri 'byung -khyi skad 'byin -ba spu ldang ba -rgyab tu gug	4. khyi gdon -'dar -rngul -mig 'dzum   -bshang ba'i dri 'byung -khyi skad 'don	4. khyi gdong <sup>118</sup> -lus 'dar -rngul -mig <sup>119</sup> 'dzum -rkan rdeb <sup>120</sup>  -'khru skyug -dri ma che bar 'ong
5. yi dvags -yang yang sngang <sup>121</sup> -'khru zhing slon byed -lud pa lu	5. yi dvags -sngangs -'khru slon -lud pa lu	5. yi dvags <sup>122</sup> -dngangs shing <sup>123</sup> -'khru skyug byed pa <sup>124</sup> -glo lu <sup>125</sup>

<sup>112</sup> reads sdud.

<sup>113</sup> Text 4: gdon [gdong].

<sup>114</sup> Text 4: lbo [sbo]; text 5: sbos; text 7: sbo la.

<sup>115</sup> Text 5: glo mang=skyigs bu glo mang.

<sup>116</sup> Text 4: skyig=skrang [skyig]; text 5: skyig=skrang.

<sup>117</sup> Text 5: bcang.

<sup>118</sup> Text 4 & 5: gdon [gdong].

<sup>119</sup> Text 4: mi [mig].

<sup>120</sup> Text 4: sdebs [rdeb]; text 5: rdebs [rdeb].

<sup>121</sup> Text 1: sngang [sngangs].

<sup>122</sup> Text 4 & 5: dags [dvags].

<sup>123</sup> Text 4: rnang cing [dngangs shing]; text 5: bsngang dang 'ong zhing skyugs pa dang.

<sup>124</sup> Text 5 miss.

<p>-glal -lus ni bskyod cing gyo ba dang skem zhing rengs -ba spu ldang -glo bur ngu -skom -mi ro'i dri dang ldan -khu tshur sdom -rims kyis 'debs -mdog mi sdug -mchi ma 'dzag</p>	<p>-gyal  -spu ldang -ngu -skom -mi ro'i dri ldan -khu tshur sdebs [rdeg]</p>	<p>-gyal mang -kha kha -sha lus skam<sup>126</sup></p>
<p>6. bya gdon -mtshan mo skye la nyin mo 'bri -'khru bar byed -lce rkan lkog mar rma 'byung -lus lhod -'jigs -bya yi dri dang ldan -thor bur na -tsha la gnag tshigs dag tu ni yang yang 'byung -kha'am bshang sgo 'gags pa -rims kyis 'debs</p>	<p>6. bya gdon  -'khru bar byed -lce rkan lkog mar rma 'byung -lus lhod -'jigs -bya dri bro ba</p>	<p>6. bya gdong<sup>127</sup> -tsha ba skye  -'khru -lce lkog rkan la 'brum thor 'ong<sup>128</sup></p>
<p>7. srul mo -'khru ba  -skyigs bu -skom -slon zhing 'dar ba -mtshan mo gnyid yar -gcin ni sri ba -lto sbos -lus snyom -lus lhod ba -sbu gshor ba -kha ltar dri ni mnam pa</p>	<p>7. srul mo -khru<sup>129</sup> -skyug par byed  -slon 'dar -mtshan gnyid yar -gcin skom -sbo</p>	<p>7. srul mo -'khru skyug  -skyigs bu<sup>130</sup> -skom dad che</p>
<p>8. grang ba'i srul mo -'dar ba -zur gyis blta ba -'khru la rgyu ma 'khrog -yan lag logs gcig grang ba dang cig shos dro</p>	<p>8. lus hrul -'dar -zur mig blta -'khru rgyu 'khru -lus gzhogs gcig dro gzhogs gcig grang</p>	<p>8. grang ba'i srul mo -lus 'dar -mig zur blta<sup>131</sup> -rgyu 'khrog<sup>132</sup> -ngos gcig tsha la ngos gcig grang<sup>133</sup></p>

<sup>125</sup> Text 4: glo lu=lbo [glo] lu; text 5:glo lus [lu].

<sup>126</sup> Text 5: skem.

<sup>127</sup> Text 4: gdon [gdong].

<sup>128</sup> Text 4: lkog=lkog [kyog]; text 5: lkog=skog [kyog], rkan=rgan [rkan]; text 6 & 7: lkog=kyog; text 8: 'brum thor 'ong=thor pa 'ong.

<sup>129</sup> read 'khru.

<sup>130</sup> Text 4: skyigs lbo [bu]; text 5: skyig [skyigs] sbos.

<sup>131</sup> Text 4: lta [blta]; text 5: lta; text 7: mig zur blta=mig zur gyis blta.

<sup>132</sup> Text 7: rgyu ma 'khrog.

<sup>133</sup> Text 5: ngos cig tsha la nges [ngos] cig grang; text 6: ngos cig tsha la ngos cig grang.

-ngu -skom -zhag ltar dri ni mnam	-ngu -skom -zhag dri bro	
9. srul mo long ma -mthong ba nyams -mig skrang -mig na gya' -slon pa  -glo bar gyur pa -lud pa -nu zho 'gras -gnyid chung -nya yi dri dang ldan yang na dri ni skyur bcas -rims -bshang ba sla zhing mdog mi sdug dri nga bskus pas myur du skam -skyigs bu -mi dgod -mdog mi sdug/ mdog nyams -nga ro rtsub	9. lung ma -mthong ba nyams -mig skrang -mig na   -gnyid chung -nya dri bro	9. srul mo long ba <sup>134</sup> -mig mi gsal la skrang <sup>135</sup>  -'khru skyug -tsha skye -glo lu  -zho mi 'dod
10. bzhin rgyan can -rkang pa dang lag pa gdong ni mdzes pa  -yi ga 'chus -rtsa ni nag por snang ba yis lto ba khyab -yan lag na <sup>136</sup> -ba gcin lta bu'i dri 'byung -rims kyis 'debs	10. bzhin rgyas can -rkang pa dang lag pa gdong mdzes  -yi ga 'chus -rtsa ris nag  -gcin dri bro	10. bzhin rgyas <sup>137</sup> -bzhin <sup>138</sup> mdzes  -tsha skye -zas mi 'dod -lto ba rtsa yi dra ba nag pos khyab <sup>139</sup>
11. nam gru -bshang ba sngo zhing sla ba -skyigs bu -kha ni yo zhing dmar ba  -gnag cing sngo ba -lud pa lu -lug thug drir ldan -rims 'debs skem -mig dang rna ba sna med cing mi <sup>140</sup> 'gul	11. nam gru -bshang ba sngo  -skyigs -kha yo dmar  -gnag cing sngo ba -glo -lug thug dri ldan	11. nam gru -sngon por 'khru <sup>141</sup>  -skyigs bu -kha yo -tsha ba skye <sup>142</sup> -pags <sup>143</sup> mdog sngo

<sup>134</sup> Text 4: long ba=long ma; text 5: srul mo long ba=srul po'i ling [long] mig.

<sup>135</sup> Text 4: skrang=sgrang; text 5: mig [mi] gsal sgrang pa 'ong.

<sup>136</sup> Text 1: ni.

<sup>137</sup> Text 4: gshing [bzhing] rgyas.

<sup>138</sup> Text 4: gzhin [bzhin].

<sup>139</sup> Text 5: rtsa yi=rtsi'i [rtsa yi]; text 6 & 8: lto ba=lto la; text 7: lto ba rtsa yi=lto ba la rtsa'i.

<sup>140</sup> Text 2: mig.

<sup>141</sup> Text 4: por=mo [por]; text 5: por=po; text 7: mdog sngon por 'khru.

<sup>142</sup> Text 8: skyes.

<sup>143</sup> Text 4 & 5: lpags [pags]; text 6 & 8: lpags.

<p>12. nam gru skem mo</p> <p>-skra 'byi -skad gsang zhun -bshang ba kha dog sna tshogs 'byung -ngu -bya rgod dri ldan -lto bar rtsa yi mdud pa chags -lce yi dbus ni dma' ba -rkan ni gnag gyur de spang bya<sup>144</sup> -kha zas mang du zos kyang byis pa gang zhig lus skem byed -lus kun ni rims kyis 'debs par 'gyur ba -zas la mi dga' -mdog mi sdug -yun ring na bar byed pa -lto ba rmen bu zlum po 'byung -skom pas nyen -mig nyams pa</p>	<p>12. nam gru skyem [skem] mo</p> <p>-skra 'byid ma -bshang ba kha dog sna tshogs 'byung -ngu -bya rgod dri dang ldan -lto bar rtsa'i mdud pa chags -lce yi dbus ni dma' ba -rkan ni gnag 'gyur de spang bya -kha zas mang zos byis pa skem</p>	<p>12. nam gru skem po<sup>145</sup></p> <p>-tsha ba skye<sup>146</sup> ba -skra 'byi<sup>147</sup> -skad chung -kha dog sna tshogs 'khru<sup>148</sup></p>
<p>--</p>	<p>--</p>	<p>13. rgyal po -dngangs<sup>149</sup> -'dar -mig ldog<sup>150</sup> -tho rangs ngu<sup>151</sup></p>
<p>--</p>	<p>--</p>	<p>14. bsen mo -bying<sup>152</sup> -'thibs -tsha skye<sup>153</sup> -srod dus ngu<sup>154</sup></p>

<sup>144</sup> Text 2: gyur='gyur; spang=sbang.

<sup>145</sup> Text 4: skem po=skyem mo [skem po]; text 5: skem po=skem pa [po].

<sup>146</sup> Text 5: skya [skye].

<sup>147</sup> Text 4, 6, 7, 8: 'byid; text 5: 'bya ['byi].

<sup>148</sup> Text 5: kha dag [dog] sna tshags [tshogs] 'khru.

<sup>149</sup> Text 4: sngang [dngangs]; text 5: bsngang.

<sup>150</sup> Text 5: bzlog [ldog].

<sup>151</sup> Text 7: tho rangs ngus [ngu].

<sup>152</sup> Text 5: byin [bying]; text 7: byings [bying].

<sup>153</sup> Text 5: bskyed.

<sup>154</sup> Text 8: ngu=na.

## Appendix II

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Text 1&2	Text 3	Text 4-8
<p>1. skem byed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-head beats repeatedly</li> <li>-one eye drips tears</li> </ul> <p>-grind teeth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-one side (of body) gets weak and body paralyzed, neck with sweat and paralyzed,</li> <li>-shit held in clenched hands</li> <li>-dislike mother's milk</li> <li>-voice gets weaker</li> <li>-terrified and cry</li> <li>-with the smell of fat and blood</li> <li>-both eyes are red</li> <li>-extremities detrimentally degenerated or simply die</li> <li>-mouth crooked</li> <li>-vomit saliva</li> <li>-irresistibly look upwards</li> <li>-mind displeased</li> <li>-cheeks, eyes and one eye-brow move</li> </ul>	<p>1. skem byed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-head beats</li> <li>-tears drip from eyes</li> </ul> <p>-body and neck paralyzed</p> <p>-reject mother's milk</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-voice gets weaker</li> <li>-cry and terrified</li> <li>-with the smell of fat</li> </ul> <p>-both eyes are red</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-die or extremities degenerated</li> </ul>	<p>1. skem byed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-head beats</li> <li>-one eye drips tears</li> <li>-sweat a lot</li> <li>-hiccuping</li> <li>-grind teeth</li> <li>-neck paralyzed</li> </ul> <p>-palms hold excrement</p> <p>-doesn't drink mother's milk</p>
<p>2. skem byed brjed byed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-memory degenerated</li> <li>-vomit bubbles</li> <li>-bite mother's nipple and own tongue with teeth</li> <li>-look upwards</li> <li>-pluck hairs repeatedly</li> <li>-emit excrement and urine</li> <li>-neck crooked</li> <li>-bow down fully and yawn</li> <li>-hands dance and feet trip, eyebrows raised</li> <li>-moving all the time</li> <li>-catching an infectious disease in sleep</li> <li>-with the smell of blood and pus</li> </ul>	<p>2. sa ga</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-not going to sleep</li> <li>-memory degenerated</li> <li>-vomit bubbles</li> <li>-bite mother's nipple</li> </ul> <p>-look upwards</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-pluck hairs</li> <li>-emit excrement and urine</li> <li>-neck crooked</li> </ul>	<p>2. sa ga</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-sleepless</li> <li>-memory degenerated</li> <li>-vomit bubbles</li> <li>-bite mother's nipple and (own) tongue with teeth</li> <li>-look at the sky</li> </ul>
<p>3. lug thug gdon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-groan</li> <li>-diarrhea</li> <li>-vomiting</li> <li>-vomit bubbles</li> <li>-upper belly, arms and legs tremble</li> </ul> <p>-one eye swelling above</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-eject phlegm by hiccuping</li> </ul>	<p>3. lug thug</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-groan</li> <li>-diarrhea</li> <li>-vomiting</li> </ul> <p>-trembling</p>	<p>3. lug gdong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-groan</li> <li>-diarrhea with vomiting</li> </ul> <p>-arms and legs tremble</p> <p>-cough a lot</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-eyes are red, hiccuping</li> </ul>

<p>-with binding fist</p> <p>-with great thirst</p> <p>-not going to sleep</p> <p>-teeth bite lips</p> <p>-limbs holding together and paralyzed</p> <p>-with the smell of a ram</p> <p>-low voice</p> <p>-with unpleasant color</p> <p>-look upward and laugh</p> <p>-crooked in the middle</p> <p>-catching an infectious disease</p> <p>-faint</p>	<p>-terrified</p> <p>-thirsty</p> <p>-catching colds</p> <p>-not going to sleep</p> <p>-teeth bite lower lip</p> <p>-limbs holding together and paralyzed</p> <p>-with the smell of a ram</p>	<p>-holding fist</p>
<p>4. khyi yi gdong</p> <p>-trembling</p> <p>-sweating</p> <p>-eyes closed</p> <p>-tongue, teeth, lips and palate make sounds</p> <p>-vomiting</p> <p>-emit the smell of excrement</p> <p>-produce the voice of a dog</p> <p>-body hairs rise up</p> <p>-back crooked</p>	<p>4. khyi gdong</p> <p>-trembling</p> <p>-sweating</p> <p>-eyes closed</p> <p>-emit the smell of excrement</p> <p>-produce the voice of a dog</p>	<p>4. khyi gdong</p> <p>-body trembling</p> <p>-sweating</p> <p>-eyes closed</p> <p>-make sounds with palate</p> <p>-diarrhea with vomiting</p> <p>-emit odor</p>
<p>5. yi dvags</p> <p>-terrified repeatedly</p> <p>-diarrhea and vomiting</p> <p>-cough and spitting out phlegm</p> <p>-yawning</p> <p>-body moves and shivers, emaciated and paralyzed</p> <p>-body hairs rise up</p> <p>-cry suddenly</p> <p>-thirsty</p> <p>-having the smell of a corpse</p> <p>-clenching the fist</p> <p>-catching an infectious disease</p> <p>-with unpleasant color</p> <p>-drip tears</p>	<p>5. yi dvags</p> <p>-terrified</p> <p>-diarrhea and vomiting</p> <p>-cough and spitting out phlegm</p> <p>-yawning</p> <p>-body hairs rise up</p> <p>-cry</p> <p>-thirsty</p> <p>-having the smell of a corpse</p> <p>-clenching the fist</p>	<p>5. yi dvags</p> <p>-terrified</p> <p>-diarrhea with vomiting</p> <p>-coughing</p> <p>-yawning a lot</p> <p>-not speaking at all</p> <p>-muscle and body become skinny</p>
<p>6. bya gdong</p> <p>-fever rises at night, diminishes at daytime</p> <p>-diarrhea</p> <p>-tongue, palate and throat have lesions</p> <p>-body is lazy</p> <p>-frightened</p> <p>-having the smell of a bird</p> <p>-ill dispersedly</p>	<p>6. bya gdong</p> <p>-diarrhea</p> <p>-tongue, palate and throat have lesions</p> <p>-body is lazy</p> <p>-frightened</p> <p>-with the smell of a bird</p>	<p>6. bya gdong</p> <p>-having a fever</p> <p>-diarrhea</p> <p>-tongue, throat, and palate have lesions<sup>155</sup></p>

<sup>155</sup> Text 6 & 7: tongue crooked, palate has lesions.



<p>- joints often become black when having a fever -mouth or anus being blocked -catching an infectious disease</p>		
<p>7. srul mo -diarrhea  -hiccuping -thirsty -vomiting and trembling -not going to sleep at night -urine retained -swollen belly -body is dull -body is lazy -shaggy hair -halitosis</p>	<p>7. srul mo -diarrhea -vomiting  -vomiting and trembling -not going to sleep at night -lack of urine -swelling</p>	<p>7. srul mo -diarrhea with vomiting  -hiccuping -with great thirst</p>
<p>8. grang ba'i srul mo -trembling -look askance -diarrhea with intestinal rumbling -one side of the limbs are cold and the other side is hot -crying -thirsty -with oil-like smell</p>	<p>8. lus hrul -trembling -look askance -intestinal diarrhea  -one side of the body is hot, the other side is cold  -crying -thirsty -with the smell of oil</p>	<p>8. grang ba'i srul mo -body trembles -eyes look askance -intestinal rumbling  -one side (of the body) is hot, the other side is cold</p>
<p>9. srul mo long ma -vision deteriorated -eyes swollen -stain in eyes -vomiting  -coughing -having mucus -hates mother's milk -sleep little -having the smell of a fish or acid smell -catching an infectious disease -excrement is thin and with unpleasant color, bad smell, dry quickly by smearing -hiccuping -no laughter -body color unpleasant/ faded away -howling</p>	<p>9. lung ma -vision deteriorated -eyes swollen -eyes ache        -sleep little -with the smell of a fish</p>	<p>9. srul mo long ba -eyes unclear and swollen   -diarrhea with vomiting -having a fever -coughing  -dislikes mother's milk</p>
<p>10. bzhin rgyan can -beautiful legs, arms and face  -feel repulsion in swallowing food -black vein artery filled in belly</p>	<p>10. bzhin rgyas can -beautiful legs, arms, and face  -feel repulsion in swallowing food -vein artery in black shape</p>	<p>10. bzhing rgyas -beautiful face  -having a fever -dislikes food  -belly filled with black net of vein artery</p>

-limbs ache -emit smell of urine -catching an infectious disease	-with the smell of urine	
11. nam gru -blue and thin excrement  -hiccuping -mouth crooked and red  -(skin color) black and green -cough and spitting out phlegm -having the smell of a ram -catching an infectious disease and emaciated -eyes and ears without guidance and motion	11. nam gru -blue excrement  -hiccuping -mouth crooked and red  -(skin color) black and green -coughing  -having the smell of a ram	11. nam gru -diarrhea with blue excrement  -hiccuping -mouth crooked -having a fever -skin color green
12. nam gru skem mo  -growing bald -voice cowardly -multicolored excrement  -crying -having the smell of a vulture -vein knot appears in belly -tongue low in the middle -palate black and drenched -eat a lot but become thin -whole body catches infectious diseases -dislike food -color unpleasant -ill for a long time -round indurate sore appears on belly -afflicted by thirsty -vision deteriorated	12. nam gru skyem [skem] mo  -growing bald -multicolored excrement  -crying -having the smell of a vulture -vein knot appears in belly -tongue low in the middle -palate black and drenched -eat a lot but become thin	12. nam gru skem po <sup>156</sup>  -having a fever -growing bald -low voice -diarrhea with multicolored excrement
--	--	13. rgyal po -terrified -trembling -eyes rolling over -crying at daybreak
--	--	14. bsen mo -dull -gloom -having a fever -crying in the evening

<sup>156</sup> Text 4: skyem mo [skem po].

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