Opening the Eyes of Faith: Constructing Tradition in a Sixteenth-Century Catalogue of Tibetan Religious Poetry¹

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Introduction

Tsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), the so-called Madman of gTsang, is best known for his novelistic accounts of early bKa' brgyud founders Mar pa (1012?–1097?) and Mi la ras pa (ca. 1040–1123). His efforts to compile, edit, print, and disseminate the narratives and religious poetry of those early figures underscored the central role that spiritual songs of realization (*mgur*) played in the expression and transmission of Buddhism across the Tibetan cultural world. gTsang smyon Heruka is himself credited with composing a significant corpus of spiritual verse, which has been compiled in a volume of his own collected songs (*mgur 'bum*).² He maintained his interest in literary activities through the latter part of his life. At one point, gTsang smyon returned to Chu bar in Southern Tibet, one of Mi la ras pa's favored retreats and site of the yogin's cremation, where he is said to have "brought many disciples to spiritual maturi-

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gTsang smyon Heruka, gTsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum. His songs are also preserved in two of the three extant biographies that gTsang smyon's disciples composed after his passing, i.e. rGod tshang ras pa, Nyi ma'i snying po; and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, Dad pa'i spu slong g.yo ba. The songs of gTsang smyon have not yet been studied carefully. Ilze Maruta Stearns has translated, transcribed, and edited two songs in her master's thesis (Stearns 1985, 12, 19–20, 97–124, 130–39). Franz-Karl Ehrhard (2010, 155–57) reproduced and studied the colophon of gTsang smyon's mgur 'bum. Stefan Larsson has written briefly about the song collection and translated some sections of the songs in his study of the madman's life (Larsson 2012, 42–44, 159ff.). Larsson is currently involved in a research project focusing on gTsang smyon's mgur 'bum and other related texts (Swedish Research Council, project 2013-1421).

ty through granting empowerments and instructions."³ During this period he also composed several texts related to the aural transmissions (*snyan brgyud*) lineages of esoteric instruction originating with the early bKa' brgyud masters, as well as works on the tantric cycle of Hevajra. Included among gTsang smyon's writings at this time is a catalogue of spiritual songs, the text under consideration here. The composition is not a collection of verses (*mgur 'bum*) per se. Rather it is a catalogue (*dkar chags*)⁴ of songs, reflecting on the origin, forms, functions, and qualities of the wider *mgur* tradition. The work was completed in 1503 and wood blocks produced for a printed edition five years later. Only a single copy of the xylographic print is known to exist, preserved in the Sammlung Waddell of the Berlin State Library.⁵

gTsang smyon Heruka's text, entitled *Opening the Eyes of Faith*, has so far received little attention. It is missing from Gene Smith's seminal 1969 study of gTsang smyon Heruka's life and works.⁶ Kurtis Schaeffer likewise makes no mention of it in his recent overview of the printing projects of gTsang smyon and his disciples.⁷ Several scholars have briefly noted the work in passing, but to date, the text has not been the subject of a detailed study.⁸

The catalogue offers a rare and relatively early reflection on the scope of the Tibetan *mgur* tradition by an author who helped make the genre famous in Tibet. This tradition is usually traced back, in part, to the early bKa' brgyud figures Mar pa and Mi la ras pa, and the Indian *siddhas* before them. In turn, the practice of singing *mgur* is frequently understood as a primary signifier of the "oral transmission" of esoteric instructions between teacher and disciple from

³ rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 207. *dbang dang gdams pas gdul bya mang po smin par mdzad*/. References refer to the Western pagination. Although no date is given in the biography, since rGod tshang ras pa's *rnam thar* of gTsang smyon is chronologically structured, this seems to have taken place around 1503.

⁴ The term *dkar chags* is alternately spelled *kar chag* and *dkar chag*.

The manuscript, i.e. "Waddell 120 h" was recently made available in the Digital Library of the Berlin State Library for free viewing and downloading: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/dms/.

⁶ Smith 1969. Republished in Smith 2001.

Schaeffer 2011.

The text is outlined briefly in Schuh (1981, 126–27). Ehrhard (2010, 157–58) noted the text's title and colophon data in his examination of the writings of gTsang smyon's biographer rGod tshang ras pa. Short references to it are also found in Larsson (2012, 251) and Sernesi (2011, 186). Larsson presented a preliminary survey of the text at the International Association for Tibetan Studies Seminar in Ulaanbaatar, 2013. Quintman presented the text at the "Tibetan Translation and Transmission Conference," Boulder, CO, October 2014.

On the tradition of Indian tantric songs, see for example, Guenther 1969; Jackson 2004; Kapstein 2006; Kværne 1977; Templeman 1994.

which the name bKa' brgyud is said to have derived. As compiler and early printer of their lives and songs, gTsang smyon Heruka thus stands as a central figure in the history of Buddhist songs in Tibet. Given his centrality in the development and popularization of the genre, gTsang smyon's thoughts about *mgur* are particularly significant. Despite its brevity, the madman's catalogue bears closer scrutiny, not only because it brings to light reflections on Tibetan verse forms that have languished in relative obscurity, although that is one reason. Perhaps more importantly, *Opening the Eyes of Faith* makes transparent some programmatic ways in which gTsang smyon employed the song tradition to construct a distinctive religious identity. And as with his better-known literary achievements, that identity was fashioned around the ideal of the ascetic yogin and his spontaneous expressions of spiritual awakening in song.¹⁰

The text is more than a simple list of song titles. It presents an indigenous Tibetan view of what *mgur* are and how they function. It details the suitable forms such verses can take, their necessary elements, potential flaws, and beneficial effects. It gives advice about how one should vocalize songs, to whom, and for what reasons. The catalogue reveals a picture of the *mgur* tradition that supports the stories Tibetans frequently tell about their esoteric traditions while also calling some of those stories into question. The text is thus interesting precisely because it helps complicate our understanding of *mgur* in a number of ways.

First, Opening the Eyes of Faith foregrounds the fact that mgur originated as a performative tradition. This follows the normative view that such verses are "songs of realization" and were expressed through the meditative experiences of great masters from the past. It then sets forth the ritual contexts in which those songs should be sung, together with the mental attitudes required of both performer and audience. Yet the text also reveals how mgur may function in non-performative ways. The catalogue lists only song titles and not the songs themselves. Individual titles included in the catalogue therefore seem to function as placeholders for the songs, and the instructions they transmit, while still demonstrating a valid transmission from teacher to student. The song titles here record the tradition's lineage extending from early Indian origins (both the tantric and historical buddhas) down to the author in sixteenth-century Tibet. Moreover, many individuals represented in the catalogue's lineage were themselves the subject of biographical writing produced by

¹⁰ Cf. Quintman 2014; Smith 2001, 61.

gTsang smyon and his followers. In this way, the text further reflects the mechanisms through which a religious community worked to record its lineage of the past and project it forward into the future.

The catalogue also echoes the traditional description of *mgur* as spontaneous expressions of an awakened mind, the "unstructured experience" of great yogins. In this view, such verses stand in contrast to the more scholastic prose of academic treatises as well as the more classical poetic forms based on Indian systems of kāvya. Here again, the text also contests that view. gTsang smyon underscores how songs require careful composition, expression, timing, etc. in order to be effective. A proper verse should "maintain songs of previous masters," "uphold authentic dharma," "bring forth the nectarlike oral instructions," and "cause the attainment of perfect Buddhahood." Likewise, their performance is a highly ritualized practice, one that requires a certain degree of care and training. Verses should be preceded by appropriate expressions of devotion and framed within a proper narrative context. The body of the song is to be "elevated and majestic," its subject "clear and unadorned," with a tone that is charming and a melody complete.

In light of these broad observations, this essay will offer a preliminary analysis and translation of gTsang smyon Heruka's little known song catalogue. We begin with a history of the text's production, the individuals involved in its printing, and the wider literary context into which such a text might fit. We then briefly survey the catalogue's contents to highlight its principal features and functions. We conclude by reflecting on the traditional views about *mgur* in theory represented in this text (that they are based on meditative experience, that they are a spontaneous form of oral performance) while foregrounding some of the seemingly contradictory observations about them in practice (that they are often, perhaps predominantly, transmitted in literary form, that they conform to a strictly regulated framework). This short text, we contend, illustrates how spiritual poetry, and mgur in particular, can function in different registers depending on the context: original composition, biography, collected songs, catalogue, and subsequent performance as part of a living tradition, while serving both doctrinal and programmatic purposes. gTsang smyon has made use of each of these registers in order to constitute his view of the bKa' brgyud tradition.

In the notes, we have referenced the sources for many of the catalogue's best-known songs, such as those found in the Mi la corpus or Mar pa biography, which themselves are primarily known through the work of gTsang smyon Heruka. We have not, however, made an exhaustive attempt to identify or annotate all of the songs mentioned in the text. Further research will no doubt provide a clearer picture of

gTsang smyon Heruka's sources for this work. Appendix 1 provides a critical transcription of the Tibetan text. Appendix 2 presents a schematic illustration of the lineage masters recorded in *Opening the Eyes of Faith*, together with the number of songs attributed to each. Appendix 3 illustrates gTsang smyon's personal transmission lineage.¹¹

History of the Text

The full title of this work is *A Catalogue of Songs Dispelling the Darkness of Ignorance and Opening the Eyes of Faith (mGur gyi dkar chags ma rig mun sel dad pa'i mig 'byed*). The catalogue is relatively short, spanning just nine folios, and concludes with the following colophon:

This preliminary catalogue proclaiming the dharma that brings about well-being now and in the future is unstructured experience written down by the yogin who wanders in charnel grounds, King of Blood Drinkers, in the middle autumn month of the Water-Female-Pig year.¹²

Although gTsang smyon Heruka's name does not appear, the epithet "the Yogin who wanders in charnel grounds, King of Blood Drinkers" is one of the madman's best-known monikers, found in the *Lives* of both Mar pa and Mi la ras pa. The date of its composition, a Water-Female-Pig year, corresponds to 1503, which agrees with information found in the madman's own biography written by rGod tshang ras pa (1482–1559) shortly after his death. ¹³ It is therefore beyond reasonable doubt that gTsang smyon was the text's author.

The printing colophon provides further information about the text's creation:

E ma ho.
This catalogue of songs, a lamp dispelling darkness,
Was printed by Kun tu bzang mo,
After she thought to benefit the Buddha's teachings and beings.
sTod pa 'phel le of sMan khab wrote it down,

Publication constraints did not allow for the reproduction of chart graphics in the appendices. Appendix 2 and Appendix 3 can be downloaded here: http://andrewquintman.com/openingeyes/.

gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 9a. See the Tibetan text in Appendix

¹³ rGod tshang ras pa, Nyi ma'i snying po, 207.

Sangs rgyal grogs mched of Zur tsho carved the blocks, and Lo pan 'Jam dpal chos lha performed the editing.¹⁴

Although these lines do not record a precise location or date for the text's production, they do offer a few clues about when and where it was eventually printed. Several of the names recorded here are known from other works by gTsang smyon Heruka. Kun tu bzang mo (1464–1549), who directed the printing project, can be identified as the madman's female disciple and partner. She is also credited with arranging and sponsoring the block prints for at least two other literary works connected with gTsang smyon Heruka's life and teachings: (1) his earliest biography written by dNgos grub dpal 'bar (1456–1527); and (2) his collected songs. Jam dpal chos lha can be identified as another of gTsang smyon Heruka's disciples who collaborated with Kun tu bzang mo as editor on those two projects. The scribe sTod pa 'phel le and carver Sangs rgyal grogs mched likewise took on identical roles in the production of those two works. This was, it seems, a well seasoned literary team.

A comparison of the physical features of these three works—biography, collected songs, and catalogue—provides corroborative evidence that they were products of a single publishing atelier. The title pages of all three works exhibit strikingly similar floral treatments (see Figure 1). The design and layout of the following pages likewise closely resemble one another. Although the catalogue lacks the illustrations found in opening folio side of the biography and

Cf. Ehrhard 2010, 154–58. For the original colophons, see, dNgos grub dpal 'bar, Dad pa'i seng ge, 30b–31a; gTsang smyon Heruka, gTsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum, 27a–28a. The scribe came from sMan khab and the carver from Zur tsho, regions located not far from the printing location of bSam gtan gling, as will be discussed below. For more on these texts, the place of printing, and the people who made them, see Larsson in press.

gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 9a.

The dPal brtsegs Institute has discovered a 73 folios manuscript *rnam thar* of Kun tu bzang mo, written by her disciple mKhan rab dbang phyug in 1551. Its full title is *Dus gsum rgyal ba ma lus pa bskyed pa'i yum chen kun tu bzang mo'i rnam par thar pa zab don gter mdzod mthong ba don ldan*. This text is the subject of ongoing study. Porong Dawa of the dPal brtsegs Institute and Hildegard Diemberger recently presented some of their findings at the conference Printing as an Agent of Change in Tibet and Beyond (Cambridge University, November 2013). See Dawa and Diemberger in press; Diemberger in press; see also Diemberger 2014. Kurtis Schaeffer presented a survey of Kun tu bzang mo's life based on this text ("An Introduction to the Life of Kuntu Zangmo (1464–1549) and some Remarks on Researching the History of Buddhist Women in the Himalayas," paper presented at the Third Himalayan Studies Conference, Yale University, March 15, 2014). rGod tshang ras pa includes a brief summary of Kun tu bzang mo's life in his biography of gTsang smyon (rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 1969, 140–42). This short life story has been studied by Larsson, in press.

songs, each first full text folio is circumscribed by a set of double lines with a box in the left and right margins, while the pages thereafter all have seven lines of text per folio and are flanked by two vertical lines on both sides of the text (see Figures 2.1 - 2.3).¹⁷

Franz-Karl Ehrhard has recently suggested that both gTsang smyon's biography and song collection were printed 1508 at bSam gtan gling, a monastery situated near the sacred mountain of rTsib ri in La stod Lho. Together with Mi la ras pa's own biography and collected songs, they may have formed a four-part set. The printed edition of gTsang smyon's catalogue *Opening the Eyes of Faith* was thus likely also produced in 1508 at bSam gtan gling. Indeed, rGod tshang ras pa describes exactly the kind of scene in which such activity could have taken place: shortly after the madman's passing, a group of his close disciples including Kun tu bzang mo gathered to compile and print gTsang smyon's life story and song collection, materials they imagined as forming a textual support for gTsang smyon's enlightened speech (*gsung gi rten*). Support for gTsang smyon's enlightened speech (*gsung gi rten*).

Opening the Eyes of Faith concludes with a two-folio catalogue of gTsang smyon's own collected songs entitled *Illuminating Sunlight Catalogue* (*dKar chags nyi 'od snang ba*), appended directly after the printing colophon. This work was compiled by rGod tshang ras pa and this in turn suggests his involvement with the creation of *Opening the Eyes of Faith*.²¹

To this trio of block prints may be added a forth. Marta Sernesi has discovered that the same editor, scribe, and carver also participated in the production of gTsang smyon's famous biography of Mar pa, a work printed just a few years earlier, in 1505 (Sernesi 2011, 185–87). She notes the clear similarities between the original print of Mar pa's biography and the prints of gTsang smyon's *rnam thar* and *mgur 'bum* "in terms of page layout (*mise en page*) and *ductus*, confirming that they issued from the same workshop" (Sernesi 2011, 187). Sernesi further notes (2011, 187n17) that the print of Mar pa's *rnam thar* is marked with the marginal letter *ka*, which could indicate an "intended continuity" between this and the later prints, which are marked with letters *ga* (dNgos grub dpal 'bar, *Dad pa'i seng ge*) and *nga* (gTsang smyon, *gTsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum*). *Opening the Eyes of Faith* bears no such marginal notations.

Ehrhard 2010, 154–58. For more on bSam gtan gling, see Larsson in press; Wangdu and Diemberger 1996, 51–54. In the colophon to his biography of gTsang smyon, dNgos grub dpal 'bar records that he composed the text in 1508 in the monastery of bSam gtan gling at rGyal gyi śrī ri in La stod lho (dNgos grub dpal 'bar, Dad pa'i seng ge, 30b).

Ehrhard 2010, 154. As noted, Mar pa's *rnam thar* could also have been included in such a set (see note 16).

²⁰ rGod tshang ras pa, Nyi ma'i snying po, 282.

rGod tshang ras pa, dKar chags nyi 'od snang ba, 10b. This brief colophon concludes by identifying rGod tshang ras pa as its compiler: rdo rje'i mgur chings dkar

We can thus conclude that *Opening the Eyes of Faith* was written by gTsang smyon Heruka in Chu bar in 1503 and then likely printed in 1508. gTsang smyon's female companion Kun tu bzang mo sponsored the project, with several other disciples acting as editor, scribe, and carver, all of whom had been involved with producing xylographic editions of their guru's biography and collected songs. The text was likely printed at bSam gtan gling in La stod Lho, with further input from gTsang smyon Heruka's close disciple rGod tshang ras pa. Finally, *Opening the Eyes of Faith* was itself probably issued and circulated together with gTsang smyon's biography and songs, possibly as a kind of appendix to them.

Precedents and Parallels for Opening the Eyes of Faith

Before turning to the catalogue, it will be helpful to first situate it within the broader Tibetan tradition of commentary on songs. Even with the profusion of *mgur* in Tibet, recorded in the biographies and collected songs of innumerable masters, commentary on the traditions of song and vocal performance themselves seems to have been relatively rare. It was, however, not entirely lacking, and we find some evidence for possible influences on gTsang smyon's exposition. In his youth, he was educated in a Sa skya monastic environment and thus may have been familiar with Sa skya Paṇḍita's famous Treatise on Music (Rol mo'i bstan bcos). 22 Sa pan's Treatise was the earliest extended theoretical treatment of the Tibetan Buddhist musical tradition, with sections covering vocal music (dbyangs), composition (tshig sbyor), and melody and words (dbyangs dang tshig). All three of the madman's biographies agree that gTsang smyon studied for at least three years in the Gur pa monastic department of dPal 'khor chos sde Monastery in rGyal rtse, which was affiliated with the Sa skya tradition. During this period he studied tantric texts and he also learned to perform tantric rituals and dances. One source explicitly mentions that he studied *dbyangs* in the monastery.²³

The performance of songs is also addressed in one of the oldest extant encyclopedias of traditional Buddhist knowledge in Tibet, a fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century compendium written by gTsang smyon Heruka's contemporary Don dam smra ba'i seng ge (ca. 15th

²³ rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 27. Cf. Larsson 2011; 2012, 97–103.

chags ni/ nyi 'od snang ba zhe bya 'di/ nyi ma'i rjes 'brang dkar chogs kyi/ dkar phran rgod tshang ras pas sbyar/. Cf. Ehrhard 2010, 158.

Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Rol mo bstan chos*. See Canzio 1979; Egyed 2000; Ellingson 1979. A seventeenth-century Tibetan commentary also exists, written by Kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1660). Kun dga' bsod nams, *Rol mo'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel ba*.

century). Comprehensive works such as this often took as their primary subject the five main branches of classical Buddhist learning in the Indo-Tibetan world, the so-called five major cultural sciences (rig gnas lnga). Music (rol mo) and songs (often glu) were included within the category of "construction" or "arts and crafts" (bzo rig). Although little is known about the author, his work Treasury of Explanation, a Wish-fulfilling Jewel (bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu) includes a brief discussion about the forms and performance of song.²⁴ The relevant section is contained in the *Treasury*'s thirteenth chapter on "Oral Advice on Lasting Happiness," which sets forth an abbreviated typology of songs (mostly designated by the term glu), the six modes of singing them, their four essential points, four results, and sixteen functions.²⁵ There is no evidence of a direct connection between gTsang smyon's Catalogue and Don dam smra ba'i seng ge's Treasury. And the latter says little about the tradition of songs of realization itself: the term mgur glu appears only in passing as one type of song. But as products of the same cultural moment in Tibet, these two works perhaps point to an increasing awareness of and interest in the forms and functions of songs. While it is unclear how widely Don dam smra ba'i seng ge's Treasury circulated, bshad mdzod texts such as this, unlike Sa paņ's more scholarly *Treatise*, seem to have been composed for the benefit of a more general audience including pious lay readers, kings, and princes, who might one day become patrons. 26 This fits well with what we know about gTsang smyon's wish to disseminate the mgur traditions of Mar pa and Mi la ras pa to as broad an audience as possible.²⁷

Only a few autonomous song catalogues similar in form to *Opening the Eyes of Faith* are currently known, although other examples likely exist. The acclaimed rNying ma master Klong chen pa (1308–

Don dam smra ba'i seng ge, *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*. Cf. Smith 2001, 209–24.

Don dam smra ba'i seng ge, bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu, 522–27.

²⁶ Smith 2001, 210.

On gTsang smyon's intention to distribute the Mi la ras pa corpus to a broad audience, see Quintman 2014, 128ff. The better-known nineteenth-century compendium *Treasury of Knowledge* (*Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*) by 'Jam mgon sKong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899) includes extended discussions of both the "supreme" and "common" vocal arts (*ngag bzo mchog, ngag bzo phal*). The former covers topics such as the dynamics and modes of chanting (*gdangs*), melodic contour (*nga ro*), ceremonial contexts, etc. The "common vocal arts" includes singing that might take place during cultural festivals and public gatherings ('Jam mgon sKong sprul, *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*, 2: 295ff; Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Thayé 2012, 303–10). It is interesting to note, however, that sKong sprul does not mention the performance of *glu* and *mgur* in this context. The subsequent chapter on poetics focuses largely on classical forms of *kāvya*.

1364) produced a *Catalogue of Vajra Songs* (*rDo rje glu'i dkar chag*), which, although brief, is alternately referred to as the *Great Catalogue* (*dKar chag chen mo*) in the colophon. Klong chen pa describes the importance of *rdo rje'i mgur* as effectively encapsulating the entirety of the Buddhist tradition from the time of Śākyamuni down to fourteenth-century Tibet. He emphasizes the vajra songs (*rdo rje'i glu*) and *mgur* sung by masters after visiting the great sacred sites of the rNying ma tradition. From among the entire *mgur* tradition, he singles out Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, sGam po pa (1079–1153), Gling ras pa (1128–1188), rDza ri ras pa Shes rab dpal (ca. 12th century), and the great rNying ma adept Me long rdo rje (1243–1303). These masters, he writes, "reached the level of 'Reality Exhausted' and then sang songs (*mgur*) about realizing their own aims." The text concludes with a brief list of Klong chen pa's own songs.

An unpublished work on poetry attributed to the seventeenth-century bKa' brgyud scholar and polymath Karma chags med (1613–1678) contains a brief section, itself in verse, presenting an "analysis of dohā and vajra songs" (do ha rdo rje'i glu'i rnam par dbye pa).²⁹ Once again, we find an effort to establish the various Buddhist song traditions (glu, glu dbyangs, dohā, mgur) as encompassing the entire field of experience of the Buddhist path, from the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, to the great Indian siddhas, to the bKa' brgyud founders in Tibet and their transmission of mahāmudrā instructions. Karma chags med writes:

All of the bKa' brgyud lamas, In each of their meditation sites across the land of Tibet, Put their realization into song, Which became the central pillar of the Practice Lineage teachings. This is known as the "collected songs of the bKa' brgyud."³⁰

As with gTsang smyon before him, the author reiterates that the tradition of songs of realization, and especially the collected songs (*mgur 'bum*) of its great masters, became a defining feature ("the central pillar") of the lineage. It is not difficult to imagine that in writing those lines, Karma chags med had gTsang smyon's literary corpus in mind.

Karma chags med, rDo rje glu'i rnam dbye. The complete section title is Do ha rdo rje'i glu'i rnam par dbye pa sha mang gi sul zhes bya ba'i glu.

Klong chen pa, rDo rje glu'i dkar chag, 362. chos nyid zad sar 'khyol bas rang don rtogs pa'i mgur bzhengs pa.

Karma chags med, rDo rje glu'i rnam dbye, 2b. gnas bod yul sgrub gnas so so tul dpal bka' [b]rgyud bla ma thams cad kyis/ rang rang gi rtogs pa glu tu blangs/ de sgrub [b]rgyud bstan pa'i srog zhing yin/ mtshan bka' [b]rgyud mgur 'bum zhes su grags/.

The closest known parallel to gTsang smyon's catalogue, albeit one that circulated later, may be the brief text entitled Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate (sKal bzang yid kyi ngal gso), an independent work traditionally included as an introduction to the famous collection of bKa' brgyud verses An Ocean of bKa' brgyud Songs (bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho) compiled by the Eighth Karmapa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554).³¹ This is not designated a catalogue (dkar chags) per se, but rather serves as a practical introduction for the liturgical performance of the collection of songs that follows. Although its instructions are more explicit than those found in gTsang smyon's catalogue, there are close parallels between the two. The outline presented in Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate clearly follows gTsang smyon's own general framework; at times it seems to gloss the latter's opaque terminology.³² It is therefore possible that its author not only knew of gTsang smyon's presentation of mgur from nearly half a century earlier, he may have drawn upon it directly.

Survey of Opening the Eyes of Faith

Opening the Eyes of Faith begins with a traditional expression of homage to the lama and prayer of aspiration. gTsang smyon Heruka then introduces several of the text's central themes: the Tibetan tradition of spiritual songs is rooted in the ascetic practices of Indian Buddhism, it developed primarily through the transmission and performance of tantra, and it reflects the inner experiences of yogic practitioners. The narrative here describes how great adepts renounced the world, became realized through esoteric yogic techniques, and then expressed their realization in song. In gTsang smyon's telling, great siddhas of the past

... gave up clothes, food, and renown, and became the sons of mist and clouds. Wearing empty and secluded caves as their crowns, they cut the cord of happiness and abundance as aims of this life. They continuously remembered the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and advantages. For pillows they used mind-

sKal bzang yid kyi ngal gso. Cf. Nālandā Translation Committee 1989, 6–12. The complete title of this text is An Explanation, Outline, and Liturgical Procedures of the Ocean of bKa' brgyud Songs, Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate (bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho'i go don khog dbubs spyi chings rnam par bshad pa skal bzang yid kyi ngal so). In the block print edition prepared at Rumtek Monastery, it is appended to the end of the main text.

³² See note 80 in the translation.

fulness of the uncertainty of the time death; for clothes they wore awareness of the infallibility of cause and effect; for mats they laid out mindfulness of saṃsāra's shortcomings. Then, modelling themselves upon the downward descent of a river and the upward blaze of a lamp, they practiced the two stages of yoga continuously, day and night, without interruption. This resulted in the actualization of unmistaken experience and realization, which they then expressed in vajra songs.³³

This account largely reflects mainstream views about *mgur* in Tibet. It also supports gTsang smyon's stated purpose for writing the text that follows: the traditional Buddhist motivation of inspiring disciples, exhorting the wealthy to accumulate merit, and encouraging individuals to practice the path to liberation and omniscience.³⁴ But the story here also highlights gTsang smyon Heruka's long standing agenda to valorize the ascetic ideal, much as he did through his writings on the archetype of yogic virtuosity Mi la ras pa.

gTsang smyon next defines his terminology: "When the enlightened intentions of the victors and one's own wishes are versified, set to music, and then expressed, such is called glu or dbyangs. When it expresses the greatness [of realization] it is called mgur." The distinctions between glu and mgur, and the blurred lines of those distinctions, have been discussed at length elsewhere.³⁶ In gTsang smyon's view, however, mgur may be distinguished from glu not so much by means of its formal properties—although they are clearly prescribed in the text that follows—as by its referent. Songs designated mgur address what is to be praised, literally "expressing the greatness" (che brjod), which in this case may be understood as the experience and realization of great adepts. This idea is encapsulated in one of the divisions of mgur Tibetan critic Don grub rgyal (1953–1985) defines as "songs about the way in which experience and realization arise from having meditated on the guru's instructions."³⁷ Nevertheless, gTsang smyon repeatedly designates songs of experience and realization not

³³ gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 1b.

Curiously, gTsang smyon declares that he will "put into song the enlightened intentions of the victors of the three times" even though the text is written almost entirely in prose.

¹⁵ gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 1b.

For the growing literature on the poetic forms of *glu* and *mgur*, see for example Braitstein 2014; Don grub rgyal 1997; Ellingson 1979; Gamble 2014; Jackson 1996; Pema Bum 1994; Sørensen 1990; and Sujata 2005, 2008. Gamble (2014, 4ff.) notes that discussions among contemporary Tibetan critics about the *glu/mgur* distinction tend to focus less on genre divisions than on levels of honorific register and discourse. This also seems evident in gTsang smyon Heruka's definition here.

Don grub rgyal 1997, 489. bla ma'i gtams ngag bsgom nas nyams rtogs 'khrungs tshul gyi mgur/.

as *glu* or *mgur* but as *dbyangs*, a term more commonly used to refer to a song's specific melody or performative context. It is clear, however, that in this text at least, gTsang smyon deploys the term *dbyangs* to refer both to the *mgur* tradition in general as well as to individual songs.

Having introduced the subject matter of the text, gTsang smyon cites selections from several authoritative Indian scriptures, such as Aspiration of Noble Exalted Conduct (Bhadracarīpraṇidhānarāja, bZang spyod smon lam), The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī (Manjuśrīnāmasamgīti, 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod), and The Two Segments (brTag gnyis) of the Hevajra Tantra, where it is written that songs constitute an important method of Buddhist practice. He also quotes from the Sūtra of Ratnaketu (Mahāsannipātaratnaketudhāraṇī sūtra, 'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs kyi mdo) as evidence that mgur are not a Tibetan invention, but are firmly rooted in the early Buddhism of India, where even the Buddha's own disciples advocated the performance of song.

gTsang smyon next turns to the performance of *mgur*, presenting instructions first for the listener and then the singer of spiritual songs. The audience must abandon the so-called "four ruins" that might impede the proper reception of a song. He designates three capacities of audience members. There are those of highest capacity who focus on the song's inner meaning of the Buddhist ground, fruition, and view; and those of intermediate capacity who listen to the lyrics intent on practicing meditation. These he contrasts with listeners of inferior capacity who simply "stare at the mouth of the singer, slack-jawed and tongue drooping" while concentrating on the changing notes of the singer's voice.

He also provides guidance for how the singer should act. He should perform the songs "without giving in to childish displays of vocal ability, meaningless vulgarities, or desire for temporary pleasures." Instead, gTsang smyon presents a long list of ways to properly employ *mgur*, a list that includes the variety of appropriate listeners and the content suitable for each of them. Here, he writes in the first person, suggesting that he serves as a model for others in his tradition including, perhaps, his own disciples:

To the previous lamas I sing songs of praise and pleasing offering. To kings I sing songs about the laws that establish their subjects in the ten virtues. To the common folk I sing songs about the wish for contentment. To the Lords, the Great Teachers, I sing songs about the Buddha's teaching, namely sūtras, tantras and $ś\bar{a}stras$ that are informed by scripture, reasoning, and pith instructions. To great meditators I sing songs

about experiencing tranquility and insight. To realized yogins I sing songs about manifesting the view, meditation, conduct, and fruition.... To doctors I sing songs about preparing medicinal wisdom nectar that dispels the degenerative disease of the five poisons. To merchants I sing songs about the greater profit of exchanging the sins of success in this life for the roots of virtue in the future.... To the old and frail I sing songs escorting them to the deathbed of their fixations.... To local villagers, including wealthy and faithful male and female lay followers, I sing songs that accord with the oral instructions of previous lineage holders, about the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and endowments; death and impermanence; the truth of karma, cause and effect; saṃsāra's shortcomings; and the benefits of liberation.³⁸

mGur might be sung to gurus of the lineage and great teachers, meditators and yogins, kings and ordinary villagers alike, about all aspects of the Buddhist path, from the most profound philosophical insights and meditative experience, to the simple aspiration to practice virtue, to the foundational "four thoughts" that turn the mind toward dharma.

Performed in a proper context to an appropriate audience, *mgur* should effect certain changes in the minds of listeners, in which "the light of compassion radiates out and the blessings of the lineage enter into each of the different forms of song, which then easily take root in everyone's mind." As a result, "hypocrites have their faults exposed," "the mournful are filled with laughter," "the sinful feel regret," and "the hateful pacify their cruelty." When performed properly, the songs are utterly transformational, possessing six qualities to "turn the minds of even those lacking predispositions for virtue to the authentic dharma."

The text next describes the proper form *mgur* should take. A song should begin in a mood that is elegant and majestic, "like the upper body of a lion." The middle is "magnificent and firm like a golden vajra," with clear, unadorned subject matter and charming tone, sung with a powerful voice. At its conclusion, the song should be long and gentle, "like the tail of a tiger."⁴² In more prosaic terms, a *mgur*

³⁸ gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 2b–3a.

³⁹ gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 3a.

gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 3a. gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 3b.

⁴² gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 3b. While the meaning of these descriptions remains opaque, it is not difficult to imagine the tension between a lion's body—majestic, firm, ready to spring— and it's tail, long, gentle, and soft if you dare to pet it. These images seem to reflect an image of *mgur* as graceful and

should possess three basic elements: (1) an opening expression of supplication and praise described as the song's "opening support" (mgo 'dren); (2) a middle framework consisting of "stories and their rationale" that contain the song's principal scope and themes; and (3) concluding prayers of auspiciousness and aspiration. gTsang smyon devotes the remainder of the catalogue to explaining the first two points, the opening supplication and then the body of the songs themselves.

Following the traditional bKa' brgyud refrain, the lama and previous masters of the lineage serve as the primary sources of blessing and realization. "Among the recitations of yogins," gTsang smyon reminds the reader, "nothing is more effective than supplications to the lama." To underscore the supplication's importance as a form of preliminary practice, the text cites a wide range of tantric literature describing the lama's central role as well as a variety of supplicatory practices that employ the devotee's body, speech, and mind.

It is, however, the section on the framework of *mgur* that forms the heart of gTsang smyon's catalogue. Here the text presents a record of Buddhist masters, beginning with the tantric buddha Vajradhara and Buddha Śākyamuni, continuing with the Indian adepts Saraha, Tilopa, and Nāropa, and then their spiritual descendents in Tibet, including Mar pa the Translator and his disciple Mi la ras pa. The list continues with members of the bKa' brgyud tradition down to gTsang smyon Heruka's own teacher Sha ra ba Sangs rgyas seng ge (1427–1470). As expected in a catalogue of this kind, no actual songs are recorded. Rather, in each case, the text presents brief descriptive titles of songs attributed to individual masters. Occasionally it includes short contextual narratives describing where and when the song was composed or for whom it was sung. The format is not unlike another of gTsang smyon's literary works: the eleventh chapter of The Life of Milarepa, in which the yogin's various activities of taming demons and meeting disciples are surveyed in cursory fashion, forming a summary replacement for the extended accounts recorded in the Collected Songs.44 The lists of songs included in the catalogue are valued not for any expository function, but for their documentation of a yogic lineage stemming from the tantric and historical buddhas, to the Indian siddhas, and extending through the bKa' brgyud lineage down to the author himself. In this context, the songs' con-

See Quintman 2014, 140.

aesthetically pleasing, even as they remain potent and affecting. Thanks to Janet Gyatso for her suggestions here.

⁴³ gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 3b.

tent, to which is ascribed various forms of liberative power, is less important than their marking the authentic transmission of yogic experience from teacher to student. It is also noteworthy that many individuals included in the catalogue's lineage were themselves the subjects of biographical literature produced by gTsang smyon and his followers. The text thus documents the songs of masters within the author's tradition. But it also, if somewhat indirectly, references an entire corpus of biographical literature the madman inspired.⁴⁵

gTsang smyon begins with a record of the purported origin of Tibetan *mgur*: Vajradhara's teaching of the four classes of tantra in verse form. He next turns to the historical buddha Śākyamuni, noting briefly that the traditional twelvefold division of "excellent speech" ascribed to him (*dvādaśāṅgapravacana*, *gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis*) includes the branch of mixed prose and verse (*geya*, *dbyangs bsnyad*). Next appears the great Indian *siddha* Saraha, with a reference to his famous *Dohā Trilogy*. ⁴⁶ The text continues with the Indian forefathers of the bKa' brgyud tradition Tilopa and Nāropa, with mention of the former's famed verses of the *Mahāmudrā Upadeśa* informally known as the "Ganges Mahāmudrā." The songs attributed to these three masters constitute one of the most important and authoritative sources for bKa' brgyud mahāmudrā in Tibet.

gTsang smyon follows the traditional lineage from Nāropa to the early Tibetan bKa' brgyud founders, beginning with translator Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros. 48 Mar pa was of course instrumental in transmitting the *mgur* tradition and helping to domesticate its performance within a uniquely Tibetan idiom. The text refers to ten of his songs, including his famous interpretation of Mi la ras pa's "dream of the four pillars." It is not surprising, however, that gTsang smyon Heruka devotes greatest attention to the subject of his own singular literary achievement, the acclaimed yogin Mi la ras pa. 49 Summarizing the yogin's life here, gTsang smyon reemphasizes the traditional view of *mgur* as the expression of deep realization in which "the melodious voice of his experience, the lion of no-self, has the power to

⁴⁵ References to this literature are included in the discussion that follows.

gTsang smyon's disciple lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal compiled texts related to Sa ra ha's *dohā*s (Schaeffer 2011, 468).

gTsang smyon's disciple dBang phyug rgyal mtshan compiled Tilopa's and Nāropa's *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 469; Smith 2001, 77–78). lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal compiled Tilopa's *rnam mgur* and Nāropa's *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 469; Smith 2001, 76).

gTsang smyon compiled and printed Mar pa's rnam thar in 1505.

On gTsang smyon's production of Mi la ras pa's *rnam thar* and *mgur 'bum* in 1488, see Quintman 2014. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal later printed a well-known collection of miscellaneous songs not included in gTsang smyon's collections to complement the work of his teacher (Schaeffer 2011, 470–71; Smith 2001, 76–77).

suppress all the animals of inferior views."⁵⁰ The text mentions more than fifteen individual songs and song cycles, the latter of which constitute entire chapters of *mgur* and their associated narratives from Mi la ras pa's *Collected Songs*. The list broadly follows the framework gTsang smyon employed there, beginning with the yogin's subjugation and conversion of non-human spirits, followed by his training of human disciples, and then the final instructions he gave shortly before his death and cremation. He concludes with the assertion that even greater than these were the songs Mi la ras pa sang (presumably after his earthly passing) to gods and <code>ḍākinīs</code> each in their own individual realms.

The catalogue continues with songs of Mi la ras pa's principal disciples Ras chung pa rDo rje grags (1084–1161)⁵¹ and sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153)⁵² before turning to the latter's pupil Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170),⁵³ the great bKa' brgyud hierarch whose followers established many of the school's sub-branches including the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud represented here. The text records a teacher-student lineage that runs from Phag mo gru pa as follows: gLing chen ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1188);⁵⁴ gTsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211),⁵⁵ founder of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud and recognized as the first rGyal dbang 'Brug pa incarnation; rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258), founder of the sTod 'Brug subsect;⁵⁶ Yang dgon Chos kyi rgyal po (1213–1258);⁵⁷ sPyan snga Rin chen ldan (b. 1202); Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal bzang (b. 1263); 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391); Nam mkha' [seng ge];⁵⁸ and Byang sems bSod nams don grub (14th century).⁵⁹ Of the

⁵⁰ gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 6a.

gTsang smyon's disciples rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal compiled *rnam thars* of him (Roberts 2007, Schaeffer 2011, 471; Smith 2001, 77–78).

rGod tshang ras pa printed a short text on sGam po pa called *Shes bya ma* (Schaeffer 2011, 471).

⁵³ IHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal printed his *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 77).

⁵⁴ lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal printed his *rnam mgur* (Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 76).

⁵⁵ IHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal printed his *mgur 'bum rgyas pa*; Sangs rgyas dar po printed his *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 472).

gTsang smyon's disciples lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal and Sangs rgyas dar po both printed *rnam thars* of him (Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 75, 78).

gTsang smyon's disciple 'Jam dpal chos lha composed his *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 473; Smith 2001, 78).

He is listed in gTsang smyon's *Authoritative Commentary (gZhung 'brel)* under the name Nam mkha' seng ge (gTsang smyon Heruka, *gZhung 'brel*, 114).

TBRC lists a master named bSod nams don grub (P1478) who was a disciple of Nam mkha' seng ge.

two latter figures, gTsang smyon simply notes that they "sang songs that enhanced practice." The last name in the list is gTsang smyon's own root guru, Sha ra ba Sangs rgyas seng ge, about whom the author writes, "This renowned supreme holy being sang songs about how to practice the ground, path, fruition, view, meditation, and conduct." ⁶¹

The list of teachers recorded here represents two separate but parallel lineages. First, the figures belong to the 'Ba' ra transmission lineage of the Upper 'Brug (sTod 'Brug) branch of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud school. Et al. But the individuals also belong to one of the aural transmission lineages that gTsang smyon received from Sha ra ba and is recorded in one of gTsang smyon's largest works, the *Authoritative Commentary* (gZhung 'grel). Aural transmission lines descended from Mi la ras pa's three disciples Ras chung pa, sGam po pa, and Ngan rdzong Byang chub rgyal mtshan (b. late eleventh century). While gTsang smyon is most commonly associated with the Ras chung aural transmissions, the lineage preserved here stems from sGam po pa.

gTsang smyon Heruka's religious affiliations were complex, as were those of his guru Sha ra ba.⁶⁴ (See Appendix 3.) The madman was an ardent supporter of the bKa' brgyud tradition, and much of his literary work sought to reimagine its core identity by reemphasizing the centrality of asceticism and yogic practice. gTsang smyon also directed much of his attention to the preservation and revival of specific esoteric doctrines, that is, the bKa' brgyud aural transmission lineages. And while he has often been identified as a supporter of the aural transmissions of Ras chung pa (Ras chung snyan brgyud), in this context he clearly represents the lineage extending back to sGam po pa (Dwags po snyan brgyud). This seems in line with statements found in the biographical literature of gTsang smyon and Sha ra ba, where, when asked about their religious affiliations, both masters are recorded as saying that they followed the Dwags po bKa' brgyud

gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 7a. Little is known about these two masters. Schaeffer notes that figures from the late-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries are not represented among the block print texts that gTsang smyon's tradition produced. The biographical narratives resume with Sha ra ba, gTsang smyon, and his disciples (Schaeffer 2011, 459–60).

gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 7a. rGod tshang ras pa's disciple 'Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581) printed Sha ra ba's *rnam thar* (Ehrhard 2012, 162n12; Schaeffer 2011, 473).

⁶² Cf. Smith 2001, 46–48.

gTsang smyon Heruka, gZhung 'brel, 114. Cf. 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas, gDams ngag mdzod, vol. Nya, 40–41.

⁶⁴ Cf. Larsson 2011; Larsson 2012, 29–30.

tradition. ⁶⁵ Similarly, while *Opening the Eyes of Faith* mentions eight of Ras chung pa's songs, it does not refer to any other master of Ras chung's transmission lineage. The catalogue of songs here seem to reflect the ambiguous and often fluid religious affiliations maintained by gTsang smyon and his immediate followers.

Having outlined the *mgur* tradition embodied by his own traditions, gTsang smyon makes a cursory mention of traditions of *mgur* outside mainstream bKa' brgyud circles, although these appear as something of an afterthought. Here he includes songs purportedly sung by Guru Rinpoche on his meeting with Khri srong lde'u btsan, as well as songs attributed to rDza Ye shes dar po (d.u.); Ma cig labs sgron (1055–1149), acclaimed founder of the Tibetan tradition of Severance (*gcod*); the popular female Tibetan folk hero and revenant ('*das log*) sNang sa 'Od 'bum,⁶⁶ and Ri bo sgang pa.⁶⁷

At the end of the catalogue's middle section, gTsang smyon indicates that songs are not sufficient on their own but require further context about their composition. For this reason, a song should also make clear who originally composed and performed it, where it was sung, and for what reasons. ⁶⁸ Once again, he uses examples from Mi la ras pa's *Collected Songs* to illustrate his point. He concludes by noting briefly that the performer should carefully consider how many songs to include on a given occasion.

The last section of the catalogue's outline briefly addresses the prayers of aspiration and auspiciousness that should be performed at the song's conclusion. As a model, gTsang smyon presents the following text:

Lamas and Three Jewels, I offer the songs. Assembled $v\bar{\imath}ras$ and $d\bar{\imath}kin\bar{\imath}s$, enjoy the sounds. Four armed protector Mahākāla, dispel hindering conditions. Sole mother Remati, protect us like a mother her son. Noble lady Tshe ring ma, follow us like the body and its smell.

Fortunate ones gathered here, rejoice.

For those of good auspice gathered from here and there with devotion:

May there be auspiciousness of lamas and *yidams*.

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, *Dad pa'i spu slong g.yo ba*, 125; Zla ba rgyal mtshan, *Sha ra rab 'byams pa'i rnam thar*, 471.

⁶⁶ Schaeffer 2004, 59–61.

⁶⁷ Cf. Roerich 1988 [1949], 504.

⁶⁸ gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 8a.

May there be auspiciousness of *vīras* and *ḍākinīs*.

May there be auspiciousness of dharma protectors and guardians.

May there be auspiciousness of thinking to cherish others more than oneself.

May there be auspiciousness of giving up sin and practicing virtue.

May there be auspiciousness of bringing thought and action in line with dharma.

May unchanging auspiciousness remain firm.⁶⁹

With the main body of the catalogue complete, gTsang smyon concludes with a short but suggestive reflection on the value of *mgur* and how wandering yogins like himself and his followers might employ Buddhist songs of experience in a practical way. The songs, he says, are

provisions when wandering in charnel grounds and holy places, necessities when roaming savage lands and mountain retreats, offerings when meeting lamas, gifts when encountering dharma brothers, offering articles when visiting temples and stūpas, goods when traveling around the countryside, ferry-fees when crossing rivers, offering gifts for requests to kings, an axe for chipping away [alms from] the wealthy and a file for scraping away [alms from] the poor.⁷⁰

In this view, *mgur* serve as far more than just spontaneous records of awakened experience attained by great masters of the past. Rather, they retain a material relevance in the world that lies beyond their purported soteriological value. For the yogin with few material possessions, *mgur* function as primary transactional objects of great practical value. Songs, even those deemed to be "songs of spiritual awakening," thus become a form of religious capital. They may be given as gifts to lamas and fellow practitioners, they may serve as fees for ferry-men when crossing rivers, they may be presented as tribute to kings, they may be used to garner offerings from the rich and the poor alike. They may even be exploited to save one's own skin in the event of attack by bandits.

If this image of *mgur* seems at odds with the orthodox view of their role in Tibetan religious life, it is not an unfamiliar one. The various registers in which spiritual songs may function are exemplified in the life story and song collection of gTsang smyon's famous role model, Mi la ras pa. The Mi la ras pa corpus illustrates a wide variety

⁶⁹ gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 8a–b.

⁷⁰ gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 8b.

of contexts for the composition and performance of *mgur*. On some occasions, songs serve largely to transmit key doctrinal ideas and insights. But we also find examples of *mgur* used in the transactional manner outlined in the catalogue: Mi la repeatedly sings to defend himself from attack by bandits, he offers verses to the King of Bhaktapur, and he receives food and drink in return for his poetry, enabling him to continue his ascetic practice. In composing his catalogue of *mgur*, gTsang smyon seems to have had in mind precisely these kinds of stories, nearly all of which he had a hand in editing.

gTsang smyon encourages the catalogue's readers, likely his own circle of disciples, to adopt these modes of performance. He explicitly claims that even when used as objects of exchange, songs will serve as an "aid for faith" to promulgate the bKa' brgyud tradition. If the singer of mgur, gTsang smyon says,

is a yogin of the three sacred snow mountains, the outskirts of bustling towns, the middle reaches of slate and snow mountains, along the foothills of mist-shrouded woods, assembly halls where $v\bar{\imath}ras$ and $d\bar{\imath}kin\bar{\imath}s$ gather, the dwellings of noble sages, [such places are] the central mast of the great ship of the bKa' brgyud teachings, the cornerstone of the mansion of the Practice Lineage teaching, a great sacred site where meditation naturally increases. 71

gTsang smyon here is speaking directly to those yogins who wander among "the three sacred snow mountains," undoubtedly a reference to the great pilgrimage mountains of Ti se (Kailash), La phyi, and Tsa ri, each of which had become an important bKa' brgyud retreat site by the late fifteenth century. As a result, gTsang smyon specifies his intended readership: a small group of bKa' brgyud yogins, likely his own followers, emulating the lifestyle of Mi la ras pa and thus gTsang smyon himself, practicing meditation in remote locations and singing songs of realization. Such places form "the central mast of the great ship of the bKa' brgyud teachings, the cornerstone of the mansion of the Practice Lineage." Although perhaps few in number, gTsang smyon understood these individuals as essential to the traditions he had worked so hard to preserve and transmit.

⁷¹ gTsang smyon Heruka, mGur gyi dkar chags, 8b.

Conclusions

In his study of the Tibetan genre of dkar chags, "tables of contents" or "catalogues," Dan Martin writes that such works "are among the most challenging, intriguing and fascinating documents for the historian of Tibetan culture, society, religion, [and] politics." But, he continues, "they are not being used very much by researchers, perhaps in part because they are still considered 'just boring lists'." As we have suggested, gTsang smyon Heruka's Opening the Eyes of Faith is more than a simple outline or collection of "boring lists." As a catalogue of songs (mgur gyi dkar chags) Opening the Eyes of Faith indeed records lists of individual verses. But in this brief text, gTsang smyon also provides a window into how Tibetan "songs of experience" were composed, performed, remembered, and circulated, in order to serve both the loftiest ideals of the Buddhist tradition and the mundane requirements of wandering vogins. Martin adds that dkar chags can describe "the construction and/or content of items which the Tibetan Buddhist traditions consider holy and capable of bestowing blessings."⁷³ Opening the Eyes of Faith does indeed illustrate how mgur are to be "constructed." It also nicely illustrates how gTsang smyon Heruka positioned the tradition of mgur to define his vision of what the bKa' brgyud was in the past and should be for future generations.

As we have seen, the catalogue brings gTsang smyon's institutional identity into view largely through the representation of lineage. On one level, the catalogue traces the contours of the *mgur* tradition from its Indian origins up to the time of writing. It does so largely through the documentation of one particular line of bKa' brgyud masters from Mar pa and Mi la ras pa through gTsang smyon's own guru Sha ra ba. While most of these masters are central figures in the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud tradition, the lineage affiliation of the last figures in the line, including Sha ra ba and gTsang smyon He ru ka himself, remains uncertain. It is clear, however, that the catalogue records one of several aural transmission lineages, the Dwags po snyan brgyud, that lies at the heart of the bKa' brgyud esoteric doctrine and of gTsang smyon's religious community. On another level, the catalogue seems to document the larger program of lineage building activities to which gTsang smyon and his disciples were deeply committed. These activities included the compiling and printing of biographies and song collections of early bKa' brgyud masters, many of which are explicitly or implicitly represented in the catalogue. As a dkar chags, a "catalogue" or "list," Opening the Eyes of Faith records a

⁷² Martin 1996, 501.

⁷³ Martin 1996, 504.

collection of verses attributed to great masters of the past. But it also serves as a kind of logbook for many of gTsang smyon's broader projects.

The text also exemplifies how mgur functioned in many registers. In some contexts, such verses are understood to be spontaneous and revelatory articulations of religious experience, expressions of an awakened mind that are unmediated by ordinary cognitive processes. Yet for the catalogue's readers, the recitation of mgur is a highly constrained verbal performance requiring a good deal of forethought and expert knowledge. Like other forms of esoteric Buddhist activity, the singing of tantric songs was a deeply ritualized and formalized endeavor. The catalogue suggests that *mgur* are primarily a vehicle for the transmission of esoteric Buddhist knowledge. They are to be valued for their liberative efficacy because they encapsulate the most profound insights of Buddhist meditators. Yet the text also demonstrates that mgur are equally important for negotiating the daily activities of a wandering yogin, in the model of Mi la ras pa or even gTsang smyon himself. Songs could be used by ascetics, who kept few possessions of their own, as a kind of religious capital, suitable for exchange among teachers and disciples, royal patrons, even ferrymen and bandits. In the end, gTsang smyon suggests that these various registers are not separate. The value of mgur "in the world" derives specifically from the fact that they express the Buddha's deepest insights about the nature of reality.

Opening the Eyes of Faith never achieved the widespread fame realized by gTsang smyon's writings about Mi la ras pa and Mar pa. This was, perhaps, by design, since the catalogue seems to have been written as a kind of practical guide for a smaller audience of disciples and followers, those yogins who "wander among the three sacred mountain retreats" of Southern Tibet. There is evidence, however, that it did attract some interest by followers in the lineage. We have already noted that there are close parallels between *Opening the Eyes of Faith* and Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate (sKal bzang yid kyi ngal so), a relatively short text that was included as an introduction to the famous collection of bKa' brgyud verses, An Ocean of bKa' brgyud Songs (bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho), compiled in the mid-sixteenth century. It is also noteworthy that nearly the entire text was copied and glossed within the collected songs of the eighteenth-century 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud lama Ngag dbang tshe ring (1717-1794).74 Born in Ladakh several centuries after gTsang smyon's passing, he founded rDzong

⁷⁴ Ngag dbang tshe ring, rNam thar gsung skor, vol 2, 13ff.

khul Monastery in Zangs dkar, far from the Tibetan region where the madman's followers carried out their printing activities. But like gTsang smyon, Ngag dbang tshe ring spent long periods in retreat and took an active interest in the composition and transmission of *mgur*, activities that earned him the title Lord of Yogins (*rnal 'byor dbang po*), much like gTsang smyon and Mi la ras pa before him. It is unclear how *Opening the Eyes of Faith* came to be included in Ngag dbang tshe ring's works.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, its presence there attests to the enduring power of gTsang smyon's advice about *mgur* for subsequent members of the lineage. And it provides evidence that the catalogue indeed served gTsang smyon's larger program for establishing new models for yogic and ascetic practice, models that would continue to inspire generations to come.

Figure 1



Title page of gTsang smyon Heruka's biography by dNgos grub dpal 'bar (TBRC W2CZ6647)



Title page of gTsang smyon Heruka's collected songs (TBRC W4CZ1248)

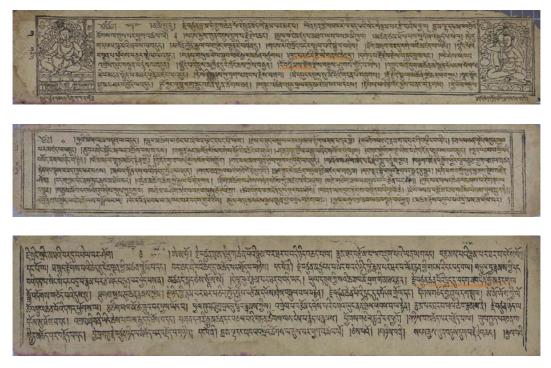


Title page of gTsang smyon Heruka's Opening the Eyes of Faith (Waddell 120 h)

Tsering 1979, 3. The two volume collection of Ngag dbang tshe ring's works appear to have been edited in 1827 by his disciple Tshul khrims 'byung gnas a.k.a bZhad pa rdo rje. In his preface to the collection, Gene Smith writes, "During the passage of years, various folia have been removed and sections have disappeared. It is possible that some of the sections intact have little to do with Ngag dbang tshe ring" (Ngag dbang tshe ring, *rNam thar gsung skor*, preface).

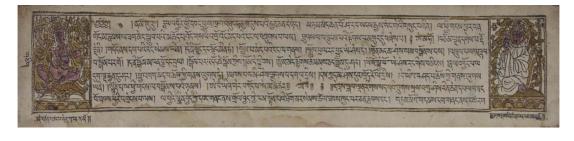
Figures 2.1-2.3

Figure 2.1



Opening folios, gTsang smyon Heruka's biography by dNgos grub dpal 'bar (TBRC W2CZ6647)

Figure 2.2







Opening folios, gTsang smyon Heruka's collected songs (TBRC W4CZ1248)

Figure 2.3







Opening folios gTsang smyon Heruka's Opening the Eyes of Faith (Waddell 120 h)



English Translation of A Catalogue of Songs Dispelling the Darkness of Ignorance and Opening the Eyes of Faith

Namo guru.

The nature of mind is primordially *dharmakāya*. Its luminosity is allpervading and spontaneously accomplished as mahāmudrā. May I attain buddhahood that manifests distinctly, vividly, quietly, and brilliantly, and then benefit the teachings and beings.

The victors and *siddha*s of the past undertook hardships in order to directly realize the nature of mind. They eagerly undertook hardships, bore the burden of their path, took a low position, wore ragged clothes, and decorated their minds with ornaments. They gave up clothes, food, and renown and became children of mist and clouds. Wearing empty and secluded caves as their crowns, they severed the cords of hope for happiness and abundance as aims of this life. They continuously remembered the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and advantages. For pillows they used mindfulness of the uncertainty of the time death, for clothes they wore awareness of the infallibility of cause and effect, for mats they laid out mindfulness of samsāra's shortcomings. Then, using the examples of the downward descent of a river and the upward blaze of a lamp, they practiced the two stages of yoga continuously, day and night, without interruption. This resulted in the actualization of unmistaken experience and realization, which they then expressed in vajra songs. The experience and realization that arose in the minds of previous buddhas and mahāsiddhas were expressed as vajra songs.

At present, in order to make these songs serve as the contributory cause for inspiring my fortunate and faithful disciples, as an exhortation for the wealthy to accumulate merit, and as an encouragement for the fortunate to accomplish liberation and omniscience, I will put into song the enlightened intentions of the victors of the three times.

In Indian languages, the songs are called $g\bar{\imath}ti$ ($gi\ rti$) and in Tibetan, glu or dbyangs. [2a] Furthermore, when the enlightened intentions of the victors and one's own wishes are versified, set to music, and then expressed, such is called glu or dbyangs. When it expresses the greatness [of realization] it is called mgur.

If you want to apply this to the enlightened thoughts of the previous victors, it says in the [Aspiration Prayer for] Excellent Conduct (Bhadracaryāpraṇidhānarāja, bZang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po), "I praise all the sugatas and clearly proclaim the highest qualities of

all the victors with the sounds of an ocean of songs in their various forms."⁷⁶ As it says, songs express all the qualities of the victors and likewise express their enlightened intention. Furthermore, it says in *The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī (Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅigīti, 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod)*, "Countless ecstatic great Vajradharas, holders of Secret Mantra, extolled those songs sung."⁷⁷ In accordance with this, the King of Tantras, *The Two Segments (brTag gnyis)* says, "Dance! And also sing songs! Songs are perfectly pure mantras and dance, the very act of meditation. Therefore the yogin always, always, sings songs and dances."⁷⁸

Moreover, the Buddha Gathering Sūtra of Ratnaketu (Mahāsannipātaratnaketudhāraṇī sūtra, 'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs kyi mdo) says,

Once the four heart-sons śrāvaka-arhats, noble Śāriputra and the rest, were staying to collect alms at the four respective gates, the eastern and so forth, of the great city Rājagṛha. Several emanations of māra appeared to each one of the Noble Ones. They ridiculed and laughed at them, saying: "Ascetic, sing a song! Ascetic, do a dance!" In response, the Noble Ones said, "Friends, let us sing like it has never been done before in the world! Let us dance like it never has been done before in the world!"

Thus, they defeated all [the emanations of $m\bar{a}ra$] by means of dharma songs and established them on the path of ripening and liberation. I, the yogin, will likewise sing a song in accord with them.

You fortunate ones present here should also abandon the "four ruins" (*sad bzhi*) of the listener, and listen. As for the four ruins of the listener: [2b]

Drunken stammer ruins the song. Mixing with [the noise of] dogs and children ruins the song. Mixing up listening and not listening ruins the song. Engaging with the wares of merchants ruins the song.

Having eliminated these activities, those of superior capacity listen to the meaning of the ground, fruition, and view, while those of intermediate capacity, who are involved in practicing meditation and

⁷⁶ Peking Kangyur 716, Vol. 11, 268a2–271b4.

⁷⁷ Peking Kangyur 2, Vol. 1, 1b1–15b7.

Hevajra Tantra, Chapter 6, verse 13. Sanskrit: mantra[vi]śuddhyā sthitā gītā nartanā bhāvanā smṛtā// tasmād gītañ ca nāṭyañ ca kuryād yogī sadā sadā// (Snellgrove 1959, part 2, 20).

⁷⁹ Peking Kangyur 806, Vol. 32, 201b3-300b3.

conduct of the path, listen to the prosody of the lyrics. Those of inferior capacity stare at the mouth of the singer, slack-jawed and tongue drooping, they listen to the changing notes of the lyrics. You should listen in the manner of both superior and medium capacities.

Furthermore, without giving in to childish displays of vocal ability, meaningless vulgarities, or desire for temporary pleasures, I, a singer of songs, sing these songs to those assembled here to exhort them to virtue and as an aid for their faith.

To the previous lamas I sing songs of praise and pleasing offering. To kings I sing songs about the laws that establish their subjects in the ten virtues. To the common folk I sing songs about the wish for contentment. To the Lords, the Great Teachers, I sing songs about the Buddha's teaching, namely sūtras, tantras and śāstras that are informed by scripture, reasoning, and pith instructions. To great meditators I sing songs about experiencing tranquility and insight. To realized yogins I sing songs about manifesting the view, meditation, conduct, and fruition. To mantra practitioners I sing songs about wrathful mantras of no-self and emptiness that liberate the enemy of self-grasping into dharmadhātu. To Bon pos I sing songs about summoning [true] richness, namely realizing that conceptual thoughts of wrong views are *dharmakāya*. To doctors I sing songs about preparing medicinal wisdom nectar that dispels the degenerative disease of the five poisons. To merchants I sing songs about the greater profit of exchanging the sins of success in this life for the roots of virtue in the future. To young men I sing songs about conquering enemies, the afflictions, by wearing the armor of compassion and wielding the weapon of wisdom. [3a] To swaggering boys and girls who have forgotten the dharma about the excellent body of the precious lama, I sing songs about the melodiousness of the teachings and songs of the holy dharma, the great value of the seven noble riches, 80 and the joy and happiness embodied by the city of liberation. To the old and frail I sing songs escorting them to the deathbed of their fixations. To immature beings I sing songs about playing in the world of childish perceptions as if they were dreams and illusions. To local villagers, including wealthy and faithful male and female lay followers, I sing songs that accord with the oral instructions of previous lineage holders, about the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and endowments; death and impermanence; the truth of karma, cause and result; saṃsāra's shortcomings; and the benefits of liberation.

⁸⁰ I.e., faith, discipline, generosity, learning, decorum, modesty, and knowledge.

In this way, having turned the perfectly pure oral instructions of former masters into songs—as is said, "although only one thing is taught it is understood in a variety of ways"—the light of compassion radiates out and the blessing of the lineage enter into each of the different forms of song, which then easily take root in everyone's mind. The signs that their perceptions are transformed are the following. Hypocrites have their faults exposed. Those with deranged minds feel ashamed. Men and women full of pride are panicked. Those who dislike companions feel dejected. The wailing of widows abates. Foolish women declare their physical faults. Foolish men are shaken up. Children stop playing around. The mournful are filled with laughter. The misery of the suffering is driven away. The sinful feel regret. Those who are twisted by permanence control their minds. The miserly become munificent. Those craving sense pleasures overcome their grasping. The hateful pacify their cruelty. Ignorant people gain mindfulness. The sophistries of logicians are destroyed. Those who explain the scriptures incorporate experience of their meaning. The melancholic breath a sigh of relief. Renunciates are moved to tears. The faithful run away to practice dharma. The steadfast give rise to exertion. Those with karmic connection attain *siddhi*. [3b]

These songs, which turn the minds of even those lacking predisposition for virtue to the authentic dharma, should be sung so that the six dimensions of songs are brought about:

maintaining, they maintain the songs of previous masters; upholding, they uphold the authentic dharma; bringing forth, they bring forth the nectar-like oral instructions; benefitting, they benefit the minds of all; liberating, they liberate from saṃsāra; attaining, they cause attainment of perfect buddhahood.

First, when the song begins with the opening support (*mgo 'dren*), it should be elevated and majestic. In the middle, the words that express its subject matter should be clear and unadorned; the metaphors and their meaning should be well matched and easy to understand; the tone should be charming and the melody complete; and the voice should be powerful and magnificent. When the song concludes it should be gentle with an easy end. Moreover, the beginning of the song is elevated and majestic like the upper body of a lion. Its middle part is magnificent and firm like a golden vajra. The end of the song is long with an easy end, like the tail of a tiger.

First, supplications and praises form the song's opening support (1). In the middle, stories and their rationale form the song's liturgical

framework (2.1), an outline together with introductions are how the songs are put together (2.2), and time markers together with sections keep it to the proper length (2.3). Prayers of auspiciousness and aspiration form the song's conclusion (3).⁸¹

1. Supplications and Praises Form the Songs' Opening Support

Among the recitations of yogins, nothing is more effective than supplications to the lama. This can be illustrated with the following examples from everyday life: If the sun doesn't rise in the east, the glaciers of the Ha bo [Mountains]⁸² in the west won't melt. If the winds don't blow from the north, the sandalwood forests in the south won't sway. If the walls of the upper irrigation canals don't collapse, muddy water won't flow in the lower canals. [4a] If clay isn't heated, the lac won't stick. If the child doesn't cry, the mother won't hold it. If just three things are said, father and son can't communicate. If just three steps are taken, the upper and lower valley can't be distinguished. If hard work isn't done, delicious food won't be enjoyed.

Now I'll connect the meaning of these examples with the victors' enlightened mind, which will explain the reason for including supplications. If the two accumulations aren't gathered, the two obscurations won't be purified. If the three poisons aren't given up, the three bodies won't be obtained. If you don't engage the three gates in virtue, you won't be liberated from saṃsāra's three realms. If you don't meditate, you won't realize the essence of mind. If you don't endure hardship, good qualities won't arise. If you don't offer supplications, you won't receive blessings.

Furthermore, the venerable Mar pa said:

Whoever supplicates will receive blessings.

Compare this with the outline in the *sKal bzang yid kyi ngal so* that introduces the *bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*: First, the songs are preceded by supplications, offerings, and praises. Secondly, the main body, which is the songs, is accompanied by stories describing the occasion for the song. The clarification of the songs is accomplished by reading the verses attentively. In accordance with the time and situation, the songs may be put together in various ways. Finally, the liturgy is drawn to an end with a gaṇacakra and with verses of auspiciousness and aspiration [Nālandā Translation Committee 1989, 11] (*dang po gsol 'debs mchod bstod dang bcas nas mgur gyi sna 'dren/ bar du lo rgyus 'byung khung dang bcas nas mgur gyi khog dbubs/ tshig bcad 'bru snon dang bcas nas mgur gyi gsal btab/ dus tshod gnas skabs dang bstun nas mgur gyi mtsham sbyar/ mthar tshogs 'khor bkra shis smon lam dang bcas nas mgur gyi cho ga bsdu dgos/ [sKal bzang yid kyi ngal so, 332]).

A mountain range in Nyang stod.*

Whoever benefits others will please the victors. Whoever accumulates merit will attain happiness. Whoever meditates will realize the fundamental nature. Whoever recites the essential will gain ability and power. Whoever protects *samaya* will accomplish his wishes. Whoever manifests sacred outlook will attain awakening.

Therefore, supplication is very important.

Moreover, there are four ways of performing supplication: Giving up unwholesome actions and carrying out virtue with one's body is the body supplication. Similarly, giving up unwholesome actions and carrying out virtue with one's speech is the speech supplication. Giving up unwholesome actions and carrying out virtue with one's mind is the mind supplication. In this way, the roots of virtue of the three gates all become supplications.

The fourth is to perform supplication with the three gates combined simultaneously. [This fourth category is divided] into three: extended supplication, supplication in the way of a jewel, and intense supplication. [4b]

Extended supplication is to pray with a tune to the entire lineage, from the blessed one, the great Vajradhara, down to one's root guru.

Supplication in the way of a jewel is to dissolve into one's root guru all the objects of refuge that are worthy of offerings such as the lineages, chosen deities, and the three jewels. Then pray that all needs and desires of this life and the next are granted.

Intense supplication is when a faithful and diligent person, who is terrified of saṃsāra and the lower realms, wants to attain the supreme accomplishment of mahāmudrā in this very life. In a secluded cave he expresses physical devotion with palms folded together and eyes full of tears. Within that state, convinced that his root guru is the primordial essence and unification of all the objects of refuge worthy of offerings and with his mind full of devotion and intense longing uninterrupted by other thoughts, he cries out the name of his root guru with a strong and rapid voice. Then he prays for his desired aim, namely liberation from the suffering of saṃsāra and the three lower realms, and the quick attainment of awakening.

Moreover, supplicating the lama becomes supplicating all the objects of refuge worthy of offerings. The Cakrasamvara *Samvarodaya Tantra* (*bDe mchog sdom 'byung gi rgyud*) says, "The lama is the Buddha, the lama is the dharma. Likewise the lama is the sangha. The lama is the creator of all. To the lamas I bow down."

The *Samvarodaya* also says, "Completely abandon all offerings except for perfect offerings to the lama. By pleasing him, supreme all-knowing wisdom is attained. How could merit not be made if one offers to the master of unsurpassed deeds, the highest Vajrasattva?"

The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī says, "An object for homage, worthy of offerings and praise; continually worthy of veneration, [5a] worthy of respect and the highest acclaim, worthy of salutation: such is the highest lama." The Bright Lamp Wisdom Tantra (Ye shes gsal sgron gyi rgyud) says,

The merit of having recollected the lama is greater than having meditated for hundred thousand aeons on the body of a deity with the major and minor marks. Meditate on the lama, not the deity.

The Great Array of Ati Tantra (A ti bkod pa chen po'i rgyud) says,84

Whoever meditates upon the kind lama, appearing through the secret mantra, upon his head, in his heart, or in the palm of his hands, such a person holds the good qualities of a thousand buddhas.

The *Dākinīs Suppressing with Splendor Tantra* (*mKha' 'gro ma zil gyis gnon pa'i rgyud*) says, "The exalted merit of anointing sesame oil on a single pore of the vajra master is greater than making offerings to as many buddhas and bodhisattvas as there are grains of sand in the Ganges."

In accordance with those statements, the lama is the highest and most excellent being embodying all those who are praiseworthy.

2. 1. Stories and their Rationale for the Songs' Liturgical Framework

First, the sovereign lord of all the victors, the great *sambhogakāya* Vajradhara, taught scriptures of the four classes of tantra, the *Net of Magical Manifestation* (*sGyu 'phrul dra ba, Māyājālamahātantrarājanāma*) and other versified tantras, in song (*mgur*).

Vajradhara's emanation, the victor Śākyamuni, taught the twelve divisions of scripture, such as the sūtras and including the division of teachings in mixed prose and verse, in song.

⁸³ Cf. Davidson 1981, 37, verse 152.

We read *a ti sha bkod pa'i rgyud* as a mis-citation of the *A ti bkod pa chen po*. Thanks to Dan Martin for this suggestion.

Furthermore, the glorious Saraha, emanation of the victors and forefather of all the *siddha*s, sang many songs about the intrinsic reality, such as the *Dohā Trilogy* (*Do ha bskor gsum*).

Te lo Shes rab bzang po, who is inseparable from Cakrasaṃvara, taught the vajra songs that are the root of the aural transmissions. As their ancillaries he taught in song the eight inconceivable pith instructions to eight named yogins, each in their respective abode, sinconceivable spontaneous songs to Nāropa on the banks of the Ganges River, and the natural state of *dharmatā*. [5b]

Tilopa's heart-son, the learned and disciplined supreme being who attained accomplishment, the glorious Nāro Paṇ chen, taught about practicing the four empowerments and a summary of the six dharmas as vajra songs.⁸⁷

Nāropa's supreme heart-son, the translator Mar pa Lotsāwa, dispelled the darkness of ignorance in Tibet with the sun and moonlight of his compassion and knowledge of multiple languages. He then illuminated and spread the teachings of the Buddha's essence like the sun shining on mountain snows. He sang an inconceivable number of songs including an offering of realization to the lama, a long song in the drone of a tamboura; he song of sparkling dew drops that clears away the drowsiness of meditative equipoise; he iron hook of mind-awareness that gathers wild and scattered discursive thoughts; the wail of the <code>dākinīs</code> that clears away sadness and the long whistling song of the dharma protectors; the view like a large garuḍa stretching out its wings: a grand <code>dohā</code> vajra song (<code>do ha rdo rje mgur chen</code>) that ascertains the natural state; and the song of hardships endured for the sake of dharma that cultivates perseverance in dharma.

Furthermore, he sang songs in accordance with the needs in various situations, such as the song of urgent command to his son;⁹⁵ the song of the benediction of auspiciousness;⁹⁶ the song of the father,

⁵ Cf. Mar pa Chos kyi Blo gros 1995, 46–56.

⁸⁶ Cf. Brunnhölzl 2007, 93–117; Tiso and Torricelli 1991.

⁸⁷ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mar pa'i rnam thar, 92–94; Nālandā 1986, 95–97.

⁸⁸ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 34–36; Nālandā 1986, 34–36.

⁸⁹ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 116–18; Nālandā 1986, 123–25.

⁹⁰ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 132–34; Nālandā 1986, 142–45.

⁹¹ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 132–34; Nālandā 1986, 142–45.

⁹² Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 104–6; Nālandā 1986, 108–111.

⁹³ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 43–46; Nālandā 1986, 43–48.

⁹⁴ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 132–34; Nālandā 1986, 142–45.

⁹⁵ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mar pa'i rnam thar, 67–69; Nālandā 1986, 68–69.

^{69–70.} Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 68–69; Nālandā 1986, 69–70.

mother, and son;⁹⁷ and the song interpreting the signs of the four pillars in the dream.⁹⁸

[Mi la ras pa] became Mar pa's principal disciple, renowned throughout the snowy land of Tibet. He had opened the channels of the throat enjoyment cakra, so an ocean of vajra songs issued forth. He had naturally liberated the knots of the central channel, so the cycle of the dualistic mind was expelled from the start. Because he examined the inner awareness-mind, all manifest outer appearances dawned as scripture. 99 The example of his intense effort in practicing meditation day and night without interruption impelled others to progress on the path. Through his exceptional devotion to the previous lineage masters, he received transmission of the lineage blessings. Having attained mastery over his mind and inner energies, he clearly displayed various miracles such as soaring in the sky like a bird. [6a] Like an unbridled white lion, he roamed the expanse of snow mountains, unbounded and limitless as the sky. The melodious voice of his experiences, the roaring of the lion of no self, had the power to suppress all the animals of inferior views. Nowadays, the name Mi la ras pa is famous throughout world, like the sun and moon. This superior being sang the following songs.

In the early part of his life he offered his realization to the lama in the song of the seven branches. Then he sang the song of the prophetic dream of the four pillars and the song of going up to gTsang. Missing his father and mother in his homeland, he sang an inconceivable number of songs, the song of the fervent pledge to practice, and so forth. The song of the song of the fervent pledge to practice, and so forth.

In the middle part of his life, about his accepting non-human spirits as his followers, ¹⁰⁴ he sang many songs to the gods, <code>ḍākinīs</code>, and spirits, such as the cycle on accepting as a follower the king of obstacles, Vināyaka, and the six recollections of the lama; ¹⁰⁵ the cycle on La phyi chu bzang; ¹⁰⁶ the cycle on the demoness of Ling ba brag; ¹⁰⁷ the

 $^{^{97}}$ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 154–59; Nālandā 1986, 165–71.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 172–75; Nālandā 1986, 185–88. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 3–7; Quintman 2010, 4–8.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 100–101; Quintman 2010, 88–89.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 109–10; Quintman 2010, 95–96. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 125; Quintman 2010, 111.

¹⁰³ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 133–35; Quintman 2010, 119–20.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 196–269; Chang 1989, 1–94.
 This is the first of the song cycles in the Mi la'i mgur 'bum. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 197–203; Chang 1989, 1–10.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 203–14; Chang 1989, 11–22.
 Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 228–42; Chang 1989, 38–57.

cycle on La se dgon pa; the cycle on the goddess of bSe and the local spirit of Rag ma;¹⁰⁸ the cycles on the king of Gro thang¹⁰⁹ and the blue pigeon;¹¹⁰ the cycle on Yol mo gangs ra;¹¹¹ and the cycle on the five sisters of long life.¹¹²

As for what he taught in order to accept human disciples as his followers, he sang songs in the extensive cycles on how he met each of the male and female adepts who were his heart disciples: his eight principal heart-sons, his thirteen close-sons, and his four female disciples. Moreover, he sang songs to male and female realized yogins and to male and female practitioners who had faith and so forth, which comprise the miscellaneous cycles.

At the end of his life, there are the songs in the cycle of bodily miracles that heartened all his disciples;¹¹³ the cycle on his final advice before passing away; and his final vajra song from within the cremation chamber: the song summarizing the essential meaning.¹¹⁴

Even more extensive than those were the innumerable songs sung to gods and $d\bar{a}kin\bar{\iota}s$ for the sake of establishing beings on the paths of ripening and liberation. In these cases, he stayed in the individual abodes of each of the gods and $d\bar{a}kin\bar{\iota}s$ and [6b] benefited beings.

Having mastered the inner channels, energies, essences, and *samādhi*, the heart-son of the Venerable [Mi la ras pa] Ras chung rDo rje grags pa brought all outer appearances, such as the four elements, under his control. He then sang many songs, such as the song offering experience and realization to the lama; the earlier and later cycles on requesting permission to travel to Central Tibet to fulfill his wishes, the cycle on teaching for the benefit of others: the wearisome hardship and the eight mansions of the view; the cycle on Bya yul sGo brag; the cycle on Lady lDem bu: how adverse circumstances become helpful; the cycle on Yar lha sham bu; and songs on how to interpret omens and dreams. 117

A portion of the text is illegible here.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 250; Chang 1989, 58–67.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 250–54; Chang 1989, 68–73.

¹¹⁰ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 265–69; Chang 1989, 88–94. ¹¹¹ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 254–64; Chang 1989, 74–87.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 451–521; Chang 1989, 296–361.
 This is the final cycle in the mgur 'bum. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 802–12; Chang 1989, 662–73.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 851–52; Quintman 2010, 210–11: Pur khang nang nas rdo rje glu'i mgur nas byung ba'i rnying po gnad drug gi mgur 'di gsungs so. Note that the rnam thar has gnad drug instead of gnad dril.

gsungs so. Note that the rnam thar has gnad drug instead of gnad dril.

Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 389–93, 592–93; Chang 1989, 227–31, 436–37.

¹¹⁶ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 731–53; Chang 1989, 584–605.

Furthermore, [regarding sGam po pa,] who became a genuine heart-son of bZhad pa rdo rje [i.e., Mi la ras pa], the previous victor said, "In the north a fully ordained monk named Physician will appear and cause the Mahāyāna to spread and flourish." In accordance with this prophecy, he is famous nowadays in this land of snow mountains as the physician of Dwags po, who spread the essential teachings of the Practice Lineage and caused them to flourish. This great being sang innumerable songs, such as the song of accepting lay followers sung to patrons and the song of resolving grasper and grasped, sung to disciples.

His heart-son, the protector of beings, glorious Phag mo gru pa, sang many songs about view, meditation, conduct, fruition, and practice.

Phag mo gru pa's heart-son, the siddha gLing chen ras pa, whose realization is exalted all the way to the Ganges River in India, sang many songs, such as the former and latter songs of offering and praise to the [Three] Jewels; the song of praise to lamas and sacred places; the song of thirteen critiques in response to the behavior of many beings, many songs on the eight kinds of necessities, and the cycle on Mig mangs gangs.

The heart-son of the venerable gLing, the protector of beings gTsang pa rgya ras, sang many songs, such as the song of removing the obstacles of yoga; the song of examining the experiences of meditation and view; the song of arousing faith in lay disciples; the reason for singing songs; the reason for not singing songs; the *kha dgog po ma*; [7a] a message to the kingdom; and the garuḍa of rTsa ri.

The great austerities of his heart-son, the victor rGod tshang pa, caused the teachings of the practice lineage to shine like the sun. He sang innumerable songs, such as the song of voluntary hardships; the song that matures disciples; and the song expressing knowledge to disciples.

His heart-son Yang dgon chos kyi rgyal po sang many songs, such as the song of the spontaneous realization of the view and the song of the seven branches.

His heart-son, sPyan snga rin ldan sang songs such as the song of inevitable cause and effect.

His heart-son, the omniscient Zur phug pa, sang songs such as the song of oral instructions to the disciples.

This prophecy is usually attributed to the *The Great Compassion White Lotus Sūtra* (*sNying rje chen po Padma dkar po'i mdo, Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*), cited in Mi la ras pa's *mGur 'bum* (gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 618; Chang 1989, 463).

His heart-son, the supreme individual 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po, sang many songs, such as the song of the twelve analogies and the song of bringing what's desired.

His heart-son, the Venerable One with the name of Nam mkha', sang songs that enhanced the practice and removed obstacles of disciples.

His heart-son, Byang sems bSod nams don grub, sang songs that encouraged practice.

The heart-son who encompassed the essence of the nectar of speech of many superior lamas and *siddhas* such as Byang sems bSod nams don grub, my father, who brought together the wisdom and compassion of the buddhas of the three times during this period of the five degenerations and then acted for the benefit of the teachings and sentient beings, was called Sha ra ba Sangs rgyas seng ge, an incomparable emanation, who illuminated the teachings of the Practice Lineage realization. This renowned supreme and holy being sang songs about how to practice the ground, path, fruition, view, meditation, and conduct.

Moreover, the authentic bKa' rgyud lamas sang many songs to tame beings, each in accordance with their specific needs in order to benefit them.

In the tradition of Ancient Mantra, the one who was born in a lotus and whose life span is equal to the sun and the moon is called Padmakara, an emanation who openly subdued corrupting and malicious beings, such as [evil minded] seers and bloodthirsty demons. [7b] By annihilating them, he performed innumerable deeds for the benefit of the teachings and sentient beings. His amazing deeds are beyond measure and he also sang innumerable songs, such as I am greater than the king, and I am nobler to the queen. ¹¹⁹

Furthermore, previous *siddha*s of the oral transmissions (*bka' rgyud*), ¹²⁰ such as rDza Ye shes dar po, Ma cig labs kyi sgron ma, sNang sa 'Od 'bum pa, and Ri bo sgang pa, expressed their experience and realization in songs, which are inconceivable and indescribable.

Some of these are songs that burst forth from the depths of experience and realization, some are songs that arose through the perception of objects, and some were sung in response to supplications made by disciples.

¹⁹ Cf. *Padma bka'i thang*, 369–75; Ellingson 1979, 230.

The term bKa' rgyud in this context does not refer to the tradition stemming from Mar pa and Mi la ras pa, but rather to other traditions in which oral transmission is emphasized.

2.2. An Outline Together with the Verses: the Songs' Introduction¹²¹

These songs that were sung by *siddha*s of the past may here be understood in the following way. They are a breeze that dispels the drowsiness and torpor of meditators. They are iron hooks that rein in scattered and agitated minds, bringing forth experience and realization. They remove obstacles for those who suffer. They enhance well-being for those who are happy. They are heart-advice that encourages the faithful to practice dharma. They are the intended meaning of the victors of the three times. They are lamps that dispel the darkness of ignorance. They are rivers that purify the latencies of the two obscurations. They are bonfires that consume the firewood of a belief in a self. They are the ground that generates excellent qualities. They block the door of saṃsāra and the lower states. They show the path of liberation and the higher states. They become the glory and protector of all beings.

Concerning these completely pure statements [i.e. the songs], which are suffused with auspiciousness, ¹²² one should say which *sid-dha* lama sung them, where they were sung, and for what purpose.

One should express the individual great qualities of these *siddha* lama kings as explained above, and then sing [their songs]. [8a] [For example,] when singing the songs of venerable Mi la, briefly praise his greatness as described above. In a more extensive way, one should recite the entire section from the larger biography, from "Moreover, here in the snowy land of Tibet, in the beginning, like a pit of fire..." up to "The one called the Glorious Venerable Mi la bZhad pa rdo rje, the great Heruka himself, who is as famous as the sun and moon, has said...." 123

[Concerning the second and third points,] one should state the place where and for what purpose a song was sung. For example, when singing the Ling ba brag song cycle, explain that the songs were sung in the cave of the sacred site of Ling ba brag. When describing the purpose for which it was sung, say it was sung for the sake of establishing on the paths of ripening and liberation the broth-

The outline heading at this point in the text (*dkar chags tshigs bcad dang bcas te dbyangs kyi ngo sprod* [7b]) is different from that found in the text's opening section (*dkar chag ngo sprod dang bcas te dbyangs kyi mtshams sbyar* [3a]).

¹²² Provisional translation.

The quotations point to the introductory section to *The Life of Milarepa* wherein gTsang smyon Heruka provides a brief summary of the yogin's life. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 3–8; Quintman 2010, 4–11.

er and sister demons of Ling ba'i brag and so forth, all beings subsumed within the six classes of transmigrators, the five paths, or the four modes of birth. Moreover, one should state it just as it is described in the text, starting from "In order to fulfill the command of his lama, the venerable Mi la ras pa went to meditate at Ri bo dpal 'bar. Then, having reached Ling ba'i brag...."

As illustrated by this, what is suitable for [the song about] Ling ba is appropriate for whatever other songs are sung. Analyze the person, place, and purpose, and then sing.

2.3. Time Markers Together with Sections Keep the Proper Length

One should judge how many songs to sing in order to benefit beings.

3. Prayers of Auspiciousness and Aspiration for the Songs' Conclusion

Lamas and Three Jewels, I offer the songs.

Assembled *vīras* and *ḍākinīs*, enjoy the sounds.

Four armed protector Mahākāla, dispel hindering conditions.

Sole mother Remati, protect us like a mother her son. Noble lady Tshe ring ma, follow us like the body and its smell.

Fortunate ones gathered here, rejoice.

For those of good auspice gathered from here and there with devotion:

May there be auspiciousness of lamas and *yidams*.

May there be auspiciousness of *vīras* and *dākinīs*.

May there be auspiciousness of dharma protectors and guardians. [8b]

May there be auspiciousness of thinking to cherish others more than oneself.

May there be auspiciousness of giving up sin and practicing virtue.

May there be auspiciousness of bringing thought and action in line with dharma.

May unchanging auspiciousness remain firm.

¹²⁴ Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, Mi la'i rnam mgur, 228; Chang 1989, 38.

It should be just so. If [such recitations are] too numerous, the king's ears will ache. If too few, the minister will not understand. Suitable and fit, like the temperature of milk, they should be said in a concise way just like that.

Concerning the sayings of the lamas of the past, lamps of wisdom that open the eyes faith, for us yogins who practice the two stages of meditation and belong to the lineage of compassion, they are provisions when wandering in charnel grounds and holy places, necessities when roaming savage lands and mountain retreats, offerings when meeting lamas, gifts when encountering dharma brothers, offering articles when visiting temples and stūpas, goods when traveling around the countryside, ferry-fees when crossing rivers, offering gifts for requests to kings, an axe for chipping away [alms from] the wealthy and a file for scraping away [alms] from the poor. Even when meeting bandits we reply in song, and on such occasions the advice should be an exhortation to practice virtue.

Having provided such an aid for faith, if one is a yogin of the three sacred snow mountains, the outskirts of bustling towns, the middle reaches of slate and snow mountains, along the foothills of mist-shrouded woods, assembly halls where *vīras* and *ḍākinīs* gather, the dwellings of noble sages, [such places are] the central mast of the great ship of the bKa' brgyud teachings, the cornerstone of the mansion of the Practice Lineage teaching, a great sacred site where meditation naturally increases.

Yogins coming from such remote places should consider what is of benefit for this life and the next, and then put effort into accumulating food and provisions for retreat. Or if one naturally gathers [9a] the accumulations, food offered to the lama becomes a supporting condition for one's own nourishment, and so forth. Thus practice in a broad way. Sing whatever is appropriate to the situation.¹²⁵

In this way, in order to connect sentient beings to wholesome predispositions and the Mahāyāna dharma, the sayings of previous masters that explain the earlier and later profound methods for encouraging all beings in virtue, whatever was needed and appropriate, are lamps of wisdom that dispel the mind's darkness. This preliminary catalogue proclaiming the dharma that brings about well-being now

Provisional translation.'brog 'di zhes bya ba nas byon pa'i rnal 'byor pa rnams la | 'di phyi'i don la bsams nas sgrub rgyags lam chas kyi tshogs bsog (gsog) yang dag mdzad 'tshol zhes sam | rang bzhin gyi tshogs [9a] bsog (gsog) yin na | zas 'brel 'tsho ba'i 'thun (mthun) 'gyur sogs | rgya che ba phyag len la 'debs 'tshal lo | zhes pa gang rung dbyangs len yul dang sbyar te bya'o |.

and in the future is unstructured experience written down by the yogin who wanders in charnel grounds, King of Blood Drinkers, in the middle autumn month of the Water-Female-Pig year (1503). By the virtue of doing so,

Through the power of spreading the Buddha's teaching and causing it to flourish

May all beings, limitless as space, have perfect happiness, and then

Have an attitude that cherishes others more than oneself, Abandon sinful action and practice virtue, and thereby Quickly attain the result of perfect Buddhahood. Evam

E ma ho.

This catalog of songs, a lamp dispelling darkness, Was printed by Kun tu bzang mo, After she thought to benefit the Buddha's teachings beings. sTod pa 'phel le of sMan khab wrote it down, Sangs rgyal grogs mched of Zur tsho carved the blocks, and Lo paṇ 'Jam dpal chos lha performed the editing. Through the virtue of having completed this, may all beings,

Perfect accumulations, purify obscurations, and quickly attain the three bodies.

manghalam bhavantu shubham

limitless as space,

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Appendix 1: Tibetan Text¹²⁶

() corrections <> suggested readings for unclear text

।।अन्तुर-मुःदगर-कवाश्वरअन्द्रवाःसुद्र-स्रोतः द्रदः स्रोताः द्रमुद्र-ल्लेशः मुःवः लुवाशः सूर्व

यत्यः क्षियः स्ट. चीयः कुषः चूर्तः त्रः श्रवः अक्षाः चीवः व्यावः विष्यः त्याः विष्यः त्याः विष्यः व्यावः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विष्यः विष्यः विषयः विषयः

We have corrected minor orthographic inconsistencies present in the original text, adding a *tsheg* between a final *nga* and a *shad*, and deleting the *shad* after a final *ga*.

२.के.यर्या.या.सेल.कंष.ची.सेंब.ये.२२.कंष.४४४४२८.य.उट्टेश.तट्र.श्रुया.(२४४य४).)क्री उर्वेर.कंथ.वश्र्ट.थश्रश्या.तप्रु.थेया.वर्थ.वर्था.वर्थेता श्रेता.कंथ.वर.त.२८.वश्रश्य.वर.शिथ.तप्रु.कैया. रुषःमासुस्रः क्वायः नर्वोदसः देव 'द्युदसः सुः येव 'सः त्यम् सः विदा यारः भूतः तुः यो हो। येतः भूतः तुः सुः त्याः तुः द्याः विश्वः याः ने प्याः कुः यात्रः त्यों रशः देवः तरा रट रट मी वर्ने न ने के मार्थ सुन्य र मानि हर मार्थ सुन्य स्था सुन्य हो हिन पर सुन्य सुन्य सुन्य स्था सुन्य स्था क्रे.म्ह्रेन.ल.भगीर.बुका.चायाका.त.लयाका.बुहा। हे.मिला.च.मूर.भष्ट,रमूरकार्ट्य.टर. म्रीम् व नवर म्रीत्रायमा विद्याणी प्राप्त नवा म्रीया व निवास निवास म्रीया व निवास म्रीया निवास मित्रय निवास म रच.यह्र्य.कुर.। विर्यु.चर.यिव्यायात्राश्चरा.वर्या.यीयायीयायाह्यां विर्यायाद्यार्थारायाः रचिरमाजीमाचीतात्राचीत्राची प्रमुप्त निर्मा त्रहेराया स्मूरा र्योदमार् निर्मा प्रमुप्त प्रमुप्त प्रमुप्त प्रमुप र्मताः सक्ष्यं नर्हेर् त्यायाः । रेहे हे तकर क्षेत्रं नायर सूर्यायाः वकर । । रमगः सेरा स्थायाः स्थायाः (२वायः)चल्रेबः२। विः विस्थानाः ययायायायत् । विश्वानः । विश्वानः । र्केट.क्रु.क्य.त्र्ध्या.(यध्या.)यध्रमात्रमात्रात्रा यप्र.वे.वी.लट.वट.वर.वी वि.ध्र.ध्या. र्म्यायासुम्यादया । यामान्द्रीर्भ्ययामुकायान्त्रीता । देःयोधीमान्द्रम्यानु हमानुः द्वेत। विभागसुरायात्रा सरमानुभावतुषायात्रेमायो सर्वे विभागीसर्वे विभाग तत्तर्यात्रात्तः त्रीत्रः त्रात्यात्रात्रात्रः श्रुवात्रः श्रुवात्रः त्रुवात्तः त्रुवात्तः त्रुवातः त्रुवातः त ह्येमक्ष्यक्षेत्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रम् क्ष्याक्षाम् क्ष्याक्ष्यम् स्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रस् वसम्बार्यास्त्रस्यस्य से से स्वित्राच्या वर्तुन गुरिश्चुव्यायानु स्रस्यावर्षे (र्वे) वर्ते निरम्मित्रा मित्रा ब्रैंट.धी.ज्रूट.प्रेय रेगु.ब्रैंट.योर.व्रेश.प्रेयो दुश.बिश.तदु.लथ.टी दत्तयोश.त.ईशश. ग्रीशःम्याम् शःभः न्याः कृषः करः वहमा हेषः रुः साद्युरः मुद्या स्वाद्यः साद्युर्वा । कृषः करः वहमा हेषः रुः साद्युरः

चयु.चोरःश्चीरःचरःचीत्। ७४गःचोशेरअःश्वरःघष्टाःघष्ट्यःद्यःदिर्यःग्वीशःसष्टाःसरःष्ट्रह्यःचीयः लायमूरितालयोग्नाकुरा। इलाउर्वेरातायर्यायोग्नाम् रेटाउर्वेरायकेयालेगा ख्रिट.यट्रेट.चर्षियानाः स्रोताः जैन्दः इशनाः ग्रीनाः ग्रेटः थेनः ग्रुतुः न्नटः चर्षुः श्रेटना नेनायान्यः वर्जवा देलार हेन्यर हेने 2b শ্বী(শ্বী)র্নিম্মের্নুশ্বীদ্যান্ত্রমেন্ট্র अत्। त्रिःत्रः त्रुक्षः यः यद्देकः यः त्रुद्धः क्षत्रः । क्षतः त्र्यः क्षतः यद्देकः यः त्रुद्धः कष्णः । क्षतः त्रुः वद्देकः यः त्रुद्धः वद्देकः यः त्रुदेकः वद्देकः यः त्रुदेकः वद्देकः यः त्रुदेकः वद्देकः यः त्रुदेकः यः त्रुदेकः वद्देकः यः वद्देकः वद्देकः यः वद्देकः वद्देकः यः वद्देकः वद्देकः यः वद्देकः वद्देवः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देवः वद्देवः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देवः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देकः वद्देवः वद्देवः वद्देवः वद्देकः वद्देवः वद्देवः वद्देवः वद् । वद्देवः वद्व ष्ट्रिट.स.च्र्ट.भ्रेर.व्रेट.स.टवेटम.क्री.मटी वे.च.लयोश.सम.टे.इसम.झटम.यंश रच.योबु.उचेम. ृष्ट्राचते देव त्या हुन विषय हुन त्या हुन स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त हुन स्वाप ह अ:न्द्युम्रु: वान्त्र: वान्त् वान्त्र: वान्तः वान्त ष्ट्र्या.यो.जर्कीरः वियोगायाः भवः यम्याद्येदः योष्ठेशः श्रीः भ्रीं वर्षः योगाव्यः यक्ता यन्त्राः निव्यः योवः य र्डें व्यक्तर मो मार्चे अपन्दर्भ में अपन अपन के मार्च में अपन अपन के मार्च में अपन अपन के मार्च में अपन अपन के ग्री:रवर:र्रु:अ:र्ल्र:वर:ग्रुअ:४४। दर्नर:र्क्ष्याश्वाःयःरावी:वर्ष:वर्ष्ट्रायःअ:४८:। रर्र:पर्यःयाश्वाः वर्नम्यामी निवास वर्षे वर्षा वर्षे वर्षा वर्षे वर्षा वर्षा वर्षे वर्षा वर्षे वर्षा वर्षे वर्षा वर्षे वर्षा वर्षे वरमे वर्षे वर मिलास् मेशकालाश्रद्य तयद्यात्रयी पर्दे लायम् ति पर्दे विश्व स्वास्त्र स्वास् (यर्श्या)जिट म्योगायाया तहरे नियम श्री तार्या ही साम्य स्थाप ही साम्य स्थाप स् (शहर.)ध्रेष्रकाशीश्चिर्यासीलाया ह्याकानियाची स्वायाचीरात्रम् स्वायात्रीसीयाचीरात्रम् स्वायात्रीसीयाचीरात्रम् स (अर्ट्य.)र्2.क्री.र.रेवेटश.शे.लुयो र्ज्याश.त.इशश.ल.चरचो.शुर.डूंट.तदु.ट्यो.क्याश.क्री.(क्रीश.)चरचो. योलट.रे.दयीयोश.तपु.रेविटश.शे.जुरी अष्टू.(तपू.)वुरे.श्रैथ.त.ईश्वर.त.देश.जुर्.ह्र. (मार्ड्र) ४८ खुल विषय प्राप्त क्षेत्र प्राप्त हैं इस क्षेत्र क्षेत्र खुल क्षेत्र क्षेत

क्रूंट मी क्रूंचा या क्षेत्रवर दियो स्टर वर्ष्ट्ये राष्ट्री के वर्ष दिवर मा स्वाप्त राष्ट्रिया स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वापत स मुर्थः क्षेटः त्रेशः रचः ग्रीः शक्र्यं र म्र्याशः वशः भ्रेतः स्राधः रचाः मृत्यः (चयः त्रः त्रः त्रः त्रः शः त्रो यब्रिन स्रुका भे के किया है । इस स्रोतित स्रोत 3a भूति इसस्य या त्रास्य प्रभूति सर्के मा सुनि मा त्रुवास्य जुर्यात्रातुरः। योशीरःरिवीरत्रार्थत्राष्ट्र्याःश्चीःश्चेत्रारार्थः। यत्रयोत्रात्रायुःबूरःयरिवारुःधुरःवर तयु.ग्रॅट.(ग्रॅट.)व्रिन.यर्.भ्रेरे.यहूश.तयु.रविटश.श्री.ग्रुथ। य्या.ग्र्याथा.(यात्र्याथा.)र्थश्वराता.रहूथ. $\frac{1}{2} (3 - 3) + \frac{1}{2} ($ रकारवर्द्धेर हुर रामिया वक्ष मध्ये स्वासा व्यवस्था वर्षेर मध्ये शुःखेद्रःयःयम्बर्धःविदः। ट्रे.फॅर.म्र्राट.शयु.योशेट.झॅ्श.ईश.तर.ट्यो.त.ईशश.ट्येटश.शे.विटश.तश्री योशीर योश्वया हुर री योशीर सूर्य की शा दिया हुर से सूर्य हुर सार रिवेट राज्य हुर सार राज वियोश हुयु रूर्ट : ब्रेस यहूँ शर्ष हुन् मुन्द राष्ट्र हुन् रास्त्र राष्ट्र राष <u> ખુબ:ર્સ:ર્સ:ઇ:55.</u>વા यो.धियोत्रातीला.री.यर्.यप्रायपत्रात्रात्रात्रीर.य.पचीर.तप्राप्तात्रात्री यवराही.वर्षात्रात्रात्रात्रा मुम्भुवः रुवः स्टाया विया टामुयः रुवः मुभ्यः से मूर्यायः से टामुटः सुटः मु तीयानाना मुख्या है से दिल्ला है से स्वाप्त करा है से स्वाप्त करा है से स्वाप्त करा है से स्वाप्त करा है से स्व स्रोब:ध:केवा:र्केट: चुराताम्यर्थाः हेरायस्या ह्रम्याः स्तियाः वर्ष्ट्रायस्या स्वानस्य २४.जु.शे.८४.४८४। क्रुंग.त.२४.८जुंर.त.क्षे] ध्या.पर्श्य.२४.धुं.कै.८८.(पर्केटस्.)। सुर.कै. डब्'याचर्हेर्'(वाहेर्')र्थर्'स्री। बूर्'यथाडब्'बेब'यार्ज्जेव बे'स्ट'डब'वारुवार्ड्ड्व'बे ₹\Z\$\. त.र्मश्रम.ग्रीक.र्मन.स्ट्री ह्या.या.त.य.च.र्थ.(स्ट्री.)यह्या यिष्टि.यप्तर.शायर.र्ट्स.ग्री.ध्रमत्र.

येद्र'य'दर्देय। मुँ तेया १४ : वैयोय १ : देर । १ विदेश विद्या १ : देश विद्या १ : देश विद्या । देश विद्या । देश विद्या । देश विद्या । <u> ५५:स.क्ष.क्ष.क.क्ष्रीका</u> श्चेर.देश.२४.श्चेरा.रोथ.यश्चेरी जन्न.पर्स्.२४.मीन. इस्रान्गरःग्रीःचन्नाक्रम्बर्धःस्रीःर्द्रः ह्याः स्राप्तः ह्याः स्राप्तः ह्याः स्राप्तः ह्याः स्राप्तः ह्याः स् 3b तयु.क्र्या-स्रायकरा लूराचाचरीर हुयु.योरेशकारयो.ये.लूराचन्नी स्थाना येथे.वा.येथे.बुी.सुश्रकाता. र्देब:दुवा:८८:ख्व:प:बेवा:वी:क्वेंद्रबर:येब:प:यवाब:हो। ८८:पें:अर्वे(यद्वेब:क्वें:वावेटब:दर्शे (अर्थे)य: चर-री-चर्ड्-चिक्वेक्क्ष्यानाम्बद्धाः स्थान्त्राच्याः निःर्द्र्यः स्थाः निःर्द्र्यः स्थाः বল্লীহ.ফমাপ্য.না (য়ড়ৢ৾ৼয়৾৾৾)য়৾য়ৗৢ৾য়ঀ৾য় चर्निस्थः श्रुवः तः त्युः इत्तिवाशः (विवाः) क्रनः च (भुर)क्रमार्थाया यहुमा (अहुमा) सूर् क्रें रियायाय हेर्मार्था (यहेमा) मरे मार्गाय अर्थाया लट.र्येवेटश.ब्रेंर्-श्रट.योष्ट.र्यूब्रेर्-रेट.पर्य क्षें.यज्ञटका.(योज्ञटका.)य.ब्र्.(श्रव्य.)ज.प्यीट.क्योग.तो $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1$ (शहेयो.)श.रेट.पर्र. क्रे. क्रुट.पा.पह्त्याका.(पह्त्यो.)यर्. ययु. श्ली. वक्षा रट. स्. याब्र्यात प्रतिवका यर्झेर. पा.रेट. चडरा हे. रचित्रा क्री अर्थे (यहेर्य) चर. रे. जू क्रिया वाहर क्रिया वाहर क्रिया वाहर वाहर वाहर वाहर वाहर वाहर व (55⁵5⁵1) বার্ষাস্থানমান্দ্রন্ত্রা বার্ষাস্থান্দ্রন্ত্রা বার্ষাস্থার্ক্তর্বা বার্ষাস্থার্ক্তরা বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্মাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্মাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্মাস্থ্য বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্ষাস্থার বার্মাস্থ্য বার্মাস্থ্ यर्नेट.(शर्टियो.र्नेट.)त.जयोश.पुट.। टु.लट.योश्जा.यर्ट्यया.यर्नेट.त.टट.यश्चा.रीटरा.की.शर्म्य.पट्टेय. इलाय हुँरायाया न्दा (यर्देश) हुँदायाया ज्ञायाया र्योक्षया यायदिवसायायसा हुँ के वा योदायाया स य:दे। ब्रिटा। ने:प्यटान्धे:यहेवाहेत्रावी:ब्रुटावान्दराह्मुत्राहे:व्यवन:यात्री व्यटात्रावी:वानुवावाःग्री:हे:याःयाः

क्ट्रिं-इं-इंब-२व:क्री:ववाबाद्याः अ.(म.)क्ट्रे-2.वा-२त:ब:क्रीव:(द्रेवका)व:अ.(म.)क्ट्रे-2.क्रीवा 4a |अ'र्मे्बर'(र्देर')ब'त्य'भे'त्रम्था सुकाअ'रुकाब'अका (क्रुंग)स.श्रु.कंट.। इ. कूर्यानायधिनात्रायनायानायः श्रीयायधिनायाः वर्षा र्यात्रान्यस्यानास्यान्यस्यान्यस्यानास्य यतर.त.त्री নাধ্যম:মী:র্ম্রনা য়ৣ৾য়ঀয়ৢয়৻৴য়৾৻য়৻য়৻য়৻য়৻য়৻য়য়য়৻য়ঀয়ৢয়৻য়য়৾য়য়য়৾য়য়য়৻য়য়৻য়য়৻য়য়৻য়য় अक्षअ:यर:अ:चल्वा:ब:बोअअअ:क्षेट्-बोक्निया नगाव:व:अ:चठ्ट:(श्रुट:)ब:प्यंब:हब:बोक्री म्बर्भयानामानम्यान् मुक्तानम्बर्भामानम्यानम्बर्भयाम् । विष्यान् । विषयान् । विष्यान् । व योश्जानःयोदःयोद्यनः । देः अः द्वेत्रः वर्षे वर्षाः **द**रा। अक्षेत्र। । पर्क्र्ट.वेश्वत्रयोद.तक्षयोत्र.टे.लुक्ष.घटे.य.क्र्या । शक्षेत्र.तप्रायोट.यथयोद्य. जीयात्राष्ट्रेयात्रा ।श्लीट.स्.याट.यञ्चत्रा.टे.जा.स्त्रा.याद्वीट.। ।८म.क्र्या.याट.यश्लीट.मा. चर्षासारच्यीच। ।२वा.क्रॅट.वाट.वेर.टु.लुब.शरब.म्बेब.ह्य। ।ख्रेब.चार्थरवा.तावाबातवा मर्केयः चः यदेवकः याम्यायः के। देः ष्यदः मर्केयः चः यदेवकः सुम्यावः चित्रः याम्या जैशःक्रीयाःश्र्रेटः नित्रान्त्रभूत्रम् द्वीत्युक्षरण्चीः वार्क्षव्यव्यनेवर्षा नित्रविद्वानुत्रम् विद्वानुत्रम् विद्वानुत्यम् विद्वानुत्रम् विद्वानुत्यम् विद्वानुत्रम् विद्वानुत्रम् विद्वानुत धीर श्रेमा श्चेंट रमो मसुन या धीर ग्री मार्थिय यहेन या धीर बिट । हे सुर र श्चें मार्थ्य ग्री रयो. इ. वश्या १२ द्या मृत्या यो प्राप्त विष्या स्था प्राप्त विष्या स्था प्राप्त स्था प्राप्त स्था प्राप्त स्था र्देर-तुःखुग्राबासुःवदेवसः म.र्ट.। स्र.स्योग.सं.यर्चमग्न.म.र्ट.योश्रीम.जग्रा हुट.स्र्योग.सं.यर्चा

र्ट्रहातकर क्रियार्स वर्षा है नयर क्रिया है। स्टायी सम्प्रेस यदे साम्राज्य स 4b योर्ट्स र्ट्ट प्रकार प्रांत्र प्रांत प्रांत क्षेत्र प्रांत प्रांत प्रांत क्षेत्र प्रांत प्रां વદ્યું સાત્રા સુક્રું તા રૂચ અ. તે તે ત્યારે મૂર્ય સાર્થા ત્યારે માં ત્યારે મા માં ત્યારે મા મા ત્યારે માં ત્યારે મા મા ત્યારે મા મા ત્યારે મા મા ત્યા वर्ने ख्रेरे नर्वासायर्ने नष्टस्य स्वत्य वर्ष्या वर्षेया वर्षेया वर्षेया वर्षेया वर्षेया वर्षेया वर्षेया वर्षे क्यांशासु तर्ने प्रशास है। वर्षे राम पर राम राम स्थान बगान्द्रायर्रेन् उन् लेगागीया क्र.यर्.क्षेर.री.सैयो.मी.कुष्प्तां अष्ट्र्यां यो.र्ट्श चीयः ह्याः तर्र्रेर तयः म्र्रीर प्राप्ते अपेर में में प्राप्त के प्र ব্রম্ম মহা वर्षियो.चलुष.सदु.स्ट.षेश्रा रट.ची.इ.चयु.चे.श.ज.सीचना.चोचना.सकूट.त्या.चन्ना.स्ट.चं. च्र्याला व्याप्त व्यापत व ट्यान्द्रयात्याञ्चूरावशास्टायोः सावते व्यवे । याव्ये दवःश्रॅटः वीःश्रूवा वस्याः यस्य वसः वसः स्वार्म्यः स्वारम् अर्थे विषयः सम्य वर्षे नः प्रते विषयः वस्य विषयः सम दे.लट.च.श.ज.चार्श्याचारमधा श्रीचन्नाचेत्राचार्थाचार्याचाराच्याचार् অহামান্ত্রীমা चर्टिं चर दे:चलेब:म्राःस-वि:वर्तुव:हो। गुब:म्री:म्री:संम्याःस्याः। म्राःस-स्याःव्याःस्याःव्याःस्याःव्याः अर्केर्-यावसवाउर-लूरवार्जीरवाजा ^धरप्राप्रकृर्यातारा র্ষুপ্র-বেশ্রী--বেশ্রা @*****\'55'| दे.सक्षेत्रःसत्राद्ये.भीयःसष्टियःक्यी ला.लेकाःसक्र्याःयुःह्याःसमःदक्षीमा <u> ব্যা:হ্রমা</u> અર્દ્ધ-પતિ ર્સુન-પ્રતેન તે $\hat{\xi}$ કે સેમ્સ-પ્રતેન્ય સ્વાસ તેના કે પ્રોયાન સ્ત્રામાં સમયાના સામાના સ शक्यं यहूरे जन्न अक्टरे त्या यहूरे त्या हीया यो यो यो यो स्या है र से स्या ये ये <u>ब</u>्रेश:५८:। র্বিমা বন্ধুমর্বেম্বরের্ছির্নেম 5a ব্রানবি মর্ক্রন ধ্রনান্ত্রমর্বেম্বরের্মিরের্ন্নির डुकार्टर। लु.पुकायाकारा.सूर्य.चु.क्रिंर.जन्म। मक्य.रहा.क्रिय.तहा.सी

त्त्रुय:रु:पर्झेयय:प्रया । व्याय:द्वरप:पर्स्ट,ययय:के। । भ्रु:भ्री:य:भ्रेस्य:व्याय:स्याय बिश.रेट.। ल.धे.सं.चग्र्र.तदुःक्ट्रीर.जन्ना यान्नट.च.र्जयाना.जन्मवीट.च.ल्री ार्ह्यु देवे. यार्ड्या यात्रा स्क्रीट यो सुवा । याया प्रयो प्रदेश यहेवा प्राप्त स्वर्धे स्वरापा मद्य:म्राम:कृत्। |यर्था:मुर्थ:ब्रेंट्:वी:लेंब्:पृत्र:परः। |वार:ववा:दे:लेब:वहेंद्र:धर:वव्युर। श्रायत.तम्,श्राचुता.मुश्राअर्थ्य.(योर्थ्य.)ततु.मैंट.जर्ग। श्रायत.पम्भिश्राट्ट.मैंट.क्र्य.श्रुश्रश्राट्टतत्.यू.योद्धः र्बेट.(प्रीट.)गु.मु.म.सुर.ल.भक्ट्र.ल.सील.च.चन्ना ह्र.ह्र.सूच.टेत्य.मु.च.सीय.ची.च.सीय.ची. वैंया.त.वेंश.त.कुश.वजूर.येशश.विर.तर.री.यत्तयोश.जूर्। बिंश.योशीरश.त.कैरो र्देशःगुद्रादर्शः यदेशः वद्याः क्षेदः रवः द्रश्रः यः त्यम् शर्षे । ५ : त्यें क्षूशः याप्तदः क्षेयाशः दरः वरुशः हे : द्रघटशः क्रीमियात्वत्वरा (नव्यरा) भाष्ठी निर्मा क्रीमियात्वा मुल्या मार्थियात्वा मुल्या स्थानियात्वा स्याप्वा स्थानियात्वा स्याप्यात्वा स्थानियात्वा स्याप्यात्वा स्थानियात्वा स्थानियात्वा स्थानियात्वा स्याप्यात्वा स्याप्यात्वा स्याप्य मुं(भुं)वर्षकार्रः(र्र)वासुस्यार्थे मुंदायार्थायार्थे मुंदार्यार्थे विद्यार्थे विद्यार्थ દુવુ.ર્શ્વેજા.ર્સે.ચ્રેજા.વ.તેગ્રે.ક્રીવ.તન્ન.૮વેદના.ગ્રે.(ગ્રેન્ન.)શ્રેન.તવુ.(વશ્રેન.ત.) ક્રે.જા.સ્વોના.ક્રો रवरा (रवः) अर्ट् हो परु पारे रायमुरा पार्थ राया राया पार्व राया स्वाप राया स्वाप राया स्वाप राया स्वाप राया स्व अर्क्ष्मात्वाद्यराज्यान्द्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त् चक्किर। कु.मू.मू.मायु.तयात्रारी.वै.मू.म.तायारेशकातात्रस्य वर्धिर प्रश्रामीकात्रात्रीयात्रात्रस्य। क्षेत्रमास्यायः स्वायः सम्बद्धाः निष्यः यष्ट्रेश्र.तदुःश्चेश्र.शक्र्या.रेतज.वे.स्.तिशक्षेत्र.ब्रीश रेतर.यबुदुःश्रेशश्र.जुर्य.रेट.क्र्य.वैया.हुज.य.स्.हुवु. त्रयीर.दे.योश्वरका वै.स्.तपु.वीयोश.क्री.श्रमाशक्या.रेश.तर.क्रीर.त.से.रे.योधुमाशिवे.य.क्रे.धु.बुदु.त्र्र.

च्र्-अ.र्या.शेथ.तपु.रेशवी.रेश.अरश.तर.शह्र.थेश.अरश.चेश.ग्री.श्रीर.त्र्र्य.ग्री.वर्षेथ.ती গ্রীঝা मिटशरा है स्वर्भ मास्या हिट क्रिश्य मास्य हिट सुर्वे स्वर्भ मास्य स्वर्भ मास्य स्वर्भ स्वर्भ स्वर्भ स्वर्भ स्व र्ह्रेयोश्रातायवीजायान्वीरशास्त्रा (इट.) धावीसायवात्त्रीयात्वीयाचितायात्रीयात्रीयात्रीयात्रीयात्रीयात्रीयात्रीया $(a_{1}+c_{2}+c_{3}+c_{4}+c_{$ यर्वयाशःशुः देरः ह्या যাৰ্থ ম'ৰ্মীয়া মাটিথ' মে ডেব্ৰব্ৰহান স'ৰ্মীই-ম'ৰ জিই-জুৰ' দ্ৰী' কৰ্ত্ব্যা (मर्लिना)कुर्यार्ने इन्हें हेवे अगुर केवा <u> ક્રુંચાલા શ્રુંદા રેંચા વર્શ</u>ેટાના બાક્ર્યા ક્રેક્ટાનોવાન નગરી. याल्य प्यान्याय्या स्रोत्या प्रमेत्रा प्रमान्य प्रमेत्रा प्रमान्य प्रमेत्रा प्रमान्य प्रमेत्रा (भूष.) मीः (शुर्)भदे समुर। ક્ષે.બશ য়৾৾৾য়ঀৢ৾য়ৼ৾৻ড়য়ৣ৾৻য়য়ৢ৾ৼ৻য়৻য়য়৸য়য়য়য়য়য়য়ৣয়৻য়ৢ৻ঢ়ৢঢ়৻য়৻ঀৢয়৻য়৻ৠৢয়য়ৼয়৻য়ৼয়ঢ়৻ঀ श्रभाग्री द्वीत्र म्यूर मा वर्ष मारमा स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वापत स्वापत स्वापत स्वापत स्वापत स्वापत स्वापत (वर्त्चेर्)नशर्रेहे सुर्था अर्के वर्ह्यान। इत्तु अर्वे अर्द्र मास्ट अर मूर्या प्रकार में महिला देव मु यभूरः भर्मा, वंशान्त वरः मुयाः संभानाः भीता यो भीता वर्षः मुन्त वर्षः भीता वर्यः भीता वर्षः भीता वर्षः भीता वर्षः भीता वर्षः भीता वर्षः भीता वर त्रशः स्त्रीयः तर्रुः स्त्रीयाः इत्रशः या क्ष्यां क्ष्याः स्त्राः स्त्रीयः स्त्राः स्त्रीयः प्रत्याः स्त्रीयः प्रत्याः स्त्राः स्त्रीयः प्रत्याः स्त्राः स्त्रीयः प्रत्याः स्त्राः स्त्रीयः प्रत्याः स्त्राः स र्यर मुँर श्रेमश्राता पर दियर मृत्यास्य विशासाय ता यी से प्राप्त ता स्वीता सामिता हो हैं। ব্যার:ব্রহম:ধা तर्तिता.क्री.क्र्योका.कर्त्य.क्रीका.र्री.क्रिय.ता वेत्रा.क्षायव.क्षायव.चरीका.क्षार्य.योटका.हुयु.प्रींट. क्षे.रथ.क्री.५.८योश.वशश.१८.चुल.क्रीश.पहुँथ.(योर्यूथ.)थेश.त। र.क्रे.पहुया.प्रेथ.क्री. শ্ব-শ্রীশা ત્રમજાત્ર સુ.જા.જા.જા.લુંજા.જાજ્ય છે. શ્રું.ક્રે.કેંગ્રેજ્ય જો.ચીયોજા.તવુ.ક્રેનેજા.જાજ્યાના હુંજા.જાજ્યાના છે.

८८.त्र्-स्यात्रात्मार्ट्यात्रात्मात्परीयाचात्राय्यात्मरीयात्रात्मात्मा सक्रयात्रीयात्रा योश्ट.ज.लम.वर्गुषु.शयीम। वर्षिटश.लीज.टी.लय.लीश.टेथ.यश.स्रीय.त.ज. गा'मलेदे'सग्मा रभायक्षामासुः अर्सुद्धेः अत्तु मार्थामास्य विष्यामासुम् विष्यामासुम् विष्यामासुम् नर-रु-हो-हा-धोद चर्माम्बर्गे मुः वर्षे वरमे वर्षे वर ¥त्रश्र.ईश.शे.चबैट.च.ज\ येट च त्रम श्रेष सेवि मर्भेर। ल.है.के.पवरश.(पवर.)ग्री.पश्चेर। वासीन्त्रीय प्रदेश्वर्भेरा चश्रुद्रःक्षेश्चर्रस्यात्राद्यःयाब्रियन्यायो चर्स्रूर। व्याचरःक्युवाधे पर्याद्यस्य स्थितः स्वाद्यस्य क्र. मुर्था (मुर्) अष्टुर. जैयु. वश्चेर. जा. श्यां था था. हे. जै. रेट. शायव वर्षे. श्रु. श र्धेवासेते महसामते नहीं म 7<u>5</u>51 ষ্ট'নব'শুঝ'নমু'নাঝুঝা ट्रे.क्रम्भाग्री.क्रम्भवु.क्रे.ब्रियोम.स्मायीय.क्र्यास्म्भू.क्रेम्प्ति.ट्र **८९०** र्स्तुयाया पश्चिम्यकेष र्से से से यालकः सराहें यात्रास्य क्याय हों राहेंग्रे रिटा ५५ स्था हो है। श.स्.श्.ज.योश्वेरश.त.ज.स्योश.धे। य.उ.स्.म्.क्र्याश.क्री.चभूर.क्र्.ये.श.बुवा.शयीर.ये.योशेरश.त. लयाश्चिरः। अधरः वः श्चिरः ल्रार्थः श्चिरः प्रतः श्चिरः प्रतः स्ति तः स्ति वः स्ति वः स्ति व लियाक्रियायीं प्रमूर्य ध्रापदाबदाबराईहिवायमुरामी शासी स्थित हिवासी सम्भित्र । र्-अ.र्जुमा.योश्चरश्र.त्रम्यान्त्रा दे:रवा.तश्रमें कु.च.वर्ज्य, देशका.श्रीय.ज्ञां, वर्ज्य, (शायतः) दर्मे. ज. योशीर अ. तायु. अर्थी र. देश प्राप्त अर्थे. यो प्राप्त वर्मे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो प्राप्त वर्मे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो प्राप्त वर्मे. यो प्राप्त वरमे. यो বর বিশ্বমার্থ মাধ্যার মজুমাধ্য বৌদ হের্মী <u> इ.पर्श्व.ची.वीयोश.श्रंश.यर.</u> 6b इ.इच.र्थेर.चेश्रेशर्टर.ध्रेर.ट्.उद्दर्जात्ररार्टाचर.ह्यात्रश्री ही.वर्वेर.च.चख्रात्राञ्चात्रात्राच्या इस्रअ.३८.२८८.२े.५२४.तपु.सु.४.५.२४.क्ट.<u>६.इ</u>.च्यायायात.५.५५८.ग्रीयायायीयाताता ยี.ฑ.ชฑ๗. मूर्याय.ययेज.ययु.यर्योर। ৼৼয়ৢ৻ৼ৾ৼৣৼ৾ৼ৻য়৻য়৻য়ৢড়৻য়৻য়৻ৼ৸ৼ৸ৼ৸ৼ৸ঀঀৼ৻৻৸ঀৼ৸ড়৸ড়ৢঢ়৻ नर्भूम्। म्बर्मेर्न्, मुबर्मेर्म्। भुष्र-८व.मूर्यायायायीत्वर-प्रास्त्रात्वेयाच्चेयायुत्र-पर्सूर। लर्जन्यायुत्र-पर्सूर। च्याःचीःचङ्ग्रीर। शक्ष्यं क्षेत्राचरं तर्मेताचरं दर्मेताचरं वर्मेताता वर्मेता वरमेता वर्मेता वर् अर्थे र.चे.श.बुचा.चोशेंटश.तर.चोटेज। लट.चोबेट.(चबेट.)त.ट्र.हुचु.धेचोश.श्रंश.रेश.तर.चैंर.तो र्जूब क्यायका चिर स्थ्रीयाका रूका खीर वा स्थ्रीर वा स्थ्रीर वा स्थायका चिया या स्थ्रीय क्षेत्र स्थाय स्याय स्थाय स्याय स्थाय स्याय स्थाय स्याय स्थाय स त.बुधा.पर्चैर.घर.प्रचीर.रू[बुका.जैर.<घक्षेत्र.त>.कैर[२.कै.घोटक.रुटु.खूर्ट.पर्ट.थ.रचाका. (२वाय.) मृ.के. इ. बुरा शक्य त्र्र त्री चावायायया सैंच. कैंट. कुट. मुट्ट. पर्दे प्रति में या स्थाप सिंच. धूँच इसस्य ताय बैदः (य बैदः) यहूर वया कुर्ने क्री सर्थी राजा सूर्या सामा क्री सामा क्री सामा क्री सामा क्री स हुयु:ब्रुवाश:श्रथायम् व्याप्त सर्वाद:स्प्रियायायवाःस्याःस्य व्याप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व त्रयीर.री.त्रा.बुचा.योशीरश्रत्र.त्रारची त्या.स्.ची.तरु.धीयाश्रत्राची.या.ची.धी.या.स्थ.कर.त्रा. तर्रेष.त.वी..व.वी.याची.याची. टेब्र्य.त.२४.तमी.२.क्ष.२..वाची.१ সুমা.সেম্প. योटम् मुों मर्झे र त्या स्वां मार्च हो मार्च स्वां स्व अर्वोद्गः र्यान्याद्याः स्वान्यान्यात्रः स्वान्यान्यात्रः स्वान्यान्यात्रः स्वान्यान्यात्रः स्वान्यान्यात्रः स्व કૃષ્કુંચ ફચ્ચ येदःयदे:क्रुःशक्द्र। यःन्य्याःर्यःश ক্র্ম 7a ন্যেশ শ্রুর (বেশ্রুর) ক্র্রী আমা इ.इ.शायर.क्रिट.श.ज.स्यांश.त.शयीर.टे.श.बुघा.योशेटश.घर.योट्डा टुडु.धैयोश.श्रंश.श्रंथा.रेश. २७१८:वर्ष्ट्र (श्वेट.)र्था.त्र्यः श्वेंच.कैंट.क्री.वर्षेथ.त्रहेथ.क्र्य.त्राह्ट.ता क्रील.व.स्ट्र.क्ट.त.ट्रहेट.क्री.

री.धूर्यःश्चैत्रःग्चीराज्ञाःभगीर। धूर्यःत्रःभूत्रःयहूर्यःग्चीःभगीरःतःश्चात्रः <u> न्याय च न्दर्स्स्य मुर</u> यः चर्यस्य मुक्ते स्त्रीत्व स्तर्भात्व स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीत्व स् स्र न र्रोट नर्देश मु अगुरा लय.जयो.चर्ये.तर्य.शयीय.ज.श्याश्चाश.त.दे.श.खेयो.योशेंटशो वियोश संभा श्रीय के प्रमा त्रिया ने भी भी के स्मार्थित में र्सरागुर्स् अधितः स्वाप्ता र्स्स् वितास्य वितासान्य स्वाप्तासान्य स्वाप्तासान्य स्वाप्तासान्य स्वाप्तासान्य स्व नेदे. . तुरः श्रुॅब्र-ब्रमः लूटः मर्यः मर्यान्यः सः स्वानः सः विवानाश्चरमा ने तुः सः श्वनः स्वरं सः स्वरं वात्रः स्व शक्ष्य.श्य.रे.धेर.ग्रीम.श्रॅ्य.श.ज.योयोयान्य.शज.य्योनान्य.पर्ट्य.ग्री.शयीर.रे.योश्रीयना रेप्ट.श्रेयोनाःश्रम.येर. शेशकानस्र्रे, वेशकार्त्रे म्यानाग्रीका केशकाली कार्या क्षेत्रा परिवर्षा ग्री समी मार्थित का चर्सर-विश्वर्भार्त्वरम् स्वीतः त्रः स्वीत्राः मिन्नः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वीतः स्वतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वीतः स्व चर्चा.ची.स.श्रुचीयात्रा.जि.चु.सं.यद्वर-रेश.चीश्रंत्रा.च्ये.प्राचित्र-चर्ड्ड.चीश्र्चा.रे.चर्डिश. वसाम्बर्भन्यान्दरस्याम्बर्भन्याः वस्त्रम्याः स्त्रुन्यस्त्रम्याः स्त्रुन्यस्त्रम्यते स्त्रुन्यस्त्रम्यते स्त्र र्श्वेलःश्चेत्रभ्रम्भः अरुवः स्वः स्वः स्वर्धः स्वरः स्वः स्वः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः योषु.जम.उच्य.वे.के.ब्रे्स.ब्रें. न.इमम.धमराजुर.क्रे.मवी.मवी.र.वे.वारीटश.वुटा मोंबरालराच्याय क्रिंट क्री संश्वास राम संशक्ष क्रीश वर्षो चयु हुय दि योराल योरावरील क्री शयी रादी शा बुवा. योश्चेरश्र.त.जयोश.वेर.। र्जयाश्च क्षेट्र आदे. खेयां शत्या तारा भी सन् आता है अ. प्रे. प्राची र श्वी र श्वी क्रें.धे.ब्र. २८. अध्यामा इट. ब्रॅट श्रेव र्.स. अयाया है. व्यापा विषय विषय है. 7bशुमानु तनु व्यालीया कर्मा वर्षेत्र पार्वे ह्या वर्षेत्र स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य श्रुवाञ्चापन्यावनुदान्त्रम्य विषावनीय। द्रायक्ष्यावतेयाक्ष्यात्रम्यावन्यात्रम्यात्रम्यात्रम्यात्रम्यात्रम्यात्

क्चिता.स्.ज.ट.कु.रेटा वर्श्वेश्च्या.त.ट.वर्श्वेश.ता.स्योबाताय.सर्वे.सर्वो.स.स्वा.वे.शुर्या.चार्बेश्चायार्थेटका.स. योखरालटाइ.ला.खेरारेप्रां श.कृयो.लयरा.(लय.)ग्री.झूँराशो सँट.श.सूरे. অমাধ্য-প্রহ-1 इ.स्.संट.त.ज.श्योश.तपु.चगोप.कैंटे.ग्री.चीय.स्य.प्र्या.श.४श्व.ग्रीश.४श्व.ध्योश.श्यीय.दी. र्यश्चर्र्जायदुःश्चरीर्वे जाजासीलाः बैटः भुषे जशानुदायदे अगीर्वे जाजाः भूवायाः विदाय चम्चःमदुःह्र्यःचोश्चरमःस्वामःबुहः। ५:२ग्रमःस्यामःस्र्यामःचरुर-दरःचरमःमुःद्विह्मःचीहर्म्सूरः चीय. मृतः मृतः मृतः मृत्राचा मित्राचा मित्राचा मित्राचा मित्राची म ५.जर भैपन्य.शे.प्रप.तपु.पोशिर.भधीर। धूँश.कुरे.ईशन्य.ग्री.ग्रीर.ईगेपोन्य.गुज.पपु.गुर.(शुर.)यी मूर् र्झर पर अवाश मुन्न स्वार प्रमाण वर्षेत्र स्वार स्वार स्वर्ष स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स्व भ्रु-१: स्वर्यं स्त्रां स्त्रां प्राप्त स्वर्धे स्त्रां स्त्रां स्त्रां स्त्रां स्त्रां स्त्रां स्त्रां स्त्रा रम्रिकार्रेया यार्यमास्रवास्रिकार्ययार्स्स्वायाः स्त्रीयाम्रिकायमास्रम्भारेस्यायाः ्रभृते: चुर-वेर-वर्श्वमायवे: क्रोक्तेमा र्वा-विम्यम्थः प्रवेन्द्रम्यः विष्टेन्यः विष्टेन्यः विष्टेन्यः विष्टेन चर्या विश्व त्या द्वीरश्व स्वाश्व प्राश्चर पर्वेश इस स्वर प्राप्त स्वर हिना स्वर स्वर स्वर स्वर स्वर स्वर स्वर योष्ठाः योद्याः निर्मुषः स्त्रीतः (क्षेत्रः) द्वेतः स्त्रीयः त्या स्वरुषः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः वि নীম'নামুৎমা यरियः व स्थान्युवार्षेवान्त्रीः कुत्यार्थे वदेशिका स्थान स्थान्या के वर्षे व स्थान्य विकास स्थान दशन्त्राचाशुर्यायम्यान्तः विशासस्यस्य स्थान् हेः वर्ड्दास्री त्याते सम्बन्धान स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थान 8a रतता. ह. पर्श्वर शु. ता. चाबर. (चबर.) त. ह्रे. हु . बुश्रा शक्ष्य हे. झे. क्षेर्य त्याचीशा तटु. हे. दे. यो. कुरात्रा प्रीका विशेषा विशेषा

र्नोशन्त्रेर्(केर्)मरःमेध्रियम्बर्धरश्यन्त्रेर्यस्त्रेश् गट.र्-गशुरश्य:४:५८:। र्धराद्यायाः वित्राचीः क्रीराधेदाद्या विद्यायाः विद्यायः विद्यायाः विद्यायाः विद्यायः **नर्गेश** बुर्-(कर्-)३५:हुर-वाशुर्-भन्। योर-वर्वः च्रानाः श्रेष-श्रेर-श्रेर-थाः श्रेवाशः है। दर्वे वः रेवाशः दुवा दे.लट. इ. चर्रुक् यु. त. रका या दे के दा हु या या त. ह्यू वा खेर रहे के दिया प्रवर. বাশ্বদেশ:মহাব্র:দ্রী ल.भूषा.री.मूर्य.तालमा जुर.चयु.चया.ल.धियामा.(धिया.)मूर.क्रे.ख्यातामय.कर.रेतायाखिर.ह.कें.य. क्षेट.चवे.ऱ्रेम्बाराय.वर्ष्ट्रश्र.माल्य.श्रम्याट.जुय.३८.। याट.चया.२८.मायशा यलेंद्र यहेंद्र रम्ब्रामा देशका स्याका तका ही र (रहीरा) वका जुबा तका ही देश हुर यो वका सैचका र र वक्का वका |चर्चा:वृक्ष:श्रुंब:ताम:दर:चरुका:बका:दविरका:ग्री:तह्या:वश्चर:(भ्रह्या:र्सूद:)भःद्रो दविरका:मर्स्ट:पर वर्येत.ज्.सं.सं.म.२ग्रंथ.सक्ता.योश्वेता ।सं.स्याक्षाका.सं.स्या.क्या.रतव.स्यात्य.वर्म्यु.स्याका मिन्ने न्या कर् संवा अर्थोद्या सर्वोद्या स्थिता निवा सामिया नु निवास स्थिता स्था सामिया निवास स्थिता स्था सामिया निवास स्था सामिया स्था सामिया ात्युकान्दरः देः चल्चेत्रात्वर्षेत्राकाः विवाहः क्रों क्षेत्रस्थः (देदः) आ श्रुवाकान्वोकायमः आर्देन् छवा विदेसः चर्षियात्राः स्रोताः स्रेत्रः इस्रात्रा । वार्याः वीत्राः यद्भिः निः दिः दिः विद्वाः विद्याः व য়য়য়৾য়ৣয়য়ড়য়ড়৾য় ৼয়য়য়য়য়য়য়য়ৣয়য়য়ড়ৢয় क्र्यासूर नशुरुषाया য়য়য়৾য়ৣয়য়ৣয়য়ড়৾য় য়ঽয়৻য়য়য়য়য় 8b বশ্বমান্ত্রনান্ত্রমান্ত ब्रैगःब्रॅरः रगेःब्रुनः ब्र्र्वेरः नवेरः नगःविषः विषाः विषाः विषाः ब्र्रेनः क्रेषः तश्वरः (धश्वरः) तश्वरः विषाः विषाः विषाः विषाः विषाः चर्या.वेश.श्र.वचीर.चधेर.तर.व्या द्.जयोश.श्र्याशरश.(शर.)र.मिज.ह्यु.क्षेर.क्षेर (हुटः)म् र्ह्मेन् र्धेश्वाचम् स्रीत्वर्ह्येया मन्यायत्वस्यायार्वे स्रवीहेन् स्वन्त्वस्यायार्वस्यायार्वे स्वतिहास्यान्ति ।

म् अः में राया स्थाया में अर्ग में स्थाय योटीर.तक्ष्यानुष्यानुष्यानुष्यान्यत्ते स्वायत्ते स्वायत् स्यायत् स्वायत् स्वायत् स्वायत् स्वायत् स्वायत् स्वायत् स्वायत् स्य श्चेय.(याक्षेय.)अ.इ.ह्यूरे.वर्ष्याशासय.ल्.चीरा धै.श.जायहजा.(शहजा)यय.सैया.हेया मूर्याका.र्टर.यहका.यदु.भुँका.यो.(य.)। कैं.यर.अष्ट्र्ट.ध्रेथ.यहका.यदु.अष्ट्र्ट.ह्रका मैका.यशका. भूर्ययुःलट.ब्र्टा के.र्यःभूलाययुःची.ह्या क्विलात्त्वा.खे.ययुःखे.हेयः(ध्रेयः)। चर्ष्या.तयु.क्रे.म्री र्येज.म्.ज.ययेर.तयु.म्.योरम् त्यर.प.(त.)स्या.(ह्यो.)त.रर.यसेर.ग्रीस. ५५.सयु.चीश्रात्रदेवश्वचत्रीश्वश्व। योष्टश्वासीश्वश्वात्रस्थःप्रदुर्वःस्यात्रीयःसा मुॅर में पर्रेया म्यापय दर महरू में इस में इस में इस में मार्य के मार्थ के मार्य के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्य के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्थ के मार्य के मार्य के मार्य के मार्थ के मार्य के रत्तर.म्.शावर.पर्मे.पर्.यपु.पर्यु.प्रमुशावर.। ट्रा.सूर.प्रवाशाव.वर्षेयाशावपु.सू.योषशा चर्मसामान्द्राहर मीराययेया मद्रीमान्द्री वर्षे मान्द्री विश्व महास्त्री स्वर्थ । ईल.**उ**ष्ट्रेर.त.ईशश.जा (यार्श्रवाः)भरः न्याः सर्हनः वर्षेत्रः लेशः श्रम्भ। स्राः स्रिः स्रोः स्रिंग्यः 9a सर्श्रवाः (यार्श्रवाः)भीकः चरातर्युतातर्ष्यू. तर्वेष. (शर्वेष.) वर्धिरः श्र्याना मी. कु. य. तेया. जुराता दर्गाता े ब्रिकासाम्यार पुराप्त प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य इ.स.च्याचार प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य प्रमुखास्य ह्या.स.कृष.सुंदु.क्ष्र्य.मुं.पर्युल.य.य.विषा.हुर। दम्.यी.य.र.यी.य.ल.यस्येल.यदु.ह्ययश. चतः श्रे. यूर्यः यू बुटा। तस्यान्दरापुन, प्रमानकावानिकायमें प्रायमें निष्यो के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वापत स्व क्षेत्रा कुः श्रांसमा मो त्यंद्रे क्षेत्र च्चात्र वेदारं श्रांत्रा र्यः वित्र क्षेत्र वित्र वित्र क्षेत्र च्या

ष्ट्रियोश.ह्र्योश.स्र्रीय-वेट.स्रे.योशेश.क्षेट.क्य.त्या । शू.क्रं.जू॥ वे.सर्डे॥ वेहे॥ त्रिहे॥ त्रिह्माश.ह्याश.स्र्रीय-वेट.स्रे.योशेश.क्षेट्य.त्या । विद्रायस्रीयश.ये.यो.यश.श्रायद.श्रेश.वर्ज्ञ्या.क्षेट्य.त्या.क्ष्रा.वेश्याच्या.ह्या.वर्ष्य.वर्ष्या.वर्ष्य.वर्य.वर्ष्य.वर्य.वर्ष्य.वर्य.वर्ष्य.वर्य.वर्ष्य.वर्य.वर्य.वर्ष्य.वर्ष्य.वर्ष्य.वर्ष्य.वर्ष्य

Appendix 2

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Appendix 3

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