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**Sorcerer of the Iron Castle:
The Life of Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas,
the First Brag dkar sngags rams pa of A mdo
(c. 1647-1726)**

Bryan J. Cuevas
(Florida State University)

he period between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a momentous one in Tibetan history, witnessing among other consequential movements the surge of Dge lugs pa power throughout the whole of Tibet. In A mdo specifically (those northeastern areas of Tibet that are now in Qinghai, Gansu, and northern Sichuan), it was also a period dominated by native-born A mdo monks who spent time in central Tibet training in some of the most celebrated Dge lugs pa institutions in and around Lhasa, later to return home to establish their own important monasteries and religious centers.¹ This was, of course, the story of the foundation of Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil (est. 1709),² as well as many other major Dge lugs pa monasteries in A mdo that maintained strong ties to central Tibet. The stories of those institutions and the lives of the monks who founded them are generally well-known and have received abundant attention by scholars in our field. Less well-known is the story of the figure I want to introduce here, Brag dkar sngags rams pa Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas. His life, for the most part, fits the basic pattern of this historical period, although the main institution he founded in the early eighteenth century, called Me long brag dkar in the northern A mdo province of Khri ka (Ch. Guide), certainly never rose to the illustrious stature of a Bla brang, or Dgon lung, or Sku 'bum.³ But his eventful activities in central Tibet at the end of the seventeenth century, the contacts he made there, and his ties at home to some of A mdo's most prominent personalities and institutions makes his story worth telling. At the very least, such is the viewpoint of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's eighteenth-century biographer.

¹ On this as a characteristic pattern in the periodization of A mdo's history from roughly 1673 to 1709, see Tuttle 2012: 137-138.

² Nietupski 2011.

³ For the history of Dgon lung, see Sullivan 2013; on Sku 'bum, see Karsten 1996.

[1] *The Biography of Brag dkar sngags rams pa*

We now have available to us a short biography of Brag dkar sngags rams pa in 11 folios, which is included in a collection of his writings preserved in a two-volume set of blockprints edited and produced in 1990 at Rong bo dgon chen, scans of which have only recently been published online at the TBRC.⁴ The biography is entitled *Drops of Nectar Nourishing the Faith of Devoted Disciples: The Life of the Supreme Lord of Siddhas Brag dkar Rin po che, [from] the Lama's Own Words (Grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa brag dkar rin po che'i rnam thar bla ma nyid kyi gsung sgros dad ldan gdul bya'i dad pa'i gso byed bdud rtsi'i zegs ma)*.⁵ By the literary standards of traditional Tibetan Buddhist hagiography, the text is a rather ordinary and fairly modest piece of sacred biography. As is typical, it promotes Brag dkar sngags rams pa as a virtuous Buddhist monk and powerfully effective tantric master. In particular, the text is persistent in what appears to be one of its primary goals: to demonstrate Brag dkar sngags rams pa's special relationship to Vajrabhairava, his personal chosen deity (*yi dam*), and to the fearsome protectors Gshin rje Chos kyi rgyal po (Yama Dharmarāja) and Dpal ldan lha mo, in her wrathful form as Dmag zor rgyal mo. I will say more about his special relationship to Vajrabhairava and the rituals associated with this deity in the next section. But first a few additional details about the biography itself.

Stylistically, the text is an interesting patchwork of biographical and autobiographical narrative vignettes in a mix of voices, somewhat loosely organized, and semi-chronological, but with no specific dates provided. Consequently, the dates I have come up with were calculated from the few precise dates recorded in the colophons of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's own works and by corroborating various events and individuals mentioned in the biography with information that is more securely established in the historical record. Nonetheless, all my dates remain tentative. The text appears to be have been compiled from the author's personal conversations with the subject, as well as Brag dkar sngags rams pa's own recollections, notes, and letters. The colophon indicates that the text's author was the monk Drung yig pa Blo bzang rgya mtsho. This is an individual who would later rise to become the fourteenth abbot

⁴ *Brag dkar gsung 'bum*. For a table of contents see Appendix 3 below. According to the publisher's *par byang*, the collection was compiled from original texts procured in 1949 from the holdings at Me long brag dkar.

⁵ *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *ga*. A translation of the biography is given below in Appendix 1; a transcription of the Tibetan is reproduced in Appendix 2. I am grateful to Cameron Foltz, Roland Mullins, and Tracy Stilerman for their valuable insights and observations on the text and translation of this work.

of the Tantric College (*rgyud grwa*) at Rong bo.⁶ The project was supported by Mkhan chen Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1679-1765), who at the time was the sitting abbot of Rong bo dgon chen.⁷ This would mean the biography was most likely written sometime between the years 1732 and 1735, just a few years after Brag dkar sngags rams pa's death in c. 1726. Alternatively, it could have been written a bit later, between 1755 and 1759, during the tenure of Dge 'dun rgya mtsho's second term as abbot of the monastery. But, given the evidence, I find the later dates less compelling.

I have included a translation of the entire biography in Appendix 1, but here in this introduction I would like to highlight three historical events that are alluded to or mentioned directly in the text, and that I hope will contribute something valuable to the history of A mdo in general, but more specifically, to the neglected stories of significant individuals and institutions in this region that have yet to be duly explored.

Brag dkar sngags rams pa, as one might expect, was born in Brag dkar, a small village in Reb kong (Ch. Tongren) just north of Rong bo, likely in the year 1647.⁸ At the age of thirteen he took his novice

⁶ See *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 378-379. No dates are given for him, but note that his predecessor, the thirteenth throne-holder of Rong bo Rgyud grwa, was Mkhar gong Sangs rgyas tshang who is mentioned by name in the biography (*Brag dkar rnam thar*, 47.4-48.2). The twelfth throne-holder Dge 'dun mkhas grub (1742-1811) assumed office in the iron-bird year 1780 and served in that post for several years. His predecessor, the eleventh throne-holder, was Dge 'dun mkhyen rab (1736-1815), who in 1781 was appointed the seventeenth abbot of Rong bo dgon chen. Drung yig Blo bzang rgya mtsho was a student of the famous Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1728-1791). Among Drung yig pa's own students are listed Skyabs mchog rin po che, Mkhan chen Don yod rgya mtsho (1778/79-1825, nineteenth abbot of Rong bo), our own Brag dkar sngags rams pa, [Bis pa Ngag dbang] Mi pham zla ba (1767-1807, seventeenth throne-holder of Rong bo Rgyud grwa), Rje Dge 'dun mkhas grub (1742-1811), A khyung Ngag dbang mkhyen rab, Sku mche Rdo rje 'chang Bsod nams rgya mtsho, and Rje Dge 'dun mkhyen rab (1736-1815). Drung yig pa's successor, the fifteenth throne-holder of Rong bo Rgyud grwa, was Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (d. 1808), who would be recognized as the first reincarnation of Brag dkar sngags rams pa and hence the First Brag dkar sprul sku (see below).

⁷ This is Klu 'bum Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, who twice served as abbot of Rong bo dgon chen, as the ninth (appointed in 1732) and as the twelfth two decades later (r. 1755-1759), serving a grand total of seven years (*Rong bo gdan rabs*, 206-210 and 214; also *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 312-315). He was a student of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648-1722), with whom he began studying in 1704. He left central Tibet and returned to A mdo in 1722. The biography of Brag dkar sngags rams pa was probably composed during Dge 'dun rgya mtsho's first stint as abbot, when Drung yig Blo bzang rgya mtsho was still a junior monk.

⁸ One recent summary of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's life by Dge 'dun dpal bzang (2007: 261-265) gives his birthdate as 1653. The date is plausible but, in my

vows at the hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil and became one of many students there of the renowned Shar Skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607-1677), the visionary songsmith and Dge lugs pa reformer of Rong bo.⁹ It has been well-documented that throughout Skal ldan rgya mtsho's illustrious career as monastic leader of Rong bo, he worked diligently to expand Dge lugs pa influence among the Khoshud Mongols and Tibetans in northern A mdo and was profoundly successful in that endeavor. By the time the young Brag dkar rin po che had entered Bkra shis 'khyil under Skal ldan rgya mtsho's tutelage, the elder leader had begun to pull back from his official duties and soon retired from his post at Rong bo to spend his remaining years at the remote hermitage he had founded two

opinion, seems a few years too late, especially given certain other events that are alluded to in the original text whose dates are more secure, e.g. the turmoils at Bya khyung and its abbatial succession (see discussion below). The discrepancy appears, in part, to have been the result of a misreading of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's age in the original blockprint on fol. 34.1, where clearly it says he studied under Skal ldan rgya mtsho at Bkra shis 'khyil until he was 29 years old (*lo nyer dgu*), which by my rendering would have been in the year c. 1676/77. Dge 'dun dpal bzang (2007: 262), however, gives his age incorrectly here as 24 (*dgung lo nyer bzhi*). According to the 1653 birthdate proposed by Dge 'dun dpal bzang, this too would have been around 1676/77. So the year is more or less accurate, but the age is mistaken. I suspect this misreading may be the reason the rest of Dge 'dun dpal bzang's dates in his summary are off by five or six years. With that in mind, note also that he gives 1729 as the year of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's death. This is more difficult to verify, or to dispute, and is thus a slightly more reasonable date to accept, at least tentatively. However, I still suggest an earlier date of 1726, which is the year a small set of prayers and supplications to Brag dkar sngags rams pa was compiled by his student and friend, the Fifth Stong 'khor Bsod nam rgya mtsho (1684-1752) at the behest of one Sngags rams pa Dpal ldan rgya mtsho (see *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *nga*). It is reasonable to presume that these prayers could have been written in memoriam to the lama shortly after his death. For what it is worth, the last of the dated texts authored personally by Brag dkar sngags rams pa and contained in his *Gsung 'bum* was completed in the first month of the earth-pig year 1719 (see *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *pha*).

⁹ A brief account of the life of Skal ldan rgya mtsho can be found in *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 305-308. For a detailed study of his life and songs in English, see Sujata 2005. The hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil was founded by Skal ldan rgya mtsho in 1648. On its early history and later developments, see *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 402-423. According to Sujata (2005: 372), in the time of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, the congregation hall was called Bka' gdam pho brang, where "instruction in both scriptures and rituals evoking protective deities, initiations, textual transmissions and tantric rituals was given to mountain hermits, and practices such as year-long retreats and month-long retreats were established for them. The number of mountain hermits studying there increased, later reaching as many as two hundred." The hermitage was Skal ldan rgya mtsho's primary residence for the last seven years of his life, which for the most part is the period described at the start of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's biography.

decades earlier in 1648. It was during these years, and in this setting at Bkra shis 'khyil, that Brag dkar sngags rams pa became a fully ordained monk and received from Skal ldan rgya mtsho his initial religious training. He would remain at Bkra shis 'khyil with his teacher until he was thirty years old, which I surmise was likely the year of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's death in 1677 or shortly before.

[2] *Lhasa and the Great Iron Castle*

At the age of thirty (c. 1677), following the directives of his teacher, Brag dkar sngags rams pa traveled to Lhasa and took up residence in the famous Tantric College of Rgyud smad,¹⁰ and for the next nine years he furthered his education in the tantras and practices of the distinctive Dge lugs pa triumvirate: Guhyasamāja, Cakrasamvara, and Vajrabhairava, under the leadership of the twenty-seventh abbot of Rgyud smad, Ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho (1635-1688), who in 1682 would rise to become the forty-fourth Dga' ldan khri pa (r. 1682-1685).¹¹ The biography, in fact, identifies him by his official title Khri Rin po che. Incidentally, Ngag dbang blo gros originally hailed from Klu 'bum in A mdo and was also the teacher of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648-1722) and the Second Lcang skya Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan (1642-1714), both of whom make a brief appearance in our text.¹²

In describing Brag dkar sngags rams pa's activities in central Tibet, the biography focuses mainly on establishing his special affinity with Vajrabhairava and, in turn, his intimate familiarity with the teachings of Rwa lo tsā ba Rdo rje grags, the infamous eleventh-

¹⁰ Rgyud smad grwa tshang was established in 1433 by Tsong kha pa's disciple Rje Shes rab seng ge (1382-1445) in the southern district of Lhasa known as Nor 'dzin rgyal mtshan (later moving north of the city to the Lcang lo can). It is, of course, one of the two main Tantric Colleges of the Dge lug pa tradition and has enjoyed historical ties with the Tantric Colleges of Se ra and 'Bras spungs monasteries. For a concise history of the institution and a list of its early abbots, see Lodrö 1974: 287-292.

¹¹ Brief sketches of Khri chen Ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho's life and career can be found in *Dga' ldan chos 'byung*, 93; *'jigs byed chos 'byung* v2: 399-405; *'Bras spungs sgo mang chos 'byung* v1: 52-57; *Hor gyi chos 'byung* v1: 226-229. Dates for his tenure as abbot of Rgyud smad are not given, but he must have stepped down from his position around 1680, which is the year his successor Bsam blo Sbyin pa rgya mtsho (1629-1695) assumed the office.

¹² It may be significant to add here that Khri chen Ngag dbang blo gros and his two students, Lcang skya and 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, were holders of the special Sras rgyud lineage of Vajrabhairava transmissions in the Dge lugs pa tradition. See *'jigs mdzad zhal lung*, 7a.6-8a.2 (513-515). For a history of the Sras rgyud tradition in English, see Champa 1999.

century translator and promoter in Tibet of the tantras and fierce rites of Vajrabhairava. The biography only hints at this, but in other sources, such as Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas's *Oceanic Book* (*Deb ther rgya mtsho*) written in 1865, Brag dkar sngags rams pa is explicitly identified as the reincarnation of Rwa lo tsā ba.¹³ This is also confirmed in one of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's own compositions, in which he refers to himself as "Rwa chen gnyis pa," the second Great Rwa.¹⁴ If we browse the records, we find that the first Rwa lo incarnate (in A mdo at least) was a figure by the name of Blo bzang bsam grub (d. 1708), a contemporary of Brag dkar sngags rams pa and the twenty-sixth abbot of Bya khyung monastery. He was born in central Tibet at Rgya mkhar phu in Gtsang and assumed the abbatial throne in the year 1696.¹⁵

¹³ *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 319.

¹⁴ *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v2, text *khi*: 209.3. Here in the colophon it is also stated that Brag dkar sngags rams pa compiled this text from the authorized words of Rje btsun Tshar pa *yab sras*, which he described as an "account of the advent of the deities and *dākinīs*'s portents of unrest" (*lha dang mkha' 'gro'i 'tshub cha byung ba'i lo rgyus*). Tshar pa *yab sras* is a reference to the celebrated Sa skya duo of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1567) and his principal disciple 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug (1524-1568). Both were leading patriarchs in the sixteenth century of the Eastern Rwa tradition (*rwa shar lugs*) of Vajrabhairava. See Cuevas 2015b: 73-75. A transmission lineage is provided earlier in the text (*ibid.*, 182) as follows: Grub chen Padmavajra, Bla ma Bal po Bha ro, Rwa che Rdo rje grags, Rwa Chos rab, Rwa Ye shes seng ge, Rwa 'Bum seng, Rwa Dharma seng ge, Rwa Dkon mchog seng ge, Rwa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, Rgyal [Rgya] ston Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan, Rgya ston Kun dga' brtson 'grus, Mkhas grub Brtson 'grus byang chu, Bshes gnyen Kun dga' rgyal po, Bla ma dbus stod pa Yon tan chos rin, Yer ba Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan, Grub chen Chos skyong rgyal mtshan, Bla chen Yon tan rgya mtsho, Rdo rje 'chang [Tshar chen] Blo gsal rgya mtsho, 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug, Grub mchog Bsod nams chos 'phel, Mkhas grub Ngag dbang chos grags, Dgon gsar ba 'Jam dbyangs bstan 'dzin, and *drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma* [=Shar Skal ldan rgya mtsho].

¹⁵ *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 137-140. It would appear that a number of disparate individuals over the centuries, in different regions of Tibet and belonging to diverse sectarian lineages, have been identified as reincarnations of the notorious Rwa lo tsā ba. To cite just two examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there is Rgya ston Kun dga' brtson 'grus (named in the lineage listed in the previous note), who is acknowledged to have been the fourth Rwa lo incarnate in no less a source than the *Rwa lo rnam thar* itself (p. 308; trans. Cuevas 2015a: 277). His standing in this regard is uniquely accepted also among certain Sa skya historians, such as 'Jam mgon A myes zhabs (1597-1659; see Cuevas 2015b: 74). In view of the discussion that follows, it is also worth noting that Tāranātha (1575-1634) identifies Kun dga' brtson 'grus and his father, Ru mtshams kyi [r]gya Dbang phyug grags pa [=Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan], as first patriarchs of what he calls the "Rwa Iron Castle" lineage (*rwa lcags mkhar ba*) issuing forth from Rwa 'Bum seng (see *Gshin rje gshed chos 'byung*, 114.3-4). As for other Rwa incarnations, there is also Dge ba rgyal mtshan (1387-1462), third

In line with this special identification with Rwa lo tsā ba, the biography describes in some detail a noteworthy event that occurred during Brag dkar sngags rams pa's tenure at Rgyud smad. The text relates that an official order had come down from the then acting Regent, Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705), requesting the skills of a tantric specialist familiar with the unique Dge lugs pa rites of the so-called "Great Iron Castle" (*lcags mkhar chen mo*). Brag dkar sngags rams pa, of course, was the one chosen for this task and the text describes the elaborate preparations he undertook to perform the rite, as well as the various dreams and omens that forecast his success.¹⁶

The Sde srid's official decree stated that these rites were to be deployed against the 'Brug pa, by which we must assume were meant certain followers of the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud. Where these followers were located and under what circumstances and why they were to be ritually attacked is not mentioned in the text. However, if we consider the approximate timing of the Regent's decree, which was issued at some point during Brag dkar sngags rams pa's residence in central Tibet, between the years c. 1677 and c. 1686, and if we also link this to what we already know about the historical events of the period, then I would suggest that this is likely an oblique reference to the war of 1679-1683 between the Dge lugs pa government in Lhasa and allies of the 'Brug pa in Ladakh. Shortly after Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho became Regent in the summer of 1679, the Dga' ldan pho brang and its Khoshud Mongolian allies, with the approval of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), had begun to launch a war against Ladakh. Historians sympathetic to the Dge lugs pa explain that this was a justified response to unprovoked harassments from the Ladakhis, who were largely 'Brug pa adherents. The Ladakhi ruler was accused also of having sided with the Bhutanese in the previous war of 1675-1679.¹⁷ In early 1680, the sources tell us, Ladhaki troops surrendered to the Tibetans and their

abbot of 'Phan po Na lendra (r. 1459-1462; see Jackson 1989: 10-11) who is identified in the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Thob yig* (v1: 275.3 and 298.3) as the second Rwa lo (*rwa lo gnyis pa*)—just like Brag dkar sngags rams pa two centuries later (!). It is clear from these few examples that an official line of Rwa lo *sprul skus* was never formally coordinated among the various Gsar ma schools. Moreover, to my knowledge, such a line was never granted an institutional foundation anywhere in Tibet.

¹⁶ *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 35.3-37.2.

¹⁷ On the war with Ladakh from 1679-1683, see Petech 1977: 70-77 and 1990: 19-44. On the earlier war of 1675-1679 with Bhutan, see Ardussi 1999: 65-66. See also Wangdue 2012 v1: 140-141. A more recent assessment of the Ladakhi conflict is offered in Jinpa 2015: 113-150. Dge 'dun dpal bzang (2007: 262) misidentifies the 'Brug pa in this episode as referring to the Bhutanese (*lho 'brug pa*).

Mongolian forces without resistance, and in 1683, when the Mughals stepped in to defend the Ladhaki king, they too withdrew before a disastrous war ensued. As Luciano Petech has noted, the Tibetan sources claim that the sudden withdrawal of the Mughals, and presumably also the earlier submission of the Ladakhi troops, was the direct result of “magic tricks and witchcraft worked from the distance by the Dalai Lama”¹⁸—though more accurately this would have been executed by the Sde srid, since the Fifth Dalai Lama had already died the year before. For the Dge lugs pa at this time, these so-called “magic tricks and witchcraft” would have most certainly included the fierce rituals of Vajrabhairava, like those of the Great Iron Castle.¹⁹ And, if we accept the account provided in his biography, Brag dkar sngags rams pa was one of the Lhasa government’s chief Vajrabhairava sorcerers engaged in this hostile effort.

The Great Iron Castle is a Vajrabhairava rite following in the tradition of Rwa lo tsā ba, though the symbolism of the Iron Castle goes back much earlier, originating in the canonical cycle of the Vajrabhairava tantras themselves. In the foundational myth of Vajrabhairava’s subjugation of Yama described briefly, for example, in the *Tantra’s Legend Chapter* (*Gtam rgyud kyi rtog pa*), Yama and his minions are said to dwell in “sixteen gateless iron castles,” which Vajrabhairava trampled with his sixteen legs. The Great Iron Castle at the center he then flattened with his “*liṅgam* of single-pointed pristine wisdom,” and thereby succeeded in vanquishing the Great Māra and his demonic forces.²⁰ In the *Three Chapter Tantra* (*Rtog pa gsum*), these sixteen gateless iron castles are identified as the “city of Yama,” which according to the liturgical program outlined in this tantra is to be constructed as an impenetrable iron trap to capture and subdue the spirit of one’s enemies, human or demonic.²¹

¹⁸ Petech 1990: 34.

¹⁹ Curiously, this war of 1679-1683 in western Tibet may actually be alluded to in the biography of Rwa lo tsā ba, where it gives a brief account of Rwa lo performing the “repelling rite of the sixty-four sacrificial cakes” (*drug cu rtsa bzhi'i gtor bzlog*) to subdue the “armies of upper Hor” at Lake Manasarovar. Fittingly, the text relates that after being bombarded by these *gtor ma* missiles, the Hor armies surrendered without putting up a fight. See *Rwa lo rnam thar*, 135; trans. Cuevas 2015a: 124-125. On the likelihood that the *Rwa lo rnam thar* as we now have it was compiled or embellished by certain Dge lugs pa sympathizers in the late seventeenth century, see Cuevas 2015b: 71-76.

²⁰ Siklós 1996: 137: *mi bzad zhabs ni bcu drug gis / lcags mkhar sgo med bcu drug brdzis / ye shes rtse gcig mtshan ma yis / dbus kyi lcags mkhar chen po brdzis / de tshe baud chen las rgyal nas.*

²¹ Siklós 1996: 140: *sgo med lcags mkhar bcu drug bya / 'di ni gshin rje'i grong khyer ste / srid pa gsum gyi 'jug pa yin.* This city is then described as follows: *de yi phyi rim mu*

A version of this ritual of the Great Iron Castle is to be found in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's *Gsung 'bum*, in a text entitled *Emissary of Violent Action: A Supplement to "The Magical Device of Blazing Weapons that Ends the Life of Vow-Breakers: An Exposition on the Sixty Great Gtor mas."* (*Gtor chen drug cu pa'i rnam bzhag dam nyams kyi srog gcod mtshon cha 'bar ba'i 'phrul 'khor zhes bya ba'i zur 'debs 'phrin las drag po'i pho nya*).²² The colophon states that Brag dkar sngags rams pa composed the text in the tenth month of the wood-bird year 1684 at Chu lam sding gsum in the Stod lung valley south of Lhasa. The date of the text, therefore, corresponds roughly to the timing of the episode described here in the biography, just a year or so after the fact. As the title indicates, Brag dkar sngags rams pa's text is a supplement to an earlier work; a text composed by the Fourth Pañchen Lama Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570-1662). The Pañchen's work was inspired by a much earlier set of root verses simply called *Drug cu pa*, "The Sixty," that were written by Tsong kha pa's disciple Zhwa lu pa Legs pa rgyal mtshan (1375-1450), the Fourth Dga' ldan khri pa.²³ I should add here that the Pañchen Lama's text was sealed in secrecy and is thus excluded from all modern editions of his *Gsung 'bum*, but in its place Zhwa lu pa's root verses are usually included.²⁴ In more recent times, the Great Iron Castle rites were again the subject of a few works by the Tenth Pañchen Lama Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1938-1989), and these by contrast are readily available in the various editions of his own *Gsung 'bum*.²⁵

khyud gsum / kun tu lcags ris bskor ba ste / mu khyud de dag re re la / khang pa sum cu gnyis dang ldan.

²² Brag dkar *gsung 'bum* v2, text *ci*. As a testament to the enduring value of this text and the ritual it describes, note that the work is included among a collection of common liturgies practiced in exile by the monks of Rgyud smad in contemporary South India. In the *Dkar chag*, however, Brag dkar sngags rams pa is not mentioned as the author of the work. See *Smad rgyud chos spyod* v2: 349-399.

²³ The Fourth Pañchen Lama had received the transmission of these root verses from his teacher Dben sa pa Sangs rgyas ye shes (1525-1590/91). See *Thob yig* v1: 315.6-316.2; note also *Dukūla I*, 196 (trans. Karmay 2014: 150), where in the midst of war between Dbus and Gtsang in 1640, the Fifth Dalai Lama, upon being requested to perform hostile rites, mentions having received the *Drug cu pa* from the Pañchen Lama.

²⁴ See *Drug cu pa'i rtsa tshig zha lu pa chen pos mdzad pa* in *Pañchen Lama IV(a)* v2: 885-889; also *Pañchen Lama IV(b)* v2: 638-640. The *Dkar chag* of the former edition (v2: 3.3-4.1) gives a list of sealed works (*bka' rgya*) that have been excluded from the collection; the *Gtor chen drug cu pa'i rnam bzhag dam nyams kyi srog gcod mtshon cha 'bar ba'i 'phrul 'khor* is the sixth title in the list.

²⁵ Titles include *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi gtor chen drug cu pa'i rnam gzhang dam nyams kyi srog gcod mtshon cha 'bar ba'i 'phrul 'khor bka' rgya can sngags khang dus gtor mdzad pa bzhin nag po 'gro shes su bris pa* in *Pañchen Lama X(b)*: 128-171; *Lcags mkhar mtshon cha 'bar ba'i 'phrul 'khor gyi sngon 'gro bkras lhun rgyud grwa'i phyag*

[3] *Founding of Me long brag dkar*

Brag dkar sngags rams pa left central Tibet and returned to A mdo in c. 1686, residing for a number of years again at the hermitage of Bkra shis 'khil. Later, having moved north to Khri ka, he founded his own modest hermitage, called Me long brag dkar, known today simply as Me long dgon (Ch. Meilong si).²⁶ The biography indicates that he established this institution at the behest of many faithful disciples, including the Mongolian overlord Baatur Taiji. This was Dalai Khung-Taiji Dashi-Baatur (1632-1714), the youngest son of Gūūshi Khan (1582-1655), who at that time was chief of the Kōkenuur Mongols.²⁷ Much could be said about this famous Mongol chieftain and the prominent Dge lugs pa leaders he supported in those years, but suffice it say that Baatur Taiji likely did more than petition Brag dkar sngags rams pa to build his hermitage; he almost certainly secured the land for him and much of the necessary financial resources.

Nine texts in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's *Gsung 'bum* were written at Me long brag dkar. Of those that are dated in the colophons, the two earliest ones were completed in the water-sheep year 1703.²⁸ These consist of high eulogies to the institution and fumigation rites

bzhes ltar bkod pa in *Pañchen Lama X(a)* v2: 415-445 (this text concludes with a brief history of the transmission, 438.4-446.3); *Lcags mkhar mtshon cha 'bar ba'i 'phrul 'khor gyi ngag 'don zhal yig bka' rgya can* in *Pañchen Lama X(a)* v2: 447-518. Here the full name given to these rites is significant: *Lcags mkhar gtor chen drug cu pa*, which further reinforces that the *Drug cu pa* ritual and the so-called "Great Iron Castle" referred to in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's biography are one and the same. I wonder if the number "sixty" (*drug cu pa*) here might originally have been an orthographic reversal of Tibetan "sixteen" (*bcu drug pa*), which is the actual number of Yama's iron castles identified in the canonical texts.

²⁶ This monastery is known by several names: *Mkha' spyod dpal gyi gur khang*, *Kun bzang me long brag dkar*, and *Me long dgon mkha' spyod dpal gyi gur khang*. For its history, see the brief account in *Mtsho lho khul gyi dgon sde lo rgyus*, 238-251, which includes also a short biography of Brag dkar sngags rams pa (pp. 240-245) drawn almost verbatim from our present text.

²⁷ See Sullivan 2013: 134 n. 628. Atwood (2004: 574) notes that in 1697 Dalai Khung-Taiji Dashi-Baatur, along with the Kōkenuur nobility, "submitted to Kangxi in a personal audience at Xi'an, receiving rich titles and gifts." In the context of that submission, Dashi-Baatur also had official contacts with the Second Lcang skya Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan. For details, see Sullivan 2013: 133-139. The Second Lcang skya makes a brief appearance in *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 39.5-6, where it is said that he invited Brag dkar sngags rams pa to his encampment to perform a series of consecrations. On this event, see note 64 below.

²⁸ See *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *cha* and text *sha*. There are two other dated texts in the collection authored at this site: one composed in the fire-pig year 1707 (*Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *kha*) and another composed in the earth-dog year 1718 (*Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *ma*).

for subjugating the hostile local spirits of Khri ka. It is plausible, then, that Me long brag dkar was founded around the same time, in 1703 or shortly before that year. Again, in this section, the biography emphasizes Brag dkar sngags rams pa's close personal affinity with Vajrabhairava and relates that he used Me long brag dkar as a primary site for Vajrabhairava retreats.

[4] *Protecting the Abbatial Seat at Bya khyung*

The third historical episode I wish to highlight here involves Brag dkar sngags rams pa's dramatic activities at Bya khyung, one of the oldest and most renowned Dge lugs pa monasteries in A mdo, founded in 1349 by Tsong kha pa's teacher, Don grub rin chen (1309-1385).²⁹ The biography alludes to a tumultuous period in the abbatial succession of this institution between the years 1713 and 1716.³⁰ The text notes that Bya khyung was being plagued by an evil spirit and, as a result, the abbots were dying off at an untimely pace.³¹ A petition letter is said to have been sent to the Fifth Pañchen Lama Blo bzang ye shes (1663-1737), requesting that he appoint a skilled ritualist who could protect the abbatial throne and vanquish the threatening demon. A list of five candidates were offered for consideration: (1) the Third La mo zhabs drung dkar po Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1660-1728), founder of La mo bde chen monastery in A mdo,³² (2) the Fifth Stong 'khor Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1684-1752),³³ (3) the Second Chu bzang Blo bzang bstan pa

²⁹ For an extended account of the life of Don grub rin chen and his founding of the monastery, see *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 10-63.

³⁰ *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 40.3-43.6.

³¹ *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 40.4.

³² For a brief biography of the Third La mo zhabs drung dkar po, see *Bras spungs sgo mang chos 'byung* v1: 603-606. He was born in the A mdo region of Khri ka, recognized by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and later participated in the search for the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757). He founded La mo bde chen in 1682.

³³ The Fifth Stong 'khor Bsod nams rgya mtsho is mentioned frequently by name in our biography and in the colophons of several of the texts in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's *Gsung 'bum*. The two lamas appear to have been very close companions. He was born in A mdo in the region of Gcan tsha (Ch. Jianzha) and was a student of the aforementioned La mo zhabs drung dkar po, who served as his ordination preceptor. Though he remained a champion of the Dge lugs pa and an avid proponent especially of the legacy of teachings followed at Rgyud smad and Se ra smad in central Tibet, he also trained under a number of prominent Nying ma teachers. The Stong 'khor incarnation line, to which Bsod nams rgya mtsho belongs, has a peculiar history in both A mdo and Khams and is deserving of a thorough study. Short biographies of several prominent figures

(1652-1723);³⁴ (4) the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, founder of Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil;³⁵ and finally, (5) our own Brag dkar sngags rams pa. I suppose readers can guess who was chosen for the task.

The text notes that Brag dkar sngags rams pa initially refused to take the job, citing the urgent pleas of his devoted disciples from Reb kong and Khri ka who, because of his old age (he was sixty-nine at the time), worried for his safety. He was eventually persuaded and made his way to Bya khyung. The biography then recounts a bizarre series of events.³⁶ When Brag dkar sngags rams pa arrived at the monastery, he was informed that a hostile criminal who had been repeatedly plundering the premises—an emanation of a demon named Rkun po nag ral (Black-Maned Thief)—was recently apprehended and executed by an angry mob. Brag dkar sngags rams pa requested that the corpse of this criminal be flayed and dismembered and the parts brought to him. After this was done, he used the skin as a ritual mat and burned the remaining body parts as sacramental substances in a fierce *homa* rite, deploying as well the *yantras* of Vajrabhairava. According to the biography, several signs occurred indicating that the rite was successful and that the evil demon was properly bound and subjugated. Soon thereafter he witnessed “the head of a lama shoot up from below the ground and then sink back down into the earth.” Thinking that this might be a former lama of Bya khyung, he performed a ritual to liberate the restless spirit from the monastery. He was then able to establish a protection circle around the abbatial throne and peace was restored to the monastery. The biography then relates that Brag dkar sngags rams pa temporarily assumed leadership of Bya khyung, serving as abbot for one month, before appointing a more suitable candidate, a monk by the name of Ngag dbang nor bu (1688-1758), who then

in the lineage are contained in *Ming mdzod*, 769-782 (on Bsod noms rgya mtsho, see 772-773).

³⁴ On the life and career of the Second Chu bzang, see Bsod noms rgya mtsho 2001: 14-17. He was ordained under the Seventh Dalai Lama and later served as nineteenth abbot of Dgon lung from 1680 to 1687, and as the eighteenth throneholder of Sku 'bum from 1696 to 1713. Like Brag dkar sngags rams pa, his contemporary, he also enjoyed the patronage of the Kōkenuur ruler Dalai Khung-Taiji Dashi-Baatur, as well as a few other prominent Mongolian leaders. He was assassinated in 1723 by the army of Nyan kwan yo (Ch. Nian Gengyao, d. 1726) during the tragic uprising of the Mongol prince Blo bzang bstan 'dzin (1692-1755) against the Qing; on which, see note 53 below.

³⁵ Much has been written about this pivotal figure, see, for example, Maher 2006; Nietupski 2011: 17-21, *passim* and sources cited therein.

³⁶ *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 42.1-43.3.

became the thirty-first abbot of Bya khyung in c. 1716. He held that position for five years, stepping down in c. 1721.³⁷

The untimely deaths in this period of Bya khyung's sitting abbots, the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth to be precise, can be corroborated in the *Abbatial Succession of Bya khyung (Bya khyung gdan rabs)*.³⁸ That source tells us that the twenty-eighth abbot, Blo bzang bkra shis (1647-1713), assumed the throne in 1712 but died a year later.³⁹ The next in line, the twenty-ninth abbot, Ye shes rgya mtsho left his post at Bya khyung after less than a year because of inauspicious omens.⁴⁰ He must have assumed the office in 1713, shortly after the death of his predecessor. The thirtieth abbot, 'Jam dbyangs bkra shis, only served in that post for half a year before becoming deathly ill. Healing rituals were conducted but he was unable to recover. He left the monastery to convalesce at the hermitage of Stag sdong dkar po where he was to consult with one of Bya khyung's retired abbots, the twenty-fifth abbot Blo bzang chos dbyings, but along the way he died tragically after falling from his horse.⁴¹

[5] Reply to the Questions of the Fifth Stong 'khor Rin po che

At this point in the biography there occurs a small division break.⁴² In this second and final section of the text, the narrative opens with Brag dkar sngags rams pa's reply to the questions of the Fifth Stong 'khor Bsod nams rgya mtsho concerning Brag dkar rin po che's previous incarnations, the levels of spiritual realization he had achieved, and the yogic powers he had acquired.⁴³ Brag dkar sngags rams pa responds with characteristic Buddhist humility, but admits that he had been told by his teacher Skal Idan rgya mtsho and a few others close to him that he was the reincarnation of the great Indian mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya,⁴⁴ in addition to the eleventh-century Rnying ma translator and Rdzogs chen pioneer Rong zom chos kyi

³⁷ On Ngag dbang nor bu, see *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 151-155.

³⁸ *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 142-158. Note that this section also includes a brief sketch of the life of Brag skar sngags rams pa (pp. 146-151) based for the most part on our biography.

³⁹ *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 142-144.

⁴⁰ *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 144-145.

⁴¹ *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 145-146. The twenty-fifth abbot Blo bzang chos dbyings assumed the throne in 1645 (*ibid.*, 135-137).

⁴² *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 45.4.

⁴³ *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 45.4-47.2.

⁴⁴ On the life of this celebrated *caryāgīti* singer composed by Tāranātha, see Templeman 1989.

bzang po (1042-1136),⁴⁵ and more recently, in the sixteenth century, Rtses thang Byang ma pa Dpal 'byor bsod nam lhun grub (b. 1553), scion of the ancient Zur clan and thirteenth abbot of Se ra byas.⁴⁶ There is no mention here that he might also have been the reincarnation of Rwa lo tsā ba, but he does declare in his reply that Rwa lo appeared to him in a dream and entrusted him with certain unique instructions on the magical devices or *yantras* of Vajrabhairava.⁴⁷

The biography concludes with a very brief but intimate deathbed exchange between Brag dkar sngags rams pa and his student Tshis ka tshang, in which Brag dkar rin po che reports experiencing a premonition of Yama Dharmarāja pacing back and forth outside in the courtyards of Bkra shis 'khyil, waiting to take him away. He died shortly thereafter. This student of his, identified here and throughout the text as Tshis ka tshang or Tshis ka'i sngags rams pa tshang, is more widely known by the name of Lha ri sngags rams pa Blo bzang 'byung gnas (b. 1684), who in 1725 founded the monastery of Lha ri bsam gtan gling in the neighboring province of Gcan tsha (Ch. Jianzha).⁴⁸ Today, Lha ri bsam gtan gling (Ch. Lari si) is a bipartisan Rnying ma institution predominately adhering to the popular Sngags mang tradition. The monastery was originally a small mountain hermitage and in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's *Gsung 'bum*, we have his short exposition of precepts for retreatants of this site, written in the earth-ox year 1709.⁴⁹

[6] *The Incarnation Line of Brag dkar sngags rams pa*

In closing, one final comment about the *sprul sku* line that was instituted after Brag dkar sngags rams pa's death. We have very scant information about this particular line of incarnations and frustratingly little has been recorded about the lives and dates of the

⁴⁵ On Rong zom, see Almogi 2002: 67-80 and references cited therein.

⁴⁶ Biographical information on Rtses thang Byang ma pa is disappointingly sparse. A few details are provided in a short entry in Tre hor lha rams pa 2009 v1: 286. There he is said to have been a teacher of 'Khon ston Dpal 'byor lhun grub (1561-1637), the early mentor of the Fifth Dalai Lama who had been the first to initiate him into the teachings of Rdzogs chen.

⁴⁷ *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 46.2-4.

⁴⁸ On the life of Blo bzang 'byung gnas and his founding of Lha ri bsam gtan gling, see Blo bzang dar rgyas 2010: 208-243 (pp. 220-222 in this section of the work is quoted almost verbatim from Brag dkar sngags rams pa's biography).

⁴⁹ *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *ra*. An updated contemporary manual is reproduced in Blo bzang dar rgyas 2010: 632-645, entitled *Lha ri'i ri khrod pa rnam kyī bca' khrims legs lam gsal ba'i sgron me*.

individuals in the series. What we do know is that the first two incarnates were seated at Rong bo monastery, where they each held institutional positions of the highest rank. We also know that from the mid-eighteenth century until the present day there have been seven of them total.

In the beginning, the first to be recognized as the rebirth of Brag dkar sngags rams pa was Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (d. 1808). During the course of his life, he held the abbatial seat of all three of Rong bo's main colleges. He was the fifteenth throne-holder of Rong bo's Tantric College, the sixth throne-holder of the Kālacakra College (*dus grwa*), and at the very end of his life, in 1807, he became the twenty-third abbot of Rong bo dgon chen.⁵⁰ He died the next year. The second incarnation was Don yod bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, who served as thirteenth throne-holder of the Kālacakra College, but died young, around the age of forty.⁵¹ I have not been able to locate the identities of the next several in the lineage, but the seventh and current Brags dkar sngags rams pa *sprul sku*, who to my knowledge is still with us, is 'Jigs med bstan pa rab rgyas (b. 1937). There is a short biography of him in a recent gazetteer of the Kōkenuur region.⁵² That source states that at the time this survey was published in 1996, 'Jigs med bstan pa rab rgyas was presiding lama (*bdag skyong*) of the monasteries of Seng ge gshong ya mgo dgon and Seng ge gshong ma mgo dgon. These are the two renowned art schools in Reb kong and, in fact, Ma mgo dgon is another of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's practice centers that he purportedly founded in the early eighteenth century (1706 to be exact).⁵³ In addition to these two, it is

⁵⁰ *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 233, 379, 391, and 395-396.

⁵¹ *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 396; *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 320.

⁵² *Mtsho sngon po'i rkang tsha'i lo rgyus*, 185-189.

⁵³ For a brief note about these two famous painting schools, see Dorje 1996: 595; histories of the institutions can be found in Dge 'dun dpal bzang 2007: 259-285. In *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 403, it states that Brag dkar sngags rams established several practice centers (*sgrub sde*) near Bkra shis 'khyil, one of them being Seng ge gshong ma mgo dgon. This fact is not mentioned in the biography of Brag dkar sngags rams pa. According to Dge 'dun dpal bzang (2007: 259), his gazetteer of Reb kong and surrounding regions, Seng ge gshong ma mgo dgon Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling was established in 1706 when Brag dkar sngags rams pa first erected the assembly hall (*'du khang*) with its shrines and sacred objects on the ruins of the older Buddhist temple at the site, the Dus gsum sangs rgyas kyi lha khang, which had been built sometime in the twelfth century. Alternative sources say, according to the author, that the institution was officially founded in 1647 by the Fourth Stong 'khor Mdo rgyud rgya mtsho (d. 1683). Later, the Fifth Stong 'khor Bsod nams rgya mtsho gave the monastery its name and installed the goddess Dpal ldan lha mo as its dharma protector. The two other centers founded by Brag dkar sngags rams pa listed in the *Rong bo gdan rabs* are Bde ldan brag dkar [=Me long brag dkar] and Thig mo [bkra shis rab brtan dgon]. The

stated that 'Jigs med bstan pa rab rgyas was also in charge of the monasteries of Phyug nor dgon and Me lung dgon, which I suspect is actually Me long brag dkar.⁵⁴

In the end, I think Brag dkar sngags rams pa's consequential links to Bya khyung, Rong bo, Rong bo Bkra shis 'khyil, Me long brag dkar, Seng ge gshong, Lha ri bsam gtan gling, and perhaps even Stong 'khor are illuminating and stand as testament to the wider influence this Lhasa-trained monk and Vajrabhairava master from Reb kong exerted on some of A mdo's most prominent institutions and personalities in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. His legacy, though modest, persists today throughout northern A mdo in the regions of Reb kong, Khri ka, and Gcan tsha, and at the monasteries of Rong bo, Seng ge gshong ma mgo dgon, and Lha ri bsam gtan gling especially.

latter is identified in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's biography as the hermitage of Tho'u mo, Bde ldan bkra shis rab brtan (see *Brag dkar rnam thar*, 49.2). On its founding, see also Dge 'dun dpal bzang (2007: 126), where he states that Brags dkar sngags rams pa newly erected the temples and sacred objects of the Maitreya temple (*byams khang*), assembly hall, and Mañjuśrī temple (*'jam dbyangs khang*) at Thig mo and inaugurated its dharma programs, including the Great Prayer festival. Dge 'dun dpal bzang (2007: 259-260) also mentions that Brag dkar rin po che installed Dmag zor rgyal mo as the institution's main protector. Over time, Thig mo fell into ruin and its most sacred objects were divided up between the two institutions in Seng ge gshong. The monks at Thig mo then joined the community at Ma mgo dgon, where the unique monastic traditions of Thig mo were preserved. Both traditions continued to be maintained by the line of Brag dkar sngags rams pa incarnates. Finally, in this same section, Dge 'dun dpal bzang adds an intriguing detail to Brag dkar sngags rams pa's biography, which I suspect is likely based on oral tradition at Seng ge gshong. He writes (p. 265) that, following the disastrous 1723-1724 uprising against the Qing led by the Mongol prince Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, Brag dkar sngags rams pa and the Fifth Stong 'khor Bsod nams rgya mtsho together performed the sorcery rites of Vajrabhairava and Dpal ldan lha mo aimed at the Qing commander Nyan gung lo (Ch. Nian Gengyao, d. 1726), the Imperial army's "general-in-chief for the pacification of distant lands" (*fuyuan dajiangzhun*). With these rites, it is claimed, the two allegedly succeeded in killing the general. Both lamas were richly rewarded for their service to the Buddha's teaching and to the people of the Kōkenur region. Today, the (magical) sword they deployed to end the life of the Chinese commander is now kept as an object of veneration at Ya mgo dgon and the painted image (*bsnyen thang*) of Dpal ldan lha mo, which they also used in these rites, is held at Ma mgo dgon. For background to the tragic 1723-1724 uprising and an account of the events, see Katō Naoto 2013: 411-436; also Sullivan 2013: 321-341, which focuses especially on the destruction of Dgon lung monastery. On the career of Nian Gengyao and his actual fate on January 13, 1726, see Hummel 1943-44 v1: 587-590 (Nien Kêng-yao).

⁵⁴ *Mtsho sngon po'i rkang tsha'i lo rgyus*, 189. Phyug nor dgon is in the region of Rkang tsha (Ch. Gangcha xian), west of Xining. For a brief history of the institution, see *ibid.*, 61-69; also *Mtsho byang khul gi dgon sde lo rgyus*, 159-168.

**Appendix 1: Translation of
the Biography of Brag dkar sngags rams pa**

*The Drops of Nectar Nourishing the Faith of Devoted Disciples
The Life of the Supreme Lord of Accomplished Masters Brag dkar rin po che
[from] the Lama's Own Words*

BIRTH AND VOWS OF RENUNCIATION⁵⁵

[32] *Nama guru Mañjuḥṣa*

*Blo bzang, the kind-hearted, lily patch of the Victor's Teaching,
Rab tu rgyas mdzad, the eminent propagator, daylight guardian
of the master siddhas,
His life story, the moonlight that clarifies all,
Radiates forth to flower the water-lily of intelligence among
the faithful.*

This is a brief account of the life of Brag dkar rin po che Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas dpal bzang po, lord of scholars and siddhas, from his own mouth, entitled *Drops of Nectar Nourishing the Faith of Devoted Disciples*. The birthplace of this holy lord of siddhas was called Brag dkar, near Thos bsam rnam par rgyal ba'i gling, the great dharma center of Rong bo,⁵⁶ in the region of Reb kong, the Golden Valley. [33] Born the son of the mighty sorcerer and mantra-holder Tshe gzungs 'bum and his faithful and devoted wife Bol bza' rdo rje sman, he was raised by both parents. When he reached the age of thirteen, as entry into the Buddha's Teaching, he very purely and properly received the vows of renunciation at the feet of the Venerable Holy Lama, Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, after which he took up the victory banner of a saffron-robed monk.

⁵⁵ Section titles have been added.

⁵⁶ This is the central monastic college of Rong bo, one of three colleges within the institution. For its history, see *Rong bo dgan rabs*, 140-356. The other two are tantric colleges: Rgyud grwa gsang chen chos kyi bang mdzod (ibid., 357-381) and Dus grwa gsang sngags dar rgyas gling, the so-called "Kālacakra College" (ibid., 382-401). A fourth college is the retreat and meditation center Sgrub grwa gnas mchog Bkra shis 'khyil (ibid., 402-423), first established by Shar Skal Idan rgya mtsho.

EARLY YEARS AT THE HERMITAGE OF BKRA SHIS 'KHYIL

At the age of seventeen, he entered retreat at the sacred hermitage of Gnas mchog Bkra shis 'khyil, and when he was twenty years old, he took full ordination in the presence of Rgyal sras sprul ba'i sku rin po che [Blo bzang bstan 'dzin].⁵⁷ He served at the lotus feet of the Venerable Holy Lama, [34] Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po. Until he was twenty-nine, the fine vase of his mind was well-filled with profound and extensive instructions, including initiations, reading transmissions, practice authorizations, guiding instructions, and so forth. Once when he was doing several sealed retreats at the hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil, he saw, as if in a meditative vision, many sentient beings appear outside his retreat cell circumambulating and shouting "Namo Vajrabhairava!" like the roar of a thousand rolls of thunder.

On another occasion, when the Venerable Holy Lama, Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po was staying there in the Gzim khang rab dga' of Bkra shis 'khyil, he saw in the distance this holy lord of siddhas himself arrive to listen to his oral teachings on the dharma. [The Lama] asked one of his attendants there [beside him], "Who is that down there?" The attendant responded, "He's a fully ordained monk from Brag dkar." And [the Lama], looking directly into the monk's future, at the reality of what would come, among other things, remarked, "What sort of elder teacher will he become?"

STUDIES AT RGYUD SMAD AND ACTIVITIES IN CENTRAL TIBET

Later, when [this holy lord of siddhas] was thirty years old, following the orders of the Venerable Holy Lama, Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, he traveled to Dbus and took up residence at the Glorious College of Smad rgyud, the source of many scholars and accomplished masters. For nine years he received and practiced in great detail the general instructions of the extensively profound mantra tradition, and in particular the instructions on the sūtras and tantras, such as those of *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Vajrabhairava*, the *Five Stages*, and so forth. In addition, [35] he received many initiations, reading transmissions, practice authorizations, and guiding instructions, and, in turn, he also bestowed [his own]

⁵⁷ Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan 'dzin was a teacher also of Skal Idan rgya mtsho. See *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 306.

dharma teachings. Thereafter, he requested permission to leave the Glorious College of Smad rgyud. For three years he traveled from place to place in order to receive numerous teachings on dharma, and the excellent vase of his mind was well-filled with very rare and precious streams of dharma. Having resided at the Glorious College of Smad rgyud, this holy lord of siddhas had grandly and without delay traversed an ocean of learning, [all] the fields of study.

[Once during his time at Smad rgyud], an official order had come down from the lord of scholars, the regent Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, which stated: “For the sake of the Victor’s Teaching, [both] general and specific, the Great Iron Castle (*lcags mkhar chen mo*), unique to our own superior Dge lugs pa tradition, must be built up against the ‘Brug pa and others.”⁵⁸

In deciding who among the many scholars and accomplished masters assembled within the halls of Glorious Smad rgyud would benefit the Buddha’s Teaching and living beings if elected the [officiating] Vajra Master [*vajrācārya*], [the Sde srid] performed a divination (*thugs dam brtag pa*) and the fine face of this holy lord of siddhas himself appeared. Based on this, [the Sde srid] said that the very face of this holy lord of siddhas appeared [to him] as the one who, if selected Vajra Master, would [most] benefit the Buddha’s Teaching and living beings, and so he appointed him Vajra Master.

After that, [the Sde srid] asked this holy lord of siddhas, “Do you have certainty about the sequence of guiding instructions and ritual practices of the Iron Castle and so on?” And he replied, “When I [lived] in Mdo smad, in the presence of the Venerable Holy Lama, Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, [36] I obtained the blessed sequence of guiding instructions on the magical devices, the Iron Castle, and so forth. However, I do not possess the divine pride of the chosen deity [i.e. Vajrabhairava], but I do possess the pride of [my] lama.”

Thereafter he made preparations for constructing the Great Iron Castle and while staying in retreat, he had a dream in which extremely terrifying storm clouds appeared and, with deafening thunder, a violent hail began to fall. When the hailstorm came above the holy lord’s own head, a woman adorned with ornaments appeared in the sky, spread out a large flying black cloth [above him], and prevented the hail from falling upon the holy lord of siddhas. In regard to this, he said, “That adorned woman was certainly the goddess Dpal Idan lha mo.” And, “Dpal Idan lha mo is our own divine tantric guardian.” Afterward, he went to [Chos ‘khor] Rgyal

⁵⁸ On this event, see introduction above.

me tog thang⁵⁹ and extensively trained in the practices of dispatching the [New Year's] Day *gtor ma* offerings (*tshes gtor*) of Dpal ldan lha mo. When [years later] he returned to Mdo smad, he gave the [New Year's] Day *gtor ma* offerings repeatedly.

Then, while preparing the [rites of the] Iron Castle, this holy lord of siddhas had a dream in which he saw many thickly bearded blacksmiths doing various types of forging at Se ra theg chen gling. He asked them, "Why is that necessary?" And they responded, "It is especially necessary this year, and must be continued from now on." When this holy lord of siddhas finally completed the Great Iron Castle and cast the *gtor ma* in the direction of the enemy, [37] a flower blossom broke off from the tip of the *gtor ma* and went off to the land of the 'Brug pa. In a roar⁶⁰ it fell upon some of the enemies of the Buddha's Teaching and smashed them into dust. Afterward, upon receiving word of this, he said that his earlier dream was an omen of that [victory].

During the time Khri rin po che Blo gros rgya mtsho was acting as lineage lama and Vajra Master, the tantra [students of Smad rgyud] went to Chu mig lung.⁶¹ One time when a dharma session was being held there, within the assembly, this holy lord of siddhas, covering his head with his shawl, entered meditative equipoise for a bit on the generation stage of Guhyasamāja. At that moment Khri rin po che was standing at a window above the assembly hall. When he looked down at the assembly, he saw a mass of white light radiating from a monk's body. In sparkling white brilliance [the light] spread in all directions, including the spot where [Khri rin po che] himself was standing. To one of his attendants he said, "Look there! Who is the monk down there in the assembly whose head is slightly covered? A mass of white light is radiating from his body." The attendant looked down and replied that it seemed to be this holy lord of siddhas himself. [Khri rin po che] responded with great joy, "Such a magnificent and mature tantra [student] I have here in this Tantric College of mine!"

⁵⁹ The personal monastery of the Dalai Lamas established in western Dwags po in 1509 by the Second Dalai Lama Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1476-1542). In the mountains behind the monastery is the famous lake Lha mo bla mtsho, the *bla gnas* of the Dalai Lamas, customarily used to divine the future incarnations of that office. The monastery is a sacred site of Dmag zor rgyal mo, ferocious emanation of Dpal ldan lha mo.

⁶⁰ Correct *chem* for *chems*.

⁶¹ Chu mig lung, west of Lhasa, was the site of the annual summer retreat for the monks of Rgyud smad. The site was chosen as an alternative to Yangs pa can in the seventeenth century during the wars between Dbus and Gtsang.

Another [time], this lord of siddhas said that he had a spiritual vision that [in a past life] he was himself the holy one Rtse thang Byang ma pa Dpal 'byor bsod noms lhun grub and that some of his like-minded peers told him that as well. [38] On the basis of that [identification], he developed a strong desire to visit Rtse thang Byang ma pa's birthplace. In the past, [long] before he had visited there, [Rtse thang] possessed an abundance of wealth, but in later times its fortunes and such had deteriorated.⁶² Consequently, the conditions were not suitable for the lord of siddhas to stay for even one day. He said that, as a result, he reflected on there being nothing stable and reliable with respect to worldly affairs, prosperity and poverty, high and low [status], joy and sorrow, and the like, and an immeasurable revulsion [for this world] was born in him. "That Rtse thang Byang ma pa was an incarnation of Gung thang lo tsā ba,"⁶³ the Great Accomplished One Skal ldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po [once] said.

This holy lord of siddhas remarked, "These days, all I know are the complete instructions of the Great Venerable Rwa [lo tsā ba] Vajrakīrti." And he added, "From time to time I felt a sort of satisfied pride [with respect to the practice of those instructions]. I thought that during my stay in Dbus I would not be busy with work and other such things, and that if and when the time was right I would [find] an excellent scribe and compose a volume of teachings on Glorious Vajrabhairava, which I would call *The Complete Teachings on Glorious Vajrabhairava [according to] the Virtuous Pronouncements of the Superior Dge ldan pa Tradition*. But because I was overwhelmed with work and other such things, there was never a proper time for such activities."

During his stay in Dbus, he erected, among other things, an especially sublime three-dimensional meditation *maṇḍala* (*blos bslangs*) of Glorious Vajrabhairava in accordance with the tantra and the intentions of the great accomplished masters, and he worked extensively for the welfare of the Buddha's Teaching and of living beings. When he was heading out on his journey back to Mdo smad,

⁶² Rtse thang at this time was still a Bka' brgyud stronghold and had been devastated during the civil wars in the previous century. It was not until the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757) in the middle of the eighteenth century that the area was transformed and converted to the Dge lugs pa.

⁶³ This may be a reference to Mal gyo lo tsā ba Blo gros grags pa (eleventh century), who is sometimes referred to as Gung thang lo tsā ba. He was the patriarch of the Mal tradition (*mal lugs*) of Vajrabhairava and was a teacher of Sa skya Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158), among other hierarchs of the Sa skya 'Khon family. Tāranātha gives a brief history of the Mal tradition in *Gshin rje gshed chos 'byung*, 126.6-127.6.

he said that he had a vision of the upper portion of the figure of Glorious Vajrabhairava in splendid clarity and that, for some reason, the lower portion [39] was obscured. He remarked, "I saw that clear upper portion of the figure [as representing] my earlier life when I served at the lotus-feet of the Venerable Holy Lama, Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal ldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po. And I saw that lower portion of the figure, which had been obscured for some reason, [as representing] my later life when I was greatly distracted by village rituals and the like. This is what I saw. Not only that, but while serving at the lotus-feet of the Venerable Holy Lama, Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skal ldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, many extraordinary degrees of experiential realization and [blissful] heat arose within me when I practiced meditation. Later on, when I visited the regions of Dbus and Gtsang, I put aside such [meditation practices] and thereafter all the tantric spiritual qualities I had previously possessed vanished like a fading rainbow. For most of my life, when I had practiced meditation at the sacred hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil, positive things would occur, but [later] my mind, in a state of laziness, was disturbed by the demons of distraction and that created obstacles for me."

RETURN TO A MDO AND FOUNDING OF ME LONG BRAG DKAR

From Dbus he traveled back here to Mdo smad and resided for some years at the sacred hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil. During this period, the Supreme Incarnate known as Ho thog thu [Qutuqtu]⁶⁴ invited him to his encampment to place *dhāraṇī*, relics, and the like inside numerous sacred objects of the enlightened body, speech, and mind

⁶⁴ This is the Second Lcang skya Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan (1642-1714). He had left Lhasa and returned to A mdo in 1683 at the age of 42 and spent that year in solitary retreat at a hermitage attached to Dgon lung monastery called Byang chub gling, after which he visited Thang ring and Sku 'bum. On Lcang skya's activities in A mdo, see Sullivan 2013: 116-149. I suspect this meeting with Brag dkar sngags rams pa must have occurred during one of Lcang skya's extended retreats in A mdo, either between the years 1683-1687 or between 1688-1693, the latter after he had returned from his first meeting with the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1661-1722) in Beijing. By my calculations, Brag dkar sngags rams pa left Lhasa and returned to A mdo in c. 1686, so the dates seem to correspond to the first period. Perhaps the consecration ceremony referenced here may have been requested for Lcang skya's Byang chub gling hermitage. Note that Brag dkar sngags rams pa composed a text for the Second Lcang skya Qutuqtu on the ritual deployment of *gtor zor*, which is reproduced in *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v2, text *chi*. No date is given in the colophon.

[of the buddhas], to consecrate them, and other such things. He performed the consecrations and so on and made elaborate offerings. The overlord of that country, named Bā dur the'i ji [Baatur Thaiji], venerated the Lama and stayed on for some years. At the behest of many devotees, including Bā dur the'i ji, [this holy lord of siddhas] also founded an exceptional practice center, which was called Me long brag [40] dkar. At that sacred place, there were three large boulders in the shape of a [three-pointed] *dharmodaya*.⁶⁵ Atop [those three boulders] a hermitage (*gzim khang*) was raised, wherein many Vajrabhairava retreats were held. The lord of siddhas also personally offered many praises to that hermitage, particular expressions such as:

Glory is that sacred place, spontaneous, uncontrived dharma source (*dharmodaya*);
Joy, self-originated, exists there within its hollows (*phug pa*).

He also said, "That sacred place is exceptional. On the right side of that *dharmodaya* is a rock that has a naturally-arisen [image of Yama] Dharmarāja."

ACTIVITIES AT BYA KHYUNG

On another occasion, at the great dharma center of Bya khyung, source of the superior Dge ldan pa teaching, whichever holy lama was in residence there, each sat on the [abbatial] throne for only a short while—at best, [presiding] for a single year, or for half a year, or in the worst case, for just a month. Having been harmed beyond their control [by] an evil ghostly spirit (*gshegs 'gro ba'i gdon ngan*), at least five prominent holy lamas [of Bya khyung] passed away, departing for other realms. Many religious services and ritual ceremonies for repelling [that demon] were performed again and again, but to no avail. [Some] wondered whether at this point there was a special holy lama, a scholar and accomplished master who could help. A petition letter was written to the Omniscient Pañchen Blo bzang ye shes dpal bzang po, listing five names: La mo'i zhabs drung Dkar po tshang, Stong skor rin po che, Chu bzang dpon slob, Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, and this holy lord of siddhas [Brag dkar rin po che].⁶⁶ [41] [The letter] stated: "Who among these

⁶⁵ The common triangular form of the thread-cross (*mdos*), usually combined to make a diamond. For illustrated examples, see Beer 1999: 323-324.

⁶⁶ On the identities of these figures, see introduction above.

[five candidates] can subdue that evil demon and, in doing so, bring benefit to the Buddha's Teaching and to living beings?"

A divination was requested and signs appeared indicating that this holy lord of siddhas himself was the one who could help. On account of that, [some officials from the monastery] came repeatedly to invite this holy lord of siddhas [to Bya khyung], but many monks and laypeople, noble and lowly, from the regions of Reb gong and Khri ka pleaded over and over again that it would be ill-advised (*mi nyan tshul*) for him to go, and as a result of their appeals, he did not go. Later again, he was invited [to Bya khyung] with much insistence, persuading [him] that the monastery was an exceptional sacred site, comparable to the source of the Dge lugs teaching.

In response, he said, "Now that I'm an old monk, having at this point reached the age of sixty-nine, were I to be harmed in bringing benefit [to Bya khyung], then [so be it] I'll be harmed." Thereafter, he would not listen to [the people's] objections and such, and convinced to take leave, he accepted [the invitation].

"Now I must go into retreat for the sake of living beings," he said, and for one month he practiced in retreat [focusing on] Glorious Vajrabhairava. At its conclusion, the master, accompanied by twenty attendants, traveled to the great dharma center of Bya khyung. Along the way, the lord of siddhas experienced the vision of a white [Yama] Dharmarāja leading the reins of his own horse. As [he and his entourage] traveled by boat across the Rma chu River, the image of the Victor Śākyamuni appeared sitting atop each one of the ripples of the water.

"Is this the apparition of a demon?" he wondered, and then intently visualized the repelling of demons. Looking again [at the water], he concluded, "This is not the apparition of a demon." [42]

Later, when [he and his entourage] were welcomed at the great dharma center of Bya khyung, there at the monastery was an extremely hostile criminal (*mi nag*), an emanation of a demon called Rkun po nag ral, who earlier had been brutally assaulting the monastery again and again. On one occasion, when [this criminal] came to plunder [the monastery], he was surrounded by a crowd of people and apprehended; his life-force was then destroyed. The lord of siddhas himself, having heard [about this], ordered, "Flay the skin of that vow breaker and make it a pelt (*g.yang gzhi*). Bring me his five sense organs, flesh, blood, fat, hair, and all the rest!"

Having done as he had ordered, [these items] were offered up [to him]. He then told them to tan (*mnyes*) the skin, after which he indicated his satisfaction. Then the master, in the company of his twenty attendants, went into strict retreat [focusing on] the Glorious Victor Vajrabhairava. Just as he was about to leave [the retreat], he

performed the fourfold burnt offering rites of pacification, enrichment, subjugation, and fierce destruction. As he was performing the burnt offering of fierce destruction, he laid out the sacramental materials for the wrathful [rites] on top of the mat of skin. For the main part [of the rite], he used the flesh, fat, and the rest as the sacramental substances to be burned. He used the hair for the binding cord (*thun thag*) of the *linga* effigy. When he offered the burnt sacramental substances to the fierce deity, a large and extremely terrifying black poisonous spider fell from the pillars of the assembly hall into the fire pit and burned. This was accompanied by many other peculiar signs of that sort. The evil demon of that place was bound under oath and smashed into dust. At that moment, [this holy lord of siddhas] had a vision in which he saw the head of a lama shoot up from below the ground and then sink back down into the earth.

“Who is that?” [43] he wondered, and then quickly he thought that it might be one of the former lamas [of the monastery], so he performed the method for liberating [him] from that place. Afterward, for seven days, he accomplished the magical device of the Glorious Victor Vajrabhairava, and then established a magic circle of protection around the house of the [abbatial] throne. For three years no one had been able to unlock the door of the temple of the ferocious spirit (*btsan khang*) of that place, [but] he struck that [door] with his hand two or three times and the door then opened on its own accord. Inside the protector’s temple, he dispelled the obstructing spirit and afterward consecrated and blessed [the temple].

After that, he sat on the [abbatial] throne of the great dharma center of Bya khyung for about one month, [temporarily] serving as abbot. Thereafter, upon petitioning Ngag dbang nor bu, who was chief [spiritual advisor] to the regent (*rgyal tshab*), he appointed him as [thirty-first] lama [of the monastery].⁶⁷ The latter acted as abbot for five years. Then, having received permission, the spiritual advisor (*bla ma*) to the regent Gdung/Gdong gzhug tshang was appointed as [thirty-second] lama [abbot].⁶⁸ Both lamas invited the holy lord of

⁶⁷ This likely occurred around 1716 when Ngag dbang nor bu was 28 years old.

⁶⁸ This abbot, unnamed in the text, was Ngag dbang chos grags (alias ‘On ‘ja’ tshang and Mtsher mo che yang) who ascended to the throne in 1721 and served in that post for about five years (c. 1726). As a young boy, he had entered Bya khyung as a novice, then went to central Tibet and was educated at Se ra byes. His reincarnation was named Blo bzang chos grags. See *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 155-157. Both he and Ngag dbang nor bu are mentioned by name in the colophon of Brag dkar sngags rams pa’s *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa’i dam khrid ‘jam*

siddhas back again to Bya khyung monastery, requesting many dharma teachings, including the initiations of Glorious Guhyasamāja and Vajrabhairava [as] Solitary Hero, as well as the practice authorizations of Sitātapatra, Vaiśravaṇa, the outer, inner, and secret [forms of Yama] Dharmarāja, and [Beg rtse] Lcam sring. As an offering of gratitude, they presented him with thousands of gifts, including ten horses, gold, silver, clothing, and much more.

RETURN TO ME LONG BRAG DKAR AND BKRA SHIS 'KHLIL

From there, he went to Me long brag dkar, where he gave many dharma teachings to numerous visitors from various places, such as Dpon slob 'Ja mo tshang⁶⁹ and Tshis ka'i sngags ram pa tshang.⁷⁰ These teachings included the complete initiations of the trio of Cakrasamvara, Guhyasamāja, and Vajrabhairava, [44] the Six Doctrines of Nāropa, the guiding instructions on Mahāmudrā, among others. Later, the one addressed as Zhabs drung tshang of Mi nyag⁷¹ invited him to be the group leader of a [band] of *maṇi* [practitioners] and received some practice authorizations and many dharma teachings. Dpon slob 'Ja mo tshang extended an invitation to him as well and he too received many dharma teachings, such as the [sādhana] of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva conjoined, the secret *sādhana* of Hayagrīva, the cycle of Hayagrīva with his four dog-faced [attendants], the practice authorization of Black Mañjuḥṣa, and so on.

From Me long brag dkar, he then traveled to the sacred hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil, as if his grounding [was now] complete.⁷² To

dpal zhal lung ba'i snying po bdud rtsi gser zhun yang gsal sgron me (see *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *ta*).

⁶⁹ This is the First 'Ja' mo grwa tshang Ngag dbang grags pa (1678-1745), who appears by name in the colophon to a text written for him by Brag dkar sngags rams pa at Me long brag dkar (see *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text 'a). According to *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 296, he was a devotee and practitioner of Vajrabhairava. He was also a student of Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1678-1739), the fifth abbot of Rong bo dgon chen who in 1734 re-established Rong bo Rgyud grwa. See *ibid.*, 308 and *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 364-369.

⁷⁰ Blo bzang 'byung gnas, founder of the monastery of Lha ri bsam gtan gling. See introduction and note 48 above.

⁷¹ This may be the same Mi nyag zhabs drung to whom Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728-1791) once wrote a letter (his personal name was Tshul khrims nyi ma). See *Zhabs drung tshul khrims nyi ma la gnang ba'i springs yig* in *Dkon mchog gsung 'bum* v10: 72-73.

⁷² Tib. *gzhi rdzogs lta bu* (lit. "as if it were the fulfillment/perfection of the foundation") might be better translated idiomatically as "as if he had come full

those who were in retreat there at the sacred hermitage, he gave some dharma teachings, including guiding instructions on *The Easy Path: Stages of the Path [to Enlightenment]*,⁷³ the initiation of the thirteen-deity [*maṇḍala* of] Vajrabhairava, the practice authorization of the dharma cycle of Mañjuḥṣa, and other instructions. Besides that, in A mdo, Dbus, and other places, this holy lord of siddhas gave and received so many initiations, reading transmissions, practice authorizations, guiding instructions, dharma teachings, and the like that it is beyond the comprehension of [someone] like me—so then how can I describe [it all]?

To continue, when [this holy lord] was traveling here to Reb gong from Khri ka, he stopped for a day on the banks of the No'u rung River. That night, he distributed the *gtor ma* for the departure of the protectors, the sixty,⁷⁴ the white *gtor ma*, and so on. The next day, as he proceeded to teach, the territorial spirit (*gzhi bdag*) of Khri ka, a cannibal demon (*srin po*), said to him, "I had come to escort [you] to this site." And [this holy lord replied], "Now you [must] go back." He said that the upper torso [of this spirit] was that of a man and his lower half was that of the coiled tail of a snake, like Mañjuḥṣa Nāgarakṣa.⁷⁵

Also, on another occasion, he said that during his stay in Dgon rong,⁷⁶ [45] he saw the territorial spirits from the region of Khri ka traveling to the region of Reb gong. Wondering why [they were doing this], he entered [a state of] meditative tranquility. Afterward, he learned that 'Dul ba tshang of Chu ma⁷⁷ had departed for another realm and that was the reason [the spirits were traveling to Reb gong]. He said that ['Dul ba tshang] was a great holy being.

And on yet another occasion, [this holy lord] said that when he was in retreat in his private quarters (*gzim gur*), there was a cook

circle" or "like he had fulfilled what he had begun" or something to that effect. Or, alternatively, "as if perfected [he had now returned to his] foundation."

⁷³ Reference to a popular *lam rim* work written by the Fourth Pañchen Lama, entitled *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam*. An edition from Bku 'bum byams pa gling is available at TBRC (W9810).

⁷⁴ This likely refers to the *gtor ma* rites of the Great Iron Castle mentioned earlier in the text.

⁷⁵ A protector form of Mañjuśrī that helps those who have *nāga* diseases, among other afflictions. For an image, see Willson and Brauen 2000: 305, illustration no. 236.

⁷⁶ Dgon rong brag skya rdo rje rdzong in Khri ka, founded in 1646. See *Mdo smad lo rgyus chen mo* v5, 276. There is one text in Brag dkar sngags rams pa's writings that eulogizes this institution, written in the earth-ox year 1709 (see *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text *cha*, part one).

⁷⁷ I have not been able to identify this figure, but Chu ma is probably 'Khyog chu in Ba yan mkhar, modern day Hualong county, in the same province Bya khyung is located.

who was boiling tea for him. Just before [the cook] had picked up the tea, he saw a dark-skinned nomad with dark brown braided hair hunched down in front of [the holy lord]. Then when he [turned] to serve him his tea, [that nomad] was gone. In disbelief, he asked, "Who was that just here?" [The holy lord] replied, "That was the great regional spirit (*yul bdag chen po*) of Khri ka."⁷⁸

REPLY TO THE QUESTIONS OF STONG SKOR RIN PO CHE
AND MISCELLANEOUS RECOLLECTIONS

The Fifth Stong skor Mañjuśrī Ngag dbang bsod nams rgya mtsho asked this holy lord of siddhas, "Which lama was your former incarnation? Which chosen deity and dharma protector's faces have you beheld? What levels of experiential realization and types of spiritual qualities did you attain?" He asked these questions repeatedly and with great insistence. And accordingly, [this holy lord of siddhas] politely responded in a formal letter as follows:

"How can you ask a person like myself to remember his [past] lives and [provide] an unmistakable and authentic [account] of the stages of spiritual qualities of experiential realization [and] the special deities and protectors that have revealed themselves [to me]? When I was young, I relied upon the kindness of the Venerable Lama Skal ldan rgya mtsho, from whom I took the vows of renunciation. I entered [the path] by way of study and reflection. That lama himself [46] was chief among thirty-five tutors [to whom I] respectfully paid reverence and [from whom I] kindly requested the dharma. In some of my lama's statements, and [from] a few like-minded dharma [peers], I heard it said that I was [formerly] the great siddha Nag po spyod pa [Kṛṣṇācārya], Rong zom chos bzang, and Rtse thang Byang ma ba Dpal 'byor bsod nam lhun grub. With my experience how could I have the direct perception and valid visionary cognition of an accomplished practitioner? In [my] dreams, delusions, and the like, Vajrabhairava revealed himself to me and the one who was blessed by that [deity], the Great Rwa [lo tsā ba] Vajrakīrti, entrusted [to me] his series of magical devices, among other things. I beheld the forms of each of our own dharma protectors and heard their words. Once or twice the [lineage] lamas appeared and revealed their faces [to me], [gave] teachings, displayed [themselves], and so on, but I was unsure about whether they were real or not. Moreover, I did not

⁷⁸ See Buffetrille 2002 for a fascinating discussion of the legends of the great *yul lha* of Khri ka and his local identification with the Chinese warrior god Guan Yu and also Wenchang, Chinese god of literature.

accomplish very much study and reflection. But when I was twenty years old, I took full ordination in the presence of Rgyal sras sprul ba'i sku [Blo bzang bstan 'dzin] and thereafter served at the lotus feet of the Venerable Holy Lama Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po at the hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil. Every day I diligently practiced the common and unique experiential instructions for twelve or thirteen years. I believe that serves as a substitute (*dod po*) for divine visions and prophecies.

Following the kind advice of my lama, I traveled to Dbus and for nine years I respectfully served at the lotus feet of the two [teachers] named Rje Blo gros and Rā na at the Glorious College of Smad rgyud. Under them I studied the meaning of the Glorious *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, the king of [all] tantras. [47] At Chu mig lung in Stod lung, for eight or nine years, I established karmic tendencies in the practical instructions on the *Five Stages of the Whispered Lineage*. During those years, the ambrosia of words of the sacred beings reached my ears, but besides achieving familiarity with the objects of the mind, the spiritual qualities never came to me."

Again, according to the words of this holy lord of siddhas, he said that once when he was maintaining the guiding instructions at Chu mig lung, he beheld the face of the Glorious Dmag zor rgyal mo. A vision appeared to him of multiple rays of light emanating from her heart [and] on the tips of each light ray were many buddha realms. "Did you all [see] that?" He asked the great mantra-holder Mkharsong Sangs rgyas tshang,⁷⁹ who took his question to mean that it was a divine vision and that, even though [this holy lord] had previously obtained the practice authorization of Dmag zor ma from the lama Rtis tshang *mañi pa rin po che*,⁸⁰ she was actually the unique dharma protector of this lord of siddhas himself. After that, [Mkhar

⁷⁹ This is likely Rig sngags grub pa Mkhargong dge 'dun bstan pa rab rgyas, the thirteenth throne-holder of Rong bo Rgyud grwa. See *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 378. He was born in Chu dmar and was educated at Rong bo dgon chen. A practitioner of Vajrabhairava, he was widely renowned for his powerful sorcery (*nus mthu*).

⁸⁰ Rtis tshang *mañi pa* is the alias of Shes rab bkra shis (1647-1716), the sixth abbot of Rong po dgon chen, who ascended the throne in 1708. He too was a student of Shar Skal Idan rgya mtsho. See *Rong bo gdan rabs*, 200-204. In 1666 he went to Lhasa and was educated at Sgo mang College at 'Bras spungs and received full ordination from the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1672. In 1683 he established Rdzong dkar bka' gdams pho brang bkra shis gling in Rdzong dkar. He was famous for promoting the practice of *mañi* recitation among the lay communities in A mdo, which earned him his title. His reincarnation was Blo bzang mkhas mchog (1719-1791). One of Brag dkar sngags rams pa's songs (*mgur*) was written at a retreat site in Rdzong dkar called Dben gnas Rdzong dkar yang dben bsam gtan khang bu. This song is the first in the collection composed in the fire-horse year 1666 at the behest of his spiritual friend Skyid shod zhabs drung Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin 'phrin las (1639-1682). See *Brag dkar gsung 'bum* v1, text ja: 88-91.5.

sgong Sangs rgyas tshang] requested the practice authorization [from him]. In [the holy lord's] own words, he said, "After I asked Chu bzang dpon slob for the practice authorization, I decided from that point on that I would not grant the practice authorization of Lha mo [Dmag zor ma] to anyone, but now you are in need of the authorization." So then, with pleasure, he granted the authorization to Mkharsong Sangs rgyas tshang. He also bestowed upon him the reading transmission of his notes [on Dmag zor ma].

That night, [Mkharsong] Sangs rgyas tshang [48] dreamed that a lama, who was identified as the Glorious Noble Lord Atiśa, bestowed upon him the practice authorization of Dmag zor ma. During the *gtor ma* empowerment, when [Atiśa] placed the *gtor ma* upon his head, he said, "Until you attain enlightenment, may all the adverse circumstances that prevent you from practicing the sacred dharma, like a body accompanied by its shadow, be dispelled. May all favorable circumstances be achieved." This and other such statements were spoken [by Atiśa] clearly in his dream.

And again, from the lord of siddhas own words, he said, "Previously, I practiced Six-Armed Mahākāla as my chief dharma protector, but from the moment I beheld the face of Dmag zor ma, I took her as my principal protector.

Moreover, on another occasion when this holy lord of siddhas was continuously reciting the *Madhyamakāvātāra*, he dreamed that an especially exalted tree with extremely beautiful branches and fruits grew in the middle of that text of the *Madhyamakāvātāra* he was reciting from. On top of each and every branch was the buddha realm of Mañjuḥṣa in full display. He said, "My lama, the Learned and Accomplished, Sunlight of Speech Skaldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po sat at the foot of that [tree], so this treatise of mine possesses these sorts of spiritual qualities."

Another time, when this holy one was [still] a small child, while sleeping one evening in his father's lap, an evil spirit attacked a woman next door. A caller (*'bod mi*) arrived and said to his father, "Since you are a lay tantric priest, you must perform an exorcism (*bka' bsgo!*)" His father [49] replied, "It would be irresponsible (*mi nyan*) of me to go this evening. If this boy of mine wakes up and finds that no one is here, he'll become frightened." But [the caller] was insistent and so [the father] went. Soon thereafter, when the boy woke up and there was no one around, he became frightened and began to cry. But on his pillow [appeared] a white [Yama] Dharmarāja, who said to him, "Boy, don't be afraid!" Later on, after his father had returned, [this holy child] told him the reason [he was not afraid] and his father said, "Keep quiet [about this] and don't tell anyone!"

On another occasion, after a remarkable image of Venerable Mañjughoṣa was erected within the hermitage of Tho'u mo, Bde ldan bkra shis rab brtan,⁸¹ all eighteen practice centers in the region of Reb kong invited him to perform the A RA PA TSA NA⁸² vase consecration of Mañjughoṣa. After he performed this for one month, he presided over a communal feast to its conclusion. He then set out for his residence (*gzim khang*). In the midst of the large crowd that had gathered [in] the main marketplace, his horse was startled and many people were unable to rein him in, but the holy one himself said to them, "Let go of my horse's reins! Let him loose!" They released the reins and peacefully, without distress, he traveled to his residence.

Later on, his nephew (*dbon po*) Blo gros was carrying [the holy lord's] tea, but the master Tshis ka tshang was sitting in front of him [and] that suddenly caused [his nephew] to spill a little bit [of tea]. Afterward, [the holy lord] said to his nephew Blo gros, "You must leave. You need to arrange my pillows in the sleeping quarters (*gzim khang*)." When his nephew went out, he thought the master and his attendant, the two of them, were going to have a secret conversation, [50] so he hid [behind] the door and listened. [The holy lord] asked Tshis ka tshang, "Is there no one here?" And he replied that there was no one. [The holy lord then] said, "Now, because you are a worthy vessel, you are a student [I can] tell [this to]. Awhile back, when my horse was startled, I had a vision that [Yama] Dharmarāja was leading my horse by its reins."

And again, [this holy lord] said that when he was residing at Rgyud smad, there was a demoness coiled around a tree directly across from the Tantric College. Occasionally, from the top of the tree, that demoness would gaze down upon the dharma community and repeatedly inflict harm on the [monks]. One time, the holy one himself, always inwardly reciting Vajrabhairava, consecrated [with mantra] many small pebbles, pelted the tree [with them], and invoked fierce visualizations. Thereafter, [the demoness] no longer stayed in that tree and no more harm came to the [monks].

PREMONITION OF DEATH AND DEPARTURE TO THE BUDDHA REALM

Furthermore, in the year he departed to the buddha realm, when he was staying in the *Gzim khang* [rab dga'] of *Bkra shis 'khyil*, Tshis ka

⁸¹ This is Thig mo, one of three centers founded by Brag dkar sngags rams pa. See note 53 above.

⁸² The five-syllable abbreviated mantra of Mañjuśrī, which in its full form consists of forty-two syllables. A RA PA TSA (CA) NA are the first five letters of the complete syllabary. For references, see Gyatso 1992: 198 n. 8.

tshang stood before him and [the holy lord] said, "My friend, it seems that I'm going to die this year. In these courtyards of mine, a white-horned [Yama] Dharmarāja is pacing back and forth. That white-horned [Yama] Dharmarāja is facing me." He then later became ill. On the verge of departing to the buddha realm, he made sign gestures to Ri khrod pa Mdo ba tshang⁸³ and to the steward (*gnyer ba*) of Khri ka, saying to them, "Place the first morning tea (*ja phud*) inside the tea vessel." After they had done so, he did six long recitations of HŪM, the Protector's [syllable], and announced, "Now, accompanying this black man, I must go."

AUTHOR'S COLOPHON

[51] That being so, recorded here is only a small portion of what I, an inferior intellect, had heard with my own ears about the life and liberation of this holy lord of siddhas himself.

The life story [of this] master siddha, a garden [of Mount]
Malaya,
Permeates like a fine fragrance, profoundly enriching
All realms of good fortunate disciples without exception, who
Inspired by the winds of faith, [lead] lives without bias.

Upon the golden ground of precious faith and veneration,
Grows justly the wish-fulfilling tree of spiritual qualities,
whereupon
Atop the branches and leaves of study, reflection, and
meditation in full bloom,
The sweet fruits of the three embodiments of a buddha are
produced.

From the ocean of whichever of the three mysteries of his life
story [could be told]

⁸³ This may be Mdo ba Ngag dbang don grub (c. 1671-1748), the thirty-sixth throne-holder of Bya khyung. On whom, see *Bya khyung gdan rabs*, 164-165. He was a student of both the fifty-fourth Dga' ldan khri pa Ngag dbang mchog ldan (1677-1751; assumed office in 1739) and the thirty-fifth throne-holder of Bya khyung, Bde khang ba Blo bzang rab brtan (1683-1766). Mdo ba Ngag dbang don grub was appointed abbot of Bya khyung in the water-dog year 1742 and served for seven years until his death, which must have been in 1748, the year the thirty-seventh throne-holder Brag lung Ngag dbang mkhas grub rgya mtsho (1711-1773) took office. The text says he lived for 77 years, hence the suggested birth date of 1671.

Only a few drops are compiled here – yet to all the learned scholars,
This will be unsatisfactory to their tastes, but nonetheless,
In my own mind arose a simple wish to tell [his story].

My efforts here, gathering an ocean of accumulated merits for myself and others,
I dedicate to all sentient beings as vast as the sky [who have been our] benevolent old mothers,
And lovingly cared for by genuine spiritual friends,
So that they may all obtain the rank of the Omniscient Victors.

This [testament entitled] *The Drops of Nectar Nourishing the Faith of Devoted Disciples: The Life of the Supreme Lord of Accomplished Masters Brag dkar rin po che* [from] *the Lama's Own Words*, was very generously repeated on written scroll (*thang skur skyar ba*) by Drung yig pa Dge slong Blo bzang rgya mtsho, with the kind support of Khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang Dbang mkhan chen Dge 'dun rgya mtsho dpal bzang po. In so doing, moreover, may the authentic spiritual advisors, in accordance with their joy, [52] lovingly take care of me and others throughout our successive rebirths.

Sarva maṅgalaṃ. Oṃ svasti.

PRINTER'S COLOPHON

From the ocean of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's altruistic aspirations,
This blockprint was set at Rong bo dgon chen,
The great dharma community, wherein the melodies of scripture and reasoning are broadcast
By myriads of youthful ochre[-robed] monks.

Appendix 2: Transliteration of Tibetan Text

[31] grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa brag dkar rin po che'i rnam thar bla ma nyid kyi gsung sgros dad ldan gdul bya'i dad pa'i gso byed bdud rtsi'i zegs ma zhes bya ba bzhugs so //

[32] na mo gu ru mañju gho ṣa ya / blo bzang rgyal ba'i bstan pa'i sa mos tshal / rab tu rgyas mdzad grub dbang nyin mo'i mgon / gang de'i rnam thar kun gsal 'od dkar can / dad ldan blo gros ku mud bzhad phyir spro / de la 'dir mkhas shing grub pa'i dbang phyug

dam pa brag dkar rin po che blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas dpal
 bzang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa dad ldan gdul bya'i
 dad pa'i gso byed bdud rtsi'i zegas ma zhes bya ba cung zad brjod pa
 ni / de yang grub dbang dam pa 'di nyid kyi sku 'khrungs ba'i yul ni
 reb kong gser mo ljongs kyi sa'i cha rong bo'i chos sde chen po thos
 bsam rnam par rgyal ba'i gling dang khad nye ba brag dkar zhes par
 yab mthu [33] stobs kyi dbang phyug sngags 'chang tshe gzungs
 'bum dang / yum dad gus sogs dang ldan pa bol bza' rdo rje sman
 gnyis kyi sras su 'khrungs / yab yum gnyis kyis sked bsrings te /
 dgung lo bcu gsum bzhes pa'i tshe rje btsun bla ma dam pa mkhas
 grub smra ba'i nyi ma skal ldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i zhabs
 drung du bstan pa'i 'jug sgor rab tu byung ba'i sdom pa rnam par
 dag pa legs par mnos nas ngur smrig gi rgyal mtshan bzhes / dgung
 lo bcu bdun bzhes tshe dben pa'i gnas mchog bkra shis 'khyil du
 sgrub pa la zhugs shing / dgung lo nyi shu pa'i tshe rgyal sras sbul
 ba'i sku rin po che'i drung du bsnyen par rdzogs te rje btsun bla ma
 dam pa mkhas [34] grub smra ba'i nyi ma skal ldan rgya mtsho'i
 zhabs pad bsten te lo nyer dgu'i bar du dbang lung rjes gnang khrid
 sogs zab rgyas kyi gdams pa'i bdud rtsis thugs kyi bum bzang legs
 par gtams / dben gnas bkra shis 'khyil du mtshams kyi bcad rgya
 mang po gnang ba'i skabs shig nyams snang lta bur gzim khang gi
 phyi ru sems can mang pos / na mo vajra bhairava ya zhes pa'i sgra
 'brug stong ldir ba ltar sgrog cing bskor ba byed pa'i snang ba shar /
 yang skabs shig rje btsun bla ma dam pa mkhas grub smra ba'i nyi
 ma skal ldan rgya mtsho rin po che bkra shis 'khyil gyi gzim khang
 rab dga' na bzhugs yod pa la / grub dbang dam pa 'di nyid gsung
 chod nyan phyir thag rang po na phebs pa mthong nas ma gi su red
 gsungs pas / nye gnas zhig yod pa des de brag dkar dge slong
 tshang red zhugs pas khong ma 'ongs ba'i gnas tshul sogs mngon
 sum gyis gzigs stabs kho la bla rgan ji 'dra zhig yong ngam gsungs /
 de nas dgung lo sum cu bzhes tshe rje btsun bla ma dam pa mkhas
 grub smra ba'i nyi ma skal ldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i bka' ltar
 dbus su phebs te / mkhas pa dang grub pa du ma'i 'byung gnas dpal
 ldan smad rgyud grwa tshang du bzhugs te / sngags zab mo'i zab
 rgyas kyi gdams pa spyi dang / khyad par bde gsang 'jigs gsum rim
 lnga sogs mdo sngags kyi gdams pa rgya mtsho lta bu la lo dgu'i bar
 du gsan sbyong zhib tu gnang / zhor la dbang lung rjes gnang khrid
 [35] sogs mang po gsan / phar la yang gsung chos mang po gnang /
 de nas dpal ldan smad rgyud grwa tshang du dgongs khrol zhus te
 lo gsum gyi ring la phyogs phyogs su gsung chos mang po gsan
 phyir phebs shing chos rgyun shing chos rgyun shin tu dkon po sogs
 kyis thugs kyi bum bzang legs par bkang / grub dbang dam pa 'di
 nyid dpal ldan smad rgyud grwa tshang du bzhugs nas cher ma 'gor
 ba'i skabs su rig gnas rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu son pa mkhas pa'i

dbang bo sde srid pa sangs rgyas rgya mtshos rgyal bstan spyi dang
 bye brag gi ched du 'brug pa sogs 'ga' zhig la ri bo dge lugs pa'i rang
 lugs thun mong ma yin pa'i lcags mkhar chen mo zhig brtsig dgos
 zhes bka' phebs shing / dpal ldan smad rgyud pa'i nang nas mkhas
 grub gnyis 'doms mang po'i nang nas rdo rje slob dpon gang gis
 gnang na bstan 'gro la phan dgongs nas thugs dam brtag pa gnang
 bas grub dbang 'di nyid bzang po'i ngo shar bar brten / grub dbang
 dam pa 'di nyid kyes rdo rje slob dpon gnang na bstan 'gro la phan
 pa'i ngo shar gsungs nas rdo rje slob dpon du mnga' gsol / de nas
 grub dbang dam pa 'di la lcags mkhar sogs kyi khrid rgyun dang /
 phyag len nges 'drons yod dam zhus tshe ngas mdo smad du rje
 btsun bla ma dam pa mkhas grub smra ba'i nyi ma skal ldan rgya
 mtsho dpal bzang po'i drung nas 'khrul [36] 'khor dang lcags mkhar
 sogs kyi khrid rgyun byin rlabs can thob yod pas nga la yi dam lha'i
 nga rgyal med kyang / bla ma'i nga rgyal yod gsungs nas lcags
 mkhar chen mo brtsig pa'i gra bsgrigs gnang ste sgrub pa la zhugs
 pa'i skabs der mnal lam du char sprin shin tu 'jigs su rung bar 'brug
 sgra drag po dang bcas pa'i ser ba drag po babs pas grub dbang dam
 pa rang gi dbu'i thad du sleb tshe nam mkha' nas bud med rgyan can
 zhig gis dar nag gi phyar ba chen po zhig nam mkhar bting bas grub
 dbang dam pa rang gi steng du 'bab tu ma bcug pa rmis shing / de
 lta bu'i bud med rgyan can de ni dpal ldan lha mo yin par nges
 gsungs shing / dpal ldan lha mo 'di nged rang tsho'i rgyud kyi lha
 srung yin gsungs nas rgyal me tog thang du phebs dpal ldan lha
 mo'i tshes gtor gtong rgyu'i phyag len sogs zhig rgyas bslab cing /
 mdo smad du phebs phyin lha mo'i tshes gtor chag med du gnang /
 de nas lcags mkhar gyi gra bsgrigs gnang ba'i skabs grub dbang dam
 pa 'di'i mnal lam du se ra theg chen gling na mgar pa sma ra dang ag
 tshom can mang pos mgar sna tshogs byed kyin 'dug bas de ci la
 dgos zhes dris tshe 'di da lo yang dgos / da phyin chad kyang dgos
 zer ba rmis / byis lcags mkhar chen mo'i sgrub pa thon pa'i skabs su
 grub dbang dam pa 'dis gtor ma dgra phyogs su brdab tshe gtor ma'i
 [37] rtse nas me tog cig chad nas 'brug pa'i yul phyogs su song bstan
 dgra 'ga' zhig chems la phabs shing thal bar brlag[s] / phyis su de lta
 bu gsan pas sngar gyi mnal lam de de'i ltas yin par 'dug gsungs /
 khri rin po che blo gros rgya mtsho brgyud pa'i bla ma rdo rje slob
 dpon gnang yod pa'i skabs rgyud pa rnams chu mig lung du phebs
 te chos thog tshugs yod dus shig chos grwa nas grub dbang dam pa'i
 'dis sku gzan gyis dbu btums te dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bskyed rim la
 cung zad mnyam par bzhug yod tshe / khri rin po che khong 'du
 khang steng gi rab gsal na bzhugs yod pas chos grwa la gzigs pas de
 na grwa ba zhig gi lus las 'od zer dkar po'i tshogs phyogs kun dang
 khri rin po che rang gi bzhugs sa sogs su dkar phrom phrom 'phro
 bar 'dug pa gzigs pas / nye gnas zhig la chos grwa na dbu cung zad

btum nas bzhugs yod pa'i grwa ba ma gi su yin ltos dang / ma gi'i
 lus las 'od zer dkar po'i tshogs 'phro gin 'dug gsungs / nyes gnas
 kyis bltas pas grub dbang dam pa 'di nyid yin tshul zhugs pas /
 nga'i rgyud grwa 'di na 'di 'dra ba'i rgyud rgan zhed po rang yod
 gsungs te thugs mnyes tshul mdzad / yang grub dbang 'di nyid rtse
 thang byang ma pa dpal 'byor bsod nams lhun grub yin par dam pa
 rang gi nyams snang dang / grogs chos mthun 'ga' zhig gis kyang
 yin gsung bar [38] brten / rtse thang byang ma pa'i 'khrungs yul der
 'byon 'dod drag po skyes / der phebs pa'i sngon 'byor ba chen po
 dang ldan pa yin yang phyis su 'byor ba sogs nyams dma' ru song
 stabs grub dbang rang zhag gcig tsam yang bzhugs pa'i cha rkyen
 ma 'grigs par brten 'jigs rten gyi bya ba 'byor rgud mtho dma' skyid
 sdug sogs la yid brtan mi 'dug snyam pa'i skyo shas dpag med
 'khrungs gsungs / rtse thang byang ma de ni gung thang lo tsa ba'i
 yang sprul yin zhes grub chen skal ldan rgya mtshos gsungs / grub
 dbang dam pa 'dis rje btsun rwa chen vajra kirti'i gdams pa ma lus
 par shes pa da lta nga tsam gsungs nas thugs khengs pa'i nga rgyal
 lta bu skabs skabs su gnang zhing / da dbus phyogs der 'dug ring la
 brel ba sogs med cing / drung yig legs po zhig gi stabs 'grigs na ngas
 dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi chos skor cha tshang ba ri bo dge ldan pa'i
 lugs kyid dge bod zer ba'i dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed yi chos skor zhig
 rtsom snyam yod kyang brel dbang sogs kyis de 'dra'i stabs ma 'grigs
 gsungs / dbus su bzhugs ring la dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi blos
 bslangs rgyud dang grub chen gyi dgongs pa ltar gyi khyad 'phags
 zhig kyang bzhengs pa sogs bstan pa dang 'gro ba'i don rgya chen po
 mdzad nas slar mdo smad tu chibs bsgyur gnang ba'i lam skabs shig
 tu dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed sku stod shin tu gsal bor 'dug cing / sku
 smad rkyen zhig gis [39] bsgrib 'dug pa zhig zhal gzigs shing / de'i
 sku stod gsal bor 'dug pa de nga'i tshe stod la rje btsun bla ma dam
 pa mkhas grub smra ba'i nyi ma skal ldan rgya mtsho'i zhabs pad
 bsten pa la bltas shing sku smad rkyen zhig gis bsgribs pa de tshe
 smad la grong chog sogs kyis g.yeng ba che ba 'di la bltas 'dug / der
 ma zad ngas rje btsun bla ma dam pa mkhas grub smra ba'i nyi ma
 skal ldan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i zhabs pad bsten nas sgom
 sgrub byed tshe nga la nyams rtogs dang drod tshad khyad par can
 mang po byung zhing / rjes nas nga dbus gtsang phyogs su song rjes
 de lta bu phar la zhog rgyud kyid yon tan sngar yod rnam kyang 'ja'
 yal ba ltar song / nga'i mi tshe hril bor dben gnas dam pa bkra shis
 'khyil nas sgom sgrub cig byas na legs po zhig yong rgyu la blo le lo
 ngang rnam g.yeng gi bdud kyis bskyod de bar chad byas gsungs /
 dbus nas mdo smad 'dir phebs shing dben gnas dam pa bkra shis
 'khyil nas lo 'ga' zhig bzhugs / de skabs gong ba'i sku skye ho thog
 thu zer bas gong ba'i sgar du sku gsung thugs rten mang po la
 gzungs gzhus 'bul ba dang rab gnas sogs kyid ched du gdan drangs te

rab gnas sogs byas shing 'bul ba rgya chen po phul / yul di'i mi
 dpon bā dur the'i ji zer bas bla mar bkur zhing lo 'ga' zhig bzhugs /
 bā dur the'i ji sogs dad ldan mang pos bskal ma byas te me long brag
 [40] dkar zhes pa'i sgrub sde khyad 'phags zhig kyang btab / gnas
 der pha bong chen po gsum chos 'byung gi dbyibs su yod pa de'i
 steng du gzim khang zhig phub ste / de'i nang du rdo rje 'jigs byed
 kyi mtshams mang po gnang zhing / de lta bu'i gzim khang der
 bsngags brjod kyang mang po gnang / khyad par du / dpal chos
 'byung ma bcos lhun grub gnas / skyid rang byung phug pa de na
 yod / ces sogs gsungs / de grub gnas khyad par can yin zhing /
 chos 'byung de'i g.yas phyogs kyi brag zhig la chos rgyal rang byon
 yod ces grub dbang rang gis gsungs / yang skabs shig ri bo dge ldan
 pa'i bstan pa'i 'byung khungs chos sde chen po bya khyung du bla
 ma skyes bu dam pa gang bzhugs rab lo re'am / 'bring lo phyed /
 tha ma'ang zla ba re tsam las khirir bzhugs dbang med par gshegs
 'gro ba'i gdon ngan zhig gnod nas bla ma skyes bu dam pa 'gangs
 can lnga tsam zhing gzhan du phebs song / de la bzlog thabs kyi sku
 rim dang rim gro tshabs chen mang po yang yang byas kyang phan
 pa ma byung ba la da bla ma skyes bu dam pa shing grub pa thob
 ba'i khyad par can zhig gis phan e thogs bas ma nas / pan chen
 thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhabs
 drung du / la mo'i zhabs drung dkar po tshang / stong skor rin po
 che / chu bzang dpon slob / kun mkhyen 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa /
 grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa 'di dang lnga'i mtshan zhu shog tu
 bris te / [41] de rnam's kyi nang nas gang gis gdon 'dre ngan pa de
 thul nas bstan 'gro la phan thogs zhes thugs dam brtag pa zhus pas /
 grub dbang dam pa 'di nyid kyi phan thogs pa'i thugs dam brtag pa
 babs par brten / grub dbang dam pa 'di nyid yang yang gdan 'dren
 du 'ongs kyang reb gong phyogs dang khri ka'i phyogs kyi skya ser
 dag zhan mang pos phebs mi nyan tshul yang yang zhus par brten
 ma phebs / rje nas nan chen pos gdan 'dren zhus pa la dge lugs kyi
 bstan pa'i 'byung khungs lta bu'i dgon gnas khyad par can yin gshis
 / de la phan thogs na nga ban rgan gyi tshe de skabs dgung lo re
 dgu bzhes la gnod na yang gnod gsungs nas bshol btab pa sogs la
 ma gsan par phebs chog par zhal bzhes gnang / da nga 'gro ba la
 mtshams shig byed dgos gsungs nas zla ba gcig gi ring la dpal rdo
 rje 'jigs byed kyi mtshams shig gnang / mtshams grol rjes dpon
 g.yog nyi shu skor chos sde chen po bya khyung du phebs par lam
 skabs su chos rgyal dkar po zhig gis grub dbang rang gi chibs kha
 nas khrid 'gro ba'i nyams shar zhing / rma chu la gru steng nas
 phebs tshe yang chu bo'i gnyer ma re re'i steng na thub pa sangs
 rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi sku re bzhugs yod pa'i nyams shar bas
 bdud kyi cho 'phrul 'dra yin nam dgongs nas bdud bzlog pa'i thugs
 dmigs drag tu gnang ste slar bltas bas bdud kyi cho 'phrul ma yin

par 'dug ces [42] gsungs / de nas chos sde chen po bya khyung du
 phyag phebs tshe dgon pa de la shin tu gnag pa'i mi nag bdud sprul
 rkun po nag ral zer ba zhig yod pa des sngar yang yang dgon pa la
 gnod tsha bas chen po byas / de skabs yang rku 'phrog byed du 'ong
 ba mi mang pos bskor nas bzung ste srog dbang bkum pa grub
 dbang rang gis gsan pas / dam nyams de'i pags pa shus la g.yang
 gzhi gyis / dbang bo rnam lnga dang sha khrag tshol dang ral ba
 sogs 'dir khyer la shog gsungs / de ltar byas nas phul bas pags pa
 mnyes gsungs nas thugs mnyes stabs mdzad / de nas dpon g.yog
 nyi shu skor gyis bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyī mtshams
 dam bor gnang nas grol khar dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyī zhi rgyas
 dbang drag bzhi'i sbyin sreg gnang zhing / drag po'i sbyin sreg gi
 skabs su mi lpags kyī g.yang gzhi'i steng du drag po'i rdzas rnams
 bshams / don snying sha tshil sogs bsreg rdzas su byas / ral pa
 lingga'i thun thag byas / drag po'i lha la bsreg rdzas 'bul ba'i tshe 'du
 khang gi gdung ma'i steng nas dug sdom nag po 'jigs su rung ba shin
 tu che ba zhig thab nang du lhung ste tshig pa la sogs pa'i ltas khyad
 par can mang po dang bcas gnas de'i gdon 'dre ngan de dam la btags
 shing thal bar brlags / de skabs khong gis gzigs snang la sa 'og nas
 bla ma zhig gi dbu yar la bud nas de rjes phyir sa 'og tu nub 'gro ba
 gzigs pas / de su yin [43] dgongs tsa na bla ma snga ma zhig yin par
 'dug dgongs nas gnas de nas grol thabs gnang / de rjes bcom ldan
 'das dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyī 'khrul 'khor zhag bdun du bsgrub pa
 gnang nas de khri khang du srung 'khor kyī tshul du bzhag / gnas
 de'i btsan khang gi sgo lo gsum du sus kyang 'byed ma thub pa de la
 phyag gis brdungs stabs lan gnyis gsum gnang bas sgo yang rang
 phye la song / mgon khang nang du bgegs bskrad byas nas rab gnas
 gnang zhing byin gyis brlabs / de nas chos sde chen po bya khyung
 gi khrir zla ba gcig tsam bzhugs shing mkhan po gnang / de rjes
 khong gi rgyal tshab tu rtsa ba'i ngag dbang nor bu zhu ba de bla
 mar bskos / des lo lnga'i bar du bya khyung gi mkhan po gnang /
 rjes nas dgongs khrol zhus te rgyal tshab tu bla ma gdung gzhug
 tshang zer ba mkhan por bskos / bla ma de gnyis kyis grub dbang
 dam pa 'di nyid slar bya khyung dgon sder spyān drangs te / dpal
 gsang ba 'dus pa'i dbang / 'jigs byed dpa' bo gcig pa'i dbang / gdugs
 dkar dang / rnam sras / chos rgyal phyi nang gsang gsum / lcam
 sring rnams kyī rjes gnang sogs bka' chos mang po zhus / gtang rag
 gi ched du rta bcu / gser dngul gos sogs 'bul pa'i rnam grangs stong
 phrag lhag tsam phul / de nas me long brag dkar du phebs / dpon
 slob 'ja' mo tshang dang / tshis ka'i sngags ram pa tshang sogs
 phyogs phyogs nas phebs pa mang po la bde gsang 'jigs gsum kun
 tsheg sogs kyī dbang / [44] nā ro chos drug dang / phyag chen gyī
 khrid sogs bka' chos mang po gnang / de rjes mi nyag zhabs drung
 tshang zer bas ma ṅi zhig gi tshogs dbur gdan 'dren byas shing / rjes

gngang 'ga' zhig dang / bka' chos mang po gsan / dpon slob 'ja' mo
 tshang gis yang gdan 'dren zhus te / tshe rta zung 'brel / rta mgrin
 gsang sgrub / rta mgrin shwa na bzhi bskor / 'jam dbyangs nag po
 rnams kyi rjes gngang sogs bka' chos mang po gsan / de nas me long
 brag dkar nas gzhi rdzogs lta bur dben gnas dam pa bkra shis 'khyil
 du phebs / dben gnas der ri khrod pa rnams la lam rim bde lam gyi
 khrid / 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang / 'jam dbyangs chos skor
 gyi rjes gngang sogs bka' chos 'ga' zhig gngang / gzhan yang grub
 dbang dam pa 'dis mdo dbus sogs su dbang lung rjes gngang khrid
 sogs bka' chos mang po gngang tshul dang gsan tshul sogs bdag lta
 bu'i blo yul las 'das pas brjod par ga la nus / yang khri ka'i phyogs
 nas reb gong 'dir phebs skabs shog no'u rung chu khar zhag bzhugs
 gngang / de nub mgon po'i gshegs gtor dang / drug chu pa / dkar
 gtor sogs pa sngos / phyi nyin zhal gsung phebs par khri ka'i gzhi
 bdag srin pos nga gnas 'di ru bskyal 'ongs shing / da nang phyir
 phebs / khog stod mi la smad sbrul mjug tu 'khyil ba 'jam dbyangs
 nā ga rakṣa lta bu zhig red gsungs / yang dgon rong na [45] bzhugs
 pa'i skabs shig khri ka'i phyogs kyi gzhi bdag rnams reb gong
 phyogs su 'gro ba gzigs pas de ci yin de la mnyam par 'jog rgyu zhig
 yod gsungs / de rjes chu ma'i 'dul ba tshang zhing gzhan du phebs
 pa gsan pas de'i rkyen yin par 'dug / de skyes chen dam pa zhig red
 gsungs / yang skabs shig gzim gur zhig tu mtshams gngang yod pa la
 gsol ja skol ba'i ja ma zhig yod pa des gsol de ma len du song tshe
 mdun na mi 'brog pa sha mdog smug pa ral ba smug shar re ba cig
 mdun du tsog pur bsdad yod pa mthong / de rjes gsol ja 'dren du
 song tshe mdun du mi 'dug / kho rang yid ma ches par de lta bu su
 yin zhus tsa na / de khri ka'i yul bdag chen po de red gsungs // ! //
 yang grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa 'di la / stong skor mañjuśrī
 lnga pa ngag dbang bsod nams rgya mtshos / bla ma khyed kyi sku
 skye ba snga ma la bla ma gang yin / yi dam lha dang chos skyong
 gang gi zhal gzigs / nyams rtogs dang yon tan ci lta bu mnga' zhes
 nan cher yang yang zhus pa la 'di ltar / lags bka' phebs don zhu lan
 la bdag lta bu'i gang zag la skye ba brgyud tshul gyi rjes dren dang /
 nyams rtogs kyi yon tan lhag pa'i lha dang srung ma'i zhal bstan pa'i
 rim pa 'khrul med tshad ldan ga la yod / chung du nas rje btsun bla
 ma skal ldan rgya mtsho'i bka' drin la brten nas rab tu byung / thos
 bsam gyi sgor zhugs / bla ma de nyid [46] kyis gtso byas pa'i yongs
 'dzin sum cu so lnga tsam gyi zhabs la gtugs nas chos kyi bka' drin
 zhus / bla ma'i gsung sgros dang chos mthun 'ga' zhig gi gsung
 'phros la / grub chen nag po spyod pa dang / rong zom chos bzang
 dang rtse thang byang ma pa dpal 'byor bsod nams lhun grub rnams
 yin zer ba thos / rang gi myong bas grub pa'i mngon sum dang /
 nyams snang tshad ma ga la yod / rmi lam nying 'khrul sogs la vajra
 bhairava zhal bstan pa dang / de nyid kyis byin gyis brlabs ba'i

rwa chen vajra kirtis 'khrul 'khor gyi rim pa sogs gtad pa dang /
 rang re'i chos skyong rnam kyis sku mthong pa dang / gsung thos
 pa sogs dang / bla ma rnam kyis zhal bstan gsung bkod sogs byung
 ba lan re lan gnyis byung yang de la nges pa med med bsam pa yod
 / gzhan thos bsam rgya chen po ma grub kyang lo nyi shu'i skabs /
 rgyal sras sprul ba'i sku'i zhabs drung du bsnyen par rdzogs nas
 dben gnas bkra shis 'khyil du rje btsun bla ma dam pa skal ldan rgya
 mtsho'i zhabs kyis padmor bsten nas thun mong dang thun mong ma
 yin pa'i nyams khrid nyin re bzhin du nyams su len pa'i brtson pa lo
 bcu gnyis bcu gsum bar du byas la / de ni zhal gzigs dang lung
 bstan gyi dod po yin bsam / bla ma'i bka' phebs pa la brten nas dbus
 su phyin nas dpal ldan smad rgyud grwa tshang du lo brgyad dgu'i
 bar du rje blo gros mtshan can dang / rā na'i mtshan can gnyis kyis
 zhabs pad brten nas rgyud kyis rgyal po [47] dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i
 rgyud don la sbyangs ba byas / stod lung chu mig lung du lo brgyad
 dgu'i bar du snyan brgyud rim lnga'i dmar khrid la bag chags bzhag
 / de dag gi skabs su dam pa'i skyes bu rnam kyis gsung gi bdud rtsi
 yang ma ba'i lam du son pa dang / yid kyis yul du goms par byas pa
 las lhag pa'i yon tan bdag la ma mchis lags / zhes gsungs / yang
 grub dbang dam pa 'di nyid kyis zhal gsung la / khong gis chu mig
 lung du khrid skyong gin yod pa'i skabs shig dpal ldan dmag zor
 rgyal mo'i zhal gzigs / de'i thugs ka nas 'od zer mang po 'phros pa'i
 'od zer re re'i rtse mor sangs rgyas kyis zhing mang po mthong ba'i
 snang ba shar / khyed tsho la de lta bu'i song gi gsungs / sngags
 'chang chen po mkhar sgong sangs rgyas tshang zhu bas sngar bla
 ma rtis tshang ma ni pa rin po che'i sku phyogs nas dmag zor ma'i
 rjes gnang thob kyang / grub dbang 'di nyid kyis chos skyong thun
 mong ma yin pa yin tshul dang / zhal gzigs byung tshul gyis gsung
 sems la bzung nas rjes sor rjes gnang zhus pas khong gi zhal gsung
 la / ngas chu bzung dpon slob la rjes gnang zhus nas phyin chad su
 la yang lha mo'i rjes gnang byed pa rtsis med kyang / da khyod la
 rjes gnang byed dgos pa po yin gsungs nas mkhar sgong sangs rgyas
 tshang la rjes gnang dgyes bzhin byas / yig chung rnam kyis lung
 yang gnang de nub sangs rgyas tshang rang gi [48] rmi lam du jo bo
 rje dpal ldan a ti sha yin zer ba'i bla ma zhig gis bdag la dmag zor
 ma'i rjes gnang byas / gtor dbang skabs gtor ma mgo thog tu bzhag
 nas dus da nas bzung ste byang chub ma thob kyis bar du lus dang
 grib ma bzhin du 'gros nas dam pa'i chos sgrub pa'i 'gal rkyen
 thams cad sol / mthun rkyen thams cad sgrubs shig ces sogs gsung
 ba'i rmi lam gsal bo byung gsungs / yang grub dbang rang gi zhal
 gsung las / ngas snga sor mgon po phyag drug pa chos skyong gi
 gtso bor byed kyin yod pa la / dmag zor ma'i zhal gzigs byung
 phyin chad la dmag zor ma gtso bor byas pa yin gsungs / yang grub
 dbang dam pa 'dis dbu ma la 'jug pa dus rgyun du zhal 'don gnang

gin yod la skabs shig mnal lam du dbu ma la 'jug pa'i zhal thon gyi dpe de'i dbus su ljon shing khyad par du 'phags pa yal ga dang lo 'bras shin tu legs pa zhig skyes shing / yal ga re re'i steng na rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi zhing gi bkod pa tshang ba re yod pa / de'i rtsa ba na nga'i bla ma mkhas grub smra ba'i nyi ma skal ldan rgya mtsho rin po che bzhugs pas / nga'i bstan bcos 'di la yon tan 'di 'dra yod gsung pa zhig rmis gsungs / yang dam pa 'di chung ngu byis pa'i dus pha'i pang na nub mo nyal yod pa la khyim mtshes kyi bud med cig la 'dres gdon gyis gnod pas pha sngags pa dge bsnyen zhig yin stabs bka' bsgo zhig byed dgos zhes 'bod mi byung bar phas [49] nga do nub 'gro mi nyan / nga'i bu 'di sad na 'di na su med stabs skrag par 'dug byas kyang nan ches pas song / de rjes bu gnyid sad tshe su yang med pas skrag cing bshum pa la sngas mgor chos rgyal dkar po zhig gis bu ma 'jigs shig gsungs / de rjes pha yong nas de la rgyu mtshan bshad pas khyod kha rog sdod dang su la yang ma bshad ces smras / yang skabs shig tho'u mo'i dben gnas bde ldan bkra shis rab brtan nas rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi 'dra khyad 'phags zhig bzhengs nas / reb kong phyogs kyi sgrub sde bco brgyad thams cad gdan drangs te 'jam dbyangs a ra pa tsa na'i bum sgrub zla ba gcig gi ring la gnang nas tshogs grol khar tshogs dbur phebs shing / de nas gzim khang la phebs khrom chen po tshogs yod pa'i gseb nas chibs pa 'drog nas mi mang pos chibs kha ma thub pa la dam pa rang gis nga'i chibs kha nas ma 'dzin par thongs la shog gsungs / chibs kha btang ba dang ma 'dog par bde bar gzim khang la phebs / rjes nas gsol ja dbon po blo gros kyi khyer ba la / mdun na dpon slob tshis ka tshang bzhugs 'dug / de skabs char en tsam bab pa la rkyen byas nas dbon po blo gros la khyod song la nga'i sngas mgo'i thad kyi gzim khang la thigs cag byed dgos gsungs nas / dpon po phyir song tshe dpon g.yog gnyis kyi gsang gtam zhig gnang rgyu [50] red bsam nas sgo phag nas nyan pas / tshis ka tshang la 'di na su mi 'dug gam gsung ba la su yang med zhus pas / da khyod slob ma snod ldan yin pas bshad pa yin / da ci nga'i chibs pa 'dog pa'i tshe nga'i chibs kha nas chos rgyal gyis khrid 'gro ba'i nyams shar gsungs / yang rgyud smad na bzhugs tshe rgyud pa'i chos grwa'i thad so'i phar ga de na sdong po zhig yod pa de la 'dre mo zhig 'khril nas skabs skabs su 'dre mo des sdong po'i rtse nas tshur chos grwa bltas nas khong rnam la rgyun du gnod pa skyel bar 'dug pa la / skabs shig dam pa rang gis nang snga mo nas rdo rje 'jigs byed gsungs nas rde'u mang po bsngags te sdong po da la brab cing thugs dmigs drag po gnang bas phyis su sdong po de la mi gnas shing khong rnam la yang ma gnod par song gsungs / yang zhing la phebs pa'i lo de la bkra shis 'khyil gzim khang na bzhugs skabs / mdun du tshis ka tshang bzhugs pa la a rog da lo nga shi 'gro ba 'dra / nga'i gzim khang khyams 'di tsho na chos rgyal rwa dkar po can

zhig phar 'gro tshur 'gro byed par 'dug / chos rgyal gyi rwa dkar po
 yin pa de mdun ngo yin gsungs / yang sku snyung nas zhing la
 gshegs khar ri khrod pa mdo ba tshang dang / khri ka'i gnyer ba la
 phyag brda' gnan / ja phud kyi snod nang du ja phud cig zhog
 gsungs nas phud bzhag rjes mgon po'i hūṃ ring po lan drug gsungs
 nas / da nga mi nag po 'di la 'grogs nas 'gro dgos gsungs / [51] de
 ltar grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa nyid kyi rnam par thar pa blo
 dman bdag gi sgra 'dzin lam du son tshul ni re zhid de tsam mo /
 smras pa / grub dbang rnam thar ma la ya skyes tshal / dad pa'i
 rlung gis bskul tshe phyogs med kyi / skal bzang gdul bya'i zhing
 kun ma lus pa / rab tu 'ged byed dri ngad 'di 'dra 'thul / dad gus rin
 chen gser gyi sa gzhi la / yon tan dpag bsam ljon shing legs 'khrungs
 nas / thos bsam sgom pa'i yal 'dab rab rgyas rtser / sku gsum 'bras
 bu mngar bo 'byin phyir yin / gang gi rnam thar gsang gsum rgya
 mtsho las / chu thigs tsam zhid brdong 'dis mkhas rnam kun / mgu
 ba'i gnas min 'on kyang bdag nyid kyi / yid kyi brjod 'dod spro ba
 skyes las byung / 'dir 'bad rang gzhan dge tshogs rgya mtsho'i
 tshogs / mkha' mnyam drin can ma rgan sems can rnam / mtshan
 ldan dge ba'i bshes kyis rjes bzung nas / kun mkhyen rgyal ba'i go
 'phang thob phyir bsngo / zhes grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa brag
 dkar rin po che blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas dpal bzang po'i rnam
 par thar pa bla ma nyid kyi gsung sgros dad ldan gdul bya'i dad pa'i
 gso byed bdud rtsi'i zeg ma zhes bya 'di ni / khyab bdag rdo rje
 'chang dbang mkhan chen dge 'dun rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i bka'
 drin gyis 'tsho ba drung yig pa dge slong blo bzang rgya mtshos dā
 na'i mtha' thang skur skyar ba 'dis kyang bdag gzhan rnam tshe
 rabs kyi phreng bar mtshan ldan dge ba'i bshes kyis dgyes bzhin [52]
 rjes su 'dzin pa'i rgyur gyur cig / sarva mangga lam / om sva sti /
 skal ldan rgya mtsho'i thugs bskyed rol mtsho las / nyer 'khrungs
 dge 'dun ngang mo 'bum phrag gis / lung rigs dbyangs snyan spel
 ba'i chos grwa che / rong bo dgon chen zhes byar spar 'di bsgrubs
 //

Appendix 3: The Collected Works of Brag dkar sngags rams pa

Volume 1

(Ka) *Rje btsun bla ma'i rnal 'byor 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas dbang gi rgyal po*,
 1-18. Written at the earnest behest of Dge slong ri khrod pa
 chos 'phel at Dben gnas kun bzang Me long brag dkar mkha'
 spyod gur khang.

- (Kha) *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi bla ma'i rnal 'byor 'dod dgu'i mchog stsol*, 19-30. Date: *me phag* (1707), first month, fifth day. Written at the behest of Dge slong blo bzang rnam rgyal and others at Dben gnas kun bzang Me long brag dkar mkha' spyod gur khang.
- (Ga) *Grub pa'i dbang phyug dam pa brag dkar rin po che'i rnam thar bla ma nyid kyi gsung sgros dad ldan gdul bya'i dad pa'i gso byed bdud rtsi'i zegs ma*, 31-52. Author: Drung yig pa dge slong blo bzang rgya mtsho with the support of Khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang dbang mkhan chen dge 'dun rgya mtsho dpal bzang po.
- (Nga) *Mkhas shing grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po rdo rje 'dzin pa blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas dpal bzang po'i gsol 'debs smon lam dang bcad pa*, 53-58. Author: Rig pa 'dzin pa'i char gtogs ngag dbang bsod nams rgya mtsho (=Fifth Stong 'khor). Date: *me rta* (1726). Written at the behest of Sngags rams pa dpal ldan rgya mtsho and others at Gdan sa bkra shi rab brtan.
- (Ca) *Rje btsun blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas kyi gsung las gsol 'debs dang ja mchod 'ga' zhid bcas*, 59-73. Date: first part [fol. 68.6], *shing 'brug* (1664), seventh month, second day. Written at Dben gnas bkra shis 'khyil ba'i yang dben nyi 'od 'khyil ba; second part [fol. 73.4] handwritten by [Brag dkar sngags rams pa] Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas and produced in book form (*glegs bam bzhengs*) by Dge slong bsam gtan mchog grub.
- (Cha) *Dgon rung brag skya rdo rje'i rdzong gi gnas bstod bsngags brjod me tog phreng mdzes dang kun bzang me long brag dkar mkha' spyod gur khang gi gnas bstod bde legs gzhi 'dzin*, 75-85. Date: first part [fol. 81.2], *sa glang* (1709); second part [fol. 85.3], *chu lug* (1703).
- (Ja) *Rdo rje 'chang chen po blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas kyi mdzad pa'i mgur ma le tshan 'ga' lags so*, 87-104. [Includes five songs]. Date: first song [fol. 91.5], *me rta* (1666), fourth month. Written at the behest of Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin 'phrin las [=Skyid shod zhabs drung] at Dben gnas rdzong dkar yang dben bsam gtan khang bu; second song [94.2] written at the behest of Blo bzang don grub; third song [98.2] written at the behest of Ri khrod pa ngag dbang rgya mtsho [=Fifth Stong 'khor?] at Dben gnas rab dga' mthon po'i ri sul. No dates or petitioners mentioned for songs four and five.

- (Nya) *'Phags pa phung po gsum pa'i dmigs rim sdig sgrub sbyong bar byed pa'i gaṅgā'i chu rgyun*, 105-118. Written for the retreatants (*ri khrod pa*) of Dben gnas kun bzang Me long brag dkar, including notes recorded by Dge slong ri khrod pa chos 'phel dar rgyas.
- (Ta) *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dam khrid 'jam dpal zhal lung ba'i snying po bdud rtsi gser zhun yang gsal sgron me*, 119-243. Includes notes written for Ngag dbang chos grags and Ngag dbang nor bu.
- (Tha) *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i don bsdu nas tshigs su bcaḍ pa shin tu legs pa*, 245-254. Written at Dben gnas kun bzang Me long brag dkar.
- (Da) *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bskyed rim gyi khrid yig skal bzang 'jug ngogs*, 255-308.
- (Na) *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rdzogs rim rim pa lnga'i dmar khrid rdo rje 'chang dbang bla ma'i zhal lung snyan brgyud rgyud sde'i yang snying*, 309-362.
- (Pa) *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa nas bshad pa'i spyān ras gzigs 'jig rten dbang phyug gi sgo nas ma ni ril bu sgrub bya ba'i cho ga*, 363-370. Date: *sa glang* (1709). Written at the earnest behest of Dge slong ngag dbang mkhas btsun and others.
- (Pha) *Thugs rje chen po gsang sgrub kyi dmar khrid tshe gcig sangs rgyas sgrub pa'i lam mchog nyams len gsal ba'i sgron me*, 371-401. Date: *sa phag* (1719), first month, first day. Written in accordance with the intentions of Er ti ni bo shog thu [=Erdeni Boshogtu] at Gong dgon dga' ldan skyed tshal gyi bla brang bkra shis mthong sngon with Dge slong ye shes skal bzang as scribe.
- (Ba) *Thugs rje chen po gsang sgrub kyi rdzogs rim sbyang don zhal shes ngag gis rgyas btab pa zung 'jug gzhal med khang du bgrod byed rin chen them skas 'od 'bar nor bu*, 403-436. Date: first month, second day [*sa phag*, 1719?]. Written at Gong ba'i dgon gсар dga' ldan skyed tshal gyi bla brang bkra shis mthong sngon with Dge slong ye shes skal bzang as scribe.
- (Ma) *Thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya mtsho'i sbyin sreg byed tshul lag len du dril ba mun sel gsal ba'i sgron me*, 437-455. Date: *sa khyi* (1718), tenth month, second day. Written at the behest of Er ti

ni [=Erdeni] at Dben gnas kun bzang Me long brag dkar mkha' spyod gur khang.

(Tsa) *'Pho khrid gser gyi sgo 'byed kyi yang snying snyan brgyud 'chi med bdud rtsi mkha' spyod pa'i them skas rig 'dzin grub pa'i bcud len*, 457-483. Written at Se ra chos sdings kyi 'jam dbyangs phug.

(Tsha) *'Pho ba'i khrid yig rig 'dzin grub pa'i pho nya*, 485-494.

(Dza) *Gcod kyi gdams pa skal ldan re skong dbang gi rgyal bo*, 495-580. Date: *shing glang* (1685), tenth month, second day. Written as a gift to Dka' bcu ba ngag dbang sbyin pa at Chos sde chen po dpal ldan 'bras spungs kyi ldong sog po khang with Bka' bcu smra ba as scribe.

(Wa) *Gcod kyi dmigs khrid gdan thog gcig ma tshogs gnyis gter mdzod*, 581-605. Written for the retreatants (*ri khrod pa*) of Dben gnas dge ldan chos gling.

(Zha) *Thabs shes gcod kyi snying po'i don nyams len rgyun 'khyer du dril ba*, 607-620. Written for Dka' bcu blo bzang phan bde and others.

(Za) *Gcod kyi nyams len gdan thog gcig ma*, 621-629. Written on the banks of the Blue Lake (*mtsho sngon 'gram*).

('A) *Chos drug yid ches gsum ldan gyi yang snying dmar khrid sku gsum nor bu'i gling du bgrod pa'i gru gzings*, 631-665. Written for Zhabs drung ngag dbang grags pa (= 'Ja' mo grwa tshang) and A jo sku skyes bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho blo gros at Kun bzang Me long brag dkar mkha' spyod gur khang.

(Ya) *'Khrul snang mun sel gsal ba'i sgron me*, 667-676.

(Ra) *Dben gnas lha ri bsam gtan gling gi ri khrod pa rnam la khrims su bca' ba'i yi ge phan bde'i 'byung gnas*, 677-687. Date: *sa glang* (1709), ninth month. Written at Phun tshogs dar rgyas gling.

(La) *Dpal ldan lha mo'i gnyer gtad dang khri ka'i lha gnyan gyi gsol kha*, 689-693.

(Sha) *Khri ka srin po ri bdud 'dul gtum po 'phrog byed la bsang mchod 'bul ba'i cho ga bsam don lhun grub*, 695-704. Date: *chu lug* (1703), seventh month, first day. Written at the behest of Nye char

dge slong bsam gtan and Bsod noms dar rgyas at Dben gnas kun bzang Me long brag dkar mkha' spyod gur khang.

Volume 2

- (Sa) *Mkhas grub khyung po rnal 'byor gyi zhal gdams mgur brgyad du grags pa'i nang tshan ā li ka li'i gdams pa nyams su len tshul byin rlabs nyer 'jug*, 1-5.
- (Ha) *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi lam rim pa gnyis nyams su len tshul bshad pa zung 'jug gi sar bgrod pa'i them skas*, 7-97.
- (A) *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rdzogs rim zung 'jug gi sar bgrod pa'i them skas*, 99-130. Written at Se ra theg chen gling, based on the instructional texts of multiple scholars, such as Blo gros rgyal mtshan and Blo bzang phan bde.
- (Ki) *Dus dgra'i dbang po'i bsnyen yig lag len gsal ba'i nyi ma dngos grub sprang rtsi'i 'byung gnas*, 131-163. Written at the behest of Blo bzang bstan 'dzin and his students.
- (Khi) *'Dir rwa chen rdo rje grags kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i rim pa dang po'i lam la slob tshul 'khrul med bla ma dam pa'i zhal las byung ba zin thor bkod pa gsang chen myur lam*, 165-209. Compiled by Rwa chen gnyis pa Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas dpal bzang po [=Brag's dkar sngags rams pa] from the authorized teachings of Rje btsun Tshar pa and his spiritual son. Text transmitted by Bse rdo rje 'chang.
- (Gi) *Chos rgyal nang sgrub kyi mngon rtogs thun mong ma yin ba*, 211-216. Written at the behest of Chos 'phel dar rgyas at Kun bzang Me long brag dkar.
- (Ngi) *Rdo rje 'chang sngags rams pa blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas kyis gnang ba'i phyag len ltar chos rgyal gtor sgrub thun mong ma yin pa'i zin bris*, 217-228. Transcription by Bse'i sprul ba'i sku rin po che [=Bse rdo rje 'chang?] of the handwritten notes of Dge glong chos ldan rgya mtsho, the lama's principal disciple and attendant.
- (Ci) *[Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i lam tshogs] gtor chen drug cu pa'i rnam bzhang dam nyams kyi srog gcod mtshon cha 'bar ba'i 'phrul 'khor zhes bya ba'i zur 'debs 'phrin las drag po'i pho nya*, 229-283. Date: *shing byi* (1684), tenth month. Written upon

urgent request by the orders of Rje shes rab 'byung gnas blo gros sbas ba'i gdan sa pa sha san dha ra sa mu dra at Bod yul byang phyogs stod lung phu'i dgon pa Chu lam sding gsum du grags pa'i dang po'i gnas.

- (Chi) *Gtor zor 'phen skabs kyi dmod bcol spu gri dar ma dug gi mde'u thung zhes bya ba bka' rgya ma*, 285-291. Written for Lcang skya hu thog thu [=Second Qutuqtu] and others at Dben gnas dam pa kun bzang Me long brag dkar.
- (Ji) *'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed kyi 'phrin las la brten nas dgra bgegs sgröl ba'i las gtad drag sngags 'bar ba'i thog mda'*, 293-313.
- (Nyi) *Sri gnon gyi bca' gzhi bla ma'i man ngag yi ger bkod pa*, 315-325. Notes taken by several of the lama's students.
- (Ti) *Liŋga'i dpe ris skor*, 327-338. Calligraphed by 'Jigs med brtson 'grus in the presence of Khri chen blo bzang 'jigs med 'phrin las rgya mtsho following the directives of Kha so sngags rams pa'i sprul rabs bdun pa chen po. [Several of these *liŋga* images are reproduced and discussed in Cuevas 2011: 83-84.]
- (Thi) *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi sgo nas gshed 'dul bya tshul gnam lcags 'bar ba'i thob*, 339-355.
- (Di) *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi cho ga'i skabs su mkho ba'i man ngag zhal shes rdo rje 'chang blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas kyi gsung ngag ji ltar ma nor ba dharma pha las bkod pa*, 357-368. The words of [Brag dkar sngags rams pa] Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas handwritten by Śākya'i dge slong dharma pha la exactly as spoken.
- (Pi) *Ye shes kyi mgon po gur gyi gtor ma la brten nas zhi ba'i las sgrub tshul mdor bsdus lag len snying por dril ba*, 369-375. Written at the behest of the teachers of Bya khyung brag.
- (Phi) *Rnam sras mdung dmar can gsang ba gshin rje ltar bsgrub pa'i gtor chog lags*, 377-385.
- (Bi) *Gnod sbyin yab yum gyi 'khor lo sgrub pa'i tshul rdo rje 'chang kyi mgo bde bar bkod pa*, 387-392.

- (Mi) *Brag dkar sngags rams pa'i gsung 'bum gyi par byang*, 393-398. Collection reproduced from copies of texts preserved at Brag dkar me long mkha' spyod dpal gyi gur and presented to Kha so sngags rams pa'i mchog sprul in the earth-ox year 1949. Restored, edited, and printed in the iron-horse year 1990 at [Rong bo] Thos bsam rnam par rgyal ba'i gling.

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The Khache Phalu:
A Translation and Interpretation

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 *he Khache Phalu* is one of the classics of Tibet. Perhaps more importantly, it is one of the classics that an ordinary Tibetan might *actually read*. It is not uncommon to find a vendor in Lhasa flipping through it when business is slow or to spot a copy sitting on the table of a Tibetan home in New York City. Young Tibetans all over the world read it as part of their education in Tibetan literature. Even those unable to read the text for themselves know many of its oft-quoted proverbs by heart.

The Khache Phalu is a text of both spiritual and practical advice, often moving seamlessly between the two. Blending folk wisdom, references to Buddhism, Islam, and a spiritual idiom all its own, it has a unique position in the Tibetan canon. Part of its popularity stems from its accessibility; it is not a translation of an earlier text nor does it quote or comment on other texts. This makes it not only a compelling glimpse into the subtleties of Tibetan culture, but also a source of advice that is surprisingly relevant to modern life.

After giving an overview of the text and its associated secondary literature I will argue that the text is in fact a mix of Buddhist and Muslim thought. Of particular interest is how references to Islam are closely paired with Buddhist references and how many passages are written in an ambiguous way, allowing for both Buddhist and Islamic readings. Following my discussion is a new translation and edited version of the Tibetan text.

Overview of the Text

The full title of the text is *Khache Phalu's Teachings on the System for Worldly Actions and Consequences*, but it is usually referred to simply as *The Khache Phalu*.¹ Composed in central Tibet in the late 18th or early 19th century, it is a collection of advice both spiritual and practical. The identity of its author is unknown, though it is a matter of much speculation. The tone is a unique blend of formal and literary language, rich with colloquial idioms. This stylistic approach has helped to make the text accessible and popular: Even if someone is unable to read very well, they will be able to remember and quote its pithy advice.

The Khache Phalu is of the genre known as *Legshé* (Tibetan: *legs-bshad*), literally “elegant sayings” or “well said”.² These texts are related to the Indian *subhāṣita* format and are somewhat more secular in content than other Tibetan literary genres, primarily offering advice about everyday life. Written in verse, the genre also has formal characteristics: Typically, they consist of stanzas of four lines with seven syllables per line. In these stanzas, the first pair of lines is usually a general lesson with the following pair being a particular example or application of this lesson. *The Khache Phalu*, though written in verse, instead employs a form with nine syllables per line. Though it occasionally follows the standard four-line stanza format, it more often lacks this structure.

The text consists of a preface, written in prose, and eleven chapters, written in verse. It begins with a short preface that ostensibly discusses the deeds and teachings of the historical Buddha. This provides an overview of the themes and topics that will be covered by the text. The following chapters start with a very general discussion of religious, almost mystical themes, but quickly

¹ The full Tibetan title is *kha-che pha-lu'i 'jig-rten las-'bras rtsis-lugs bslab-bya*. I will refer to the text as *The Khache Phalu* and the author simply as Khache Phalu. Throughout the paper parenthetical Tibetan terms will be in Wylie transliteration.

² *The Khache Phalu* is second in popularity only to *The Elegant Sayings of Sakya Paṅ ḍ ita* (*sa-skya legs-bshad*), composed around the 13th century by Sakya Paṅ ḍ ita. This has been translated many times, recently by John Davenport (2000) under the title *Ordinary Wisdom*. Sakya Paṅ ḍ ita's text inspired many similar texts, such as *Virtuous Good Advice* (*dge-ldan legs-bshad*) by Panchan Sonam Drakpa and *A Treatise on Water and Wood* (*chu-shing bstan-bcos*) by Gung Thang Tenpé Dronmé.

turn to practical advice about particular situations and relationships.

The first chapter begins with a highly symbolic description of the source of religious teachings, followed by a discussion of the necessary qualities to practice them, and the need to stop postponing such practice. The next chapter continues the focus on religious practice in general, discussing the relationship between spiritual teachings and the impermanent world. Somewhat more practically, it discusses the importance of focused attention and giving up selfish desires both for this life and what comes after.

Beginning with the third chapter, we find a stronger focus on practical advice. This chapter treats various aspects of how a ruler should run their kingdom, including finances, dealing with enemies, and punishment. The fourth chapter offers advice about being content even in the face of suffering and uncertainty. The fifth focuses on advice about the importance of controlling one's speech, including gossip, keeping secrets, and honesty. The sixth chapter treats actions and their effects; how some actions produce good results and others produce bad results and the importance of acting in kind and beneficial ways. The seventh chapter is in praise of humility and on the importance of monitoring and controlling one's own behavior. The eighth chapter discusses moderation regarding food and drink and the importance of self-reliance.

Beginning with the ninth chapter, we find a focus on familial advice. This chapter highlights the need for parents to provide an education to their children, to encourage them in their learning, and to explain the importance of education to them. The tenth chapter gives advice for mothers on how to avoid spoiling their children and the eleventh and final chapter is on the need for children to be grateful to their parents and repay the help they have received.³

Contested Authorship

The most controversial aspect of *The Khache Phalu* is its authorship. The truth is that no one knows who wrote the text, though the mix of Buddhist and Islamic references in the text has made its authorship a

³ These summaries are, in part, drawn from Munpathar (1989, 47) and Dradül (1993, 21).

hotly contested subject. Whoever wrote the text chose for himself the pen name Khache Phalu. The name often appears in the final verses of chapters, with Khache Phalu modestly describing his efforts in the third person.

This pseudonym is highly suggestive in Tibetan. Colloquially, the term *khache* is used to refer to Muslims in general.⁴ It was likely derived from the word ‘Kashmir’, a source of many Muslim immigrants to Tibet. Many Tibetans appeal to an alternative folk-etymology, claiming that *khache* is derived from the combination of *kha*, meaning mouth, and *che*, meaning big. This ‘big mouth’ etymology is often explained by appeal to common Tibetan conceptions of Muslims: as being loquacious, skilled storytellers, and the best chefs.⁵

The origin of *phalu* is less clear. It is suggestive of an older man, *pha* meaning father in Tibetan. Some suggest that it is derived from the Indian term ‘babu’ – a respectful term of address for an elder male. Others speculate that the *lu* is derived from the term for song (*glu*), again explained by the conception of Muslims as lively storytellers.

Still others take the entire name to be an attempt to approximate the Arabic name Faizullah. Proponents of this view cite a mention of the name in the introduction where it is written as Khache Phaluju (*kha-che pha-lu-’ju*), noting that *phaluju* is quite close to Faizullah.⁶ One version of this view is that the 6th Panchen Lama (1738-1780) requested the text from a Muslim trader name Faizullah after asking him about the advice of Muslim thinkers. Drawing on themes from the Persian classics of Sa’di, Faizullah wrote verses of advice for a Tibetan audience. On some versions of this story, Faizullah was a master of both Tibetan and Persian.⁷ Still others suggest that the author was from Kashmir, but not a Muslim.⁸

According to the Tibetan historian Horkhang Sonam Pälbar, the

⁴ For example, *Hui* Muslims are often referred to as ‘Chinese *khache*’ (*rgya-kha-che*) while Tibetan Muslims are called ‘Tibetan *khache*’ (*bod-kha-che*).

⁵ This is expressed clearly in the Tibetan proverb: “Don’t pay attention to what the *Khache* says; Pay attention to what *Khache* eats.” (*kha-che’i kha la ma ltos. kha-che’i lto la ltos*).

⁶ This is explicitly argued by Tashi Tsering (1988) and Dawa Norbu (1986).

⁷ Nadwi (2004, 59) claims a single author, skilled in both Persian and Tibetan.

⁸ See van Manen (1925, 150).

work is more likely a collaborative one. Drongtse Lobsang Tsültrim (*'brong-rtse blob-bzang tshul-khrims*), the tutor of the 7th Panchen Lama knew Khache Phalu and thought his advice would be useful to a Tibetan audience. He requested that Khache Phalu compose a text in Tibetan, but Khache Phalu refused on the grounds that he was unable to compose poetic literary Tibetan. Lobsang Tsültrim then offered to help Khache Phalu compose the Tibetan resulting in a collaborative effort by a Muslim trader, drawing on Persian classics, and a Tibetan Buddhist, drawing on a monastic education.⁹ In both versions, the writing process involved adjusting the examples to incorporate Tibetan life and customs.

Much of the Tibetan-language secondary literature, however, assumes a single Buddhist author, attributing authorship to various Buddhist leaders. Because of the language and the mix of Buddhist and Muslim references, many suspect it was written at Tashilhunpo Monastery in Shigatse. As a major monastic center, Tashilhunpo drew monks from many Muslim areas like Ladakh, Spiti, and Kashmir making it likely that *The Khache Phalu* was composed there (or at least by someone who spent time there).

The particular figures thought to be the author on these views is varied. Some attribute authorship to the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682) citing his somewhat favorable treatment of Muslims; he allowed Muslims to stay in Lhasa permanently, granting them land to live on and for use as a cemetery.

Others claim it was written by the 7th Panchen Lama (1782-1853) himself rather than his tutor.¹⁰ This view is quite widespread; one pocket edition printed in Beijing credits him as the author without noting any dispute. On this version of the story, the 7th Panchen Lama deliberately adopted a Muslim pseudonym and wrote in a colloquial and quotable style in an attempt to promote morality (and perhaps Buddhist faith) in common people.

Much of the speculation about the identity of Khache Phalu rests on apocryphal stories or textual analysis, neither of which conclusively answers the question of authorship. Whoever wrote the text, it is clear that the author or authors had a command of both

⁹ See Horkhang Sonam Pälbar (1999, 501ff.). This version of the story is also reported by Tashi Tsering (1988, 12).

¹⁰ Tsewang Namgyal (1981), Munpathar (1989), and Dradül (1993) all endorse this view.

colloquial and literary Tibetan, a fairly extensive knowledge of Buddhist concepts, and at least a passing familiarity with Islamic customs. Along with, of course, a well-developed poetic sensibility and strong ideas on how ordinary people should conduct their lives.

Whatever the true identity of the author, since the text itself refers to Khache Phalu we can understand him as a kind of character in the text. So whether or not the text is the product of a single hand, we can speculate about why Khache Phalu the *narrative character* says what he does in the way that he does.

Islam in Tibet

Religion on the Tibetan plateau is much more diverse than is supposed in the popular Western imagination. In addition to Buddhists, one can find adherents to the pre-Buddhist indigenous religion Bön, as well as Tibetan Muslims and Christians. After somewhat sporadic contact between Muslims of Kashmir and Eastern Turkistan, by the 17th century a small community of Muslim traders and butchers was established in Tibet. Unlike the Hui, these Muslims became more assimilated into Tibetan culture, adopting Tibetan ways of eating, dressing, and speaking.¹¹

Nevertheless, prejudice against Muslims remains easy to find in Tibet. Common rumors include claims about Muslim restaurants serving human flesh, cooking with bath water, or eating babies. This tension between assimilation and alienation underlies many of the claims about the authorship of *The Khache Phalu*. Any given claim about the authorship often says more about the person making it than about the text and its author: Tibetan Muslims may claim the author was a Muslim in part to establish a contribution to Tibetan literature and culture that is uniquely theirs, while other Tibetans may insist that the text was authored by a Buddhist lama to better fit with a conception of Tibetan literature as thoroughly Buddhist.

Important for understanding the place of the *The Khache Phalu* is the nature of conversion and its associated social difficulties. Most conversions to Islam in Tibet were via marriage rather than through

¹¹ For a more detailed history of Muslims in Tibet see Siddiqui (1991), Sheikh (1991), Cabezón (1997), and Sela (2015).

religious proselytizing; when a Buddhist woman married a Muslim man, she generally converted to her new husband's religion. In this context, a text like *The Khache Phalu* could serve an important social role. Conversion through marriage can create tension between the new husband and wife and between them and their families. As a popular ethical work emphasizing the shared practical advice of Islam and Buddhism and an example of a shared literary world, *The Khache Phalu* could help to ease familial tensions after a marital conversion by highlighting ways in which the two religions can share similar values.

References to Buddhism

From the very beginning, *The Khache Phalu* has a strong Buddhist flavor. When, in the introduction, Khache Phalu sets out the themes and topics of the text, they are set as deeds and teachings of the Buddha as a child.

Throughout the text, it is India, not Mecca or Medina, which is valorized as a mythical place full of sages. The text opens with a Sanskrit salutation *Om Svasti* and throughout India is cast as a sacred place, a source of wisdom. Here it is India that is the source of authority, not the Middle East. Though this might suggest that the author has a Buddhist orientation rather than an Islamic one, it likely tells us more about the intended *audience* rather than the orientation of the author. For a Tibetan readership, authority comes from India so it is no surprise that *The Khache Phalu* would make use of this authority.

Another striking reference to India comes at the end of the sixth chapter:

From the tip of this yellow [Indian] pen, three words flow,
 Becoming clear on the heart of the white [Indian] paper.
 Translated from Indian into Tibetan,
 And so, Khache Phalu is satisfied.

The Tibetan includes an adjective describing the pen and paper (*rgya*) has a variety of meanings, including Indian, Chinese, vast, white, or symbolic. More interesting is the claim that Khache Phalu's words

have been translated. The term translated here as Indian (*rgya-skad*) colloquially means Chinese, but in a Buddhist context refers to Sanskrit. Being translated from Sanskrit would have made the text more authoritative to most Tibetan readers. However, it is important to keep in mind that this term can refer to *any* of the many languages of India. It is also worth noting that at this time, India was partly ruled by the Mughal Empire, which used Persian as its official court language. So Persian could have been included as an Indian language (*rgya-skad*).

Interestingly, people report rumors of an Arabic or Persian manuscript of the text existing somewhere in India.¹² Whether or not such a manuscript really exists (it is unlikely), it is revealing that people tell each other that it does: It shows a belief in an Arabic or Persian source and appeals to those languages as authoritative.

There is no doubt that Buddhist thought permeates *The Khache Phalu*. References to Buddhist themes and concepts like samsara, rebirth, karma, the Three Poisons, the Three Jewels, *vajras*, lineage trees, and the preciousness of a human birth are far too numerous to cite individually. It is clear that whoever wrote the text had more than a passing familiarity with Buddhist thought, or at the very least had help from such a person.

Rather than examine in detail the many Buddhist references, let's see how one passage of *The Khache Phalu* compares with a canonical Tibetan Buddhist text. Consider the discussion in second chapter of *The Khache Phalu* of how we should relate to our worldly lives:

Actions in this worldly cycle are pointless.
Samsara is no place to linger,
Like a traveller staying in a guesthouse for just three days.
It's best to think your own thoughts.
If a traveller doesn't pack before leaving,
They can't carry the guesthouse on their back.
They can't bring the landlady to help them.

Compare this with a stanza from the classic 14th century Buddhist text *The Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas* written by Gyalsé Thogmé Sangpo:

¹² See Cabezón (1997, 22) who cites in introduction in Norbu (1986).

You will be separated from your old friends and relatives.
 The wealth you worked for will be left behind.
 Consciousness leaves behind bodies as travelers leave behind the
 guesthouse.
 The practice of bodhisattvas is to renounce this life.¹³

Here we find not only the same point about the futility of worldly pursuits, but also the same image of the guesthouse. Just as a traveler makes use of a guesthouse for a short time but soon must move on, so too do we make use of our bodies for only a short time. The passage from *The Khache Phalu* not only makes explicit reference to Buddhist concepts of samsara and rebirth, but also uses classic Buddhist imagery to make the point. (Only Khache Phalu, however, tells us to think for ourselves!)

This isn't to say that the allusions to Buddhist thought in *The Khache Phalu* are all derivative or clichéd. A particularly fresh poetic image comes in chapter seven:

The six faces of samsara are like the nomad's dice,
 You want snake eyes, but what comes up is uncertain.

This deceptively simple line likens the situation in samsara to a Tibetan dice game, known as *Sho* (*sho*), played with dice, shells, and coins. When playing *Sho*, snake eyes (*pa-ra*) is the best roll – a player can even win by rolling three of them in a row. Just as the outcome of a roll is uncertain, so is one's rebirth in samsara. The six faces of samsara are likened to the faces of a die. These six faces might be read as referring to the six original clans of Tibet (*mi'u-gdung-drug*); which clan one will be born into is uncertain. On a more strongly Buddhist reading, the six faces refers to the six classes of beings in the desire realm: hell-beings, animals, humans, hungry ghosts, jealous gods, and gods. Even though we might wish to be born into a powerful clan or as god, where we end up is uncertain. Here Khache Phalu makes a Buddhist point with an image that is both striking and relatable to his audience.

¹³ This is the fourth verse of *rgyal-sras lag-len so-bdun-ma* by *rgyal-sras thogs-med bzang-po*. Translation is my own.

Despite the overwhelmingly Buddhist tone of the text, many passages are decidedly *un-Buddhist*. While Buddhism typically advocates having compassion towards all sentient beings, Khache Phalu offers grittier advice for rulers dealing with evil people: "... it is suitable to cut the roots of the wicked. You don't need to see people like that with compassion." Lines like this remind us that this is not a text of party-line Buddhist advice, but a collection of Buddhist-inspired *practical* advice.

References to Islam

Despite its general Buddhist tone, there are also more than a few references to Islam in the text. Allah is referred to explicitly on three occasions using the Tibetan term *Godhar*: Once in the first chapter, where it is identified with the Buddhist phrase *Könchok Rinpoche* (*dkon-mchog-rin-po-che*) literally meaning 'precious jewel'.¹⁴ This term is most likely borrowed from the Persian term *Khuda* or *Khoda*, referring to Allah.¹⁵

The other two mentions of Allah come in the final chapter. Both are striking in their directness. The first reads: "*Godhar* is the highest, and parents are just below. There is nothing more important than these three." Here 'three' most obviously refers to Allah and one's parents, but to Buddhist eyes these can be understood as symbolic of the Three Jewels, a central concept in Buddhism referring to the Buddha, his teachings, and the community of Buddhist practitioners.

Later in the same chapter we find the line: "*Godhar* is your only hope, the only place to look." Interestingly, this is followed immediately by a line that is quite Buddhist: "Proceed by keeping the truth of cause and effect in your heart." Here the phrase 'cause and effect' (*las-bras*) is a somewhat technical term referring to the Buddhist doctrine of karma; the idea that all actions inevitably produce effects. Again, we find a line that obviously Islamic paired with one that is strongly Buddhist.

Other, more oblique allusions to Allah can also be found in the

¹⁴ Though usually spelled *go-brdA*, some editions spell it as *go-brdal*.

¹⁵ This term can be found in the Persian parting phrase *Khoda Hafez* meaning "May God be your Guardian".

text. Twice there are references to the 'Master of the Cosmos' or, more literally, the owner or lord of the stars (*skar-ma'i-bdag-po*). So we find in chapter seven, after a discussion of the virtues of self-control, the lines:

If someone has those qualities, they're the summit of wisdom!
Such a person has found the Master of the Cosmos.

It is striking that an allusion to Allah comes in the context of self-control; recall that the term Islam literally means 'submission to Allah'. In fact, there are many passages in the *Qur'an* that make 'Master of the Cosmos' a likely epithet for Allah:¹⁶

Indeed, your Lord is Allah, who created the heavens and earth in six days and then established Himself above the Throne. He covers the night with the day, [another night] chasing it rapidly; and [He created] the sun, the moon, and the stars, subjected by His command. Unquestionably, His is the creation and the command; blessed is Allah, Lord of the worlds. (7:54. See also 13:2)

He created the heavens and earth in truth. He wraps the night over the day and wraps the day over the night and has subjected the sun and the moon, each running [its course] for a specified term. Unquestionably, He is the Exalted in Might, the Perpetual Forgiver. (39:5)

Do you not see that Allah causes the night to enter the day and causes the day to enter the night and has subjected the sun and the moon, each running [its course] for a specified term, and that Allah, with whatever you do, is Acquainted? (31:29)

And of His signs are the night and day and the sun and moon. Do not prostrate to the sun or to the moon, but prostrate to Allah, who created them, if it should be Him that you worship. (41:37)

¹⁶ Unless noted, quotations from the *Qur'an* are from the *Sahih International* translation.

And that it is He who is the Lord of Sirius (a star worshipped by pre-Islamic religions). (53:49)

Earlier, in chapter three, we find another reference to the Master of the Cosmos. This time the context is more interesting:

Take refuge in the Three Jewels!
Follow the orders of the Master of the Cosmos!

It's also worth noticing that again, a line alluding to Allah is paired with an obvious Buddhist reference. Here we find an injunction to follow the orders of Allah immediately following one to take refuge in the Three Jewels. Again, by pairing these references, Khache Phalu seems to be intentionally drawing similarities between these different religious ideas.

Some of the most enigmatic verses come at the start of the text. In the first chapter Khache Phalu presents us with a metaphorical description of a place without seasons, where day and night are equalized:

With neither summer nor winter, the span of day and night is equal.
Without summer's heat and winter's cold,
In a place with this climate,
When the sun is at its zenith,
The houses have no darkness and no shadows.
These are signs of the center of the universe.

On one reading, these lines might refer to the Buddhist concept of equanimity (*btang-snyoms*), a virtue where one is free from aversion and attachment. As the day and night in this special place are equal, a special person is not attached to benefits or averse to harms.

These lines might also, however, be references to Allah. The *Qur'an* sometimes discusses Allah eliminating shadows:

Have you not seen how your Lord spread the shadow. If He willed, He could have made it still then We have made the sun its guide [i.e. after the sunrise, it (the shadow) squeezes and vanishes at midnoon and then again appears in the afternoon with the decline of the sun, and had there

been no sun light, there would have been no shadow].¹⁷
(25:45)

Like the verse in *The Khache Phalu*, the elimination of shadows is described as a sign of Allah. In fact, several passages of the *Qur'an* describe day and night as signs of Allah:

Indeed, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day are signs for those of understanding. (3:190. See also 13:3 and 16:12)

This also occurs with reference to summer and winter:

You [Allah] make the night to enter into the day, and You make the day to enter into the night (i.e. increase and decrease in the hours of the night and the day during winter and summer), You bring the living out of the dead, and You bring the dead out of the living. And You give wealth and sustenance to whom You will, without limit (measure or account).¹⁸ (3:27. See also 55:17)

Here it is Allah who determines the length of both the days and seasons; when read in light of these passages, the verses from *The Khache Phalu* can plausibly be taken to refer to Allah.

There are also a few references to Muslim burial practices in the text such as in chapter five: "The writer may be in the ground, but the writing will be above." And again in chapter eight:

Even if Khache Phalu is dead and in the ground,
These ink drawings on white paper,
I hope they will endure above ground.

Typically Buddhist burials in Tibet have been sky burials, or literally 'bird-scattering' (*bya-gtor*), where the body of the deceased is fed to vultures or, less commonly, cremation. Some have taken references to being in the ground to signify Muslim practices of burying the

¹⁷ I've used Muhsin Khan's translation for this verse as it is more explanatory.

¹⁸ I've again used Muhsin Khan's translation for the explanatory notes.

deceased in the ground.¹⁹

Religious Ambiguities

As we have seen, references to Islam in *The Khache Phalu* are often paired with Buddhist references. Other times, however, Khache Phalu writes in a way that allows for *both* Islamic and Buddhist readings. Consider an example from early in the text, in the very first chapter:

Contemplate one thing, meditate and remember one thing!
If you say these two are disconnected from this one thing,
Then, my son, go to the teachings! Prepare for the teachings!

Here ‘one’ might be interpreted as referring to Allah (see *Qur’an* 112), and emphasizing that everything depends on Him. On this reading, if you see that Allah is the source of everything and that everything depends on him you are ready to practice the teachings. These lines can also be read in a Buddhist sense as referring to the doctrine of Dependent-Origination, the idea that no one thing exists independently of its relation to other things. In either case, if one thinks that some things exist without depending on Allah or that there are things with an inherent essence independent of relations to other things, you need to learn the teachings.

It’s important to note that the term rendered as ‘teachings’ here is ‘Dharma’ (*chos*). Though the term is strongly associated with Buddhist Dharma (*nang-pas’i-chos*), it has many meanings and in this context need not refer only to Buddhist teachings. The term is often used as a general description of religious teachings, as in the term for Christianity, which in Tibetan is literally ‘the Dharma of Jesus’ (*ye-shu’i-chos*). Some of the interesting ambiguities in *The Khache Phalu* are involved with how one understands what is meant by this term.

This is part of the challenge of reading the text; as one reads, one must reflect on what Khache Phalu means by the term. It is for this reason that in the translation we have not translated the term using

¹⁹ This is suggested by Tashi Tsering (1988, 18). Recall that the 5th Dalai Lama was thought to be favorable towards Muslims in part because he granted them land to use as a cemetery.

the more standard 'Dharma', but instead use the more general 'teachings'. Though the term is found in the *very* Buddhist-sounding first line: "The *vajra* throne is the origin of the teachings", as the text develops, as we encounter references to Allah and more idiosyncratic spiritual discussion. This forces us to re-evaluate what Kache Phalu means by the term, and in doing so, also come to reflect on what the term might mean for us.

With this broader understanding of teachings in mind, one can read the above lines as referring not to metaphysical doctrines within these religions, but to Islam and Buddhism *themselves*: If you think these two, Islam and Buddhism, are disconnected from each other, and from reality as it is, then you have to study the teachings in order to see that they are deeply similar.

There is some reason for this kind of reading; many lines of the text can be read in both a Buddhist and Islamic way. Consider an example from the third chapter:

And in the evening, descend and practice the teachings.
Prostrate with body, speech, and mind!

One can understand the reference to descending in the evening here to refer to *Isha*, Muslim evening prayers.²⁰ One can also read these lines as referring to the Tibetan Buddhist practice of prostration (*phyag-'tshal*), which also involves descending to the ground and is sometimes done in the evening, after one's work is finished. The second line, which explicitly refers to Buddhist practices of prostrating with body, speech, and mind, is particularly Buddhist in flavor, though would also make sense when applied to Muslim prayers. Most likely, Kache Phalu is being artfully vague, allowing him to refer to *both* practices at the same time.

Another interestingly ambiguous line comes later in the same chapter:

The meaning of what I've reported, a string of pearls,
I offer it to the Master of the Three Realms.

²⁰ See Tashi Tsering (1988, 18). The *Qur'an* states: "And in a part of the night exalt Him and after [the setting of] the stars." (52:49). Though Muslims customarily pray five times throughout the day, so it is unclear why evening prayers would be singled out for special treatment here.

The Three Realms (*kham-gsum*) is a Buddhist cosmological term referring to different places of rebirth within samsara. Though this is unambiguously Buddhist, it is unclear who the *master* of the Three Realms might be. This is not a standard Buddhist phrase and so leaves room for ambiguity. On a Buddhist reading, it would refer to Buddhas, who have escaped from samsara. On an Islamic reading, it would refer to Allah, who created and manages all parts of the world.

A final example of religious ambiguity in text is the following advice, from chapter eight, regarding eating meat:

The dirty food of the wicked butcher,
When you crave meat, it's better to eat a flea!

These lines can be read as referring to the Muslim practice of only eating *Halal* meat, meat that has been prepared in accordance with Islamic law.²¹ So a 'wicked butcher' would be understood as one who does not follow the Islamic rules for slaughtering animals. However, these lines can also be read in a Buddhist way. On this reading, the focus is on avoiding the negative karma associated with taking life. Here a 'wicked' (*las-ngan*) applies to the bad action or work (or, in a more Buddhist sense, bad karma) involved in being a butcher as a profession. It is better to eat a flea, then, because that does not encourage someone in a livelihood that involves harmful actions (and so accululates bad karma for them).

Similarities with Sa'dī

A few scholars have noted that *The Khache Phalu* shares many themes with Persian classics written by the 12th century Sufi poet Sa'dī.²²

²¹ Because he reads the lines in this way, Dawa Norbu (1986) translates the Tibetan term *shan-pa* as 'hunter' rather than 'butcher' but this is an odd choice.

²² Nadwi goes so far as to claim that *The Khache Phalu* is a translation of these texts; he writes, "Actually, this book is a translation of the famous Persian book 'Gulistan-Bostan,' but he also made his own additions to the text." (2004, 59). A cursory comparison of the texts, even in translation, reveals that this cannot be

Though his most famous works are *The Golestān* (The Rose Garden) and *The Bustān* (*The Orchard*), *The Khache Phalu* most closely resembles a shorter work called *The Pand Namah*, known in English as *The Scroll of Wisdom*. This text was not attributed to Sa'dī until the 15th century, but was well known in the Persian-speaking world and so is a likely influence on the text.

Both works are compact, poetic works dealing with everyday morality. Both works explicitly discuss the value of generosity, education, honesty, justice, and gratitude. In addition to general, thematic affinities, there are a few particular similarities.²³ Consider respective verses on contentment:

Having this contentment, there's no rich and no poor.
(Khache Phalu)

O soul! If thou acquirest contentment,
Thou wilt exercise sway in the kingdom of repose.
If thou art pinched with the trials of poverty,
Then, in the estimation of the wise, wealth is nought.
(Sa'dī)

And on arrogance:

It's difficult for great things to come to an arrogant person.
The solution is to put aside this arrogance.
(Khache Phalu)

Whoever is by nature arrogant,
His head is filled with pride beyond imagination.
Pride is the source of adversity,
Pride is the nature of the evil-disposed.
(Sa'dī)

And on humility:

Speaking empty words is the source of arrogance.

true; these works of Sa'dī, for example, often include longer stories and fables written in prose, none of which appear in the far shorter *The Khache Phalu*.

²³ The following verses from Sa'dī's *Scroll of Wisdom* are from the 1906 Arthur Wollaston translation.

The best way to deal with that is to be humble.
If you're humble, many people will like you.
Many will sincerely help those who are humble.
(Khache Phalu)

Humility will augment thy station,
Just as the moon gets light from the sun.
Humility is the source of intimacy.
For exalted will be the dignity of friendship.
(Sa'dī)

Sa'dī's text includes more explicitly Islamic content, for example chapters devoted to praising Muhammad and condemning Satan. Much of the advice, however, is in the same general spirit. Despite this, the imagery and tone of *The Khache Phalu* seems to be original. Sa'dī's text may have served as an inspiration, but the resulting text is something unique.

Significance of the Text

The reason *The Khache Phalu* is still worth reading today is the same reason that ordinary Tibetans still read it – it gives practical and spiritual advice that makes sense even now. It offers advice about how to handle friends, enemies, parents, money, and even how to manage the place of spirituality in everyday life; common issues that many of us could use advice about.

For those of us not from Tibet, the allusions and references can provide a window into Tibetan culture and customs. Sometimes this means legendary figures like Gesar and Norsang, but it also means the customs of ordinary Tibetan people of the time. Other times it means everyday cuisine, like *chang* and *tsampa*, or idioms and folk beliefs. The text offers a small slice of various aspects of Tibetan life and culture.

As a text that blends religious traditions, it also provides a glimpse of the religious diversity in Tibet. For many modern readers, it challenges preconceptions of what it means to be Tibetan. Tibetan culture, it turns out, is not homogeneously, monolithically Buddhist. A text like *The Khache Phalu* helps us to remember that there are a variety of individual points of view in the Tibetan world. It is a

reminder of the richness of Tibetan culture and a reminder that Tibet is not merely a steward for ideas from India, but also produces distinctive texts of its own, drawing from a wide range of influences.

It may also resonate with modern Buddhist readers in the West, many of whom have received Buddhism in the context of a culture dominated by another religion. Most North American Buddhists, for example, approach Buddhism from a background of Christian, Jewish, or Islamic thought. Reading *The Khache Phalu* reminds us that we are not the only ones who have faced the task of reconciling, synthesizing, and harmonizing religious worldviews. The text gives us a glimpse of one such previous attempt, allowing us to identify with both its successes and its failures.

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THE KHACHE PHALU

About the Translation

The present translation is based primarily on three versions of the text: one published in Tibet by the People's Publishing House in 2014, another published in Delhi by Sherig Parkhang in 2010, and a 1968 handwritten edition published in India. Because *The Khache Phalu* was originally a handwritten manuscript rather than printed from blocks, different versions often have spelling errors and alternate readings from words that sound alike. These versions also have many differences in grammatical casing and in verb tensing, which in many cases produce no change in pronunciation. The Tibetan text here has standardized the cases and tenses; places where this results in a change in meaning have been noted in the footnotes. Instances where there is an alternate or missing line in any of the versions have also been noted in the footnotes.

The Khache Phalu has been translated at least three times before. Johan van Manen published an English translation of the first five chapters in 1929. An English version by Dawa Norbu was published in 1986 and an Italian version by Gianluca Magi in 2009. Though we have consulted the Dawa Norbu translation, it often omits Kahche Pahlu's cultural references in favor of emphasizing the more general point; for example, he omits the reference to Norsang in chapter two. That translation also suffers from some English errors and may have used different source material. More recently, Geoff Bailey and Pema Gyatso have translated the text in 2015, though unfortunately we were not able to use this translation as a reference.

This translation aims to offer a version of this text that is both true to the original and accessible to those with little background knowledge of Tibet, Buddhism, or Islam. We have opted to preserve the format and tone of the original. Aside from the brief introduction, the original text is in verse, a form that is mirrored in our translation. Most editions of the Tibetan text, however, do not include stanza breaks, leaving each chapter as a flowing whole. We have added stanza breaks and indentation for ease of reading and to highlight topic changes within chapters. The chapters in the original text do not have titles and are only numbered. Though the chapters do have loose themes, we've preserved this feature of the original text and left the chapters untitled.

One of the interesting aspects of *The Khache Phalu* is the way it moves between literary and colloquial registers. We have attempted to capture this in the translation; using formal or conversational English to match the original whenever possible. We have also attempted to preserve the images and metaphors found in the text as they give a window into the world in which it was composed. When these references might be unclear, they are explained in the footnotes.

Since *The Khache Phalu* is not a standard Buddhist text, it often uses terms in a unique way. This means that simply relying on standard dictionaries can often be misleading. Also, since much of the language is colloquial, many of the terms are not to be found in dictionaries at all. One needs to consult a native speaker, particularly

one familiar with Tibetan as spoken in the Ü-Tsang region of Tibet.²⁴

Introduction

Om Svasti!

Long ago, in the noble place of India, the Buddha was just ten years old. At that time, the whole world, especially this joyful place, was full of auspicious signs and the deeds of uncountable knowledgeable sages.²⁵ This lifetime is not enough to write and explain such things; I will only give an account of what the Buddha taught at the age of ten:

First, he taught the treasury of honesty.

Second, the source of the law.

Third, the ocean of modesty.

Fourth, the king of generosity.²⁶

Fifth, spiritual and worldly teachings, like a tree of strong roots with flourishing leaves and branches.

Cause and effect.

Shame and modesty.

Love and compassion.

Tradition and customs.²⁷

Among the entire ocean, this is but a drop of a drop divided into a hundred pieces. These stanzas are like a string of pearls. This advice, written by Khache Phalu-ju, is a fountain of wishes.

²⁴ In the case of the present translation, Tenzin Norbu Nangsal has illuminated *many* of the idioms, metaphors, and cultural touchstones that would otherwise be completely mysterious.

²⁵ The Tibetan here (*rdzu-'phrul-mkhan*) refers to spiritually advanced beings that make miraculous displays in order to help others.

²⁶ In some versions it is the gate (*rgyal-sgo*) rather than the king (*rgyal-po*) of generosity.

²⁷ This list is an overview of the themes and topics that will be covered in the text.

ONE

The *vajra* throne is the origin of the teachings.
 Behind, the rocky mountain and its lofty summit.
 Ahead, an ocean shimmering, full with radiant compassion.

With neither summer nor winter, the span of day and night is equal.
 Without summer's heat and winter's cold,
 In a place with this climate,
 When the sun is at its zenith,
 The houses have no darkness and no shadows.
 These are signs of the center of the universe.²⁸

On the path from the center to the center,
 Respect the center of the center.
 In Tibetan, *Könchok Rinpoche*.
 In my own language, *Godhar*. Homage!

If you dream of visiting a noble Indian valley,
 Eliminate the traces of ignorance from the valley of your mind.
 Throw your black attachments to the bottom of the ocean.
 Throw attachment, aversion, and hatred into the red flames.²⁹
 Contemplate one thing, meditate and remember this one thing!
 If you say these two are disconnected from this one thing,
 Then, my son, go to the teachings! Prepare for the teachings!
 As you go, you'll see many sights.
 Everything you do becomes the teachings; everything you
 undertake succeeds.
 Everything you think will be correct; everything you need will
 be at hand.
 Everything you say will be true; you will hit every target you
 need to hit.

If you say you want to go to a place like that,

²⁸ The term translated here and the following verses as 'center' (*lte-ba*) can also refer the navel or, more generally to the abstract or literal source or center of something. This is not a common Buddhist term and seems to be used by Khache Phalu in a unique way.

²⁹ This stanza references the sources of suffering according to Buddhism.

You will need three essentials:

First: A heroic mind like a clean mirror.

Second: A sincere motivation, pure as the water of a river.³⁰

Third: Devotion as great as a lion.

If you've gathered those three, you have arrived.

Young men who have already arrived there:

If you don't question yourself,³¹

You'll be absorbed into the cycle of this world.

Dragged out while saying, "Tomorrow, Tomorrow"

In that state, the caller will come!³²

Then you will be full of regrets.

A date palm grew from dried rocks,

Branches and leaves immediately flourished.

Upon every leaf, a name was born,

All their knowledge and wisdom increased!

The central request must be offered to the center.

Behind the official letter and behind its seal,

Like a crown jewel, the word fixes their meanings.

Like all cyclic beings, I too have serious faults.

This request to embark on the path of the teachings,

Gives hope now and in the future.

In the seat of my heart and my mind,

From afar, please help me to unite them!

Watch with your eye of wisdom and keep this in mind!

Expand your kindness and love; follow the teachings.

Look in the direction of the light of the great star,

And the one hundred and fifty-two little stars.³³

The explanation of the pen is understood though the pen.

Black marks filled by white words.

Whatever Khache Phalu remembers, I offer to you.

³⁰ Running water is thought to be free from impurities.

³¹ This line literally reads, 'If you don't wear your understanding of your self'. Other versions refer to wearing armor (*go-cha*) rather than understanding (*go-ba*).

³² The caller here refers to death.

³³ The meaning of these lines is unclear. Because of spelling variations Dawa Norbu renders the number of stars as 1,052.

TWO

The teachings and the world are each separate,
 Just as mind and body are themselves discrete.
 Even though after difficult practice, the mind wants to move,
 The body wants to enjoy delicious food and rest.

The body pleasantly sits for three days,
 The suffering of the mind goes on and on.³⁴
 If you want to be happy, practice bodily hardships!
 If you think of the body, the suffering of the mind increases.
 If you listen to me, the mind will be cut off from the body.

A crazy person trades gold for brass,
 If you mistake turquoise for *dolo*, you're stupid!

Now and in the future, if you don't know what's harmful and what's
 beneficial,
 You'll say, "I'm just scraping by in this world"
 Whether you live one or two more years, or a hundred more,
 In the end, you'll dissolve into a fossil in the ground.

A king seated on a golden throne,
 And a hopeless beggar's child,
 Are the same when facing impermanence and death.

As food's sweet taste is between the tongue and the throat,
 Cyclic beings' joy and sorrow are only three days long.
 Even a suffering beggar can survive human life.
 Even a happy king, will die in the end.

No one can count how many of these lives have happened before.
 Still, who can confidently say when they will go?
 Coming and going, coming and going!
 Truly, every newcomer will also go.

³⁴ Here and following, 'three days' means a very short time.

In this cyclic existence, not one thing is permanent.
Without any permanence, who can know the truth?
This human life, without permanence or stability,
Is like the sun at the edge of a mountain pass.
We must leave; there's no way to stay.

Still, don't be distracted by childish ways of thinking.
If you're smart, focus on meaningful goals.
If you reach them, you are a hero's hero.
Actions in this worldly cycle are pointless.
Samsara is no place to linger,
Like a traveller staying in a guesthouse for just three days.
It's best to think your own thoughts.
If a traveller doesn't pack before leaving,
They can't carry the guesthouse on their back.
They can't bring the landlady to help them.
Right now you have your own wealth — Keep this in mind!
When you lose the key, you'll regret it.

You've probably seen many parents die,
And you've probably seen many children remain.
A son can't follow his mother,
A daughter can't go with her mother.

Each season must be weathered alone.
Think for yourself!
On this road, you travel alone.
Give your luggage to beggars just before you leave.
Teach your steed how to run.³⁵

Ready to travel the road to the next life,
If you want to enjoy benefits on the other side,
Understand the situation of beggars here and now.
If you wish to eat a peach, grown from soil,
It's best to plant a peach tree in the soil.
It's best to cultivate the root of happiness for everyone.

³⁵ Because if a horse doesn't run properly, the rider will get fatigued.

Without thinking, you can't grasp the root of the teachings.
 The essence of the teachings is to benefit others.
 If you get what you wish for yourself,
 There will be nothing better than *chang* and liquor.
 My, my, myself! So-called egomaniacs, saying
 "I need money and a good reputation"
 "I need gourmet dishes and comfortable clothes"
 "Aren't I great? Aren't I good looking?"
 Even if they go on pilgrimage, it only hurts their feet.
 Even if they go on retreat, they'll be bothered by what others say.
 Even if they see a tornado during meditation, it will be empty.³⁶
 They buy their own suffering by starving themselves.³⁷

Ordinary grandpas who know what to do for their families,
 Are better than a hundred self-seeking religious people.³⁸
 Self-centered people are shameless,
 And the shameless are like animals.

Even if a girl wears elegant clothes and jewelry,
 She won't be seen as Norsang's queen.³⁹
 If you're not committed, even if you practice the teachings,
 It will be unlit, a mirror in the dark.

The eyes of a bull turning the mill are covered by blinders,
 Even if it walks the whole day, it's in the same place at night.⁴⁰
 If you can't walk away from the noose of attachment,
 Even calling yourself a monk or nun will be empty.
 If you tied a string to their feathers,
 Even vultures wouldn't be able to escape.

³⁶ That is, it will be merely weather and not a special sign of spiritual attainment.

³⁷ Here 'starving' refers to a special ascetic practice of eating only small pebbles (*rde'u-bcud-len*).

³⁸ Though the elder head of a household only takes care of their own family, they are less self-centered than monks who talk about caring for all sentient beings, but in fact pursue a good reputation and material gain.

³⁹ Norsang is a rich king from the Tibetan opera *The Dharma King Norsang* (*chos-rgyal nor-bzang*).

⁴⁰ Animals in Tibet are sometimes yoked to a mill and walk in a circle to turn it. Here the image is used to illustrate how ignorance perpetuates samara.

You need a devoted mind and diligent heart.
Whatever you face, you face in your own mind.
This path is really a path in the mind.
Clean up your mind again and again:
 Look at what inspires everyone.
 Look at what good things you can say.
 Look at what legacy you can leave.
If you've gathered these three, you're the best of the best.

This is Khache Phalu's heartfelt advice,
It's up to each person whether to listen.
Nevertheless, the white paper is filled with drawings,
And the tip of this yellow pen is finished.⁴¹

THREE

The expansive sun and moon are ornaments of the sky,
Eliminating the darkness in the Four Continents.⁴²
Hollyhock is the ornament of the garden,
When it blooms, the pedals spread everywhere.⁴³

A great king is the ornament of the country,
 If he lives in accord with the law, the country will thrive.
 If he follows the law, he will accomplish his goals.
 If he has a system of law, everybody will be happy.

When the ocean sways, the fish naturally sway too.
When the country is poor, the king is naturally poor too.

⁴¹ Here and at the end of following chapters, Khache Phalu's pen and paper are described using the Tibetan term *'rgya'*. This term has many meanings including India, China, a beard, vast, white, or a symbol.

⁴² In Buddhist cosmology, there are four continents surrounding the sacred Mount Meru.

⁴³ This line and the previous one are missing from some editions. Though hollyhock is a common flower in Tibet, it is an important symbol in poetry. The 6th Dalai Lama, for example, uses it in the following verse: "The strong hollyhock flower / If you offer it at the shrine / I, the young turquoise bee / Am also drawn into the temple" (*stobs-ldan ha-lo'i-me-tog / mchod-pa'i-sa la phebs na / g.yu-sbrang gzhon-nu nga yang / lha-khang nang la khrid dang*). Because it is much larger than other flowers, it is seen as strong and a centerpiece of the garden.

A good leader miraculously makes a country prosperous.
 Without a country, a "leader" is a joke,
 The ruler and subjects are just like a doctor and patients.
 It's the needle's trace that gets the balm.
 Quit scolding and apologizing; take care of them!
 First, treat even criminals according to the situation.
 Second, punish criminals according to their crime.
 Third, it is suitable to cut the roots of the wicked.
 You don't need to see people like that with compassion.

Catch the wolf before it carries away the lamb.
 Drive out the wicked before they disturb the happiness of the
 country.
 If the king becomes like yogurt, a lazy blob,
 He won't know the country is a blood-soaked mess.
 If the shepherd's mind is always on tea and *chang*,
 The wolf will surely carry off the lamb.

Naturally, you commission someone who is an expert.
 Even a master carpenter, cannot be a *thangka* painter.
 Though it would make the wolf happy, the shepherd cannot listen.
 Select one who understands cause and effect as the leader.

Don't put the lamb in the mouth of the wolf!
 Follow the guidance of the wise!
 If you want a jewel, it's at the bottom of the ocean.
 Put your trust in an honest person.
 Rock, solid like a *vajra*, never changes.

Day and night, consult the wise.
 In the end, a dead dog in the salt mine will turn to salt.
 Gradually repay the loved ones who raised you up,
 If you leave a legacy, you complete their wishes.
 Don't upset those who have already done this.
 When faced with this task, there are many to help you.
 Support trustworthy people from far away!
 And this world will be filled with compliments.

When the brave are in trouble, look after them!

When facing a critical moment, they'll help you.
Keep filling the treasury with jewels,
And be careful, watch for attacking enemies!
In order to defeat these enemies there are two essentials:
 Overthrow enemies with funding and allies.
 Without funding, there's no way to have allies.
 The only way to search for allies is with funding.
If you gather those two, enemies are defeated naturally.
Take care of wealth the way parents take care of their descendants.
Listen to the words of the elderly,
They have experienced many joys and sorrows in life.

When arriving at the edge of the iron wall,
The solutions of the elderly are better than the strength of youth.
If you want to defeat enemies whenever you meet them,
It's better to turn them into friends at that moment.
If you say you'll be strategic in reaching your goals,
Then it's crazy to use arrows, knives, and spears.
Unable to fight enemies, it's better to give up fighting.
It's impossible to punch a needle!
Forget Denma, even if you were the real Gesar,
Getting a tiny benefit without a fight, that's the ultimate goal.⁴⁴
A national hero on the front lines must avoid wrongdoing.
The gun of wisdom can be shot from far away.
First, use these methods ninety-nine percent of the time.
In the other one percent, a fight is unavoidable.

A stupid person is worse than a dog.
 When faced with a bad dog, teach it with a hit on the nose.
 If you tell it to go, show it the way.
 If you tell it to attack, take three steps in front.⁴⁵

Sometimes if you're not mindful of when you get angry,
When you remember it later, you'll smack your own mouth.

⁴⁴ *King Gesar (ge-sar rgyal-po)* is a very long Tibetan epic poem that exists in many versions. It recounts the heroic deeds of King Gesar defending his kingdom, Ling (*gling*). Denma was one of his primary generals and was a skilled archer and military tactician.

⁴⁵ That is, if you want the dog to attack you must lead the way.

If you say, "Gently achieve your true goals"
 Then arrogance and anger are meaningless.
 If you have the power to control your anger, it's a sign of wisdom.
 It's a stupid person who follows anger.

The wise person sees what will happen,
 Anybody can see the immediate after effects.
 Everybody can see a broken right-turning conch shell,
 If you need to fix it, only the conch can do it.⁴⁶

If the enemy comes to surrender,
 Get rid of your heart's anger; forgive from deep down.
 Don't let those surrendering be disappointed.
 Be careful, however, of liars and cheats!

The river runs through the middle of the castle,
 If you don't build a dyke, the castle will be destroyed.
 Supporting bad people is like striking good people.
 Nourishing the thief is like killing the merchant.⁴⁷

If you leave a poisonous snake alone, it will hurt everyone.⁴⁸
 If you leave a wolf alone, it will hurt white sheep.
 Don't say that it's the dog that bites someone,
 It is the bad dog's owner who is to blame.

Both a head for defeating enemies and for protecting friends is
 necessary.
 If too soft, enemies become stiff-necked.
 If too rigid, you're in danger of being stopped.

⁴⁶ Right-turning conch shells are an auspicious symbol in Tibetan culture. The text simply says that a fish (*nya*) will fix the shell; given the previous line it is likely that this refers to the conch (the maker of the shell). Though this term usually refers to vertebrate fish (creatures like shrimp and lobsters are considered insects), it is sometimes used for other sea creatures (an oyster or clam, for example, is *nya-phyis*) and often refers to anything living in the sea.

⁴⁷ In some versions, this line reads, "Nourishing the thief is like killing the religious practitioner".

⁴⁸ Here 'everyone' translates an idiom that literally reads 'black-headed people' (*mgo-nag-mi*). Since most people in Asia have black hair, it is meant to refer to all people.

Use both soft and rough ways of dealing with everyone.
With this method everyone, friend and enemy, will want to be your ally.

If you want to hold on to current and future victories,
Be impartial from the golden throne.
Wish for the country and people to be happy,
And in the evening, descend and practice the teachings.
Prostrate with body, speech, and mind!
Take refuge in the Three Jewels!
Follow the orders of the Master of the Cosmos!
If you want to be exalted in this life and the next,
Maintain awareness of impermanence and death!
Accept! Accept! What Khache Phalu has discussed and discussed!⁴⁹
The meaning of what I've reported, a string of pearls,
I offer it to the Master of the Three Realms.
Calculating their value, it's in the top hundred!⁵⁰

FOUR

In this world, there are many hills and valleys.
There are innumerable phases of joy and sorrow.
And it's clear to see that none are exactly the same.
In this situation, it's best to keep yourself content.

Even if you try, you can't erase what is drawn in your forehead.
It's better to integrate what is already drawn.⁵¹
Even a donkey from Chokrong creates its own suffering.⁵²
It has no choice but to carry the load on its back.

⁴⁹ Here 'accept' (*'dod*) may be a reference to philosophical debate in Tibet, where it is used as a technical term of agreement.

⁵⁰ This is similar to the Tibetan proverb: "I'm not in the top hundred, but I'm in the top thousand." (*brgya-tham-pa'i gras-mdor ma bslebs gyang / stong-tham-pa'i gras-gzhug la lus med*).

⁵¹ This is possibly a reference to the Buddhist notion of karmic-formations (*bag-chags*), the predispositions we have as a result of previous actions.

⁵² In Tibet, the donkeys of an area of Lhasa called Chokrong (*lcogs-rong*) are thought to be worked harder than donkeys in other places - whipped more, carry heavier loads, ridden more, and so on.

If satisfied by clothing the mind, then the amount of wealth won't matter.

An unsatisfied king is a beggar,

If your mind is clothed, you'll be better than that beggar-king.

After consuming his nation's wealth, the king still looks hungry.

With his tiny bag filled, a beggar's child is proudly satisfied.⁵³

If you're not content with your existing karma,

You bought your own suffering – Meaningless!

Having this contentment, there's no rich and no poor.

If you established the karma, your enemy's wealth is yours.

If not, a son won't even get his father's wealth.

It's impossible for a sprout to grow on a rock.

Shaking with anger, who benefits?

If you fall for someone, fall for someone with good parents.

If you have contentment, mind and body will stay happy.

Give up all bad action.⁵⁴

Keep the happiness of parents and children in mind.

Grab ahold of this advice for this life and the next.

Heartfelt advice pours from Khache Phalu's mouth.

My dear children, listen from your heart!

If you understand, then my words are meaningful.

Though not many, they are rich with flavor!

FIVE

Watch metal in summer and clay in winter,

Watch your red tongue year-round!⁵⁵

Don't tell too many of your innermost secrets to close friends,

Friends in the morning often become enemies by evening.

If you need to, entrust your gold and silver to someone else.

⁵³ Variations of this line exist as proverbial sayings. Lhamo Pemba offers this version: "The king upon his golden throne, can know hunger. The beggar with his begging bag, can know fullness." (*rgyal-po gser-khri'i-steng na slog lhang-lhang / sprang-phrug thang-rkyal 'khyer nas spo ker-ker*)

⁵⁴ That is, actions that produce bad results for yourself and others.

⁵⁵ Because in summer metal will rust and in winter clay will crack.

Even if they spend it, you can still get it back.
But if you entrust your innermost secrets to too many people,
You'll be stuck with your foot in your mouth!⁵⁶

Knot up your speech and keep it deep in your heart.
Lock up your mouth and tongue!
If the knot loosens, somebody could get killed.
Just saying "Oh shit!" - What's the point?

If you run your mouth too much,
You have to keep saying, "Don't tell!"
If you don't control your oblong tongue,
You'll make trouble for your round head.

Things you haven't said yet, you can say anytime you want.
Saying things you regret is the worst thing to do.
Before you say it, you are in control of the conversation.
After saying it, you're ruled by it.

There's great danger of all kindness being called bad,
Kindly giving advice can produce enemies and bad actions.⁵⁷
Nevertheless, protect everyone, good and bad, with kindness.
Kindness blocks the bad actions of an enemy's leader.

For someone who speaks honestly, honesty comes from their heart.
With an honest heart, one is starting on the road to the teachings.
Compared with their current happiness, their future will be even
happier.
Now and in the future, they'll naturally accomplish their goals and
wishes.

You've met Khache Phalu's pen, ink, and hopes.
Black writing is clear on white.
The writer may be in the ground, but the writing will be above.

⁵⁶ In Tibetan, the idiom is to put your hand or fist in your mouth. This line evokes the proverb: "Once you say it, you can't take it back" (*bshad-pa'i gtam la len rgyu med*).

⁵⁷ That is, sometimes giving good or kind advice to someone makes them resent you and behave in a worse way.

Until the world ends, please remember my thoughts.

SIX

The world is a mirror for us to see each other,
Samsara is like a rocky mountain, echoing what you say.
You see your own performance clearly in the mirror.
Whatever you say, the rocky mountain echoes back.

Returning kindness for kindness, evil for evil.
This is the working of the karmic cycle in the world.
If everyone says they dislike something,
Then don't talk about it with others – Watch yourself!
Everyone will match your true colors.⁵⁸
Whatever you've done was in your hands.⁵⁹

For others, your affection is limited; for yourself, unlimited.
Anyway, kindness for kindness, evil for evil.
A poisonous tree doesn't seem to give peaches,
If you want peaches, go to a peach tree.

If you say, "I want precious gold"
There's no point in going into the darkness.⁶⁰
If you always want to hear "Yes sir! Yes sir!"
"Yes sir! Yes sir!" – How many will be enough?

It's difficult for great things to come to an arrogant person.
The solution is to put aside this arrogance.
Treat others with love and even enemies will become close friends.
Without controlling your abuse, even your son will be sick of you!

⁵⁸ That is, once you've thought things through for yourself and put them into practice, people will come around to your view because they'll see that it serves you well.

⁵⁹ A literal translation of this line would be: "Whatever you've done shows clearly on the palm of your hand." For something to show clearly on your palm (*lag-pa'i mthil-du gsal*) is an idiom meaning that you have control over it.

⁶⁰ At this time in Tibet, gold was found primarily by panning in rivers. So if you want to find gold you must look in the daytime or you won't be able to distinguish gold from ordinary rocks.

Someone with the marks of a good person:
 Captivates the minds of others with a nice smile of white teeth.⁶¹
 Having done good work, you're on the path of enlightenment!
 My son, carry a good reputation and keep going!

Someone with the marks of a bad person:
 A poisonous snake and a rabid dog are two of a kind,
 Day and night, all they do is bite!
 The practice of bad people: Kicking up dust and leaving.

After the good person has come, there will be compliments.
 Good grains bring a good harvest.
 A bad harvest hangs on the neck of the bad person.
 Bad omens and criticism follow the bad person.

From the tip of this yellow pen, three words flow,
 Becoming clear on the heart of the white paper.⁶²
 Translated from Indian into Tibetan,⁶³
 And so, Khache Phalu is satisfied.

SEVEN

Holding to a low place, you can practice patience with everything.⁶⁴
 Keep your true goal in mind.
 Go and tell people what they need to hear.
 Go and achieve your own goals.⁶⁵

⁶¹ The marks here refer to lines on one's forehead from laughing and smiling. The idea here is that people find someone who smiles and laughs more agreeable. Contrast this with the proverb: "A human's marks are on the inside / A tiger's marks are on the outside" (*mi'i-ri-mo nang-la yod / stag-gi-ri-mo phyi-la yod*)

⁶² Here 'three words' is an idiom meaning just a few words. This usage is also found in the poetry of the sixth Dalai Lama: "Me and the girls at the market / Tie a promise of three words / Don't tie it on a variegated snake / It unties itself on the ground" (*nga dang tshong 'dus bu mo'i / tshig gsum dam bca'i mdud pa / khra bo'i sbrul la ma brgyab / rang rang sa la grol song*).

⁶³ In a Buddhist context 'Indian' (*rgya-skad*) usually refers to Sanskrit. However, it can refer to any of the languages found in India.

⁶⁴ In these stanzas 'humble' translates a Tibetan phrase meaning "holding to a low place" (*dma'-sa-bzung*). I've kept the literal translation in this line to set the tone.

Speaking empty words is the source of arrogance.⁶⁶
 The best way to deal with that is to be humble.
 If you're humble, many people will like you.
 Many will sincerely help those who are humble.

Human life goes by, enjoying tea and *chang*,
 Many say, "Come here! Sit down!"
 Rein in the wild horse of desire.
 Control yourself in every situation:
 Going, staying, speaking, and doing.
 Making happiness and carrying suffering.
 Eating delicious food and wearing nice clothes.
 If someone has those qualities, they're the summit of wisdom!
 Such a person has found the Master of the Cosmos.
 Not just for now, but in the long run, they loosen karmic ties.
 First, people unable to control their desires.
 Second, those without control of their minds.
 Being stuck with such people is like being stuck in the worst place.
 So don't bring such trouble home!

Watch your actions or they'll one day cause your ruin.
 Watch your business or it'll eventually cause bankruptcy.
 Watch your mouth or you'll buy yourself an asskicking.
 Watch your laughter or it'll cause tears in the end.

Around samsara, there are cliffs and sinkholes,
 You might slip, you might fall!
 On that kind of road, walk and rest properly!

The six faces of samsara are like the nomad's dice,
 You want snake eyes, but what comes up is uncertain.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ In some versions, this line instructs one to plan or fix (*sgrig*) the goals rather than achieve (*sgrub*) them.

⁶⁶ Here 'empty talk' is that of one with an empty mouth (*kha-stong-pa*): Someone who talks a lot when they are uneducated about something.

⁶⁷ In Buddhist cosmology there are six classes of beings in the realm of desire: hell-beings, animals, humans, hungry ghosts, jealous gods, and gods. When playing dice in Tibet, snake eyes is the best roll; if you get three in a row you win.

Keep profit and loss in mind; make this your system.
 Profit: Look for a method that opens the door to it.
 Loss: Look for a strategy that blocks the road to it.
When profit and loss get out of balance,
It's best to suppress bad feelings and control your reactions.

The limitless Khache Phalu has said too much.
The jewel of speech, spread on this paper,
Don't underestimate it when appraising it.
My son, I have extracted my all.

EIGHT

Don't eat all the delicious food and wear only comfortable clothes.
Your mouth and body will bring suffering.
Even if you have a huge torso,
It's not just storage for food.
The eyes and stomach are never satisfied,
It's best to limit your meals and food.
If you cook tripe on the stove too much,
When you touch poison grass, it will feel like a cool hearthstone.⁶⁸

Hoping to enjoying tea and *chang* from others,
Is not as delicious as your own water and grass.⁶⁹
The dirty food of the butcher's evil work,
When you crave meat, it's better to eat a flea!

Just eating and sleeping is the nature of cows and donkeys,
Is that good, my son?
If your dog and stomach get out of hand,

⁶⁸ The text plays on a Tibetan term (*grod-pa*), which can refer to both the stomach as an organ and the stomach of an animal prepared as culinary dish. The final line could mean that preparing the dish too often will make one's fingers calloused, making everything feel like stone. Or, more likely, it relied on the Tibetan idea that eating this dish raises one's body temperature, making everything feel cool to the touch like stone.

⁶⁹ Tibetans do not eat grass. Khache Phalu is using hyperbole here to make the point that eating anything of your own, however modest, is better than freeloading from others.

You're in danger of feeding on the corpses of horses and donkeys.⁷⁰

If you don't control your hunger,
 You're in danger of losing your good reputation.
 If you want the sleeve of reputation to be comfortably long,
 It's best if to keep a hungry hand inside.⁷¹

Fish in the water are destroyed by their faith in *tsampa* dough.⁷²
 The cost of eating: The nightingale ate the mouse that ate the mustard
 seeds.

Because small brown mice are hungry,
 Mousetraps stab their necks from their love of eating.

If the fox of the northern plateau doesn't control itself,
 People there will take its pelt; eating is to blame.
 Consider the aggressive tiger cub,
 In danger when it tries to pounce on sheep like a dog, as adult tigers
 do.

Though I didn't say I'm an expert,
 On white, the black writing is clear.
 Even if Khache Phalu is dead and in the ground,
 These ink drawings on white paper,
 I hope they will endure above ground.
 I hope everyone will keep it in mind.⁷³

NINE

There are two ways of seeing the same world,
 On one way of looking, there are two different types:
 Father becomes son and son becomes father,
 Thought of like this, how could life be short?⁷⁴

⁷⁰ That is, if your craving for meat is not under control, you'll resort to eating taboo meats.

⁷¹ Traditional Tibetan coats called *Chupas* (*phyu-pa*) often have very long sleeves.

⁷² Fishermen sometimes use a bag of *tsampa* dough as bait.

⁷³ This line is missing from some editions.

⁷⁴ Fathers have sons, when then become fathers when having their own sons. Considering lifecycles from this point of view, life is not short.

Without this thought, a father and son's relationship deteriorates.
Violating the relationship, they become hated enemies.
Though it's impossible to have a child without parents,
Only a few still have both at hand.
Though we have them early in life, later in life many are without.
When the father and son's relationship is safe, it's best to keep it that
way.

Time keeps passing – Don't waste an hour.
Keep track of your kids and educate them!⁷⁵
The root of all education is literacy,
It is the master of all education.

Lead your child to the golden throne of education.⁷⁶
An education in bravery puts him on a tiger-skin rug.⁷⁷
In a lama's debate courtyard, education is a mirror.
In the king's court, education comes to fruition.

The literate and perceptive are considered wise or reincarnations,
The illiterate and imperceptive considered blind and dumb.
Even script that looks bent like a bow,
Has a deep meaning straighter than an arrow.
Everybody dreams of precious education.
Everyone with this dream must be unobstructed.
Truly, people need a complete education.
Wealth sometimes goes and sometimes comes,
There is a danger of wealth being wasted, lost, or stolen by thieves.
Precious education is an inexhaustible enduring treasure.

Train children completely in their youth.
After they've grown, there is no need to train them.
The best time to straighten a tree is when it's a new sapling,

⁷⁵ The term translated here as 'education' (*yi-ge*) has a broader range of meanings in Tibetan. In addition to education, it can refer to one's character and behavior, knowledge, and written letters. Khache Phalu sometimes plays on this ambiguity in this chapter.

⁷⁶ An alternate version of this line reads: "Education naturally sends your child to a golden throne."

⁷⁷ A military commander traditionally sits on a tiger-skin rug.

Do too much when it's old and you're in danger of breaking it.

If you stay friends with bad people,
 If you stay with that poison, you inhale toxic fumes.
 A gathering of bad people is like black coal,
 Hot and you might get burned, cold and it might be gunpowder!

Always navigate through the beneficial and the harmful,
 Always talk about what is right and what is wrong:
 If right, give praise for the right reason.
 If wrong, say it's wrong and punish them.

If a mother locks up her mouth too much,
 There's a great danger children will unlock the gate to disaster.⁷⁸
 When a stone is polished, a gem emerges.
 When iron is smoothed, it becomes a mirror.

If fully educated, you'll be everyone's precious son.
 If you have a bad way of behaving, you're worse than an enemy.
 This is spoken from a pure mind.
 Fathers with sons, keep this in mind!

TEN

Please listen, those with a mother's heart!
 Most grateful, kind, and loving,
 The child, when young, sits on the mom's head.⁷⁹
 If spoiled by anyone, it's by their mother.
 Whatever they crave, mom feeds them,
 She dresses them in whatever they feel like wearing.
 The mother feeds them everything they want,
 The mother dresses them in anything they want.
 It's during childhood that children get spoiled by their mothers.
 If they are spoiled, even their own mothers can't love them.

⁷⁸ This line plays on the similar sounding words for lock (*sgo-lcags*), gate (*rgyal-sgo*), and disaster (*chag-sgo*).

⁷⁹ An alternate version reads: "The child, when young, sits before their mother."

Like that, many ruin their lives by committing murder.
Like that, many become fugitives by stealing a horse.⁸⁰
Unless a mother controls her harmful mindset,
She'll cast her children to the wind.

When they steal, it's best to give them a smack.
If they are dishonest, give them a whipping.⁸¹
If you don't take it seriously when they steal an egg,
They'll end up stealing the hen, then the stallion!
Stop giving them unlimited delicious food and comfortable clothes.
Train them in ways of doing, going, and staying.⁸²
Even without a way of preparing it, teach them how to eat it.
In the end, who would become crazy like that?⁸³

On the flatland, there is no place for a fox cub to fall.
I feel sorry for vulture chicks that fall from a cliff.
Children of beggars go from place to place begging; it's the beggar's
karma.
A rich person, wandering like a beggar, will become someone's
enemy.

If there's someone to listen, I've said meaningful things.
If there's someone to look, I've offered something to see.
The tip of the pen writes the essence of meaningful words.
Mothers, keep it in within your hearts!

ELEVEN

Mother's children, listen!
Just like tigers and leopards fresh from the jungle,⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Here stealing a horse refers to all kinds of theft and bad actions.

⁸¹ An alternate version of this line advises to simply "correct them" (*slog-slog-btang-ba*) rather than whipping them (*gleg-gleg-ster-ba*).

⁸² This is similar to the proverb: "The way to eat, stay, and go / Is graciously taught by one's parents" (*za-stangs sdod-stangs 'gro-stangs / drin-chen pha-ma'i bslab-bya yin*).

⁸³ That is, if brought up well, who would resort to theft and murder?

⁸⁴ Tigers and leopards here is a reference to boys and girls. Boys are thought to be like tigers (brave and strong) while girls are thought to be like leopards (gentle and flexible).

When coming from the mother's womb,
 Connected to the mother by the umbilical cord
 Aside from crying "wah, wah" it's nothing but a hunk of meat!
 Though their mouth is put to mother's breast, they don't know how
 to drink.
 Though they have feet, they don't know how to take a step.
 Though they have ears, they don't understand words.
 Though they have two eyes, they have only their mother to see.
 Though they have minds, they only have their mother to think of.
 They don't know how to scare flies away from their faces.
 They don't know how to get dust out of their eyes.
 Crying when chilled, freezing, and hungry,
 Interrupting the sleep of both parents at night.
 Parents sleep on the wet part and the child on the dry,
 Parents take the rough spot and give the comfortable spot to the
 child.⁸⁵

Nowadays it isn't like that,
 When children are small, parents cut the cord.
 Teach them ways of doing, going, and staying.
 The quality of whatever they've done comes from the kindness of
 their parents.
 They save from their own share for their children.
 As a result, the children cast these savings to the wind.
 Parents have only their children to think of and to miss,
 They have only their children to need and to serve.
 These two kind parents,
 Do you realize they're getting old?
 Do you recognize their kindness to you?
 You have to feel ashamed and embarrassed about this!
 This is the root of accumulating merit.
Godhar is the highest, and parents are just below.
 There is nothing more important than these three.
 Listen to your parents constantly.
 Stay with them all the time.

⁸⁵ It was not unusual for parents and children to share a bed at this time in Tibet. In cases where a child wet the bed, the parents were to sleep on the wet spot and give the dry spot to their child.

Does it really bring them joy to offer them delicious food? Think about it!
 Does it really bring them joy to dress them in comfortable clothes? Think about it!
 Do they really enjoy it when you tell them interesting things?
 Do they really enjoy it when you tell them good things?

If they're happy, you have both this life and the next.
 If they're unhappy, you have neither this life nor the next.
 Without thinking of their kindness when your parents are around,
 Once they're gone, you'll feel the worst regret.
 This regret lasts forever and ever,
 That future regret comes from the regret you have here and now.
 Therefore children who still have living parents,
 Take my precious advice to heart!⁸⁶

Women who lie and deceive are the source of regret.
 They give drugged tea, turning father against son.
 Like that, you're thrown to the bottom of hell.
 Like that, your feet are drawn in their direction.⁸⁷
 With a goatskin bag on your head, I doubt you can hear.⁸⁸
 Like a dew drop from *Kusha* grass, I doubt you understand my words.⁸⁹
 Even if descended from gods rather than humans,
 Such women are part demon.
 If you listen to everything she says, it will bring your downfall.
 If you let her to do everything, you'll be lost in the wind.
 Facing demons, humans must use caution.
 If you've befriended a ghost, meditate on your lama.

If your clothes get old, new ones can be made.

⁸⁶ Literally, "put my advice in the box of your heart".

⁸⁷ This line is omitted in some versions.

⁸⁸ A skin bag (*thang-khug*) is often used to prepare *tsampa*.

⁸⁹ Kusha grass (*desmostachya bipinnata*) is important in Hindu rituals and is said to have been used by the Buddha for his meditation seat. The idea in this line seems to be that since this grass is special, a dew drop from it would not make much sound.

Even if you lack a wife, one can be brought in.
 If you had to search, it's impossible to find new parents.
 Parents and wife cannot be exchanged,
 Staying with people who've done this, you should be ashamed.
 Even if you feel very capable; is that all you can do?
 If you don't know how to distinguish wife from parents,
 Even though you've won a human birth, you're acting like a dog.
 Even a rabid dog can recognize its owner.
 I feel sorry for those people behaving like dogs.
 In a life like that, you become a hated enemy.
 By one bad person, a hundred humans lives are cast to the wind.
 Though you appear in human form, you throw it to the bottom of the
 ocean.
 Forging this new bad path, you lead the way to the ruin of the world.
 A single cow eats a human's field,
 Blocking the path for all cows!
 As in this example, know to get rid of this behavior!

Focus on this point, my son!
 In your heart, my brother, straighten out your thoughts!
 Leaving your summer and winter homes, with hope and fear,⁹⁰
 Towards the place of enlightenment, bright and clear!

If there is hope for good and punishment for evil,
 That's the only way for every human being.
 It's impossible to escape from the well of samsara,
 It's impossible to rid yourself of karma and ignorance in this life,
 Having gathered the fundamental meaning, you're ready to leave
 this place.
Godhar is your only hope, the only place to look.
 Proceed by keeping the truth of cause and effect in your heart,
 And practice by keeping black and white in mind.⁹¹
 Many people just talk about cause and effect,
 Someone who takes up the practice is more rare than gold.
 Seeing this, your heart fills with regret.

⁹⁰ This is a reference to the life of nomads in Tibet who live in different places in the summer and winter.

⁹¹ Here 'black and white' likely means positive and negative actions.

Thinking of this, you feel deep sorrow.

Today I have written these little black letters,
 Crazy Khache Phalu has said crazy things.
 This ignorance! In the depth of my heart I strive.
 I don't understand things myself, but I seem to be telling others!
 I don't see my own faults, but I seem to point them out in others.
 I seem to be selfishly splitting up the bundle,
 From a distance, I'm looked after by my lama and his compassion,
 Please help actions to match my speech!
 May the look match the taste!

From the ocean of Khache Phalu's thoughts,
 Taking the jewel out, wrapping it in paper,
 I've placed these subjects into the well.⁹²
 Having a the body of a peacock and the beautiful song of a cuckoo,⁹³
 Having spoken about happiness, may it spread in all directions!
 Khache Phalu teaches to all!



COMMONLY QUOTED LINES

These lines from *The Khache Phalu* have become very common sayings in colloquial Tibetan. It is not uncommon to hear them used in everyday conversation.

This is Khache Phalu's heartfelt advice,
 It's up to each person whether to listen.

ལ་ཆེ་མ་ལཱའི་སྒྲིང་གཏམ་བཤད་ཡོད་དོ།
 ཉན་དང་མི་ཉན་སོ་སོའི་བསམ་ལྗོ་རེད།

⁹² Wrapping the jewel in paper refers to putting ideas in writing. Putting it in the well means that everyone will receive it (when they draw their water).

⁹³ In Tibetan lore, a peacock is able to eat poison without dying and a cuckoo purifies polluted water with its song.

After consuming his nation's wealth, the king still looks hungry.

With his tiny bag filled, a beggar's child is proudly full.

རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་གཞིས་ཐོས་ནས་སྟོགས་ལྷང་ལྷང་།།

སྤང་སྤྱག་ཐང་རྒྱལ་ཁེངས་ནས་སྟོ་དགྲེད་དགྲེད།།

Watch metal in summer and clay in winter,

Watch your red tongue year-round!

དབྱར་ཁ་སྟོགས་དང་དགུན་ཁ་རྩ་ལ་སྟོས།།

དབྱར་དགུན་མེད་པར་དམར་པོའི་སྟེ་ལ་སྟོས།།

If you don't control your oblong tongue,

You'll make trouble for your round head.

ནར་ནར་སྟེ་ལ་བདག་པོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་ན།།

རིལ་རིལ་དབྱུལ་འོ་བརྒྱལ་བཟོས་ཡོང་ངོ་།།

Whatever they crave, mom feeds them,

She dresses them in whatever they feel like wearing.

ཁ་ལ་མི་སྟེར་དགུ་སྟེར་ཨ་མས་སྟེར།།

ལུས་ལ་མི་གཡོག་དགུ་གཡོག་ཨ་མས་གཡོགས།།

GLOSSARY

Chang
(Tibetan: *chang*)

Traditional Tibetan beer typically made from barley.

Debate courtyard
(Tibetan: *chos-rwa*)

An open area of a monastery where philosophical debates are held.

Dharma
(Tibetan: *chos*)

A nuanced Sanskrit term with many meanings. In *The Khache Phalu* it refers to the correct spiritual teachings or religious practices.

Dolo
(Tibetan: *do-lo*)

A cheap green stone that resembles turquoise.

Four Continents
(Tibetan: *gling-bzhi*)

In Buddhist cosmology, there are four continents surrounding the sacred Mount Meru, which stands in the center of the world.

Godhar (Tibetan: <i>go-brdAr</i>)	<i>Allah</i> . The Tibetan word for the God of Islam.
Könchok Rinpoche (Tibetan: <i>dkon-mchog rin-po-che</i>)	Literally, “most precious one”, an epithet of the Buddha.
Kusha grass (Sanskrit: <i>kusha</i>)	A sacred grass in both Hinduism and Buddhism. The historical Buddha is said to have achieved enlightenment while seated on this grass.
Master of the Cosmos (Tibetan: <i>skar-ma'i-bdag-po</i>)	An epithet for Allah.
Pecha (Tibetan: <i>dpe-cha</i>)	A Traditional Tibetan-style book with long, unbound pages.
Right-Turning Conch Shell (Tibetan: <i>dung-g.yas-khyil</i>)	An important religious symbol in both Hinduism and Buddhism. This symbolizes the Buddha’s fearlessness in teaching the Dharma.
Samsara (Sanskrit: <i>samsāra</i>)	Literally meaning ‘wandering through’ this Buddhist term refers to the cycle of birth and death characterized by suffering.
Thangka (Tibetan: <i>thang-ga</i>)	A type of Tibetan Buddhist painting.
Three Jewels (Tibetan: <i>dkon-mchog-gsum</i>)	A Buddhist term referring to the Buddha, Dharma (his teachings), and Sangha (the community of his followers).
Three Realms (Tibetan: <i>khams-gsum</i>)	Three places of rebirth within samsara according to Buddhist thought. They are the realm of desire, the realm of form, and the formless realm.
Vajra (Sanskrit: <i>vajra</i>)	A thunderbolt or special type of two-sided dagger. It symbolizes the indestructible wisdom that cuts through ignorance of how things really are.

ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུ།

མོ་སྣ་རྟེ།

རྩོན་རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་དགྲུང་ལོ་བརྩུ་ལ་ཕེབས་པ་ན། འཛམ་གླིང་གླིང་ལྷག་
 པར་ཡུལ་དགའ་བའི་གཡས་
 གཡོན་དུ་རྟགས་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། །རྩུ་འཕྲུལ་མཁའས་བརྩན་གངས་མེད་ཀྱི་
 མཛད་པ་རྣམས་བྲི་དགོས་དང་།
 ཤོད་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་མི་ཚེའི་ཁ་ལ་མི་ཚེ་མང་པོ་དགོས་པས། མཚམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བར། དགྲུང་ལོ་བརྩུ་ལ་
 ཕེབས་པའི་དུས།

དང་པོ་དང་པོའི་གཏེར་མཛོད།
 གཉིས་པ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་འབྲོན་ལུངས།
 གསུམ་པ་ངོ་ཚའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
 བཞི་པ་སྦྱིན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ།⁹⁴
 རྩ་པ་ཚོས་གནང་བ་སོགས་རྩ་བ་ལུང་དང་མཉམ་པའི་སྣོད་པོ་ལ་ལོ་འདབ་རྒྱས་པ་རྩ་བུའི་
 ཚོས་འཇིག་རྟེན།
 ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས།
 ཁྲེལ་ངོ་ཚ།
 བྱམས་སྦྱང་རྗེ།
 ལམ་ལུགས་སྦོལ་སོགས་

གང་ཅི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཐོགས་པའི་ཐོགས་པ་དུམ་བུ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་མང་པོར་བཏང་བའི་བསྐྱབ་བྱའི་ཚོགས་བཅད་
 ལུ་ཏྲིག་དར་ལ་བརྒྱས་པ་
 བཞིན་བརྩམས་ཚོག་འདི་དག་ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུ་འཇུ་ཡིས་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཀོད་པའི་བསྐྱབ་བྱ་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་
 མིག་སྟོ།།

94 བཞི་པ་སྦྱིན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལུ་དང་པོ།

ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྱོན་ཁུངས་རྗེ་རྗེའི་ཁྲི་ཡི་ཐོག།
རྒྱུ་ལྷ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བྲག་རི་དབུ་འཕང་མཐོ།
མདུན་དུ་སྒྲིང་རྗེའི་མཚོ་མོ་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཁུངས།།

དབྱར་དགུན་མེད་པར་ཉེན་མཚན་རིང་མུང་སྟོམས།།
དབྱར་ཁ་དྲོ་རྒྱ་དགུན་ཁ་གང་རྒྱ་མེད།།
དབྱར་དགུན་རིང་མུང་དྲོ་གང་ལྡན་པའི་ས།།
ཉེ་མ་ནམ་མཁའི་དགུང་དུ་སྐྱབས་པའི་དུས།།
ཁང་བྱིམ་སྐྱུན་པ་གྲིབ་སོ་འཁོར་རྒྱ་མེད།།
དེ་ཚོ་འཇམ་སྐྱིང་ཉེ་བའི་བརྟག་དབྱང་ཡིན།།

ལྷ་བ་དེ་ནས་ལྷ་བར་འགོ་བའི་ལམ།།
ལྷ་བའི་ལྷ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།
བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་དུ་དཀོན་མཚོག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ།།
རང་རེའི་སྐད་དུ་གོ་བརྟུར་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འགོ་འདྲོད་ན།།
སེམས་པའི་ཡུལ་ན་གཏི་སྐྱག་ཤུལ་མེད་བཟོས།།
འདྲོད་ཆགས་ནག་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཏིང་ལ་བསྐྱར།།
ཆགས་ལྡང་ཞེ་སྤང་དམར་བོའི་མེ་ལ་སྟོར།།
བསམ་རྒྱ་གཅིག་ལ་བསྐྱེམ་རྒྱ་དྲན་རྒྱ་གཅིག།
གཅིག་ལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་སོ་མེད་ཟེར་ན།།
ཚོས་ལ་འགོ་ཆས་སྐྱིགས་ཤིག་པ་ཡི་བྱ།།
འགོ་གིན་འགོ་གིན་ལྷད་མོ་མཐོང་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
བྱས་ཚད་ཚོས་དང་བཏང་ཚད་ལམ་ལ་འགོ།
བསམ་ཚད་ཐོག་དང་དགོས་ཚད་ལག་ཏུ་ཐེབས།།
ལབ་ཚད་གཏམ་དང་དགོས་ཚད་འབེན་ལ་པོག།

དེ་འདྲའི་ས་རུ་འགོ་འདྲོད་ཡོད་ཟེར་ན།།
དགོས་རྒྱའི་སྒྲིང་པོ་དོན་གྱི་རྗེ་ཁ་གསུམ།།

དང་པོ་སེམས་དབའ་མེ་ལོང་བཞིན་དུ་དྲངས་གཅིག་དགོས།།
 གཉིས་པ་དམ་ཚིག་གཙང་ཚུ་བཞིན་དུ་གཙང་གཅིག་དགོས།།
 གསུམ་པ་ལ་རྒྱ་སང་གེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆེ་གཅིག་དགོས།།
 དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་ན་དེ་ཅ་སྐྱབས་པ་རེད།།

དེ་འདྲའི་ས་ཅུ་སྐྱབས་པའི་པོ་གཞོན་ཚོ།།
 རང་ལ་རང་གིས་གོ་བ་མ་བསྐྱོན་ན།།⁹⁵
 འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ཡི་འཁོར་དུ་ཐེམ་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
 སང་སང་གནངས་གནངས་ཟེར་གྱིན་འགྲངས་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་ངང་ནས་འབོད་མཁན་སྐྱབས་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
 དེ་དུས་འགྲོད་པའི་སྤིང་ལ་བརྒྱབ་ཡོང་ངོ་།།

ལ་སུར་སྟོང་པོ་སྐམ་པའི་དོ་ལ་སྐྱེས།།
 ཡལ་ག་ལོ་འདབ་དེ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་རྒྱས།།
 འདབ་ལོ་རེ་རེའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་མཚན་རེ་འཁྲུངས།།
 མཁས་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་མི་ཉམས་པ།།

རྟེ་བའི་སྟན་ལུ་རྟེ་བའི་དུང་དུ་ལུ།།
 བཀའ་ཤོག་རྒྱབ་དང་དམ་ཕྱག་སྐྱ་རྒྱབ་ཏུ།།
 གཙུག་གི་མོར་བུ་དོན་གྱི་དོ་ཁའི་ཚོགས།།
 རྒྱུ་ཆེན་བདག་དང་འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་སོགས།།
 ཚོས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྐྱ་ཟེན་པའི་སྟན་ལུ་དང་།།
 འདི་དང་ཕྱི་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རེ་ས་དང་།།
 རྫོང་དང་སེམས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཞག་ས་ལ།།
 འབྲལ་བ་མེད་པར་ཕྱགས་རྗེས་རྒྱང་ནས་གཟིགས།།
 ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐྱུན་གྱིས་གཟིགས་ནས་ཕྱགས་ལ་ཞོག།།
 བུམས་དང་བརྟེ་བས་བསྐྱངས་ནས་ལམ་སྐྱ་དྲོངས།།
 རྣམ་ཆེན་འོད་ཀྱི་སྤིང་ལ་ཞལ་གཟིགས་ནས།།
 རྣམ་རྒྱུང་ཚོགས་བརྒྱུ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་གཉིས་བར།།⁹⁶

95 རང་ལ་རང་གིས་གོ་བ་མ་བསྐྱོན་ན།།
 96 རྣམ་རྒྱུང་ཚོགས་བརྒྱུ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་གཉིས་བར།།

ལྷོ་གུའི་བཤད་པ་ལྷོ་གུས་གོ་སོང་ངོ་།།
ནག་པོའི་རི་མོ་དཀར་པོའི་ཚོག་གིས་ཁེངས།།
ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལྷོའི་བསྐྱེལ་གསོ་དྲན་པོས་ལུལ།།

བསྐྱེལ་བྱ་ལེའུ་གཉིས་པ།

ཚོས་དང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁག་ཁག་སོ་སོ་རེད།།
སེམས་དང་ལུས་པོ་རང་རང་སོ་སོ་རེད།།
སེམས་པ་དཀའ་བ་སྤྱད་ནས་འགོ་འདྲོད་ཀྱང་།།
ལུས་པོ་ཞིམ་པོ་བཟས་ནས་ལྷོད་འདྲོད་ཆེ།།

ལུས་པོ་སྤྱིད་པོར་སྤོད་པ་ཞག་གསུམ་དང་།།
སེམས་པ་སྤྱག་པ་སྤྱགས་ནས་སྤྱགས་སྤྱགས།།
སེམས་སྤྱིད་འདྲོད་ན་ལུས་ཀྱིས་དཀའ་བ་སྤོད།།
ལུས་པོ་བསམས་ན་སེམས་པ་སྤྱག་ལ་སྤོར།།
ང་ལ་ཉན་ན་ལུས་སེམས་དབྱེ་བ་ཚོད།།

གསེར་དང་ར་གན་བརྗེ་མི་སྤོན་པ་རེད།།
གཡུ་དང་དོ་ལོ་ཞོར་ན་སྤྱགས་པ་རེད།།

འདི་དང་ཕྱི་མའི་ཁེ་གྲོང་མི་ཤེས་ན།།
འཇིག་རྟེན་འཁོར་བའི་མི་ཚོ་འཁྱེལ་འགོ་ཟེར།།
ལོ་གཅིག་ལོ་གཉིས་མི་དགོས་བརྒྱ་ཡི་བར།།
ཐ་མ་ས་རྩིའི་སྤང་པོ་ས་ལ་ཐེམ།།

རྒྱལ་པོ་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་སྤོང་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་།།
སྤང་སྤྱག་བཅན་པོའི་འོག་ཏུ་སྤོད་པ་གཉིས།།
མི་རྟག་འཆི་བ་བྱང་དུས་འདྲ་འདྲ་རེད།།

ཟས་ཀྱི་ཞིམ་མངར་སྤེལ་ནས་མིད་པའི་བར།།

འཁོར་བའི་སྦྱིད་སྤྲུག་ཞག་གསུམ་འདི་ཡི་རིང་།།
 སྤང་བོ་སྤྲུག་ཀྱང་མི་ཚེ་འཁྱོལ་འགོ་ལོ།།
 རྒྱལ་བོ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱང་ཐ་མ་ཤི་འགོ་ལོ།།

དེ་སྔ་སོང་བའི་གངས་ཀ་མི་ཤེས་འདུག།
 ད་དུང་འགོ་རྒྱའི་གདེང་ཚོད་སྤྱི་ཡིས་ཤེས།།
 ཡོང་གིན་ཡིང་གིན་འགོ་གིན་འགོ་གིན་འདུག།
 དོན་དུ་ཡོང་མི་ཚང་མ་འགོ་མི་རེད།།

འཁོར་བ་འདི་ལ་རྟག་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད།།
 རྟག་པ་མེད་པར་བདེན་པ་སྤྱི་ལ་ཡོད།།
 རྟག་པ་བརྟན་པ་མེད་པའི་མི་ཚེ་འདི།།
 ལ་མགོའི་ཁ་ཡི་ཁྲི་གདུགས་ཉི་མ་འདྲ།།
 ཕྱོན་ན་མ་གཏོགས་བཞུགས་རྒྱ་ཡོང་མདོག་མེད།།

ད་དུང་སྤྱི་གུའི་སྤང་བས་མ་ཡེངས་པར།།
 མཁས་པ་ཡིན་ན་དོན་གྱི་དོ་ཁ་སྦྱིལ།།
 དོན་རྩ་བ་སྦྱིལ་ན་དཔའ་བོའི་ཡང་རྩ་རེད།།
 འཇིག་རྟེན་འཁོར་བའི་ལས་ལ་སྦྱིང་བོ་མེད།།
 འཁོར་བ་གཏན་དུ་སྦྱོང་བའི་ས་མ་རེད།།
 འགྲུལ་པ་ཞག་གསུམ་གནས་ཚང་གནས་མགོན་རེད།།
 སོ་སོའི་བསམ་སྒོ་སོ་སོས་བཏང་བ་དགའ།།
 འགྲུལ་པས་འགོ་ཆས་སྦྱོན་ནས་མ་བསྐྱིགས་ན།།
 གནས་ཚང་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་ཁྱེད་ནས་འགོ་རྒྱུ་མེད།།
 གནས་མོ་རོགས་ལ་ཁྲིད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་མདོག་མེད།།
 རང་ལོར་རང་ལ་བདག་དུས་བསམ་སྒོ་སྦོངས།།
 ལྷེ་མིག་མི་ལ་ཤོར་དུས་འགྲོད་པའི་རྒྱ།།

པ་མ་ཤི་བ་མང་བོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་འགོ།།
 སྤྱི་གུ་བསྐྱད་པ་མང་བོ་མཐོང་ཡོད་འགོ།།
 ཨ་མའི་རྗེས་ལ་ཨོ་ལོ་འགོ་མདོག་མེད།།
 ཨ་མའི་མཚུགས་ལ་བྱ་མོ་འགོ་མདོག་མེད།།

སོ་སོའི་ནམ་དུས་སོ་སོས་བསྐྱལ་ནས་འགོ།
 ལྷོད་རང་ལྷོད་རའི་བསམ་སློབ་ལྷོད་རས་ཐོངས།
 གཅིག་ཤར་འགོ་བའི་ལམ་གྱི་ལམ་ཆས་འདི།
 རྩོན་ཚོན་ཚོན་ལ་སྤྱང་བོའི་ལག་ཏུ་སྐྱར།
 འོར་གྱི་རྟ་ལ་འགོ་བའི་བང་འགྲོས་སློབས།

ཕྱི་མ་འགོ་བའི་ལམ་ལ་ཐོན་ཚོག་གྱིས།
 ས་རོལ་ལྷུག་པོ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་དགོས་འདོད་ན།
 འདི་རུ་སྤྱང་བོའི་སྤྱིད་སྤྱུག་བཟླས་པ་བཟང་།
 ས་ཡི་འོག་ཏུ་ཁམ་བུ་ཟ་འདོད་ན།
 ས་སྤྱིང་འདི་རུ་ཁམ་སྤོང་བཅུགས་པ་བཟང་།
 གུན་ལ་བདེ་བའི་རྩ་བ་བཅུགས་པ་བཟང་།

ཚོས་གྱི་རྩ་བ་མི་སེམས་འཛིན་རྒྱ་མེད།
 ཚོས་གྱི་སྤྱིང་བོ་གཞན་དོན་འགྲིག་ལེ་རེད།
 ལྷོད་རང་ལྷོད་རའི་འདོད་པ་ཟེན་འདོད་ན།
 ཆང་དང་ཨ་རག་དེ་ལས་ལྷག་པ་མེད།
 ང་ང་ང་རྒྱལ་ཟེར་བའི་བང་རྒྱལ་ཅན།
 གསེར་དདུལ་ང་དང་གཏམ་དོན་ང་ཟེར་ཞིང་།
 ཞིམ་པོ་ང་དང་འཇམ་པོ་ང་ཟེར་གྱི།
 ལེགས་པོ་ང་དང་མཛེས་པོ་ང་ཨེར་གྱི།
 གནས་བཟང་བསྐྱར་ཀྱང་རྐང་ཆུང་ན་རོགས་རེད།
 རི་ལྷོད་འགྲིམས་ཀྱང་ན་ཚོག་ཚོ་རོགས་རེད།
 ལྷུང་ལ་གཟུས་བསྐྱར་མཐོང་ཡང་སྤོང་པ་རེད།
 དེའུ་བཅུད་ལེན་རང་སྤྱུག་རང་གིས་ཉོས།

བྱ་ལྷགས་བྱེད་ལྷགས་ལྷན་པའི་པ་ནན་ཚོ།
 འདོད་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཚོས་པ་བརྒྱ་ལས་ལྷག།
 རང་འདོད་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ངོ་ཚ་མེད།
 ངོ་ཚ་མེད་པའི་མི་དེ་དུད་འགོའི་རྒྱད།

བྱ་མོ་རྒྱན་དང་གོས་ཀྱིས་སྦྱང་གྱུར་གྱང་།།
 རོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་ལུའི་བཅུན་མོར་ཉན་མདོག་མེད།།
 སེམས་གོས་མ་ཚད་ལྷ་ཚོས་བྱས་གྱུར་གྱང་།།
 མེ་ལོང་སྦྱར་པའི་སྤོང་དུ་གསལ་མདོག་མེད།།

ཚུ་འཐག་སྤང་གི་མིག་དེ་ཡོལ་བས་བསྐྱིབས།།
 ཉིན་གང་སོང་ཡང་དགོང་མོ་ས་དེར་ལུས།།
 འདོད་པའི་ཞགས་ཐག་རྒྱང་ནས་མ་ཐོལ་ན།།
 ལྷ་ཚོས་བྱས་སོང་ཟེར་ཡང་སྤོང་བ་རེད།།
 གཤོག་སྒོ་དར་གྱི་སྦྱང་བས་བསྐྱེམས་པ་ན།།
 རྒྱུ་ལོ་ཡིན་གྱང་ནམ་འཕང་གཅོད་མདོག་མེད།།

དམ་ཚིག་སེམས་དང་བཅུན་འགྲུས་སྤོང་ནས་དགོས།།
 ཐུག་རྒྱ་གང་ཡོད་ཅི་ཡོད་སེམས་ལ་ཐུག།
 ལམ་བུ་འདི་ནི་སེམས་པ་དུང་གི་ལམ།།
 སེམས་ལ་གང་བདར་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་རྒྱོབ།།
 ཚང་མས་སྒོན་རྒྱ་ཨེ་ཡོང་སྤོང་གི་ཨང་།།
 གཏམ་བཟང་ཁྱེར་རྒྱ་ཨེ་ཡོང་སྤོང་གི་ཨང་།།
 སོལ་བཟང་གཞག་རྒྱ་ཨེ་ཡོང་སྤོང་གི་ཨང་།།
 དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་ན་དང་པོའི་དང་པོ་རེད།།

ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་སྤོང་གཏམ་བཤད་ཡོད་དོ།།
 ཉན་དང་མི་ཉན་སོ་སོའི་བསམ་སྒོ་རེད།།
 ཡིན་གྱང་རྒྱ་ཤོག་རི་མོས་ཁེངས་སོང་དོ།།
 རྒྱ་རྒྱུག་སེར་པོའི་སྒོ་ཁ་རྒྱོགས་སོང་དོ།།

བསྐྱབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་གསུམ་པ།

ཁྱི་གདུགས་ཉི་ཟླ་ནམ་མཁའི་རྒྱན་ཆ་རེད།།
 རྒྱན་པ་བསངས་ནས་སྤོང་བཞི་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཁེངས།།
 ཉ་ལོའི་མེ་ཏོག་སྦྱུས་རའི་རྒྱན་ཆ་རེད།།
 ཞལ་ཁ་ཕྱེ་དུས་སྦྱུས་ལོ་རབ་དུ་རྒྱས།།

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱན་ཆ་རེད།།
 ཁྲིམས་དང་མཐུན་ན་རྒྱལ་གཞིས་མངའ་ཐང་ལྡན།།
 ཁྲིམས་འགོ་འོན་ན་བསམ་དོན་ལྷན་གྱིས་འབྲུབ།།
 ཁྲིམས་གཞུང་ལྡན་ན་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
 མཚོ་མོ་འཁྲུམས་ན་ཉ་མོ་ལས་ཀྱིས་འཁྲུམ།།
 ལུང་བ་དབུལ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལས་ཀྱིས་དབུལ།།
 རྗེ་དཔོན་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་བ་ས་སྐྱེའི་འཕུལ།།
 ཡུལ་སྡེ་མེད་པའི་རྗེ་དཔོན་རྗོད་ར་བྲོ།།
 དཔོན་འབངས་ནད་བ་ཨེམ་རྗེའི་དཔེ་བཞིན་དུ།།
 གཙམ་བུ་བཅུགས་པའི་ཤུལ་ལ་མ་སྐྱོན་ཐོབ།།
 བཀའ་བརྟུན་དགོངས་འཚོམས་བཞག་ལ་བྱམས་སྦྱོངས་མཛོད།།
 དང་པོ་ཉེས་པ་ཅན་ཡང་བབས་དང་བསྐྱུན།།
 གཉེས་པ་ཉེས་པའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཉེས་ཐག་ཐོངས།།
 གསུམ་པ་མི་ངན་རྩ་མེད་བཟོས་ཀྱང་རུང་།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་མི་ལ་སྤོང་རྗེ་ལྟ་དགོས་མེད།།

ལུ་གུ་མ་འཁྲུང་གོང་ལ་སྦྱང་གི་བཟུངས།།
 ཡུལ་བདེ་མ་འཁྲུམས་གོང་ལ་མི་ངན་ཕུད།།
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞོ་ལྟར་ཆགས་ནས་ཉལ་བཟུང་ན།།
 ཡུལ་སྡེ་ཐག་ལྟར་འཁྲུགས་པ་མི་ཤེས་སོ།།
 ལུག་རྗེ་རྩ་ཆང་གཉེས་ལ་མགོ་འཁོར་ན།།
 ལུ་གུ་སྦྱང་གིས་འཁྲུང་བ་དངོས་བདེན་རེད།།

གང་ལ་མཁས་པའི་མི་དེ་ལས་ལ་མངགས།།
 ཤིང་བཟོ་མཁས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་བྲིས་ཡོང་མདོག་མེད།།
 སྦྱང་གི་དགའ་ཡང་ལུག་རྗེ་ཉན་མདོག་མེད།།
 ལས་འབྲས་ཅན་ལ་མི་ཡི་རྗེ་དཔོན་བསྐྱོས།།

ལུ་གུ་སྦྱང་གིའི་ཁ་ལ་བཅུག་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
 ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ལ་དོན་གྱི་རྗོད་ལ་སྦྱིལ།།
 རོར་བུ་དགོས་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཏིང་ལ་ཡོད།།

དམ་ཚིག་གཙང་མའི་མེ་ལ་སྒོ་གཏང་བཅོལ།
རྩོམ་འདྲི་བྲག་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་ཅི་ལ་སྲིད།

ཉེན་མཚན་མེད་པར་མཁས་པའི་མེ་དང་བསྐྱུན།
ཚུ་ལའི་བྱི་རོ་མཐའ་མ་ཚུ་ལ་འགྲོ།
ཤ་ཚ་ཅན་ལ་སྐྱོང་མཐར་རིམ་པར་སྐྱོད།
བྱས་རྗེས་བྱས་ཤུལ་བྱང་ན་སྒོ་ལ་རྩོགས།
བྱས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་སེམས་པ་པམ་མ་འཇུག།
བྱ་རྒྱ་མཐུན་དུ་ཡོད་དུས་བྱེད་མཁན་མང་།
སྒོ་གཏང་བཅོལ་མི་རྣམས་ཚོ་མཐའ་ནས་སྐྱོངས།
འཛམ་བུའི་སྤྱིང་འདིར་གཏམ་བཟང་སྐད་ཀྱིས་ཁིངས།

དཔའ་རྩལ་ཅན་ལ་དལ་དུས་བདག་པོ་སྐྱོད།
འགག་རྩ་ཐུག་དུས་དགོས་པའི་དུས་ཤིག་ཡོད་།
རྒྱན་དུ་བང་མཛོད་ལོར་གྱིས་རྒྱུང་བར་གྱིས།
རྒྱན་རྩ་ལྟག་ཡོད་དག་པོ་མཚང་ཡོད་ངོ་།
དག་པོ་འདུལ་བར་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་དགོས་ཆ་གཉིས།
 ལོར་དང་དཔུང་གིས་དག་པོ་ཆམ་ལ་ཕོབས།
 ལོར་རྩས་མེད་པར་དཔུང་རོགས་མེད་ཐབས་མེད།
 དཔུང་རོགས་འཚོལ་བར་ལོར་རྩས་མེད་ཐབས་མེད།
དེ་གཉིས་འཛོམས་ན་དག་པོ་ལས་ཀྱིས་འཛོམས།
ལོར་ལ་པ་མས་བྱ་ཚ་གསོ་གསོ་མཛོད།
ལོ་མང་སོང་བའི་རྒྱ་པོའི་ལ་ཉོན།
སྐྱིད་སྐྱུག་མང་པོ་སྐྱོང་བའི་མི་རྣམ་རེད།

ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་རིའི་མཚམས་ལ་སླེབས་པའི་དུས།
གཞོན་པའི་ཤེད་ལས་རྒྱ་པོའི་རྩས་བྱ་བཟང་།
དག་པོ་འཕམ་གང་འཕམ་ལ་འདུལ་འདོད་ན།
སྐབས་ཐོག་ཤོགས་ལ་བཀུག་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པ་བཟང་།
ཐབས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་ནས་དོན་རྩ་ལོན་ཟེར་ན།
མདའ་གི་མཐུང་གསུམ་འཕྱར་རྒྱ་སྐྱོན་པའི་ལས།
མི་ཐུབ་དག་དང་འཛིང་འཛིང་བཞག་པ་དགའ།

མངོག་ཅུམ་གཙམ་བྱའི་སྤོང་དུ་རྒྱག་མདོག་མེད།།
 མདན་མ་མི་དགོས་གོ་སར་དངོས་ཡིན་ཀྱང་།།
 འགྲིགས་ཙམ་བྱུང་ན་འགྲིགས་པ་གཙོ་དོན་ཆེ།།
 གདོང་བསྟུང་བའའ་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཉེས་སུ་ལོག།
 ཐབས་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་མི་མདའ་རྒྱང་ནས་འཕེན།།
 དང་པོ་ཐབས་རྣམས་དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་དགུ་བཏོད།།
 བརྒྱལ་འཕྲུག་དགོས་བྱུང་ཡང་བྱ་ཐབས་མེད།།

གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་མི་དེ་ཁྱིལ་ས་ལོད།།
 ཁྱིལ་ན་བྱུང་ན་བེར་ཀ་སྐྱ་ལ་བཀྲི།།
 ཕྱིན་གཏོང་ཟེར་ན་ཕྱིན་རྒྱའི་ལམ་བུ་ཐོངས།།
 འཛོངས་ཐོངས་ཟེར་ན་གོམ་གསུམ་ཕྱོན་ལ་སྤོས།།

འཛོམ་རེ་ཁོང་ཁོ་ལོང་དུས་མ་དུན་ན།།
 རྗེས་སུ་དུན་ན་རང་གི་ཁ་ལ་རྒྱབས།།
 དོན་རྩ་འཇམ་པོའི་སྐོ་ནས་ལོན་ཟེར་ན།།
 ད་རྒྱལ་ཁོང་ཁོ་དོན་མེད་སྟོང་པ་རེད།།
 ཁོང་ཁོ་དབང་དུ་འདུས་ན་མཁས་པའི་རྟོགས།།
 ཁོང་ཁོའི་རྗེས་ལ་འགོ་མི་སླེན་པ་རེད།།

བསམ་སློ་སློན་ལ་ཐོངས་ན་མཁས་པ་དང་།།
 རྒྱུན་རྩ་མདུན་དུ་སྟགས་པ་སྟུང་ཀྱང་མཐོང་།།
 དུང་དཀར་གཡས་འཁྲིལ་བཅག་པ་སྟུང་ཀྱང་མཐོང་།།
 རྩལ་པ་སྐྱིག་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་ཉས་སྐྱིག་ཡོང་།།

དགུ་པོ་མགོ་པོ་སྐྱར་ནས་སློབས་བྱུང་ན།།
 སྟོང་གི་ཁོང་ཁོ་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཏིང་ནས་ཐོམ།།
 མགོ་པོ་སྐྱར་པའི་དགུ་པོ་པམ་མ་བཅུག།
 ཡིན་ཀྱང་ཁྲམ་དང་གཡོ་སྐྱར་དོགས་གཞོན་དགོས།།

གཙང་པོ་མཁར་དཀྲུལ་ཞབས་ལ་རྒྱགས་པ་དེ།།
 རགས་རྒྱག་མ་བྱུང་མཐའ་མར་མཁར་ལ་གཤེད།།

ངན་པ་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་ན་བཟང་བོ་བརྒྱུད་པ་འདྲ།
 རྒྱུན་ལྷན་གསོས་ན་ཚོང་པ་བསལ་པ་འདྲ།⁹⁷

དུག་སྐྱེལ་བཞག་ན་མགོ་ནག་མི་ལ་གཞོད།
 སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་བཞག་ན་གཡང་དཀར་ལྷག་ལ་ངན།
 བྱི་ཡིས་མི་ལ་རྒྱག་པ་ཡིན་མི་ལྟ།
 བྱི་ངན་བདག་འཛིན་བྱེད་མཁན་མི་ངན་རེད།

དག་མགོ་འདུལ་མཁན་གཉེན་མགོ་སྐྱོང་མཁན་དགོས།
 འཇམ་རང་དྲགས་ན་དག་བོ་གཉེན་རེངས་ཡོང།
 སྐྱོང་རང་དྲགས་ན་འགག་ལ་ཐུག་པའི་ཉེན།
 འཇམ་རྩལ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་ཀྱང་ལ་གདོང་ལྷགས་མཛོད།
 དག་གཉེན་ཚང་མ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་གོགས་སུ་ལྷག།

འཕལ་དང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་འཛིན་འདོད་ན།
 ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པར་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་ཐོག་ནས་དོངས།
 ལུལ་བདེ་མི་བདེ་ཡོང་བའི་དགོངས་པ་དང་།
 དགོང་མོ་ས་ལ་བབས་ལ་ཚོས་ལ་འབྱུངས།
 ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་ལྷག་འཚལ་སློན་ལམ་ཐོབ།
 གཏན་གྱི་རེ་ས་དཀོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་ལ་ལྟ།
 རིན་ཚེན་སྐར་མའི་བདག་བོའི་བཀའ་དང་བསྐྱེད།
 འདི་ཕྱི་གཉེས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་འཕང་མཐོ་དགོས་ན།
 མི་རྟག་འཚེ་བ་མ་བརྗེད་ལྷགས་ལ་ཞོག།
 འདོད་འདོད་ལ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་གོས་གོས་ཀྱི།
 དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་ལྷ་མུ་ཉིག་དར་ལ་བརྒྱས།
 ལམས་གསུམ་དབང་འདུས་དུང་དུ་ལུལ་ཡོད་དོ།
 རིན་ཐང་སྐོར་དུས་རྒྱ་ལྟར་གངས་སུ་རྒྱུད།

⁹⁷ རྒྱུན་ལྷན་གསོས་ན་ཚོང་པ་བསལ་པ་འདྲ།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་བཞི་པའོ།

འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ཅུ་སྐར་གཤོང་མང་ཞིག་འདུག།
 རྒྱུད་སྐྱུག་རིང་ཐུང་སྒྲོམ་མ་གངས་མེད་རེད།།
 འདྲ་འདྲ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད་པ་མཐོང་གསལ་རེད།།
 འདི་ལ་ཚོག་ཤེས་རང་གིས་བྱས་པ་དགའ།།

ཐོད་པའི་རི་མོ་བསུབ་ཀྱང་རྒྱབ་རྒྱ་མེད།
 དྲེ་ལས་རི་མོའི་འགོ་ལྷགས་བསྐྱེན་པ་དྲགའ།།
 རྩེགས་རོང་བོང་བྱ་སྐྱུག་ཀྱང་རང་སྐྱུག་རེད།།
 སྐལ་པའི་རྒྱབ་ཁུར་མ་འཁྲུང་ཀ་མེད་རེད།།

སེམས་གོས་ཚོད་ན་ལོར་ལ་མང་ཉུང་མེད།།
 ཚོག་ཤེས་མེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་བོ་སྤང་བོ་དང་།།
 སེམས་གོས་ཚོད་ན་སྤང་བོ་དེ་ལས་ལྷག།
 རྒྱལ་བོ་རྒྱལ་གཞིས་ཐོས་ནས་རྩོགས་སྤང་སྤང་།།
 སྤང་སྐྱུག་ཐང་རྒྱལ་ཁེངས་ནས་སྤོ་དགྲེད་དགྲེད།།

བཀོད་པའི་ལས་ལ་ཚོག་ཤེས་མ་བྱས་ན།།
 རང་སྐྱུག་རང་གིས་ཉོས་པ་དོན་མེད་རེད།།
 ཚོག་ཤེས་ལྡན་ན་བྱུག་དང་མ་བྱུག་མེད།།
 ལས་ལ་བཀོད་ན་དག་ལོར་རང་གི་ལོར།།
 མ་བཀོད་པ་ལོར་བྱ་ལ་བདག་པ་དགའ།།
 ལྡང་པ་རྩི་ཡི་སྤང་དུ་སྤྱེ་དོགས་མེད།།
 སྐྱུག་སྐྱུག་གསེག་གསེག་བྱས་པས་ཅི་ལ་ཕན།།
 སེམས་པ་ཤོར་ན་ས་བཟང་བྱ་ལ་ཤོར།།
 ཚོག་ཤེས་བྱས་ན་ལུས་སེམས་བདེ་ལ་འཛོག།
 ལག་ལེན་ངན་པའི་རིགས་ལ་སྤང་ཆ་གྲིས།།
 ཕ་བདེ་བྱ་སྤྱིད་ཡོང་བའི་བསམ་སྒོ་ཐོངས།།

འདི་བྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་དོན་ལག་པའི་མཐིལ།།
 ཁ་ཆ་པ་ལའི་སྤྱིང་གཏམ་ཁ་ནས་ལུང།།

སྒྲིང་གི་བྱ་ཚོ་སྒྲིང་ནས་ན་བ་ཉོན།།
 ལོ་བ་ཡོད་ན་གོ་རྒྱ་བྲིས་ཡོད་དོ།།
 མང་པོ་མེད་ཀྱང་བོ་བ་བརྩུང་དང་ལྡན།།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལུ་ལྲ་བ།

དབྱར་ལ་ལྷགས་དང་དགུན་ལ་རྩ་ལ་སྒྲོས།།
 དབྱར་དགུན་མེད་པར་དམར་པོའི་སྐྱེ་ལ་སྒྲོས།།
 སྒྲིང་གཏམ་སྒྲིང་གི་གོགས་ལ་ཤོད་ཚོད་གྱིས།།
 ལྷ་གོགས་དགོང་དགར་སོང་བ་མང་པོ་ཡོད།།

གསེར་དདུལ་མི་ལ་བཅོལ་དགོས་བྱུང་ཡང་ཚོལ།།
 འཚོལ་པོ་སྒྲོར་ཡང་བཅོལ་ནས་རྟེན་པ་རེད།།
 སྒྲིང་གཏམ་མི་ལ་འཚོལ་འཚོལ་མང་དྲགས་ན།།
 ལག་མགོ་ལ་ལ་བརྩུག་ནས་སྒྲོད་དགོས་ཡོང་།།

གཏམ་གྱི་བདུད་པོ་སྒྲིང་གི་དོང་དུ་ཚུད།།
 ལ་ལ་ལྷགས་དང་སྐྱེ་ལ་སྒྲོ་ལྷགས་རྒྱུབ།།
 བདུད་པོ་གདོང་ནས་ཤོར་ན་མི་པོ་གསོད།།
 ཨ་ཚོ་བྱས་པ་ཚམ་གྱིས་ཅི་ལ་ཕན།།

མི་ཤོད་དགུ་ཤོད་བཤད་རྒྱ་མང་དྲགས་ན།།
 མི་ལ་མ་ཤོད་ཟེར་གྱིན་སྒྲོད་དགོས་ཡོང་།།
 རར་ནར་སྐྱེ་ལ་བདག་པོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་ན།།
 རིལ་རིལ་དབུ་ལ་འོ་བརྒྱལ་བཟོས་ཡོང་ངོ་།།

མ་བཤད་གཏམ་དེ་ག་དུས་བཤད་བཤད་རེད།།
 བཤད་ནས་འགྲོད་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་ཐ་མའི་ལས།།
 མ་བཤད་བར་དུ་གཏམ་ལ་རང་དབང་ཐོབ།།
 བཤད་ནས་གཏམ་གྱི་དབང་དུ་ཤོད་མཁན་ཚུད།།

བཟང་པོ་ཡོངས་ལ་ངན་པ་ལབ་ཉེན་ཆེ།
 བཟང་པོའི་བསྐབ་བྱ་ངན་པའི་དག་ལ་འགོ།
 དེ་ལས་བཟང་ངན་ཚང་མ་བཟང་པོས་སྐྱོངས།།
 བཟང་པོ་དག་མགོ་ངན་པས་བསྐྱོག་པས་བསྐྱུན།།

གཏམ་ལ་དང་བའི་མི་དེ་སེམས་ནས་དང་།།
 སེམས་པ་དང་ན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྣ་ཟེན།།
 ད་ལྟ་དེ་ལས་ལུག་ཡུལ་སྤྱིད་ཀྱང་སྤྱིད།།
 འདི་ཕྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསམ་དོན་ལྷན་གྱིས་འགྲུབ།།

ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལྷའི་འདོད་དང་སྣག་སྣུག་ལུག།
 དཀར་པོའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ནག་པོའི་བྲིས་ཆ་གསལ།།
 བྲིས་མི་ས་འོག་བྲིས་ཆ་ས་ཡི་ཐོག།
 འཇོམ་སྤོང་མ་བསྐྱེལ་བསམ་སྤོང་དུ་གསོ་མཛོད།།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་བྱུག་པ།

འཇོམ་སྤོང་མེ་ལོང་པར་བལྟ་ཚུར་བལྟ་རེད།།
 འཁོར་བ་བྲག་རི་བཞིན་དུ་ཁ་ལན་སློག།
 རང་གིས་གང་བལྟས་མེ་ལོང་ནང་དུ་གསལ།།
 རང་གིས་གང་ལབ་བྲག་རིས་ཁ་ལན་བསློག།

བཟང་ན་བཟང་དང་ངན་ན་ངན་གྱི་ལན།།
 འདི་ནི་ཡོང་རྒྱ་འཛིག་རྟེན་འཁོར་བའི་ལས།།
 ཚང་མས་སློན་པའི་འདོད་པ་མེད་ཟེར་ན།།
 གཞན་ལ་མ་ལབ་རང་ལ་དོགས་ཟོན་གྱིས།།
 ཚང་མ་རང་གི་མདོག་དང་མཐུན་ཡོང་དོ།།
 གང་བྱས་ལག་པའི་མཐེལ་དུ་གསལ་ཡོང་དོ།།

གཞན་ལ་དགའ་ཚོད་ལྷོད་རང་དགའ་མེད་ཡིན།།
 གང་ལྟར་བཟང་ལ་བཟང་དང་ངན་ལ་ངན།།

དུག་ཤིང་སྤོང་པོས་ཁམ་བྱ་སྤྱིར་དོགས་མེད།
ཁམ་བྱ་དགོས་ན་ཁམ་སྤོང་འགམ་ལ་སོང་།

རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་འདོད་པ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ན།
དོན་མེད་མུན་པའི་སྤིང་ལ་མ་སོང་ཞིག།
གཞན་ནས་ལགས་ལགས་ལྷགས་ལྷགས་དགོས་ཟེར་ན།
རང་ལ་ལགས་ལགས་ལྷགས་ལྷགས་མང་ཉུང་དགོས།

ཆེ་འདོད་ཅན་ལ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོང་བ་དགའ།
དེ་ཡི་ཐབས་ལ་ཆེ་འདོད་བཞག་པ་དགའ།
བྱམས་པོ་བྱས་ན་དག་ཡང་གཉེན་ལ་འགྲོ།
རྩུབ་ཚོད་མ་ཟེན་བྱ་ཡང་ཞེན་པ་ལོག།

ཐོད་པའི་རི་མོ་གྲེན་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མི།
སོ་དཀར་འཇུག་ལེགས་མི་སེམས་འཇོན་པར་མཁས།
ལས་བཟང་བྱས་ནས་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་བྱ་ལ།
གཏམ་བཟང་འཁྱེར་ནས་སོང་ཞིག་ཕ་ཡི་བྱ།

རི་མོ་ཐུར་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ངན་ལ།
དུག་སྐྱལ་ཁྱི་སྤོན་གཉིས་གྱི་ཉུགས་དབྱེད་ཚོང་།
ཉེན་མཚན་མེད་པར་རྟུག་རྩུ་ཁོ་ལས་མེད།
ལག་ལེན་ངན་བས་ཐལ་བ་བསྐྱང་ནས་འགྲོ།

བཟང་པོ་འོངས་བའི་རྗེས་ལ་གཏམ་བཟང་ཡོད།
བཟང་པོའི་ལོ་ལ་བཟང་པོའི་འབྲས་བུ་སྤྲིན།
ངན་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་ངན་པའི་སྐླེ་ལ་འབྲིལ།
ངན་པའི་རྗེས་ལ་ལྷན་ངན་གཏམ་ངན་ཡོད།

རྩུ་སྐྱུག་སེར་པོའི་ཁ་ནས་ཚོག་གསུམ་ལྷས།
རྩུ་ཤོག་དཀར་པོའི་སེམས་གསལ་ཡོང་ངོ་།
རྩུ་སྐྱད་བོད་གྱི་སྐད་ལ་འགྱུར་སོང་ངོ་།
ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལྷའི་སློ་ཐག་ཚོད་སོང་ངོ་།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་བདུན་པའོ།།

དམའ་ས་བཟུང་ནས་གང་ཅིར་བཟོད་པ་སྐྱོམས།།
 དོན་གྱི་དོ་ལ་རང་གི་སྤྲིང་དུ་ཞོག།
 མི་སེམས་འཛིན་པའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཤོད་གིན་སོང་།།
 རང་དོན་སྐྱིག་པའི་ལྷུས་ཆ་གཏོང་གིན་སོང་།།⁹⁸

སྤོང་པ་ལ་ཡིས་ཁངས་པའི་དོན་ཅུ་ལོངས།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་ཐབས་ལ་དམའ་ས་བཟུང་བ་དགའ།།
 དམའ་ས་བཟུང་བའི་མི་ལ་དགའ་མཁན་མང་།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་མི་ལ་ཡིད་ནས་ཕན་མཁན་མང་།།

མི་ཚོ་ཇ་ཆང་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ངང་ལ་འགོ།
 འདྲིར་བཞུགས་འདྲིར་བྱོན་ཟེར་མཁན་མང་བོ་ཡོང་།།
 འདོད་པའི་རྟ་ཚོད་ཚོད་ཀྱི་སྐབ་ལ་འཐེན།།
 གང་ས་ཅི་ཐད་རང་ཚོད་རང་གིས་བྱང་།།
 འགོ་ཚོད་ལྗོད་ཚོད་ཤོད་ཚོད་བྱེད་ཚོད་དང་།།
 སྤྱོད་པའི་བྱེད་ཚོད་སྐྱུག་པའི་ལྷུར་ཚོད་དང་།།
 ཞེས་པའི་བཟོད་ཚོད་འཇམ་པའི་གྲོན་ཚོད་རྣམས།
 མི་ལ་ཚང་ན་མཁས་པའི་ཡང་ཅེ་ཡིན།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་མི་ལ་སྐར་མའི་བདག་པོ་རྟེད།།
 ད་ལྟ་དེ་ལས་སྤྲུགས་ལུལ་ལས་འབྲས་ཡང་།།
 འདོད་པ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ལ་ཤོར་དང་གཅིག།
 ཚོད་ལ་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཏོད་པ་མེད་དང་གཉིས།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་མི་དང་བསྐྱེབས་ནས་བསྐྱད་གཞན་འདྲ།།
 དེ་འདྲས་ཆག་སྐྱིད་ནང་ལ་འཁྲིད་ཡོང་ངོ་།།

ལས་ལ་ཚོད་མེད་ཐ་མ་ལུང་བའི་གཞི།།
 ཚོད་ལ་ཚོད་མེད་མཐའ་གཞུག་པམ་པའི་གཞི།།
 ལ་ལ་ཚོད་མེད་རྒྱབ་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་གཞི།།

⁹⁸ རང་དོན་སྐྱིག་པའི་ལྷུས་ཆ་གཏོང་གིན་སོང་།།

དགོང་ལ་ཚོད་མེད་མཐའ་གཞུག་ཏུ་བའི་གཞི།།

འཁོར་བའི་གཡས་གཡོན་གཡང་དང་གང་བའི་སྒྲིང་།།
ཟག་ན་ཟག་ཚོག་རིལ་ན་རིལ་ཚོག་རེད།།
དེ་འདྲའི་ལམ་དུ་འགྲོ་བཅོ་སྡོད་མཁས་མཛོད།།

གདོང་དུག་འཁོར་བ་འབྲོག་པའི་ཤོ་དང་འདྲ།།
མྱ་ར་ལྷ་མོ་གང་ཐོན་ངེས་མེད་རེད།།
ཁེ་གྲོང་སྒྲིང་ལ་བཅངས་ནས་འགྲོ་ལུགས་མཛོད།།
 ཁེ་ཡི་སྒྲོ་མོ་དབྱེ་རྒྱའི་ཐབས་ལ་སྟོས།།
 གྲོང་གི་ལམ་ལུ་དགག་རྒྱའི་བྱས་ལ་སྟོས།།
ཁེ་གྲོང་གཉིས་ལ་སྦྲུམ་ཕྱ་ཤོར་བའི་དུས།།
སྐྱག་སྒྲིང་མནན་ནས་སྐྱག་ཚོད་བཟུང་བ་དགའ།།

ཚོད་མེད་ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་ཚོད་ནས་ཤོར།།
གཏམ་གྱི་འོར་བུ་ཤོག་ལུའི་ཐང་ལ་ཤོར།།
རེན་ཐང་སྐྱར་དུས་སྐྱར་ཐང་མ་ལོག་མཛོད།།
འོམ་བ་འཛོར་ནས་ཡོད་དོ་པ་ཡི་བུ།།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལུ་བརྒྱད་པ།།

ཞེས་ཚད་མ་ཟ་འཇམ་ཚད་མ་གྱིན་ཅིག།།
ཁ་ལུས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱག་ལ་སྐྱར་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
ཁོག་པའི་བོངས་ཚད་ཆེ་ཡང་དེ་ཐམས་ཅད།།
ཟ་མ་གཅིག་པོས་སྡོད་ས་ཡིན་དོགས་མེད།།

མིག་དང་གོད་བ་གཉིས་ལ་ཁེངས་རྒྱ་མེད།།
སྒྲོ་ཚོད་ཟ་ཚོད་རང་གིས་བྱས་བ་དགའ།།
གོད་བ་ཐབ་ལ་བཙོས་བཙོས་མང་དུགས་ན།།
སྐྱག་རྩ་སྐྱག་དུས་སྒྲིང་བྱ་གང་བ་མཐོང་།།

མི་ལ་རེ་བའི་ཇ་ཆང་ལོངས་སྤོང་ལས།
 རང་གི་རྩ་རྒྱང་རྩ་རྒྱང་བོ་བ་ཞིས།
 ལས་ངན་ཤན་པའི་དྲེག་ཁུ་བཟའ་བ་ལས།
 དམར་དང་ལངས་ན་ཤིག་ཀྱང་ཟ་བ་དགའ།

ཟ་རྩ་ཉལ་རྩ་བ་དང་བོང་བའི་ལས།
 དེ་འདྲ་བྱས་པ་ཨེ་དགའ་པ་ཡི་བྱ།
 བྱི་དང་གོང་པ་ལག་ནས་ཤོར་སོང་ན།
 ཏྲ་རོ་བོང་རོའི་ཐོག་ལ་ཤོར་ཉེན་ཆེ།

གོང་པའི་སྒོ་ལ་བསྐྱམ་ཚོང་མ་བྱས་ན།
 གཏམ་གྱི་མོར་བྱ་རྩ་ལ་ཤོར་བའི་ཉེན།
 གཏམ་གྱི་ཕྱ་ཐུང་འཛོལ་འཛོལ་དགོས་འདོད་ན།
 གོང་པའི་ལག་མགོ་ཐུང་བྱ་བ་རྩུག་པ་དགའ།

རྩ་ནང་ཉ་མོ་བག་ལ་དད་པས་ལུང་།
 བྱི་བ་ཇི་ལ་འཛོལ་སྤང་ཁ་ཟོས་པས་ལན།

བྱི་བ་སྐྱུག་རྩང་སྒོགས་ལ་ཟ་འདོད་ཀྱིས།⁹⁹
 ས་མདའ་སྐེ་ལ་ཟུག་པ་ཟ་མའི་སྒྲོན།
 བྱང་ཐང་མ་མོ་རང་ཚོད་མ་ཟེན་ན།

མགོ་སྐྱུགས་ཐང་ལ་བཤུ་བ་ཟ་མའི་སྒྲོན།¹⁰⁰

སྐྱུག་དམར་ངར་བཞིན་བྱ་བཞིན་འཛོན་རྩ་འདི།¹⁰¹
 སྐྱུག་གན་ལུག་ལ་བྱི་ལྟར་མཚངས་པས་ཉེས།

མཁས་པ་འདི་ཡིན་ཏུ་རྩ་མེད་ལགས་ཀྱང་།
 དཀར་པོའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ནག་པོའི་བྲིས་ཆ་གསལ།
 ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུ་ས་འོག་སོང་ན་ཡང་།
 རྩ་ཤོག་ལོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུག་ཚའི་རི་མོ་འདི།

99 བྱི་བ་སྐྱུག་རྩང་སྒོགས་སྐ་ཟ་འདོད་ཀྱིས།
 100 མགོ་སྐྱུགས་རྩང་ལ་བཤུ་བ་ཟ་མའི་སྒྲོན།
 101 སྐྱུག་དམར་ངར་བཞིན་བྱ་བཞིན་འཛོན་རྩ་འདི།

ས་སྤོང་ཡུན་རིང་གནས་པའི་བགྲིས་ཤོག།
ཚང་མའི་ཡིད་དུ་འོང་བའི་བགྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལུ་དགྲ་པ།

འཇིག་རྟེན་རྣ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་མཐོང་ལུགས་གཉིས།།
རྣ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་རིགས་ཀྱང་རིགས་གཅིག་འདུག།
པ་ཡིས་བྱ་དང་བྱ་ཡིས་པ་བྱེད་པ།།
དེ་འདྲ་བསམས་ན་མུང་མུང་ག་ནས་ཡིན།།
མ་བསམ་གྱུར་ན་པ་བྱའི་དམ་ཚིག་ཉམས།།
དམ་ཉམས་ལག་ལེན་སྤང་བའི་དགྲ་ལ་འགྱུར།།
སྤྱག་གུ་པ་མ་མེད་པ་མི་མིན་ཀྱང་།།
ལག་ཐོག་སྟོན་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་རེ་རེ་ཙམ།།
ཚེ་སྟོན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཚེ་སྤང་མེད་པ་མང་།།
པ་བྱའི་དམ་ཚིག་བསྐྱེད་དུས་བསྐྱེདས་བ་དགའ།།

དུས་ཚོད་རྒྱ་ཚོད་མ་འགྲུངས་གོལ་ནས་འགོ།
འབྲས་ཤོར་མེད་པ་བྱ་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་སྟོབ།།
ཡོན་ཏན་ཀྱན་གྱི་རྩ་བ་ཡི་གེ་དང་།།
ཡོན་ཏན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་ཡི་གེ་རེད།།

སྤྱག་གུའི་ཡི་གེ་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་སྤོང་དུ་སྟོལ།།¹⁰²
མི་པོའི་ཡི་གེ་རྣམས་གདན་སྤོང་དུ་འཇོག།
སྤོང་མའི་ཚོས་རུར་ཡི་གེ་མ་ལོང་རེད།།
རྒྱལ་བོའི་ཁྲིམས་རུར་ཡི་གེ་འབྲས་བུ་རེད།།

ཡིག་ཡོད་མིག་ཡོད་མཁས་པ་སྤུལ་པའི་རྒྱད།།
ཡིག་མེད་མིག་མེད་ལོང་བ་རྣམས་པའི་རྒྱད།།
ཀྲིག་ཀྲིག་ཡི་གེ་གཞུ་རྣམ་འཁྲུག་གྱུར་ཡང་།།
དོན་རྩ་མངའ་ལས་འདྲོངས་པ་དེ་ཅུ་ཚང་།།

102 སྤྱག་གུའི་ཡི་གེ་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་སྤོང་དུ་སྟོལ།།

ཡོན་ཏན་རིན་ཆེན་དགོས་འདོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་རེད།།
 དགོས་འདོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་མི་དགོས་ཐོགས་པ་མེད།།
 དོན་དུ་མི་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཚང་བ་དགོས།།
 རོར་རྒྱུ་མཚམས་རེ་སོང་འགྲོ་མཚམས་རེ་ཡོང་།།
 རོར་ལ་བསྐྱར་བསྐྱར་ཀྱི་མས་འཁྲུང་བའི་ཉེན།།
 ཡོན་ཏན་རིན་ཆེན་འཇོག་མེད་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གཏོར།།

ར་སོ་གཞོན་དུས་ལ་སྦྱོང་ཐར་སྦྱོབས།།
 ར་སོ་ལོང་ནས་བསྐྱབ་དགོས་མེད་པ་གྱིས།།
 ལྷང་གསར་གཞོན་དུས་འདྲོངས་ན་འདྲོངས་པ་རེད།།
 ལྷང་རྒྱ་སོང་སོང་མང་ན་ཆག་པའི་ཉེན།།

ངན་པའི་མི་དང་ཕོགས་ལ་བསྐྱོངས་པ་ན།།¹⁰³
 དུག་དང་བསྐྱོངས་ན་དུག་གི་ཁ་རྒྱངས་ལོག།
 ངན་པའི་ཚོགས་དང་ནག་པོའི་སོལ་བ་འདྲ།།
 ཚ་མས་བསྐྱེད་ཉེན་གྲང་མོས་རྒྱས་ཉེན་ཆེ།།

ལེ་དང་གྲོང་གི་བསྐྱོར་ཕྱོགས་གཏོང་གིན་སོང་།།
 ཡག་དང་ཉེས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཆ་ཤོད་ཀྱིན་སོང་།།
 ཡག་ན་ཡག་པས་ངོ་བོ་བརྟོད་བདག་རྒྱུན་སྦྱོང་།།
 ཉེས་ན་ཉེས་སོང་ཟེར་ནས་ཉེས་གཏུག་ཐོངས།།

ཨ་མའི་ཁ་ལ་སློ་ལྷགས་བརྒྱབ་དྲགས་ན།།
 ལྷག་གསུམ་ཆག་སློའི་རྒྱལ་སློ་ཕྱིད་ཉེན་ཆེ།།
 རྩོལ་སྤྱི་བདར་ཐོན་ན་རོར་བྱ་དང་།།
 ལྷགས་ལ་འཇམ་ཤ་ཐོན་ན་མེ་ལོང་ཡོང་།།

ཡོན་ཏན་ལུན་ལུམ་ཚོགས་ན་སྦྱིང་གི་བྱ།།
 ལྷ་ལྷགས་ཕྱིད་ལྷགས་ངན་ན་དག་ལས་ལོང་།།

103 ངན་པ་མི་དང་བསྐྱོངས་ཤིང་འགྲོགས་ཞན་འདྲ།།

དེ་ཚོ་སེམས་པ་དཀར་བའི་སྐད་ཆ་རེད།།
བྱ་ཡོད་པ་ཚོ་ཐུགས་ལ་དེ་ལྟར་ཞེས།

བསྐབ་ལུ་བཅུ་པ།

དེ་ནས་གསོན་དང་ཨ་མའི་སྐྱོང་ཉེ་ཚོ།།
བྱམས་དང་བརྩ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་དྲིན་ཚེན་མ།།
སྤྱ་གྲུ་རྒྱུང་དུས་ཨ་མའི་མགོ་ཅུ་ཚྲོད།།¹⁰⁴
ལང་ལ་གཏོང་རང་གཏོང་ན་ཨ་མས་གཏོང་།།
ཁ་ལ་མི་སྤྱོད་དགུ་སྤྱོད་ཨ་མས་སྤྱོད།།
ལུས་ལ་མི་གཡོག་དགུ་གཡོག་ཨ་མས་གཡོགས།།
རྒྱུང་དུས་ཨ་མས་ལང་ལ་བཏང་བའི་བྲ།།
ལང་ཤོར་ཐ་མ་ཨ་མ་དགའ་མི་ལྷག།¹⁰⁵

དེ་འདྲ་མི་གསོད་བྱས་ནས་སྤང་བ་མང་།།
དེ་འདྲ་རྟ་འཁྱེར་བྱས་ནས་བྲོས་པ་མང་།།
ཨ་མས་སྤྱག་སྐྱོང་མནན་ནས་མ་བཟང་ན།།
ཨ་མས་སྤྱ་གྲུ་རྒྱུང་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཡོང་ངོ་།།

རྒྱ་མ་རྒྱ་དུས་ཐུག་ཐུག་བརྒྱུང་བ་དགའ།།
རྟ་མ་གྱི་ཡོད་ན་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བ་དགའ།།¹⁰⁶
སྐོང་རྒྱ་དུས་ཁྲིག་ཁྲིག་མ་བཅོས་ན།།
བྱ་མོ་འཁྱེར་བའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་རྟ་ཕོ་འཁྱེར།།
ཞེས་པོ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་འཇམ་པོ་གཡོག་གཡོག་ཞེས།།
བྱ་ལུགས་བྱེད་ལུགས་འགྲོ་ལུགས་ཚྲོད་ལུགས་སྦྱོངས།།
བྱེད་ལུགས་མེད་ཀྱང་ཁ་ལ་ཟ་ལུགས་སྦོལས།།
ཐ་མ་དེ་འདྲའི་སྦྱོ་སྦྱོ་སྤྱོད་ཞེས་སྦྱོ།།

104 སྤྱ་གྲུ་རྒྱུང་དུས་ཨ་མའི་མགོ་ཅུ་ཚྲོད།།
105 ལང་ཤོར་ཐ་མ་ཨ་མས་དགའ་མི་ལྷག།
106 རྟ་མ་གྱི་ཡོད་ན་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བ་དགའ།།

ལ་ལྷག་ཐང་ནས་ཐང་ལ་ཟག་རྒྱ་མེད།
 མོད་ལྷག་གཡང་ལ་ཟག་བ་སྤང་ཡང་རྗེ།
 རྒྱང་ལྷག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བསྐྱར་བ་རྒྱང་པའི་ལས།
 ལྷག་པོ་རྒྱང་ལ་འབྲམས་བ་དག་ལ་བརྒྱུར།

ཉན་མཁན་ཡོད་ན་གོ་རྒྱ་བཤད་ཡོད་དོ།
 ཉ་མཁན་ཡོད་ན་མཐོང་རྒྱ་བཞུག་ཡོད་དོ།
 ལྷག་གའི་ཁ་ཡི་དོན་གྱི་དོན་ཁའི་ཚོགས།
 ལྷག་གི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་ཞོག་མཛོད་ཨ་མའི་ཚོགས།

བསྐབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་བཟུ་གཅིག་པ།

དེ་ནས་ཉོན་དང་ཨ་མའི་ཨོ་ལོ་ཚོ།
 ལྷག་གཟིག་ནགས་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་ནས་ཐོན་འདྲ་ན་མས།
 ལྷ་གུ་མ་ཡི་ཁོག་ནས་ཐོན་བའི་དུས།
 ལྷ་བ་མ་དང་འབྲེལ་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་དུས།
 ཅོར་ཅོར་བེར་བ་ཚམ་ལས་ཤ་རྩོག་གཅིག།
 ལུ་ཞོ་ཁ་ལ་སྐྱར་ཡང་འཐུང་མི་ཤེས།
 ཀྱང་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གོམ་བ་སྤོ་མི་ཤེས།
 རྒྱ་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཚོག་བརྟེན་སྤོང་མི་ཤེས།
 མིག་གཉིས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མ་ལས་མེད།
 སེམས་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་བསམ་རྒྱ་མ་ལས་མེད།
 ངོ་ལ་འཁོར་བའི་སྤང་མ་དགོག་མི་ཤེས།
 མིག་ལ་འཚངས་བའི་ཐལ་བ་འདོན་མི་ཤེས།
 གང་དུ་འབྲུག་དུ་ལྷོགས་དུ་རྒྱག་བའི་དུས།
 བ་མ་གཉིས་པའི་དགོང་མའི་གཉིད་ཐེབས་བཅག།
 ལྷམ་བ་བྱ་དང་སྤོན་བ་པ་མས་བྱེད།
 འཇམ་བ་བྱ་དང་རྒྱབ་བ་པ་མས་བྱེད།

ད་ལྟའི་དེ་འདྲ་དེ་དུས་ཡིན་དོགས་མེད།
 ལྷ་གུ་རྒྱང་དུས་ལྷ་བ་པ་མའི་སྤོང་ལ།

བྱ་ལྷགས་བྱེད་ལྷགས་འགོ་ལྷགས་མོད་ལྷགས་སྦྱོངས།།
 གང་བྱས་ཡོང་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་པ་མའི་དྲིན།།
 ལ་ནས་ཐི་ལྷོ་བསགས་ཚད་བྱ་ཡི་དོན།།
 ལས་འབྲས་རླང་ལ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ་བྱ་ཡི་དོན།།
 བསམ་རྒྱ་བྱ་དང་དྲན་རྒྱ་བྱ་ལས་མེད།།
 དགོས་རྒྱ་བྱ་དང་འདེགས་རྒྱ་བྱ་ལས་མེད།།
 བཀའ་དྲིན་ཅན་གྱི་པ་མ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས།།
 ར་སོ་རྣམ་པ་ད་ལྷ་ཨེ་ཤེས་ལགས།།
 དྲིན་ཅན་དྲིན་དུ་བསམ་པ་ཨེ་ཡོད་ལགས།།
 སྤེལ་དང་ངོ་ཚད་གོས་པ་འདི་ཅ་རེད།།
 ཚོགས་དང་བསོད་ནམས་གསོག་པའི་ཚ་བ་རེད།།
 གོང་ན་གོ་བར་གཤམ་ན་པ་མ་གཉིས།།
 དེ་གསུམ་ལས་སྣག་སྤྱ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་མིན།།
 ཉེན་མཚན་མེད་པར་པ་མའི་བཀའ་དང་བསྐྱུན།།
 རྩ་དགོང་མེད་པར་པ་མའི་འབས་ལ་བཅར།།

བེམ་པོ་ལུལ་ནས་ཨེ་མཉེས་སེམས་གྱིས་ལྷོས།།
 འཇམ་པོ་བསྐྱོན་ནས་ཨེ་མཉེས་ཡིད་གྱིས་ལྷོས།།
 ལྷན་པོ་ལྷུས་ནས་ལྷགས་སེམས་ཨེ་སྤོ་ལྷོས།།
 ཡག་པོ་ལྷུས་ནས་དགོངས་པ་ཨེ་སྤོ་ལྷོས།།

པ་མ་མཉེས་ན་འདི་བྱི་གཉིས་ཡོད་རེད།།
 པ་མ་མ་མཉེས་འདི་བྱི་གཉིས་མེད་རེད།།
 པ་མ་ཡོད་དུས་བཀའ་དྲིན་མ་བསམ་བར།།
 མེད་དུས་འགྱུར་པ་སྤྱིས་པ་ཐ་མའི་ཐ།།
 འགྱུར་པ་དེ་ནི་ལྷགས་ནས་ལྷགས་སྤྱ་འགྱུར།།
 ད་ལྷ་ས་སྤོང་འགྱུར་པ་དེ་ལས་འགྱུར།།
 དེ་ལྷར་པ་མ་འཇོམས་པའི་སྤྱ་སྤྱ་ཚོ།།
 གཏམ་གྱི་འོར་བུ་སྤོང་གི་སྤམ་དུ་ཚུག།།

ལུང་མེད་ཁྲམ་དང་གཡོ་སྦྱ་གྱོད་གྱི་གཞི།།
 བསྐྱེད་ལྷོར་ནས་པ་བྱ་འབྲས་ཡོང་ངོ་།།

དེ་འདྲ་དམུལ་བའི་གཏིང་དུ་བསྐྱར་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་འཕྲོད་དུ་རྒྱང་བ་དྲངས་ཡོང་ངོ་།།
 ར་ཐང་གཡོག་པ་ན་བས་ཐོས་ཡོད་འགོ།
 ལྷ་མཚོག་ཟེལ་པས་སྐད་ཆ་གོ་ཚོད་འགོ།
 མི་རྒྱུད་མི་དགོས་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་ཡིན་གྱུར་ཀྱང་།།
 བྱད་མེད་ཡིན་ན་བདུད་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་རེད།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་བཤད་ཚད་ཉན་ན་འཕུང་ལ་སྦྱོར།།
 བྱས་ཚད་ལམ་ལ་བཏང་ན་རྒྱུང་ལ་བསྐྱར།།
 བདུད་དང་གདོད་དུས་མི་ལ་དོགས་ཟེན་དགོས།།
 འདྲ་དང་གོགས་པོ་བྱེད་ན་སླ་མ་སྟོམ།།

ལྱོན་པ་རྙེད་ན་གསར་པ་བཟོས་པས་ཚོག།
 མནའ་མ་མེད་ཀྱང་མནའ་མ་བསུས་པའི་ཚོག།
 ཚོལ་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་པ་མ་རྙེད་དོགས་མེད།།
 པ་མ་གཉེས་དང་མནའ་མ་བརྗེས་དོགས་མེད།།
 འདྲ་འདྲའི་ཁྲིད་དུ་སྡོད་པ་ངོ་ཡང་ཚ།།
 འཛོན་མདོག་བྱས་ཀྱང་འཛོན་རྒྱ་དེ་ལ་རེད།།
 པ་མ་མནའ་མའི་དབྱེ་འབྱེད་མ་ཤིས་ན།།
 མི་ལུས་དེ་འདྲ་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་ཁྱི་ལས་ལོད།།
 ཁྱི་དན་སྦྱོ་ཡང་བདག་པོ་ངོས་ཀྱིས་འཛོན།།
 ཁྱི་ལས་ལོད་པའི་མི་དེ་ཡ་ཡང་ང་།།
 དེ་འདྲའི་ལུས་རྟེན་སྣང་བའི་དག་ལ་བསྐྱར།།

མི་དན་གཅིག་གིས་མི་བརྒྱ་རྒྱུང་ལ་བསྐྱར།།
 མི་ལུས་ཡིན་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཏིང་ལ་བསྐྱར།།
 ལམ་དན་བཏོད་ནས་འཛོམ་སྤང་ཕུང་ལ་སྦྱོར།།
 བ་མོ་གཅིག་གིས་མི་ཡི་ཞིང་བཟས་ནས།།
 བ་མོ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་འགོ་བའི་ལམ་བུ་བཀག།
 ཅེས་པའི་དཔེ་ལྷན་སྦྱོད་དན་འདོར་ཤིས་པ།།

རིག་པ་གནད་དུ་ཁོད་ཅིག་པ་ཡི་བྱ།།
 བསམ་སྒོ་འདྲོངས་ལ་ཐོངས་ཤིག་ངོ་ངོའི་སྟིང་།།

རེ་དང་འཇིགས་པས་དབྱར་ས་དགུན་ས་ནས།
ཐར་པའི་སྒྲིང་གི་ལས་སུ་སྐྱེ་སངས་ལ།

བཟང་གི་རེ་དང་ངན་གྱི་ཉེས་ཡོད་ན།
ལམ་བུ་དེ་ག་རེད་དོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་ཚོ།
འཁོར་བ་མི་སྲིད་སྲིད་པའི་ཁྲོན་པ་བྱ།
ལས་ཉོན་མི་སྲིད་སྲིད་པས་སྐྱེ་དུས་འདྲིར།
དོན་ཚུ་བསྐྱེལ་ནས་དོན་དོན་བྱེད་པའི་དུས།
རེ་ས་ལྟ་ས་གོ་བརྗེ་ཁོང་ལ་ལུས།
ལས་འབྲས་སྒྲིང་ལ་བཅངས་ནས་འགོ་ལུགས་དང་།
དཀར་ནག་སེམས་ལ་བཞག་ནས་བྱེད་ལུགས་མཛོད།
ལས་འབྲས་ཁ་ནས་ཤོད་མཁན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་།
ལག་ལེན་ལག་ཏུ་ལོན་པ་གསེར་ལས་དཀོན།
དེ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་འགྲོད་པ་སྲིང་ནས་བསྐྱེད།
དེ་འདྲ་བསམ་ན་སྐྱོ་བ་གཏིང་ནས་བསྐྱེད།

དེ་རིང་ཐིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ནག་ཚུང་འདི།
ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུ་སྐྱོ་བའི་སྐྱོ་ལབ་རེད།
གཏི་ལུག་སྲིང་གི་དཀྱིལ་ལ་རྩེལ་རྩེལ་འདི།
རང་གིས་མི་ཤེས་མི་ལ་བཤད་ལེ་འདྲ།
རང་སྐྱོན་མི་མཐོང་མི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་ལེ་འདྲ།
ཆག་པ་གས་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཉམ་ལེ་འདྲ།
ང་ལ་སྐྱ་མས་ཐུགས་རྗེས་རྒྱང་ནས་གཟེགས།
ཁ་དང་ལག་ལེན་འགྲིག་པའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་མཛོད།
མདོག་དང་བོ་བ་མཐུན་པའི་བཀའ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་བསམ་སྒྲིབ་ཀྱི་མཚོ་ནས།
བཏོན་པའི་མོར་བུ་ཤོག་བུའི་ནང་དུ་བཏུམས།
རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་ཐོན་པའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་བཞག་ཡོད་དོ།
མ་བུའི་ལུས་ལ་ལུ་བྱུག་གསུང་སྐྱན་འདི།
སྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་ཟེར་བས་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་ལྷབ་པར་ཤོག།
ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུས་ཀུན་ལ་གདམས་པ་འོ། །



Introduction to and Translation of *The Garland of Light: Lives of the Masters of the Northern Treasure Tradition*

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Among the many collections of manuscripts that were reproduced from the library of Lama Sengge of Yölmo, the volume entitled *The Collected Biographies and Prophecies of the Northern Treasure Tradition* is of interest herein.¹ Published in 1983 by Sherab Gyaltsen and Lama Dawa in Gangtok, Sikkim, this collection contains twenty-six texts that will undoubtedly allow for a more accurate understanding of the relatively unknown, early history of the Jangter (*byang gter*) or Northern Treasure Tradition in Latö during the later fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. The volume includes six works that are not presented as revealed scriptures; this subgrouping consists of a prayer of supplication directed at the tradition's founding treasure revealer, Rigdzin Gödemchen (1337-1409), a record of the his visionary dreams, and the biographies of the first nine patriarchs of the tradition. The remaining twenty texts are written using punctuation that identifies them as "treasures" (*gter*), in this case meaning scriptural translations of encoded scrolls that were discovered in the mountains of Tibet by Rigdzin Gödemchen.² Among these, one will find a wealth of literature including concealment narratives, transmission records, inventories, prophecies, and guides to secret or concealed lands including several concerning the region of Yölmo, Nepal where this collection of texts was eventually compiled.³

Although difficult to find, the second text in this collection, *The Ray of Sunlight: The Life of Rigdzin Gödemchen*, has been translated for Western audiences and has given us a good basis for understanding

¹ The research for this article, including the translation, was carried out in part with support from a generous grant from the Faculty Development Committee of Troy University in 2016.

² For a detailed discussion of treasure literature, see Doctor 2005.

³ I have worked with the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center in order to provide an easily accessible and accurate outline of this text. See <https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W27866>.

how the Northern Treasure Tradition was formed during the late fourteenth century by Gödemchen and his companions.⁴ Little is known, however, regarding how this newly founded tradition maintained institutional integrity after the passing of its charismatic leader in 1409. The fifth text in this collection entitled *The Garland of Light: Lives of the Masters*, consisting of 34 pages (pp. 173-206), is offered in translation following this introduction because it specifically examines the leadership of the tradition after Gödemchen's passing through the majority of the fifteenth century.⁵ This "garland" is an assemblage of the six biographies of the following patriarchs of the Northern Treasure Tradition: Namgyel Gönpo (1399-1424), Dorjé Pelba (b. late 14th c.), Jampa Shenyen (b. early 15th c.), Dorjé Gönpo (b. 14th c.), Ngakwang Drakpa (b. early 15th c.), and Sangyé Pelzang (b. 15th c.).

According to the colophon, the author of this collection of biographies is Sangyé Pelzang, whose own biography appears at the end of the assemblage.⁶ The written words that appear on the pages are presented as the prepared and reported speech of Sangyé Pelzang that was composed at the request of Gangmarwa Namkha, who was presumably one of his disciples.⁷

When read as a single, complete narrative, the rhetorical aim of *The Garland of Light* is abundantly clear; it is an explanation of how the final patriarch of the collection, Sangyé Pelzang, can be the legitimate standard-bearer of a family-based treasure tradition despite the fact that he shares neither the bones nor the flesh of his predeces-

⁴ The complete title of the biography is *sprul sku chen po'i rnam thar gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer*. See Nyima Zangpo 1983, pp. 53-152. Although Herweg humbly refers to his translation as a mere summary of the biography, his contribution is significant and can be found in *The Hagiography of Rig 'dzin Rgod kyi ldem 'phru can and Three Historical Questions Emerging from It*, Herweg 1994, pp. 42-152.

⁵ The complete title of the biography is *bla ma rnam ki rnam thar 'od kyi 'phreng ba*. See Sangyé Pelzang 1983, pp. 173-206.

⁶ Sangyé Pelzang 1983, p. 206.

⁷ This authorship scenario is plausible in part because it appears to have been authored while Sangyé Pelzang yet lived, for there is no record of his passing in the biography. Gangmarwa Namkha (*rgangs dmar ba nam mkha*) is most likely Samarwa Namkha Gyeltsen (*sa dmar ba nam mkha' rgyal mtshan*; 1454 – 1541/1542), who tradition maintains was Sangyé Pelzang's primary disciple. I am currently translating the biography entitled *Dispelling the Darkness that Shrouds Meaning: The Life of Namkha Gyeltsen, The Heart-Disciple* for future publication. For the original of this text, see Namkha Sönam 1983, 207-234.

sors.⁸ The primary arguments employed to buttress his authority will be discussed in more detail below.

The main events of these biographies unfolded, by and large, within the confines of the traditional province of Latö, which is to the west of Tsang. Soon after Rigdzin Gödemchen began his career as a treasure revealer in 1366, the newly-forming community established its first stronghold at Mt. Trazang (*bkra bzang*) in Ngamring in Northern Latö, which is in the general vicinity of the founder's birth. Mt. Shri (*shri ri*) in Dingri County in Southern Latö was later setup as a second hub of the tradition. It was granted to Gödemchen by his most prestigious patron, Püntsock Dé (1338-1370), the King of Mangyül Gungtang, around 1370.⁹ *The Garland of Light* is largely a narrative about the authority that is rooted in these two practice centers during the fifteenth century.

Unlike the biography of the lineage's founder, which is very preoccupied with the political drama that was unfolding in the southern kingdom of Mangyül Gungtang, *The Garland of Light* is amazingly silent regarding its own sociopolitical context.¹⁰ The only political figure mentioned by name is Könchok Lekpa (*dkon mchog legs pa*; 15th c.), a member of Jang Ngamring's ruling family who was involved with ambitious construction projects in the region, including a revered chapel at Mt. Trazang.¹¹ There were many developments in Ngamring during the fifteenth century that suggest the region experienced a flourishing of cultural development. Könchok Lekpa and his family maintained relations with the Ming court in China, for example, and strongly supported Sakyapa and Jonangpa activity in Ngamring.¹² Through the efforts of eminent figures such as Tangtong

⁸ In the Tibetan context, one inherits the clan "bones" from the father and one's "flesh" from the mother. For further information, see Stein 1972, pp. 94, 107.

⁹ For a translation of the royal edict that grants this land to Gödemchen, see Herweg 1994, pp. 127-133.

¹⁰ The southern kingdom of Mangyül Gungtang was centered in the city of Dzongka in the Kyirong region near the border with Nepal. The change in focus could reflect the waning importance and vitality of Mangyül Gungtang in the post-Sakyapa political climate. It should be acknowledged, however, that despite the fact that the polity of Mangyül Gungtang is not mentioned by name, the practice center at Mt. Shri, which was located within that kingdom, is clearly portrayed as an important seat of power for the tradition throughout *The Garland of Light*. For a more detailed discussion of the history of the kingdom of Mangyül Gungtang as it relates to treasure traditions, see Solmsdorf 2014, pp. 9-11; Herweg 1994, pp. 21-25; and Bogin 2005, pp. 65-71.

¹¹ Sangyé Pelzang 1983, pp. 179-180.

¹² Information about Könchok Lekpa was gleaned from the biography of his brother, Namgyel Drakpa Zangpo. See Stearns 2008. In fact, the final patriarch of

Gyelpo (c. 1361-1486) and his contemporaries, Ngamring was also established as a center for Tibetan Opera and Medicine.¹³ Perhaps as a result of these developments, the Northern Treasure Tradition of the early sixteenth century is more clearly focused on the sources of authority in Jang Ngamring in the north rather than Mangyül Gungtang in the south.¹⁴

Ultimately, the translation of *The Garland of Light* is useful because it offers a historical narrative of the Northern Treasure Tradition that compliments previous Western scholarship on the subject. To date, Martin Boord has produced the most significant historiography of the lineage.¹⁵ While his presentation is grounded in a wealth of primary source material, Boord consciously presents his historiography as a provisional sketch that should be supplemented by future researchers.¹⁶ Moreover, his intention is to provide a historical view of the tradition that contextualizes the Cult of Vajrakīla, the primary subject of his monograph. As such, Boord captures quite well the insider's pious interpretation of the Northern Treasure Tradition as an institution that was founded and guided by a series of reincarnations of Gödemchen.

Nevertheless, the focus on the exploits of these incarnate lamas is clearly a feature of the revisionist historiographies that were produced after the tradition was reestablished at Dorjé Drak Monastery in Central Tibet under the auspices of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama during the seventeenth century.¹⁷ While such revisionist narratives are helpful in our attempts to understand emic perspectives, they significantly limit our understanding of Tibetan religious history and

this series, Sangyé Pelzang, receives a multitude of Sakyapa and Jonangpa teachings, which further demonstrates not only the expanding prevalence of these two schools in Ngamring but also the extent of the influence of the region's ruling family during the fifteenth century.

¹³ For an explanation of the exploits of Tangtong Gyelpo, see Stearns 2007. For a discussion of the medical tradition of Jang Ngamring that flourished through this period, see Hofer 2012. In the biography that follows *The Garland of Light*, it is clear that some portion of the protagonist's, Namkha Gyeltsen, authority is derived from his connection to Tangtong Gyelpo in Ngamring. See Namkha Sönam 1983, p. 210.

¹⁴ As further evidence of the shift in focus, the kingdom of Mangyül Gungtang is only mentioned in the biography of Gödemchen; none of the other eight biographies of the early patriarchs even mention the polity by name.

¹⁵ Boord's account of the Northern Treasure Tradition was first published in 1993 (pp. 21-35). He offered an expanded narrative in 2013 (pp. 31-85).

¹⁶ Boord 1993, p. 32.

¹⁷ For examples of Tibetan historiography that emphasize this revisionist perspective, see Ngakwang Lozang Gyatso 1972 and Künzang Drodül Dorjé 2004.

all but guarantee the failure of diachronic analysis.¹⁸ As far as I know, *The Garland of Light* is the only historiographic source that illuminates the lives of the six patriarchs who constituted the second through fourth generations of leaders and carried the Northern Treasure Tradition through the fifteenth century.¹⁹ Unsurprisingly, the narrative does not include a series of reincarnated lamas.

The first three biographies of the collection focus on what is traditionally referred to as the "lineage of the son" and the "lineage of the mother." Unfortunately, despite the fact that Lady Lopön Pema (*slop dpon pad+ma*; b. 14th c.) was the wife of the founding patriarch, the mother of the second patriarch, and an effective teacher to other important figures in the tradition, her biography, if one ever existed at all, does not appear in *The Garland of Light*.²⁰ The author implies that because the mother and the son received the transmissions from Gödemchen at the same time, there is no reason to follow their lineages separately.²¹ The text thus begins with a biography of Namgyel Gönpo (1399-1424), the son of Gödemchen, who is the only patriarch in this text for whom precise dates of birth and death can be determined.²²

Namgyel Gönpo received transmission of the specific Great Perfection cycle—the Gongpa Zangtel of Samantabhadra (*kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*)—that are quintessential for the Northern Treasure Tradition at the age of six at his father's command.²³ His

¹⁸ For other examples of recent scholarship that has—at least in part—deconstructed revisionist accounts of Nyingmapa treasure traditions, see Ronis 2009, pp. 107-108 and Hirshberg 2012, pp. 66-70.

¹⁹ One notable addition would be *Guru Trashi's History* (1990), which includes brief biological sketches of the early patriarchs of the Northern Treasure Tradition within its larger discussion of the history of Dorjé Drak Monastery (pp. 668-697). These brief sketches that were authored in the late eighteenth century, however, appear to be abbreviated works based on *The Garland of Light*.

²⁰ For a more detailed discussion of important women in the early Northern Treasure Tradition, see Valentine 2015.

²¹ Sangyé Pelzang 1983, pp. 176-177. Interestingly, the theme of "uniting the transmission lineages" turns up again in the seventeenth century, but from the perspective of *The Garland*, the lineages of the son and mother were united at their inception. According to Boord (2013, p. 59), for example, the three lineages continued to be carried separately until they were unified by Pema Trinlé (1641-1717), one of Gödemchen's most significant incarnations. For a translation of the first ten years of Pema Trinlé's massive autobiography, see Valentine 2013, pp. 247-305. For the entire text, see Pema Trinlé 2000.

²² Namgyel Gönpo's biography is located at pp. 174-181.

²³ Regarding the transmission lineages of the Great Perfection, it is interesting that in Gödemchen's biography, he is reported to have studied the Brahmin's Tradition (*bram ze'i lugs*), which his forefathers maintained, and to have revealed the

quick mastery of these teachings impressed those with influence within the religious community and led them to formally request that Gödemchen empower his son as his spiritual heir. His father eventually honored their request, but not before subjecting his son to further spiritual scrutiny. Although the specific date of his investiture is not known, it would have been prior to Gödemchen's death (1409), when Namgyel Gönpö was but ten years old. The biography also offers an explanation of the ultimate spiritual cause of Namgyel Gönpö's early demise and sets the stage for his reappearance in reincarnated form later in *The Garland of Light*.

The second biography in this collection is that of Dorjé Pelwa, who was the son of Gödemchen's younger sister.²⁴ While his date of birth is not recorded, there is evidence to suggest that he was considerably older than Namgyel Gönpö (b. 1399), his maternal cousin.²⁵ Dorjé Pelwa's father was of the Kagyupa Order, and thus he naturally began training in Mahāmudrā. He later took Gödemchen as his primary teacher, quickly became his attendant, and was soon counted among his seven highest disciples. As a result of their close relationship, he was present for the transmission of the teachings of the Northern Treasure Tradition time and time again. After the passing of Gödemchen, Dorjé Pelwa served the young Namgyel Gönpö both as an attendant and an adviser. Following the early demise of Namgyel Gönpö in 1424, Dorjé Pelwa assumed the role of leading patriarch of the transmission lineage.

Northern Treasure Tradition's distinctive Great Perfection cycle, but there is no mention of the Vimāla Nyingtik (*b+hi ma la'i snying tig*) and the Khandro Nyingtik (*mkha' 'gro snying tig*) cycles that were systematized by Longchenpa (*klong chen pa*; 1308-1364). In this series of biographies, however, the Vimāla and Khandro cycles were passed from Gödemchen to his disciples, explicitly to Dorjé Gönpö and implicitly to Namgyel Gönpö, in a manner that suggests that they had already been adopted by the forming tradition before the death of Gödemchen in 1409. For a general discussion the Great Perfection, see Germano 2005, pp. 2545-2550. For a complete discussion of the Great Perfection teachings of the Northern Treasure Tradition, see Turpeinen 2015.

²⁴ Dorjé Pelwa's biography is located at pp. 181-185. From the perspective of *The Garland of Light*, it can be said that the combined lineage of the mother and son soon became the lineage of the maternal nephew. Interestingly, Gödemchen's own maternal uncle, Ritropa Sangyé Tenpa (14th c.), played an essential role in the early development of the Northern Treasure Tradition, which suggests that it may be fruitful to trace clan lineages maternally as well as paternally. For more information on this subject, see Valentine 2015, pp. 132-134.

²⁵ In particular, while it is stated that he served Namgyel Gönpö as his teacher, it is evident in *The Garland of Light* that Namgyel Gönpö deferred to the authority of his maternal cousin, Dorjé Gönpö.

The third biography is that of Tsenden Jampa Shenyen.²⁶ Although the dates of neither his birth nor his death are mentioned, it is stated that he lived to the age of 68. He is the first of the patriarchs to not be directly related through bone or flesh to any of the founding members of the tradition. His parents' names are not revealed; all we are told is that they were wealthy nomads.²⁷ Jampa Shenyen began his religious career following the Kagyupa path, but later established strong ties with the leadership of the Northern Treasure Tradition. He first became a disciple of Lady Lopön Pema, the wife of the founder, before devoting himself to Namgyel Gönpö and then eventually Dorjé Pelwa. We learn later in the collection of biographies that this transmission lineage, which is so closely connected to Gödemchen's surviving relatives, was seated at Mt. Shri in the south rather than Mt. Trazang.²⁸

The fourth and fifth biographies examine a parallel transmission of the Northern Treasures that came directly from Gödemchen himself and was apparently not mitigated by his wife, son, or nephew who are all discussed above. I understand these patriarchs to constitute what the tradition refers to as "the lineage of the disciples" as distinct from the "lineage of the mother" or the "lineage of the son." That being said, the fourth biography summarizes the exploits of a pair of brothers named Dorjé Gönpö (b. 14th c.) and Rinchen Drakpa (b. 14th c.), who were orphaned at a young age and entered the doors of Buddhist religiosity at the feet of Gödemchen.²⁹ All that we know regarding their birth dates is that in 1366, the younger of the brothers, Dorjé Gönpö, was already mature enough to travel with and attend to Gödemchen during one of his major treasure discovery

²⁶ Tsenden Jampa Shenyen's biography is located at pp. 185-188.

²⁷ In the biography of Namkha Gyeltsen, Dorjé Pel is explicitly identified with the title of Métön (*mes ston*), which is reserved for patriarchs of a particular, hereditary lineage of the Marpa Kagyu. Jampa Shenyen is also therein said to be the nephew-heir of Dorjé Pel. When the information of the two biographies is assembled, it would suggest that someone in Dorjé Pel's extended family married into a family of wealthy nomads to form a union that produced Jampa Shenyen. While it is unclear why such information would not be included in *The Garland of Light*, it is of major significance within *The Life of Namkha Gyeltsen*, as Jampa Shenyen is the protagonist's father. See Namkha Sönam 1982, p. 208.

²⁸ In fact, Zangpo Drakpa (14th c.), the treasure revealer who sent instructive materials to Gödemchen before his discovery of the Northern Treasures, also maintained Kagyupa ties and was known to practice at Mt. Shri. It is interesting that the later patriarchs of the Northern Treasure Tradition who had Kagyupa training were also associated with Mt. Shri.

²⁹ Sangyé Pelzang 1983, pp. 188-191.

excursions; thus, it is reasonable to assume both brothers were born by at least 1355. While Rinchen Drakpa met with an early demise, Dorjé Gönpo is said to have lived to the age of 68, which could have been as late as 1423.

In counter distinction to Gödemchen's nephew (i.e., Dorjé Pel) and his dharma heir (i.e., Jampa Shenyen), neither Dorjé Gönpo, Rinchen Drakpa, nor their own successor who is discussed below are reported to have been exposed to the Kagyupa or any other traditions prior to devoting themselves to Gödemchen. Furthermore, the brothers were not mere disciples of Gödemchen, but are reported to have used their literary skills to help translate or decode the yellow treasure scrolls, thus identifying them as co-creators of the Northern Treasure Tradition. It may be because of their strong, and long-term connection to the Northern Treasure Tradition that it is their lineage, and not the lineage stemming from Gödemchen's son and nephew, that eventually takes Mt. Trazang as its seat.³⁰

The life of Ngakwang Drakpa (b. 15th c.) is discussed in the following, very brief section.³¹ Ngakwang Drakpa is the son of Rinchen Drakpa, who is reported to have implored his younger brother, Dorjé Gönpo, to treat his nephew like his own son and make him his dharma heir. Ngakwang Drakpa is known to have quickly mastered the teachings of the tradition and to have passed away while residing at Mt. Trazang. It should be noted that despite the fact that theirs is clearly a lineage of disciples, in the sense that they were not related to Gödemchen, it is still thoroughly a family tradition in a manner that is most often associated with the Nyingmapa Order.

It is in the sixth and final biography, the narrative arc of *The Garland of Light* reaches both the climax and resolution in the life of Sangyé Pelzang.³² In prose that slide back and forth between first and third person, Sangyé Pelzang essentially acknowledges the peculiarity of his status as a clan outsider in a tradition that is so tightly knit

³⁰ We also know that within a generation or two, Mt. Trazang becomes the seat of a lineage of the Sé clan. It could be the case that these brothers, known to have been born at the Sémolung Hermitage, may have also had connections with the Sé clan. If so, this would supply an interesting symmetry to the narrative, considering the fact that Gödemchen's father dies before he can receive his ancestral teachings. A pair of brothers from the Sé clan, without any clear explanation of their motivations, arrive on the scene and transmit the required instructions to the young Gödemchen. For more information on the Sé clan, see Karmay 1972, pp. 27, 58 and Ramble 1997.

³¹ Ngakwang Drakpa's biography can be found at pp. 191-193.

³² Sangyé Pelzang's biography is located at pp. 193-206.

around family bonds. The biography buttresses Sangyé Pelzang's authority using two separate strategies. First, it is asserted that while still a youth, he reported that Gödemchen and Lady Lopön Pema were his true parents. Thus, Sangyé Pelzang came to be understood as the reincarnation of their son, Namgyel Gönpö, who was supposed to be the heir of the Northern Treasure Tradition but died early into his majority. Despite the fact that he was not related through birth to either of the families with whom the tradition began, he was directly related through reincarnation.³³

The biography also establishes a strong case for understanding Sangyé Pelzang as the legitimate heir of the Northern Treasure Tradition based on merit and proper teacher-student relationships. He is reported to have first traveled to Mt. Shri to serve at the feet of Jampa Shenyen, who was, as stated above, a direct disciple of Gödemchen's wife, son, and nephew. After he learned everything that he could there, he then traveled to Mt. Trazang and served Ngakwang Drakpa, the heir of the brothers who helped form the early tradition. Sangyé Pelzang can therefore be understood as having united the authority of the tradition by collecting into himself the lineages of the mother and son from Jampa Shenyen and the lineage of the disciples from Ngakwang Drakpa.³⁴

Sangyé Pelzang continues to travel and collect transmissions after mastering the Northern Treasures, but he eventually returns to Mt. Trazang to assume his role as the leading patriarch of the tradition. *The Garland of Light* concludes without an account of Sangyé Pelzang's death, which suggests that he was still living when it was written and perhaps had a hand in its creation as stated in the colophon.

³³ It should be acknowledged that tradition does not observe an incarnation lineage that passes through Namgyel Gönpö and Sangyé Pelzang. For a more detailed discussion regarding why this and other similar cases do not constitute instances of the social institution of rule by incarnation, see Valentine 2013 and 2015 and Hirshberg 2012.

³⁴ There are significant elements of his biography, other than his biological heritage, that weaken his claim of authority. Although he was born within a family with deep Nyingmapa roots, he only comes to study the Northern Treasure Tradition after what appears to be a long career of collecting empowerments from a variety of different traditions including the Jonangpa and the Sakyapa.

Principle Personages of the Northern Treasure Tradition

<u>Name</u>	<u>Transliteration; Dates</u>	<u>TBRC Identification</u> ³⁵
Rigdzin Gödemchen	(<i>rigs 'dzin rgod ldem chen</i> ; 1337-1409)	P5254
Lady Lopön Pema	(<i>slop dpon pad+ma</i> ; b. 14 th c.)	n/a
Namgyel Gönpö	(<i>rnam rgyal mgon po</i> ; 1399-1424)	P10100
Dorjé Pelba	(<i>rdo rje dpal ba</i> ; b. late 14 th c.)	P10115
Jampa Shenyen	(<i>byams pa bshes gnyen</i> ; b. early 15 th c.)	P10116
Dorjé Gönpö	(<i>rdo rje mgon po</i> ; b. 14 th c.)	P10118
Rinchen Drakpa	(<i>rin chen grags pa</i> ; b. 14 th c.)	n/a
Ngakwang Drakpa	(<i>ngag dbang grags pa</i> ; b. early 15 th c.)	n/a
Sangyé Pelzang	(<i>sangs rgyas dpal bzang</i> ; b. 15 th c.)	P10117

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**The Garland of Light
Lives of the Masters of the Northern Treasure Tradition³⁶**

*Namgyel Gönpö (c. 1399-1424):
The Son & Heir of Gödemchen³⁷*

Om! Ah! Hum!
In the expansive and sky-like reality that is unfettered by mental
elaboration,
The enjoyment bodies (*longs sku*) gather like clouds in playful
blissfulness.
And the compassion of the manifestation bodies (*sprul sku*) de-
scends continuously like rain,
Ripening the deepest aspirations of his disciples.
I bow before this unparalleled and unequalled lama!

The supreme son, Namgyel Gönpö, is an emanation of all the victors of the three times. Regarding his accomplishments and enlightened activities, therefore, they are similar [in profundity to the deeds] of the victorious ones. [175] And thus, a person with little learning can only express the smallest part of his accomplishments. How could one measure the limitless sky? Nevertheless, I [write this account] as such an individual of little learning. The little that appears below regarding his deeds and liberation was written as to reflect what was disseminated by a few of the followers of his disciples.

He was of a sublime clan, and his paternal ancestors consisted of an unbroken sequence of realized masters that were like a garland of pearls. In particular, we have faith in his father, the Great Lineage-Holder (i.e., Rigdzin Gödemchen), whose biography appears before this text [in this collection of hagiographies].³⁸ Indeed, his mother was Lady Lopön Pema.

³⁶ I am grateful to Kinley Drukpa for his assistance in translating a few of the more difficult passages in this text during our meetings in Queens and Manhattan, NY (2014-2016).

³⁷ These headings are not in the original text; they have been added for clarity.

³⁸ Generally speaking, Gödemchen is known as "Rigdzin" (*rig 'dzin*), meaning something like "awareness-holder." In this text, he is consistently referred to as "Rigdzin" (*rigs 'dzin*), which at first I understood to be an error. However, given the importance of the family lineage (*rigs*) in this text, it is rather clear that the distinction is intentional. My working theory is that he was originally considered a "*rigs 'dzin*" at the time when this was still a family lineage and somewhere

As for the prophecy regarding these sovereigns in *The [Black]-Iron Treasury of the North*,³⁹ it reads as follows:

A woman with a pink complexion and well-shaped forehead
 That has three birthmarks on the right side of her face
 That are white, red, and blue, clearly visible.
 People will come from all directions [to see her].
 And to her, the son's body will be born.
 There will be a wrathful nature in his right eye, and [176]
 He will be adorned with birth marks shaped like vajras.
 Sharpness and wisdom will arise together in him.
 Those two will receive the empowerments for the Northern
 Treasury,
 As prophesized in *The Record of the Six Oral Transmissions*.

In fact, with respect to the "mother" [lineage] of the Great Treasure Revealer, which is known as the [lineage of] Tsenden Sangwa (*mtshan ldan gsang ba*) (i.e., the Secret-Worthy One), the two (mother and son) received it as one. Thus, in *The Record of the Six Oral Transmissions [of the Northern Treasures]*,⁴⁰ it says:

In the end times, the supreme, fortunate son,
 Will be born to a woman of noble family,
 Who has already received the empowerments [for the treasures]
 gathered from the three mountains, and
 He will perform deeds of great benefit for sentient beings.
 Because he will comprehend the signs himself,
 He will seek the seven hidden lands.

His mother was in reality an authentic *ḍākiṇī* named Vajravārāhī (*rdo rje phag mo*). [Namgyel Gönpö] was conceived while his parents were residing in that state in which wisdom and skillful means are united in a beautiful bed chamber that was blessed by its proximity to Mt. Trazang. His birth was accompanied by many positive omens.

along the way, perhaps after the establishment of his incarnation lineage, he became known as a "rig 'dzin."

³⁹ While I have not been able to locate the prophetic scripture entitled *The Black-Iron Treasury of the North* (*byang lcags mdzod nag po*), the following passage is drawn—as stated in the translation—from *The Precious Key Prophecies: the Record of the Six Oral Transmissions of the North* (*snyan rgyud drug gi tho byang lung bstan rin po che'i lde'u mig*); see Rigdzin Gödemchen 2000, pp. 81-82.

⁴⁰ Rigdzin Gödemchen 2000, p. 82.

Regarding this lineage holder's [youth], however much other children grew in a year, the precious one grew more than that in a month. And however much others grew in a month, he grew more than that in a day. Thus, while he was still young, his tendency toward the Buddha's dharma was aroused. He cleverly learned reading, writing, and the other general subjects [at this young age]. [177]

At the age of six, he was given the empowerments, guidance instructions, and quintessential directions for the Great Perfection cycle known as the Gongpa Zangtel of Samantabhadra before His Eminence the Great Lineage-Holder. Then, he passionately sought to [realize] the pure awareness of reality. Thus, he attained confidence regarding the Four Sights of the spontaneous and clear light.

About the time that it had become obvious that he understood the point of the Great Perfection, his spiritual comrades, the Lady Master (i.e., his mother), Lama Dorjé Pel (i.e., his cousin), the Lama named Gyé Lawa (*rgyas la ba*) from Gyé Kardrung (*bgye mkhar drung*) together with his three sons gathered in a group of twenty-five devotees to make requests. When it was time for the complete empowerments and guidance instructions [to begin], they went before his father, that Great Lineage-Holder, and with a single voice made the following request: "To this son of yours, Namgyel Gönpö, please give the complete empowerments, reading transmissions, and quintessential teachings for the heart-treasuries of Mt. Zangzang Lhadrak (*zang zang lha brag*), the two Nyingtik cycles of the Great Perfection, the Sangwa Gyuntrül (*gsang ba sgyu 'phrul*), the ancestral Vajrakīla cycle (*pha chos rje phur pa mdo lugs*), the revealed teachings of Guru Chöwang,⁴¹ the Eight Pronouncements (*bka' brgyad*), and all the other cycles of the new and old translations." [178]

The father responded saying, "Because it has become clear that he is a worthy son, it will be permitted. And, he has grasped completely the earlier empowerments, reading transmissions, and quintessential teachings [that he was given]. [Moreover,] the faith that you all have in him demonstrates a positive connection."

To his son he said, "My son, go draw a book [at random from the library]." Namgyel Gönpö eventually selected a practice text (*bla bsgrub*) and offered it to his father. His father responded, saying: "There is [indeed] a positive connection!" Thus, after he finished giv-

⁴¹ Guru Chöwang (*'gu ru chos dbang*; 1212-1270).

ing him all of the [transmissions], he entrusted him as regent. When he was ten years of age, his father passed into the pure realm.⁴²

Then, Lama Dorjé Pel offered to serve his lotus feet to provide the required training in such things as the physical mechanics (*phyag gzhes*) and the spoken empowerments (*dbang bka'*). Thus, acting as his assistant, he stayed there. They resided at the sacred site of Mt. Trazang and practiced for some years.

When he was eighteen years of age, there was a woman from the Drak Valley (*brag lung*) named Wönmo Khandro (*dbon mo mkha' 'gro*). Namgyel Gönpö took her as his wife. At that time he enjoyed the sublime enjoyments and sovereignty. It appeared that there would be clan descendants.⁴³ [179]

Then, the inhabitants of Lakha Hermitage (*dgon pa la kha*) that maintain the Tamdrin Chapel named Chung Tazhelpu (*cung rta zhel phu*) beseechingly invited Lady Lopön Pema and Namgyel Gönpö to give the empowerment and quintessential instructions for the Great Perfection at their temple.⁴⁴ Thinking that the time had arrived [for him to teach], [Namgyel Gönpö] prepared for departure. Lama Dorjé Pel kindly advised, "This is a very sensitive and difficult teaching. Do you think that it may be too early to begin teaching since your human form is still youthful?" He did not give him permission, but [Namgyel Gönpö] decided to depart regardless.

With this [conflict on his mind], Lama Dorjé Pel went to an auspicious chapel at Mt. Trazang, which was constructed in response to the orders of the temporal sovereign Könchok Lekpa [of Jang Ngamring], and asked in prayer, "Is it appropriate for the Lineage-Holder, Namgyel Gönpö, to give these teachings?"

Then, the following occurred in a dream: Inside of a great gathering hall, there were two great thrones in the East and the West. Upon the Eastern throne, formed an image of the body of the Great Lineage-holder. And [the son] was deposited upon the Western throne. [180]

And to the [father], he prayed [while dreaming] and asked: "Should the Lineage-Holder, Namgyel Gönpö, now be permitted to give teachings for the benefit of others?" Then, [he heard the reply,]

⁴² Herweg also offers a translation of this biography, but ends here at the death of Gödemchen. See Herweg (1994), pp. 281-285.

⁴³ The union, however, does not produce any children due to Namgyel Gönpö's early demise.

⁴⁴ It appears that Lady Lopön Pema relocates to this hermitage, for it is here that she later meets one of her students, Tsenden Jampa Shenyen.

"Yes. He is my son!" Then [Lama Dorjé Pel] asked, "Well, then, how long shall Namgyel reside in this human form?" The reply was, "It is uncertain [how long] this majestic bird will soar through the sky." Then, [Lama Dorjé Pel asked], "Should those yellow treasure scrolls that were not previously deciphered be translated now or not?" The [reply] was, "Kartika!"

[Because of that dream], he decided to make an opening in the northern part of the gathering hall, and above that [new section of the temple] is where the [remains of] the Lineage-Holder, Namgyel Gönpö, would later reside. After that, sentient beings gathered in those mountains like feathers, bowing to his feet. In such a state, his [inner] deities (*rnam sad*) spoke [to him]. Then, for his suitable disciples, he revealed the [secret treasure] teachings and many were established on the path of fruition.

In the specific prophecies of *The Black-Iron Treasury of the North*, it says: "Having delighted in the power of wrathful action, a few of his suitable disciples will be liberated in the expanse of reality." In accordance with that and other prophecies, through the door of the four types of enlightened activity, many sentient beings were established on the path of liberation. [181] Lama Rinchen Pel was established as the sovereign of the oral lineages of the Great Perfection.

When he was twenty five years of age, for the benefit of his disciples he appeared as if sick as a result of breaking tantric precepts. [His passing] was accompanied by a number of wondrous omens, such as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow-colored dome in the sky. Then, he departed for the primordial domain.

In the expanse of reality or the celestial plain,
 In the land of great bliss, or the lands of pure or impure activity,
 May you, Protector, tame sentient beings,
 Where ever it is that you may appear!

*Dorjé Pelba (b. late 14th c.):
 Gödemchen's Nephew & Disciple*

The supreme and indestructible intention of the sacred mind
 of the victorious ones of the three times,
 Is to glorify all migratory beings without exception!
 To that sovereign of the vehicle of pure light, the enlightened
 master,

The supreme Dorjé [Pel] Tsenchen (*mtshan can*), I bow to your lotus feet.

As stated above, this holy lama requested the complete teachings from the mouth of the treasure revealing father and son.

His birth land was called Chuktsa (*phyug rtsa*), and his ancestors were of the Biri (*bi ri*) clan. [182] His father was called Biri Mikmar (*bi ri mig dmar*). He was a man that was modest and very humble, and he also had a pleasant personality. His mother was the younger sister of the Great Lineage-Holder. She was good-natured, wise, and very compassionate. Of the three children that were born to those two, the Precious-One was the middle child. They indeed named him Dorjé Pel. Even the Great Lineage-Holder was very fond of him. Since he was young, [he knew] the light of the teachings and often sat and practiced meditation alone. His writing and reading and so forth demonstrated that he was very smart. In a short amount of time, he proved to be knowledgeable.

By the time he reached the age of fifteen, his heart and mind were set upon the teachings. He travelled from the north to the south [before finally] arriving before the Lord of the Teachings, Kazhipa Namkha Özer (*bka' bzhi pa nam mkha' 'od zer*) of the Samten Ling temple (*bsam gtan gling*) at Mt. Shri. He was nurtured with experiential guidance for the Mahāmudrā teachings, and thus grasped this natural state. Gradually, he attained confidence in the four related yogic practices. It was there at that time that he received all that existed concerning the Kagyupa Mahāmudrā cycle of teachings. [183]

Then, because the Great Lineage-Holder was residing at Mt. Tra-zang, and [his master] was sending written advice to him, Dorjé Pel was sent as a messenger and arrived before [Gödemchen]. He initially requested the initiation and guidance instructions for the Mahā Guru Sangtsentuk (*mahA gu ru gsang mtshan thugs*) practice. Because of his kindness, [he performed the ceremony].⁴⁵ When it came time for [it],⁴⁶ [the Lineage-Holder] told him to engage the practice in his heart. Then, he performed the familiarization practices, and over time there were inner and outer signs [of accomplishment].

After that, he came to be known as one of the Great Lineage Holder's seven chief disciples. He immediately became [the master's] attendant. He was indeed always the master of ceremonies and the

⁴⁵ Bracketed text reads: *brtse ming mgul sbom du btags*.

⁴⁶ Bracketed text reads: *mi res sprus mo*.

primary ritual officiate. Many times he received the empowerment and the guidance instructions for the Great Perfection cycle known as the Gongpa Zangtel of Samantabhadra. He thoroughly analyzed the quintessential instructions. He was given the complete empowerments, reading transmissions, quintessential teachings, and seals of authority for all of the tradition's teachings starting with the oldest treasures of Mt. Lhadrak. Having taken [those teachings] in his hands and being given all of the precious gems of the nine profundities, he abided as an incomparable [master]. [184] As an attendant of the Great Lineage-Holder, he was like a vase filled to the brim with the good qualities of body, speech, and mind.

When his lama passed into the pure lands, he attended to [his master's son], Namgyel Gönpö. Again and again, he heard the empowerments and reading transmissions in their entirety. He eventually took on the hardships of pilgrimage, retreat, and charnel ground practice with earnest. Later, he nurtured many fortunate students. He particularly saw Tsenden Jampa Shenyen as a worthy vessel, and he thus entrusted him with all of the teachings. In short, this lama was an Awakened-One, an emanation in human form, and he established many beings in the primordial expanse of the pure realm.

Following his intention to teach his disciples about impermanence, he pretended to enter nirvana [when he was residing] above the Padrupla (*pha grub bla*) center in Southern Latö. For three days, there was thunder and lightning. It rained flowers, and there were many other signs that accompanied his ascendancy, such as the appearance of the rainbow-colored dome above his tomb. Indeed, he was inseparable from the Primordial Buddha, Samantabhadra.

You who were born with realization as a young prince, [185]
 Your attainment resulted from close service to the lamas,
 You established the minds of many beings in primordial [awareness],
 I bend down to your lotus feet!
 Ah!

*Jampa Shenyen (b. early 15th c.):
 Disciple of Gödemchen's Wife, Son, & Nephew*

As stated above, Tsenden Jampa Shenyen requested teachings from the previous holy lama.

Loving towards migratory beings, like they were all your children.

Spiritual friend and ultimate refuge for all sentient beings.

To you, Tsenden Lama Jampa Shenyen,

I respectfully prostrate before you, touching the three doors [of wisdom] and remembering your kindness!⁴⁷

This is the biography of that lama.

His parents were descendants of wealthy nomads with strong faith and noble hearts. He was born as a son to these two. In his long life, he became a renunciate and practiced the cycles of the New Translation schools, trained his mind with the Kagyupa teachings, [familiarized himself with] the tutelary deities, and meditated.

Once, when they were mingling with the Neringpa (*ne rings pa*) salt traders (*tswa pa*), a youthful yak ran off while they were extracting their clean salt. [One of the salt traders] struck the yak [maliciously]. Because of that experience, he decided to cut himself off from worldly affairs. [186] He intended to do nothing other than work for the benefit of others until attaining liberation in this lifetime. Having performed the ejection of consciousness rites for the other yaks that were to be salted, he soon arrived at [the Tamdrin Chapel named Chung] Tashelpu at the Lakha Hermitage.

Before Lady Lopön Pema (i.e., Namgyel Gönpö's mother), he then learned many practices that are intended to interrupt samsara, such as the Tamdrin Rolpa (*rta mgrin rol pa*), the Eight Pronouncements, and the Quintessential Great Compassionate One (*thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*). Following that, he had many experiences of visions. There, he sought out many profound teachings, such as the Gongpa Zangtel [of Samantabhadra] of the Great Perfection.

He eventually came before the Lineage-Holder, Namgyel Gönpö, and he requested the entire treasury of Lhadrak, including the empowerments, quintessential teachings, and authorizations. Then, he became the heart-son of Rinpoche Dorjé Pel, and he requested the complete empowerments, guidance instruction, quintessential teachings, and authorizations for the Great Perfection. He analyzed these teachings thoroughly.

⁴⁷ In this quatrain, the author employs various parts of his name in order to create a partial acrostic.

Then, he became a wandering mendicant. Having released his mind from [the ambitions] of this life, he cultivated only the experiential realization of the Great Perfection.

Having settled in the Northern Fortress (*byang rdzong*) of Mt. Shri, he then did nothing but practice for many years in a single chamber. [187] Thus, he mastered the experience of luminosity. During the [public] New Year celebrations that followed, he matured to fruition during the vase empowerment. While performing the inner offering, many marvelous signs of attainment arose, including the arrival of the vapor-form of a wild yak.

Then, he nurtured many fortunate students. Some of these beings had the ability to help others, but many of them dedicated their lives to religious practice. In short, his practice benefited a limitless number of sentient beings without sectarian bias. Moreover, their bodies were suitable vessels, and as it says in *The [Precious-Key] Prophecies: the Record of the Six Oral Transmissions of the North*, each of them had the good fortune of receiving the Great Perfection from him. Frankly, I have strong faith in this lama that met with the face and reality of Samantabhadra. Because he possessed achievement in measure with this state, those with faith should pray thus: "May he certainly attain happiness in this life and in all the rest!" I as well as an expanse of disciples were established by this great man on the path of liberation.

At the age of 68, he pretended to pass into nirvana. [188] In the pure sky [that represented] his pure actions, there were gatherings of the five colors of light. And within that vision, his corpse was more luminous than ever. These were a few of the wondrous events [that accompanied his passing]. Then, all of signs faded away, and like that he departed into the primordially pure light [of reality].

Oh! Tsenden Rinpoche,
 You are one of great kindness and compassion!
 I pray that you are never forgotten
 And reside within our hearts!
 And, if we pray thus, our hearts will be blessed!
 Mangdalam! Oh! Bubham!

*Dorjé Gönpo (b. 14th c.) and Rinchen Drakpa (b. 14th c.):
Disciples of Gödemchen*

I prostrate to that emanation of all the Buddhas of the three times,
Especially in these degenerate times, please be kind to sentient beings [such as myself].

Of the heart of the Vajrayana Vehicle, which is the pure light,
You are the protector and the teaching sovereign.

Here I will express a little of the life story of the holy lama named Dorjé Gönpo. He was indeed born in what is known as Sémolung (*se mo lung*) Hermitage of Chutsukpu (*chu tshugs phu*). He was one of two siblings. The elder brother's name was Rinpoche Drakpa.

Both his mother and father died while he was young. The orphaned brothers asked a knowledgeable woman who had all the signs of being a sky-goddess and knew how to make them experts in both kinds of writing [to teach them]. [189]

Because of their aspirations that were formed in previous lives, uncontrived faith was born deep in their hearts for the Great Lineage-Holder, just as was prophesized in *The Oral Traditions of the Karmically Endowed* (*snyan brgyud nas las can*).

Thus, they came before the Great Emanation Lineage-Holder at the sacred mountain of Trazang. They were very helpful in translating the entirety of the yellow scrolls of the ancient treasures of Mt. Lhadrak. The lama was very pleased in his heart. Thus, [the lama] gave them the set of empowerments, quintessential teachings, authorizations, and demonstrations of [his own] Great Perfection teachings. Other than that, he gave them the entirety of the Vimala Nyingtik and the Khandro Nyingtik teachings.

Both brothers acquired the reading transmissions and were very fortunate. Regarding [his brother], Rinchen Drak, in *The Record of the Six Oral Traditions of the North*, it says:

From a rock-formation that looks like a lion,
There will emerge the healing sounds of the conch shell, and
There will thus be a disciple that is suitable to entrust.

He, however, was not able to maintain his vows of secrecy, and thus his lifespan was interrupted.

Dorjé Gönpo, however, served before the lama for a long time. [190] He was able to analyze well the quintessential teachings. He

often focused solely on attaining experience with the tutelary deities in the various retreat centers like Mt. Trazang, Tachen Sapuk (*rtachen sa phug*), and Pungbu Lung (*phung bu lung*). He completely experienced the four visions of the Great Perfection. Having benefitted himself, he opened a treasure cache to benefit others. He made many connections to fortunate disciples through teachings, empowerments, and vows. He planted the seeds of enlightenment in every sentient being [that he taught]. When he was 68 years old, there were earthquakes and countless other miraculous signs. Then, he passed into the expanse of reality. The pearl-like relics and the five types of remains were found, and there were continual showers of flowers and inconceivable occurrences. He established all of those sentient beings on the path.

From the reading of oral transmissions, you attained the [four] sights!

You demonstrated enlightenment and extended life!

You went deep into Samantabhadra!

May you quickly attain your [goal]!

And may it all unfold auspiciously!

*Ngakwang Drakpa (b. early 15th c.):
Dorjé Gönpo's Nephew & Disciple*

[191] Tsenden Ngakwang Drakpa requested teachings at the feet of the holy lama just discussed.

He washes [away darkness] like the rays of sunlight in the expanse of the sky,

He expels the gathered clouds of ignorance in the minds of sentient beings!

To this precious lama Ngakwang Drakpa,

I faithfully pay homage to you, touching the three doors [of wisdom]!

This lama is the son of Rinchen Drakpa. Thus, he was Dorjé Gönpo's nephew. When his father was passing into the pure land, he said, "Dorjé Gönpo, this is [now] your son, and he is a suitable vessel [for the teachings]. Please, give him the empowerments, the reading transmissions, the guidance instructions, and demonstrations for

everything!" [Dorjé Gönpo] made the promise [to teach Tsenden Ngakwang Drakpa as his brother wished].

In accordance with that promise, the uncle nurtured [Tsenden Ngakwang Drakpa] with loving kindness. He was even entrusted with all of the teachings. He understood the quintessential teachings of the Great Perfection. Having realized his own nature, he went and practiced in retreat centers at Mt. Trazang, Mt. Shri, and other locations. He did naught but sit in meditation. This lama could abide by his secrets. [192] Although he was actually Samantabhadra, it was difficult to realize for some individuals that had not purified their karma. When the time came, he established many disciples on the path of maturation and liberation.

Then, for the benefit of himself and others, he pretended to pass into nirvana while abiding at the sacred mountain of Trazang. At that time, there were many wondrous signs. For example, in the azure sky above his sacred corpse, the five-colored rainbow lights formed a dome and banners and all of the houses in the region were filled with a pleasant fragrant smells. All the common folk of that area, like the nomads, witnessed these signs directly.

[Sangyé Pelzang acknowledged that,] "Although sometimes the family lineage continues within the clan, the faithful disciples prayed, and were sent before me. Indeed, the family lineage continued through me.

You, kind and glorious lama!
All your actions were appropriate and benefited sentient beings!
May I, your faithful follower, [193]
Be quickly reborn as first among your retinue!
Mangalam Bubham!

*Sangyé Pelzang (b. 15th c.): Reincarnation of Namgyel Gönpo &
Disciple of Jampa Shenyen and Ngakwang Drakpa*

Om! Swasti! Sirtam!
Purify all the accumulations of blinding ignorance!
Expand the mandala of the light of the sun, which is wisdom!
For the glory of sentient beings, migrators like myself and others!
I offer the crown of my head to your lotus feet, he who has such a
good name!

Now I will express a little about the liberation story of the Great Dor-jé Chang, Sangyé Pelzang.

This precious lama's clan is the third [of the Northern Treasure Tradition]. His paternal ancestors were Nyingmapa tantric practitioners, yogins that were very blessed. Their monastic seat was called Chingar (*spyi'i ngar*). His father was known as the Attendant, Gendün Gyeltsen (*dge 'dun rgyal mtshan*). He was accomplished at a young age and became a renunciate. Although he was an "attendant" for a long time, he was also a revered lama. He had a good disposition and strong faith in the Supreme Jewels.

His mother was a lady and was also accomplished from a young age. She also went forth as a renunciate. Her name was Wönmo Sherzang (*dbon mo sher bzang*). She was a bodhisattva of great compassion. [194] She was sorrowful and focused, and she diligently practiced the tutelary deities. She was a woman of a good family.

The two of them had six sons and two daughters. Rinpoche was the fifth child among the eight. The name that he received was Ngadar Pelzang (*lnga dar dpal bzang*). While he was still in his mother's womb, his body felt blissful within her. Feeling pleasant, she had the following dream: The eastern sun was shining and cleared away all the darkness. There were victory banners and the sound of a conch shell [in the wind]. The dream was a good omen. Understanding the meaning of the dream, she said, "The teachings will belong to you, my son!"

Indeed, when Rinpoche was born, his parents were pleased more than ever before. There was a good atmosphere and anything that anyone did was met with positive thoughts. [They knew that] a great person had been born.

When he reached the age of three, he remembered his previous lives. He uttered such statements as, "This is not my father! My father is the Lama Lineage-Holder! My mother is Sémo Pema Zangpo (*sras mo pad+ma bzang po*) (i.e., Gödemchen's wife)." It is telling that he spoke these things spontaneously.

When he reached the age of five or six, he taught the dharma to the other foolish children. [195] He built a [pretend] dharma throne and temple. They say that he then set his attention to lecturing alone. One day his mother found that [her son] had postured himself in an [out of the way] cave. His eyes were intensely focused on the sky, and he just sat there, not speaking a word. She asked, "Who are you instructing here? What is the use of sitting here? Aren't you cold or

hungry?" He replied, "I am not instructing anyone. I am sitting here doing nothing at all. Neither cold nor hunger have arisen at all."

When he reached the age of eight, the clear light of the Great Perfection began to shine. All sights passed by him like ripples in the clear light. Throughout the day and the night, halos, energies, and everything that is seen shone like the five-colored lights. At one such time, he said something like, "As for this teaching, it is karmically linked to my past life." And he said, "Once you have eaten the food from the hand of a stubborn woman, you must stop!"

[196] When he had reached the age of twelve, his father died. At that time, his maternal uncle was the Rinpoche that [held] the monastic seat (*gdan sa pa*); his name was Kōnchok Pelzang (*dkon mchog dpal bzang*). The uncle said to his mother, "Give this child to me. I will make him a friend of the dharma!" Then, [the child] revealed his true form to these two relatives. Then, he said to the Rinpoche, "Now that I have embarked upon the religious path, I will become an authentic practitioner."

Now that he was being guided by his uncle, he learned to read and write at the Zangden (*bzang ldan*) Monastery. He demonstrated signs of being knowledgeable in each subject. Then, at the age of fifteen, the Dharma Lord named Penden Lodro (*dpal ldan blo gro*) elevated him to the rank of kenpo (*mkhan po*) at the religious college of the glorious Zangden Monastery. He became a renunciate with the preceptor named Rinchen Gyeltsen (*rin chen rgyal mtshan*), that spiritual friend whose splendor casts a measuring shadow [on all others].

Then, in the presence of [his uncle], Rinchen Kōnchok Pelzang, he received many teachings, such as the Ultra-Secret Tamdrin (*rta mgrin yang bzang*), the Tseta Drakma (*tshé rta sbrags ma*), and the Nyungné (*snyung gnas*) cycle of the Eleven Faces (*zhal bcu gcig pa*). In the presence of the Jonangpa Dharma Lord named Sherzangpa (*sher bzang pa*), he received many teachings, such as the reading transmission and empowerments for the Five Formulas (*gzungs gra lnga*), the Dzetaré (*'dze ta re*) of Amitāyus, and the Savage Vajrapāni (*phyag na rdo rje gtum po*). [197]

At the glorious Sakyapa monastery, at the feet of the Great Queen of the Dharma, he received instructions for the generation stage for many cycles. Before the Dharma Lord named Kūnga Gyeltsen (*kun dga' rgyal mtshan*), he received the empowerments for all of the major and minor Sakyapa protectors cycles. Then, in the presence of Dorjé Chang, Kūnga Zangpo (*kun dga' bzang po*), he received many other

Sarmapa cycles including the empowerments for the Künrik (*kun rig*) [class of Yoga Tantras] and the *Purification of Bad Migration Tantra* (*ngan song sbyong rgyud*). He also received Nyungné and other teachings from the bodhisattva named Penjor Sherap (*dpal 'byor shes rab*). He received a cycle of teachings for the purification of obstacles in the presence of Dorjé Ananda (*rdo rje a nan+ta*). Before Langkhor Chöjé Ngakwang (*glang 'khor chos rje ngag dbang*), he received all of the outer holy tantras. In the presence of the Precious Lama Chökyong Özer (*chos skyong 'od zer*), he received all of the profound and quintessential cycles for exorcizing demons. He also received many Chöyül (*spyod yul*) teachings. From Rechen Zhepa Dorjé (*ras chen bzhad pa rdo rje*), he received an abridged version of the Rechen system of Chöyül teachings. He even received all the teaching of the Rechen system from Lama Mönlam Tsenchen (*smon lam mtshan can*). He listened with profundity to all of these teachings.

He even received all the profound teachings of Pakchen Drakpa Gyeltsen (*'phags chen grags pa rgya mtsho*). [198] In the presence of Pakchok Rinchen Zangpo (*'phags mchog rin chen bzang po*), he received the Tiklé (*thig le*) Cycle of the Great Perfection. From the mouth of Khetsün Lekchok Zangpo (*mkhas btsun legs mchog bzang po*), he received an abridged version of the *Precious Garland* that is used for the action of subduing demons, the reading transmission and empowerment for the Fierce Vajrapāṇi, and the Amitāyus teachings of Niguma (*grub rgyal ma*). From the Lineage-Holder, Sangyé Jamzang (*sangs rgyas byams bzang*), he received the cycle of teachings for the Great Compassionate One that Liberates All Sentient Beings (*thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun sgrol*).

Then, faith stirred in his heart for the Precious Lama, Tsenden Jampa Shényen, and he decided to request the Great Perfection's Gongpa Zangtel of Samantabhadra. That night he had a prophetic dream.

[Sangyé Pelzang said the following about his dream and meeting Tsenden Jampa Shényen]: "There was the mountain that appeared to be constructed out of white glass, and on the side of it there were many white stupas. I was gradually climbing up from below. [I knew that I] had gone to the top of that mountain in my previous life. Then, I awoke. The next day I came before the Northern Fortress at Mt. Shri, where Rinpoche Jampa Shenyen was residing. The significance of the prophetic dream vividly unfolded in my heart, and [I knew] it was a vision of this place and its stupas. Then, having come up to [the fortress], I entered through a small opening. [199] As soon

as I saw his face, I was very delighted. I began having spontaneous visionary experiences and overwhelming faith was born in my heart. At that moment, I requested the empowerment and guidance instructions, together with the quintessential instructions, for the Great Perfection. I went naturally into uncontrived meditation, and did nothing else for three days other than emit a radiantly shine from my body. Conventional thoughts did not arise in my mind even for a moment."

He served the lama for a long time there. He earnestly performed many services and deeds. As the lama was very please, he gave him the thorough empowerments, reading transmissions, quintessential teachings, and authorizations for the entire Nyingmapa Lhadrak Treasury, beginning with the Gongpa Zangtel.

Then, the lama said: "There is a teacher named Tsenden Ngakwang Drakpa in Latö in the North. He is the master of these quintessential teachings. You must go there for critical study of the teachings." In accordance with the received instructions, he departed for the north."

[Sangyé Pelzang said the following about his relationship with the lama]: "Then, I met Rinpoche Ngakwang Drakpa who was residing at Mt. Trazang. [200] I had the strong feeling that we had made a connection in a previous life. Our meeting was like the coming together of a father and his son, and I was elated. I requested the empowerments, the reading transmissions, guidance instructions, and the authorizations for the Assemblage of the Five Treasuries (*mdzod lnga 'dus pa*). Moreover, I also requested the complete and inconceivably profound quintessential instructions for such cycles as the Nyingtik of the Old Translations and the empowerments, guidance instructions, and authorizations for the Mañjuśrī Treasures of Pakhong Yutrama (*pha khong g.yu 'phra ma*).

"Then, I left for Padro (*spa gro*) [in Western Bhutan]. I was in the presence of the Emanation, Tuchen Gyatso (*mthu chen rgya mtsho*) when he gave a public teaching for the Khandro Nyingtik of the Great Perfection. The process took three months and there were nearly 100 dharma friends there. I was then given the secret teachings of the Vimala Nyingtik, and thus I have been given the [Great Perfection teachings] of the Three Precious Ones. I also received the Seventeen Tantras, the Supreme Vehicle of Indestructible Clear Light (*'od gsal rdo rje snying po'i theg mchog*), together with the Four Profound Tomes (*zab mo'i po ti bzhi*), which were difficult teachings. Be-

cause the lama was very pleased, he gave them to me in their entirety.

[201] "That year, I arrived at Pakri (*phag ri*) [on the return trip]. I assembled the basic clothing, the yellow flowers to be offered before the lama, and the materials for the feast-gatherings, and went again before [the lama]. While on top of Mt. Nedrak (*gnas brag*), I obtained the reading transmission of the Emanation, Rinpoche Pema (*sprul sku rin po che pad+ma*) and then performed the retreat practice for lamas. There I was given the complete authorization, examples, and empowerments for the oral teachings. In addition, I received many quintessential teachings for cycles such as the Wrathful Padma (*dbang drag pad+ma*) and the Amitāyus Yogini (*tshe dpag med grub rgyal ma*). The lama was very kind to me.

"Then, I went before Guru Chökyi Dorjé (*gu ru chos kyi rdo rje*) who was residing at Taktsang Sengé Samdrup (*stag tshang seng ge bsam 'grub*). Three times I requested the Great Perfection tantra called Longsel (*klong gsal*), and [the lama] spoke this prognostication to me: "You, child of good karma, are going to fully grasp this teaching!" Happily, I looked upon his face, and simply by seeing the lama and his Great Perfection scriptures, uncontaminated and spontaneous equanimity was born in my heart. [202] I [spontaneously] translated [my realization] into Sanskrit utterances. Because of the blissful radiance of his physical form, I was able to circumambulate him for an extended amount of time without the need for sustenance. Although at that time there were very good signs regarding [my level of realization], I kept it secret from those who could not be trusted.

"Then, I was given the complete set of empowerments, guidance instructions, quintessential instructions, and entrustments for the Pagyü Drimé Dashed (*pha rgyud dri med zla shel*), the Magyü Longsel Barma (*ma rgyud klong gsal 'bar ma*), and the Twenty One Short Non-Dual Tantras (*gnyis med kyi rgyud bu chung nyi shu rtsa gcig rnam*) within the Longsel cycle. He placed the relic-stones of the accomplished ones (*grub thob kyi phyag rdo*) on top of my head gave me all of the form and formless empowerments for the Norbu Drönsel (*nor bu sgron gsal*) funerary rites (*rgyab chos*), the concise teachings of Mahāmudrā, and the treasures of the revealer Sherap Mebar (*shes rab me 'bar*). The complete reading transmissions for many treasure collections were given."

The evening that the teachings were complete, the following vision occurred to the Precious One, "All of a sudden, I was dressed like an [Indian] yogin. I was carrying what seemed to be a bowl used

for pointing-out instructions, and I gave it as a gift. This was a very good sign, but this also was kept secret from those that could not be trusted.

[203] "Then I practiced variously at the great and sacred Mt. Trazang and the Mt. Shri, hermitages, charnel grounds, and solitary retreats. I immersed myself only in the quintessential teachings of the tutelary deities.

"Once, while visualizing myself as the deity, it occurred to me that if I were to practice in the chapel that is associated with the prophecies of the sacred Mt. Trazang, it would result in great happiness for sentient beings. This was a sign that I needed to practice on all three levels of the chapel. In brief, I was not deluded regarding the meaning of this vision for even an instant, and I entered retreat as a renunciate. I continuously practiced, and the clear light of my heart expanded without restraint. While I practiced familiarization with the deities, the sign of crossed-vajras were formed from the five-colored light that emerged from my heart and for three days they remained and glittered [before my eyes]. I saw my body directly without distinctions between inner and outer. I saw many formations of consciousness that were in the gap between life and death. In my vision I saw countless *Ḍākiṇī* assembling, and I made requests for ritual feasts and connections to the dharma.

[204] "The earth-spirits and the other non-human spirits were oath-bound, and the various protectors followed their orders. Because I was blessed with these visions that appeared outside of myself, it was like I was seeing [these beings] face to face. When I heard their voices, inconceivable events occurred like great experiential bliss, happiness, and the feeling of abiding in the strength of my own mind. In short, because I sought great attainment for my own benefit, I had the fortune of maintaining dominion over the Great Yoga of Four-fold Confidence. If I were to express [the inconceivable] comments that were made by these beings of light, [it would be something like this]:

If fortunate [disciples] arrive, you should liberate them into the great expanse.

Do this for all without discriminating!

Act on behalf of sentient being, not for your own benefit.

The power of the five poisons is weak in the face of the Great Compassionate One,

And among the prophecies of the *Tantra of Blazing Radiance* (*sgron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud*) it is proclaimed that: "In the end, these teachings will spread to Ü, Kham, Tsang, and Lhochok. In particular, may the Dharma Śākya Drakpa be glorified as Buddha Prajña."

The Precious Tsenden Lama proclaimed that, "He will open a treasury at the age of forty-two for the benefit of others without bias!"

[205] "The disciples were connected with good fortune as a result of their training in various [cycles of teachings]. To the fortunate ones that had elevated themselves, I bestowed the complete quintessential teachings, actualizing [the intention] to benefit others. To the middling students, I showed them the path to liberation. To the last among my disciples, I could be seen to at least connect with them through teaching empowerments. And for those students that were even behind them, I established a karmic connection with them and [gave them teachings regarding] the end of cyclic existence. I accomplished innumerable deeds for the benefit of migratory beings. Mixed within the fortunate, superior, and middling pupils were male and female householders from every conceivable territory. I annually gave each one of the great guidance instructions for the Great Perfection.

All formed and formless sentient beings,
 This precious lama has guided you on the path of liberation,
 Remain steadfast in you reliance on this lama!
 I pray that you are continuously nearby in these epic times,
 I pray that your lamp of wisdom is always ignited!
 I pray that the dark ignorance within all of us is expelled!
 And I pray that the victory banner of the teachings is hoisted high!

I pray that I accomplish the common and supreme siddhis in this life for the benefit of myself and others." [206]

May your deeds be covered by the ocean of blessings!
 May those of low intelligence like myself abide in what is difficult!
 By the moisture of these drops [of brief biographies],
 Fully expand the measure of faith in the followers!
 May your praise be constantly intoned by the buzzing bees!
 To this powerful sovereign that is elevated like the highest tip of a victory banner,

May even the gods bow their heads in praise!

May this accomplished practitioner realize the ultimate attainment!

May the auspiciousness of the supreme Tsenden Lama prevail!

As for these hagiographies above, the Lord Rinpoche—Sangyé Pelzang—authored them. These liberation stories came from his mouth. The one named Gangmarwa Namkha (*rgangs dmar ba nam mkha'*) prayed to be given these stories. Even if I have not arranged the above presentation well, the statements have not been altered, and the story remains pure.



**Notes apropos to the Œuvre of Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi
'byung gnas (1699?-1774) (5) —
The 'Eight-Stanza Hymn to Mahākāla':
A Glimpse of the Translator at Work¹**

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1. Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas

The appreciation of the brilliance of Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (henceforth: Si tu) in the areas of scholarly achievements is demonstrated by the brief designation most commonly used for him, namely: Si tu Paṅ chen, i.e. 'Great Scholar of the Si tu lineage'. His genius as a scholar is attested in every aspect of his impressive career spanning the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, an era of extraordinary cultural flowering in Tibet. Gene Smith and others have stressed the paramount place that Si tu occupied in this heyday of Tibetan culture,² which was in its turn closely associated with the development of the *Ris med* movement in the nineteenth century. In both of these the major areas of eastern Tibet, in particular Khams, Si tu's native land, played a significant role.

The scholar in question is of course the eighth incumbent in the (Ta'i) Si tu lineage of reincarnations within the *Karma Bka' brgyud pa* tradition, the famous polymath Chos kyi 'byung gnas who lived from 1699/1700 to 1774. He is widely regarded as one of the major scholars in eighteenth century Tibet and the wide array of his areas of expertise is truly impressive.

Without doubt he was one of the key figures in the cultural life of eighteenth-century Eastern Tibet, a region of particular efflorescence at the time. Being one of the most brilliant minds of his period, his

¹ I gratefully acknowledge that this research has in part been made possible by a grant from the "Stichting Jan Gonda Fonds" foundation (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, KNAW), The Netherlands.

² See Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 7-9) and Smith (2001: 89-91).

claims to fame lay in many areas of expertise and excellence. In addition to being a religious hierarch of the highest spiritual attainments, he had powerful political connections, he was a gifted artist and connoisseur of the arts, a widely famed physician, and — last but not least— a master-grammarian and translator —arguably the most important Tibetan linguist of the eighteenth century.³

1.1. Si tu's range of expertise

In order to give an impression of the wide range of Si tu's talents and interests, I list the major ranges of expertise he displays in his literary oeuvre:

(1) He wrote a lengthy commentary on a pivotal text in Buddhist *Abhidharma* metaphysics, namely Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*.⁴

(2) He wrote extensively on the theory and praxis of Tantric Buddhism as it was cultivated within the *Bka' brgyud pa* tradition. His writings in this field ranged from liturgical and meditational manuals⁵ to hymns and prayers,⁶ from commentaries⁷ to *mantra* collections.⁸

(3) He had a keen interest in history. In his published works this is most evident in his compilation of biographies of Karma pa hierarchs,⁹ but it comes out in many of his other writings as well.¹⁰

(4) And, of course, he was the main editor responsible for the famous Derge blockprint edition of the Buddhist canon *Bka' 'gyur*, which was finalized in the year 1733.¹¹ Analyzing the contents and overseeing

³ His versatility and brilliance is eminently brought to light in the thematic issue 'Si tu paṅ chen: Creation and Cultural Engagement in Eighteenth-Century Tibet' of the *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, 2013. For a brief biographical sketch of Si tu, see e.g. Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 5-12, 15-17) = Smith (2001: 87-95), and Verhagen (2001B: 61-63).

⁴ Verhagen (2001B: 64 note 18).

⁵ Verhagen (2001B: 64 note 11).

⁶ Verhagen (2001B: 64 note 13).

⁷ Verhagen (2001B: 64 note 12).

⁸ Verhagen (2001B: 64 note 14).

⁹ *Karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam thar rab 'byams nor bu'i chu shel gyi 'phreng ba*, occupying volumes 11 and 12 of Si tu's Collected Works.

¹⁰ E.g. in his *Dkar chag* to the Derge *Bka' 'gyur* (Si tu Collected Works, volume 9, title no. 1) and in his autobiography (Si tu Collected Works, volume 14).

¹¹ Schaeffer (2009: 91-96, 101-105); Verhagen (2004: 207-216); Verhagen (2010: 469-472).

the compilation of such a tremendous mass of scriptural materials was certainly a major feat for a man in his early thirties. For this task he was particularly well-equipped as by that time he was a skilled expert in Sanskrit linguistics and paleography.

This brings us to the 'non-religious' or –perhaps better— 'para-religious' of Si tu's fields of excellence:

(5) He was beyond a shadow of a doubt one of the major language experts in pre-modern Tibet. His elaborate and highly involved commentary on *Sum cu pa* and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa*, the two seminal treatises of Tibetan indigenous grammar, which he completed in 1744, was so influential that it justifies the distinction between a pre-Si tu and post-Si tu era of grammatical studies in Tibet.¹² Si tu was also renowned for his expertise on Sanskrit grammar. No less than six of the fourteen volumes of his Collected Works are devoted to this topic, containing translations of Sanskrit treatises as well as original writings.¹³ The culmination of his oeuvre on Sanskrit grammar no doubt is his extensive commentary on *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*.¹⁴

Ultimately Si tu's cultivation of grammatical studies served the aim of honing his translating skills to perfection. He was always on the look-out for important scriptural materials, in particular Sanskrit manuscripts, in his profound aspiration to go back to the original sources for *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhist literature. Oftentimes he laments the questionable quality of translations made by earlier generations and at times he severely criticizes specific translations and translators. He regarded it as one of his callings to correct and to revise existing –by that time often canonized— translations that he deemed inferior, or to contribute translations of texts that had not been translated before. He realized this calling in particular in the area of Sanskrit linguistics, as shown by the nine translations of works on Sanskrit grammar preserved in his Collected Works,¹⁵ five of which are revisions of canonical translations. One can catch a truly fascinating glimpse of the actual process of translating at the hands of Si tu Paṅ chen in one particular brief text in his *Bka' 'bum*. We will consider this text in detail in the present essay.

(6) A second secular area of expertise was medicine. Si tu's medical skills were renowned throughout his native region. His medical

¹² Tillemans & Herforth (1989: introduction)

¹³ Verhagen (2001A: 106-136, 161-180).

¹⁴ Verhagen (2001A: 169-180).

¹⁵ Verhagen (2001A: 106-136).

advice was often sought by the Eastern Tibetan elite.¹⁶ His autobiography reports on his avid searching for *materia medica* during his travels, and the numerous patients he treated.¹⁷ Although he did not write a monograph on medicine, we do find, for instance, discussions on medical topics in his collections of *Dris lan*, that is 'Answers to Queries' which were put to Si tu by various masters and which have been preserved in his Collected Works.¹⁸

(7) Last but not least, I should mention his intensive involvement in art, particularly the art of painting. From a tender age he loved to make drawings, first without any formal training, and very quickly he showed great talent. Deeply interested in the styles of earlier artists he became a connoisseur and a major patron of the arts. He played a pivotal role in the revival of the sixteenth century *Karma Sgar bris* (or 'Karma pa Encampment') style of painting, which so elegantly merges the landscape setting inspired by Chinese art with the prototypically Indian depiction of the central human or deity figures.¹⁹

Being a gifted artist himself, he made numerous scroll-paintings of splendid quality and he commissioned sets of paintings —under his own exact instructions— that were actually still copied by artists as late as the twentieth century. Particularly significant among the latter were the sets depicting the 108 stories of the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* collection,²⁰ the eight *Mahāsiddhas*,²¹ and the eighty-four *Mahāsiddhas*.²²

Illustration (2) shows one of several later copies of the final painting in the twenty-five *thang ka* set depicting scenes from Kṣemendra's collection of the Buddha's previous-life stories entitled *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, which portrays Si tu as the patron and artistic supervisor of this prestigious undertaking, with artists and craftsmen involved in this project depicted in the lower register, and in the background on the left a scroll-mounted inscription which outlines and eulogizes the collection.²³

¹⁶ Smith (2001: 92).

¹⁷ Smith (2001: 90).

¹⁸ On Si tu's involvement in the field of medicine, see e.g. Ehrhard (2000).

¹⁹ On Si tu's importance for pictorial arts, see Jackson (1996: 259-287) and Jackson (2009).

²⁰ Jackson (2009: 122-124).

²¹ Jackson (2009: 136-153).

²² Jackson (2009: 154-165).

²³ Jackson (2009: 26-28).



ILLUSTRATION (1): HAR 65279

<http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm?icode=65279>

Caption to illustration (1):
Portrait of Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas, scroll painting, East Tibet, 18th cent.,
Rubin Museum of Art C2003.29.2, Himalayan Art Resource 65279.



ILLUSTRATION (2): HAR 65136

<http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm?icode=65136>

Si tu depicted as the patron of the set of paintings based on Kṣemendra's *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, scroll painting, East Tibet, 19th cent. (?), Rubin Museum of Art C2002.27.5, Himalayan Art Resource 65136. (Cf. also Himalayan Art Resource 15135, 51938, 65592.)

His artistic talents came to good stead early in his career—in 1726 to be precise—when his gift of an exquisite set of *thang kas* depicting the eight *Mahāsiddhas*, which was work of his own hand, swayed the

king of Derge, Bstan pa Tshe ring (1678-1738), to endorse the foundation of Dpal spungs as a new home monastery for the Si tu lineage.²⁴ Moreover, the splendid exhibition held in the Rubin Museum of Art in New York in 2009 celebrating "Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style" speaks volumes of his tremendous importance for the flowering of pictorial art in eighteenth-century Khams.²⁵

1.2. Si tu the linguist

In this essay I will focus primarily on Si tu's work as a linguist and a translator. The wide range of Si tu's skills in linguistics is nicely attested in one of the *Dris lan* collections in his *Gsung 'bum*, namely the 'Answers to queries, delighting the venerable supreme incarnation(s), entitled "Jewel-mirror"'.²⁶ In this collection dated 1749 he answers questions from a number of high-ranking Lamas, almost half of which pertain to linguistics and related fields. In the former of the two sections in this compilation he addresses these queries, labeling them as 'common' or 'general' (*thun mong* [*gi tshan*], f. 1v2-13v5) as opposed to the 'non-general' i.e. specifically Buddhist matters dealt with in the latter section (f. 13v5-29v1). In this first section he discusses topics as diverse as:

— A number of prominent Sanskrit grammarians, such as: Anubhūti Svarūpācārya, author of *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa* (question 1.3, f. 2r3-6), Pāṇini (question 1.5, f. 2v2-4), and Candragomin (question 1.6, f. 2v4-5).

— Sanskrit phonology (question 1.15 on the long vowels \bar{r} and \bar{l} , f. 6r6-v5; question 1.16. on the phonological systematics of Sanskrit vowels with the distinction of the features of length, accent and nasality, f. 6v5-7v3;²⁷ question 1.21 on the distinction between Sanskrit *b* and *v*, f. 9r2-6).

— Technical terminology in Sanskrit indigenous grammar (question 1.17 on metalanguage terms such as *kU* etc, and *TI*, f. 7v3-5; question 1.20 on technical terms such as *liṅga*, *śabda*, and *prātipadika*, f. 8r4-9r2;

²⁴ Jackson (2009: 10, 138).

²⁵ Jackson (2009).

²⁶ *Rje btsun mchog gi sprul pa'i sku dgyes par byed pa'i dri lan nor bu'i me long zhes bya ba*, Si tu Collected Works, vol. 8, title no. 8, 31 ff.; Verhagen (1997).

²⁷ Verhagen (1997: 606-607).

question 1.22 *inter alia* on the dichotomy of *loka* ('common usage') and *śāstra* ('technical usage'), f. 9r6-v5).

— Philosophical aspects of language (question 1.11 on the *Abhidharma* categories of *yi ge*, *ming* and *tshig*, f. 5r2-6; question 1.19 on the criterion of general usage as the authority for grammar, f. 8r1-4).

— Some basic concepts from Indic culture in general (question 1.7 on the four stages (*āśrama*) of the Brahmin's life, f. 2v5-3r2; question 1.27 on terms from theatre (*zlos gar*), f. 11v5-12r4; question 1.28. on the eighteen fields of knowledge (*vidyāsthāna*), f. 12r4-13r1).

— Vedic language and literature (question 1.13 *inter alia* on the phonetics of *upadhmanīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*, two allophones of the *visarga* phoneme which are typical for Vedic Sanskrit,²⁸ f. 5v2-6r1; question 1.18 on the orthography of the Vedic allophone technically termed *anunāsika*,²⁹ f. 7v5-8r1; question 1.22 *inter alia* on the designation of the Vedic literature as *chandas*, f. 9r6-v5; question 1.29 on the nature of the four *Vedas*,³⁰ f. 13r1-13v1).

— Linguistic aspects of *mantras* (question 1.13 *inter alia* on the pronunciation of unusual consonant clusters, f. 5v2-6r1; question 1.14 on the pronunciation of *mantras* containing terms and phrases from various languages,³¹ f. 6r1-6r6).

— Etymologies of topographical names (question 1.9 on terms such as *Rgya gar*, 'India'; *Rgya nag*, 'China'; *Bhoṭa*, 'Tibet';³² *Magadha*,³³ and *Oḍiyana*, f. 3r3-4r2).

— The nomenclature of the Indian goddess Sarasvatī (question 1.1, f. 1v2-2r1) and the identification of the musical instrument which is the standard iconographical attribute of this deity³⁴ (question 1.2, f. 2r1-2r3).

²⁸ Verhagen (1997: 603-604).

²⁹ Meisezahl (1965-1966); Verhagen (1997: 608-609).

³⁰ Verhagen (1997: 609-611).

³¹ Verhagen (1997: 604-606).

³² Verhagen (2001B: 65-67).

³³ Verhagen (2001B: 69-71); Verhagen (2002: 144-145).

³⁴ Verhagen (1997: 600-603).

— Sanskrit-Tibetan translating techniques, explaining certain principles laid down in the ninth-century manual for translators *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*³⁵ (question 1.26, f. 10v6-11v5).

He also put his extensive knowledge of grammar and related fields such as lexicography and prosody to practical use in his work as editor and translator. I have argued earlier that the sophisticated approach to such tasks that we see in Si tu's oeuvre can with good right be termed philology.³⁶

The overall most prestigious of Si tu's editorial projects of course was his supervision of the xylograph edition of the *Bka' 'gyur* canon at the Sde dge Printing House in the years 1731 to 1733. His editorial policies as set forth in a section of the *Dkar chag* ('catalogue')³⁷ which he appended to this edition are a fascinating source of information for the formal criteria and theoretical principles which Si tu brought to bear upon the complicated process of establishing a reliable text on the basis of a wide variety of heterogeneous sources.³⁸

For instance, he describes the scrupulous attention that should be paid to the transliteration of *mantras* in the Tibetan translations of Tantric materials, either by basing the orthography on auxiliary treatises found within the tradition proper which specify the spelling of such formulas, or basing it on the norms of Sanskrit grammar as far as possible. In the remaining cases of unanalysable or otherwise incomprehensible Sanskrit terms and of non-Sanskrit terms (for instance Prakrit, or Tamil) occurring in these *mantras* he urges the editors to adhere strictly to the spelling as found in the original manuscripts.³⁹

³⁵ Verhagen (2001B: 71-77).

³⁶ Verhagen (2010: 474-476, 478-479).

³⁷ Entitled *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji snyed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzang po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yongs su kha bye ba'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i khri shing*. On this *Dkar chag* which is extant in two (different) versions, see e.g. De Jong (1981), Imaeda (1981), Eimer (1982) and (1985), Schaeffer (2009: 94-96, 101-103), Verhagen (2004: 207-216), Verhagen (2010: 469-471).

³⁸ Sherab Gyaltzen (ed.) (1990 vol. 9: 412.3-413.6, f. 205v3-206r6); see Verhagen (2010: 469-471). On the notices of the editorial practice of both Si tu and Zhu chen Tshul khriims rin chen (1697-1774), editor of the Sde dge *Bstan 'gyur* xylograph (1744), in their respective *Dkar chags*, see Schaeffer (2009: 94-103).

³⁹ Sherab Gyaltzen (ed.) (1990 vol. 9: 412.5-412.6, f. 205v5-6): *gsang sngags rnam kyang sngags btu yod pa'i rigs la de nyid dang bstun / med pa rnam la'ang mtha' gcig tu sam skr ta'i skad du ngos gzung byar mi btub pa 'gro lding ba'i skad dang / pi sha tsa'i skad dang / zur chag dang / gsang ba'i brda'i skad la sogs pa can rnam ni dpe mthun shas che ba gtso bor bzung / legs sbyar dngos yin pa rnam la'ang sgra'i gzlung rnam dang bstun par rang nyid kyis blos dpog pa rnam de bzhin du bgyis / blos mi*

Such philological considerations are of course fundamental to the act of interpretation underlying the editing and translating of a text. To gain insight into the actual application of these techniques on the part of Si tu, obviously we need to turn to the results of this praxis, namely the editions and translations that he produced. It would far exceed the limitations of the present essay to attempt a comprehensive investigation and evaluation of the philological techniques which Si tu employed in his enormous output as editor and translator. Fortunately we need not make bold as to attempt such an exhaustive investigation in order to gain a clear impression of his philological practice. Since the facsimile reprint of Si tu's collected works in the early 1990s⁴⁰ the wealth of Si tu's literary oeuvre has been accessible to the academic world. In this fourteen-volume collection we find texts ranging in size from several volumes (notably his commentary on the *Cāndra* Sanskrit grammar occupying some two and a half volumes, and a collection of biographies of *Karma Bka' brgyud* masters filling two volumes) to works of only one or a few folios. Among these smaller documents there is one of singular relevance to the topic at hand which I want to highlight in the present article.

1.3. The Eight-Stanza Hymn to Vajra-Mahākāla

We are in the fortunate circumstances that we can gain a close-up perspective of Si tu's outstanding translating skills through one particular document. In the seventh volume of his Collected Works, in a mixed collection of liturgical and related materials,⁴¹ a hymn to the Tantric deity Mahākāla has been preserved entitled *Vajra-Mahākāla-Aṣṭaka-Stotra*, 'The Eight-Stanza Hymn to Vajra-Mahākāla'.⁴² Although only slightly less than four folios long, this text is a veritable gold mine for our understanding of Si tu's translation practice. It consists of the Sanskrit text (in Tibetan transliteration) as established by Si tu on the basis of a considerable number of manuscripts, and his Tibetan translation of the hymn. The

dpog pa rnam rang sor bzhaq; see Schaeffer (2009: 102-103), Verhagen (2010: 470-471).

⁴⁰ Sherab Gyaltzen (ed.) (1990).

⁴¹ Also containing *inter alia* a translation of five stanzas from the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata* (Verhagen 2008: 514-525) and a hymn to the deity Tārā translated from Chinese (Verhagen 2008: 515 note 13).

⁴² Tib. *Rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa*, Si tu Collected Works vol. 7, title 10, f. 1v1-4v4; see also Verhagen (2001B: 77-82), Steinkellner (2004: 13-14), Verhagen (2010: 474-478), Schaeffer (2013: section 4), Verhagen (2013: section 3).

most fascinating aspect of this edition, however, is Si tu's abundant intralinear annotation to both the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan version. In this extensive annotation Si tu goes to great length to justify the choices he made in the establishing as well as the interpretation of this text. There he compares variant readings from Sanskrit manuscripts he had traced in Tibet and Nepal, and he explores the various Tibetan translations that were already in circulation. Here we are privileged to witness at first hand his weighing of arguments and considerations in the process of editing and translating a Sanskrit scripture.

The colophon⁴³ to this brief text informs us that Si tu made this translation, at the behest of a 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa hierarch,⁴⁴ probably in the year 1747⁴⁵ in the vicinity of the hall of worship (*Gandhola*) of the 'Phrul snang temple in Lhasa. As for his sources, according to the colophon, he based his edition on 'Indian manuscripts that had reached Tibet in earlier times, some bilingual⁴⁶ [?] copies, and numerous corrupt manuscripts from Kathmandu and Patan [in] Nepal'. If I have interpreted the dating correctly (1747) this means that the Nepalese manuscripts he worked with were most probably ones he had found during his first visit to Nepal (1723-1724), to which manuscripts may have been added that found their way to Si tu otherwise, for instance through the mercantile and pilgrimage contacts between Nepal and Tibet. Si tu's annotation to this hymn will show that he consulted a considerable number of older and more recent Sanskrit manuscripts. The colophon mentions only one earlier Tibetan translation explicitly, namely one by Zha lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528), but it will become clear from the annotation that Si tu looked at several other existing translations as well.

On account of its unique value for our insight into Si tu's translation techniques —and by extension those of the more sophisticated Tibetan translators in general— I present here an integral edition and translation of his annotated version of this hymn (in section 2) followed by a brief investigation of some conclusions that may be drawn from this (in sections 3, 4 and 5).

⁴³ The full text of the colophon is given *infra*, section 2.11.

⁴⁴ I.e. 'Brug chen VII Dkar brgyud 'phrin las shing rta (1718-1766)?

⁴⁵ My interpretation of the dating in the colophon is tentative, see my translation of the colophon *infra*.

⁴⁶ A tentative translation for *nyis bid can* (a term which I have not been able to trace elsewhere) assuming a connection with the numeral *gnyis*, 'two'.

The *Mahākāla-Aṣṭaka-Stotra* per se, as its title suggests, consists of eight stanzas,⁴⁷ which are followed by a ninth concluding verse which specifies the benefits gained from the liturgy of this hymn. In the following section 2, I will deal with the text stanza by stanza according to this scheme:

— **SS** (in references: + verse + line number) = Sanskrit text based on Si tu's transliteration (with occasional reconstruction and emendation by the present author).

— **PS** (in references: + verse + line number) = Sanskrit text according to the edition Pandey (1994: 206-207). (The passages in PS which are variant from SS are underlined.)

— **ST** (in references: + verse + line number) = Tibetan translation by Si tu. To this my English translation of Si tu's Tibetan translation is added. (Please note: My English translation is not based on the Sanskrit text. I will indicate the main instances where Si tu's translation does not correspond to a literal interpretation of the Sanskrit.)

The text of Si tu's annotation will be given for each stanza, along with an English translation.

Finally, for the sake of comparison I have included the Tibetan translations of this same hymn available in the *Bstan 'gyur* canon (Peking edition) in section 6:

6.1: Peking 2639 (*Bstan 'gyur*, *Rgyud 'grel*, vol. *la* (26) f. 293v2-294v3)

6.2: Peking 2644 (*Bstan 'gyur*, *Rgyud 'grel*, vol. *la* (26) f. 298r4-299r6)

6.3: Peking 2645 (*Bstan 'gyur*, *Rgyud 'grel*, vol. *la* (26) f. 299r6-300v1)

6.4: Peking 2646 (*Bstan 'gyur*, *Rgyud 'grel*, vol. *la* (26) f. 300v2-301v4)

2. Si tu's Edition and Translation of the Hymn

Title

SS:

Vajra-Mahākālāṣṭaka-stotra (1v1)

Śrī-Vajra-Mahākālāṣṭaka-stotra (4v1)

⁴⁷ The original Sanskrit was composed in the twenty-one syllable *Sragdhara* metre, the traditional scheme of which is *ma-ra-bha-na-ya-ya-ya* i.e.: --- / -~ / -~ / ~~~ / ~~~ / ~~~ / ~- / ~- / ~- / .

PS:[Śrī-] *Vajra-Mahākāla-stotra*

inoda

ST:*Rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa* (1v2)*Dpal rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa* (4v2)Variants of the title in *Bstan 'gyur* versions:

(1) Peking 2639:

Sanskrit: *Śrī-Mahākālasya Aṣṭa-mantra-stotra* (293v3)Tibetan: *Dpal nag po'i* [sic] *bstod pa* (293v2),*Dpal nag po'i* [sic] *stod pa rkang pa brgyad pa* (293v3)*Dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa* (294v3)

(2) Peking 2644:

Sanskrit: *Śrī-Mahākāla-padāṣṭaka-stotra* (298r5)Tibetan: *Dpal nag po chen po'i bstod pa* (298r4)*Dpal nag po chen po'i bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa* (298r5)*Dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa sngags rkang pa brgyad pa* (299r6)

(3) Peking 2645:

Sanskrit: *Śrī-Mahākālasya Aṣṭa-mantra-stotra* (299r7)Tibetan: *Dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa* (299r7, 300r8)

(4) Peking 2646:

Sanskrit: *Vajra-Mahākāla-aṣṭaka-stotra* (300v2)Tibetan: *Rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa* (300v2)*Rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa* (300v2, 301v3-301v4)**2.1. Stanza 1****SS:**[a] *hā-hā-hūm-kāra-nādaiḥ kili-kili-taravair bhūta-vetāla-vṛndaiḥ/*[b] *hūm-hūm-kāraiḥ samantān nara-piśita-mukhair antra-mālākulāṅgaiḥ /*[c] *khatvāṅga-sakta-pāṇir nara-karaka-dharaṃ kāma-rūpī virūpī /*[d] *pṛṅgākṣaḥ piṅga-keśaḥ śava-gamana-rataḥ kṣetra-pālo 'vatād vaḥ //***PS:**[a] *hām-hām-hām-kāra-nādaiḥ kili-kili-taravaiḥ* [sic] *bhūta-vetāla-vṛndair /*[b] *hūm-hūm-kāraiḥ samantān nara-piśita-mukhai rakta-mālākulāṅgaiḥ /*[c] *khatvāṅga-skanna-pāṇir nara-karaka-dharaḥ kāma-rūpī virūpī /*[d] *pṛṅgākṣaḥ piṅga-keśaḥ śava-gaṇanalakaḥ kṣetra-pālo 'vatād vaḥ //*

ST:

[a] *hā hā hūm dang ki li ki li zhes pa'i sgra sgrogs 'byung po ro langs rnams
kyi tshogs dang bcas /*

[b] *hūm hūm zhes sgrogs zhal du mi yi sha dang sku la rgyu ma'i phreng
bas kun nas kun du dkrigs /*

[c] *kha twāṅga dang bcas pa'i phyag gis mi yi thod pa 'dzin cing 'dod pa'i
gzugs can mi sdug gzugs /*

[d] *spyān ser dbu skra ser zhing ro yi gdan la dgyes pa'i zhing rnams
skyong ba khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod /*

Translation of **ST:**

[a] 'Making *hā-hā-hūm* and *kili-kili* noises, accompanied by groups of demons and living dead (*vetāla*),

[b] Making *hūm-hūm* sounds, everywhere decked with human flesh on [your] head and garlands of entrails on [your] body,

[c] With a *Khatvāṅga* sword in [your] hand, holding the skull of a man, with a form of desire, with an ugly form,

[d] Yellow-eyed, yellow-haired, delighting in cemeteries, Protector of the Fields, may you protect [us]!

Si tu's gloss ad 1b:

S 1v3-1v6: *rgya dpe'i bzhugs tshul gyis 'di bzhin bsgyur ba 'thad gyi [?] gdong gis brgyan zhes pa ni brgyan pa'i skad dod med par ma zad mi 'brel lo / rgya dpe kha cig na wak trai rmā lāṃ zhes snang bas mgo bo'i phreng bar bsgyur kyang tshig rkang snga ma dang 'brel [infralinear: mgul du] che bas dkyus bzhin legs*

'[My] translation thus [i.e. as above], in accordance with the way [the phrase] occurs in the Indian manuscripts, is acceptable, but as regards [the translation] 'adorned with faces [or: heads]',⁴⁸ not only is the word 'adorned' missing [in the Sanskrit] but also it lacks [syntactical] connection.

In some Indian manuscripts [the passage] *vaktrair mālām* occurs [here], therefore one could translate as 'a garland of heads' (*mgo bo'i phreng ba*), and it has a strong [semantical/syntactical] connection with the preceding verse-line (*tshig rkang* = **pāda*), so, in accord with the customary [reading], it is in order [to translate thus].'

Si tu's gloss ad 1d *ro yi gdan la dgyes pa:*

⁴⁸ I have not found exact attestations of this translation in the canonical versions. Cf. Peking 2639 f. 293v8: *mgo bo rnams kyi phreng bas* (...), Peking 2644 f. 298r8: *mgo yi rnams* [sic] *kyis mgo'i phreng byas* (...), Peking 2645 f. 299v4: *mgo bo rnams kyi phreng bas*, Peking 2645 f. 299v6: *rgyu ma sbrel ba'i phreng bas*, and Peking 2646 f. 300v3: *rgyu ma'i phreng ba*.

S 1v6: *ro la gshegs par dgyes pa'i zhes bsgyur na rgya dpe dang mthun yang dkyus bzhin don 'gyur yin 'dug pas rang sor bzhaḡ*
 'If one would translate [*śava-gamana-rataḡ*] as 'delighting in going to corpses', this is in accordance with the Sanskrit manuscripts,⁴⁹ however, as this [translation *ro yi gdan la dgyes pa*] is an intention-based [or reference-based] translation,⁵⁰ in accord with the customary [reading] I have left it unchanged⁵¹ [and have translated it as 'delighting in cemeteries'].⁵²

2.2. Stanza 2

SS:

- [a] *phem-phem-phem-kāra-nādaiḥ pratijanita-brhad-vahni-garbhāgra-vaktraḥ /*
 [b] *mālā-kāṅṅṅi vidhāya prakāṣa-bhaya-vapur-bhūṣitāṅgopaśobhaḥ /*
 [c] *pītvā raktā-śravo 'rghaṃ nyka-śakala-dhṛto māriṇām ugra-pāṇiḥ /*
 [d] *krīdāṃ-krīḍo vinodair nara-dahana-bhuvi kṣetrapaḥ pātu yuṣmān //*

PS:

- [a] *phem-phem-phem-kāra-nādaiḥ pratijanita-brhad-vahni-garbhāṅga-vakre /*
 [b] *mālāṃ kaṅṅṅe nidhāya prakāṣa-bhaya-vapur-bhūṣitāṅgopaśobhaḥ /*
 [c] *īṣad-raktā-dharoṣṭho 'rka-sakala-vṛtā-mālinā mukta-pāṇiḥ /*
 [d] *klīm-dāṃ-klīm-dāṃ-ninādair vara-dahana-bhuvi kṣetrapaḥ pātu yuṣmān //*⁵³

ST:

- [a] *phem phem phem zhes grogs shing so sor skyes pa'i me dpung chen po'i dbus su gdong gi rtse mo yis /*

⁴⁹ As given in SS; however, note also the (obscure) reading in PS: *śava-gaṇanalakāḥ*.

⁵⁰ On this typology of translation, see section (5) infra.

⁵¹ Alternative translation, somewhat less likely: '(...) [I] have not changed my own [translation]'. Both translations are tentative: the usual meaning of the phrase *sor bzhaḡ / sor gzhaḡ* is 'has been / should be left untranslated', indicating the use of a loanword. This is clearly not the case here. Does Si tu intend here that he has adopted his rendering of this phrase from a previous translation, or previous translations, perhaps including the translation by Zha lu?

⁵² The canonical translations here have, Peking 2639, f. 293v6 and Peking 2645 f. 299v2: *ro yi gdan la dgyes pa*; Peking 2644 f. 298r7: *ro yi gdan la skyes pa* [?]; Peking 2646 f. 300v4: *dur khrod la dgyes*. The former two and perhaps the third (with emendation) correspond to Si tu's rendering in ST. In a personal communication, November 2009, Kurtis Schaeffer translated this passage: 'If [one] translates [this] as "ro la gshegs par dgyes pa" this is a translation of the sense that is typically in accord with the Indic manuscript, so [I] have left it as it is.'

⁵³ Note that PS 2cd varies significantly from SS 2cd.

[b] *mgul du phreng ba mdzad de rab tu gsal zhing 'jigs pa'i sku brgyan yan lag rnams ni nye bar mdzes /*
 [c] *drag shul phyag gis bsad pa'i mi mgo'i dum bu bzung nas khrag 'dzag pa yi mchod yon gsol mdzad cing /*
 [d] *mi rnams bsreg pa'i sa la rtse zhing brtse bas rnam par rol pa zhing skyong khyod kyis skyong bar mdzod //*

Translation of ST:

[a] 'Making *phem-phem-phem* sounds, with the top of [your] head in the centre of a great mass of fire that spreads⁵⁴ in all directions,
 [b] Having placed the garlands around [your] neck, truly magnificent due to [your] shining and terrifying bodily form and [your] decorated limbs,
 [c] Holding parts of heads of humans who were killed by a violent hand, partaking⁵⁵ of an offering of dripping blood,
 [d] Playfully frolicking on a human cremation ground, Protector of the Field, may you protect [us]!'

Si tu's gloss ad 2a:

S 1v6-2r3: *a gra baktraiḥ zhes pa zha lus mchog gi zhal nas zhes bsgyur kyang lha las phul byung [?] gi bstod par thod pa'i skad dod śi ro gra zhes 'byung ba bzhin thod dum gyi don du 'dug pas 'di bzhin bsgyur*
 'Although [the Sanskrit] *agra-vaktraiḥ* was translated by Zha lu [lo tsā ba] as 'from the highest head' (*mchog gi zhal nas*),⁵⁶ in order to [make] a perfect praise to [?] the god, the word for 'skull' [should] occur thus: *śiro'gra*, and accordingly this [should] function in the meaning of 'part of the skull'; [therefore] I have translated it thus [namely as 'the top of [your] head'].'

Si tu's gloss ad 2c -*śravo 'rgham*:

S 2r3: *rgya dpe kha cig na shra bā nyaiḥ zhes yod kyang dkyus bzhin don bzang bas bkod*
 'Although in some Indian manuscripts [the reading] *śravānyaiḥ* occurs [instead of -*śravo 'rgham*], in accord with the customary⁵⁷ [reading] I have established [the reading -*śravo 'rgham*] as it is [gives] the best meaning.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Lit.: 'has arisen'.

⁵⁵ As supported by SS *pītvā*; an alternative translation of ST would be: 'making an offering (...)'.
⁵⁶ This translation is not attested in any of the four canonical versions.

⁵⁷ Note that in Verhagen 2010 (475) I interpreted *dkyus* in this and the following quoted passage as 'inferior [reading]'. I have now opted to translate it as 'customary [reading]', i.e. the usual, common reading.

⁵⁸ This gloss is also translated in Verhagen (2010: 475) and Verhagen (2013: 326).

Si tu's gloss ad 2d *vinodair*:

S 2r3: *bi no da rnam sel yin yang don du rtsed mo'i 'khyog tshig la 'jug pas rnam rol du bsgyur*

'Although *vinoda* [usually] means 'cleaning completely', it actually occurs [here] as a word for the playing of a game,⁵⁹ therefore I have translated it as 'frolicking' (*rnam [par] rol [pa]*).⁶⁰

Si tu's gloss ad 2d:

S 2r3-2r6: *rgya dpe kha cig la na ra gñā [or: ga ñā] na zhes yod pas mi yis gang ba zhes bsgyur kyang don du pi tr ba na zhes pa'i nags te dur khrod la 'dug [or: 'jug?] pa bzhin 'dir yang mi'i nags te dur khrod kyi don song [?] / 'on kyang rgya dpe 'ga' la 'di bzhin snang ba ltar bsgyur*

'In some Indian manuscripts [the reading] *nara-gñāna*⁶¹ [?] occurs, therefore this has been translated as 'filled with men' (*mi yis gang ba*),⁶² and it is actually (*don du*) similar [i.e. synonymous?] to [the term] *pitr-vana* [lit. 'forest of the forefathers'], occurring in [the meaning of] a forest which is a cemetery, so [some translators?]⁶³ here came to the interpretation 'a forest of humans' i.e. 'a cemetery'. However, I have translated it as above [i.e. in my translation]⁶⁴ in accordance with [the phrasing of] this [passage] in some Indian manuscripts.'

2.3. Stanza 3

SS:

[a] *kṣem-kṣem-kṣem-kṣānti-mūrtiḥ kala-kala-rava-kṛt kṣānti-baddha-praduṣṭām /*

[b] *krāntyā krāntyaika-viśvaṃ kaha-kaha-kaṭhanair nīla-jīmūta-varṇam /*

[c] *hrīm-klīm-śrīm-mantra-dehāḥ*⁶⁵ *paca-paca-dahanair jāti-mantraiḥ samantāt /*

[d] *viḥnān protsāryamānaḥ śamayatu niyatam sādhakān kṣetra-pālaḥ //*

⁵⁹ An alternative translation here: 'as a playful word for "to play"'; Schaeffer (2013: 307) translates: 'it may be construed as an indirect term for 'tsemo' ['play']'.

⁶⁰ See also Schaeffer (2013: 307).

⁶¹ Or *nara-gañāna*? It is unclear which Sanskrit form Si tu intends here. The orthography here is evidently corrupt in the blockprint. One might wonder if the intended form was **nara-vana*, 'forest of humans' (cf. infra in the gloss)?

⁶² As in Peking 2639 f. 294r3, Peking 2644 f. 298v1 and Peking 2645 f. 299v8. Peking 2646 f. 300v7 has *dmyal bar bsreg pa* here.

⁶³ This translation is not attested in any of the four canonical versions.

⁶⁴ I.e. as 'human cremation ground', *mi rnam bsreg pa'i sa* for Sanskrit *nara-dahana-bhuvi*.

⁶⁵ One would expect (...) *-dehāḥ* (singular nominative masculine) here, as in PS.

PS:

[a] *kṣaṃ-kṣaṃ-kṣaṃ-kṣānti-mūrtiḥ kala-kala-kala-kṛt kṣānti-vṛddhiṃ prakurvaṇ /*

[b] *krāntā krāntaika-viśvaḥ kaha-kaha-kāṭhano nīla-jīmūta-varṇaḥ /*

[c] *hrīm-śrīm-klīm-mantra-dehaḥ paca-paca-dahanair jāta-mantraḥ samantād /*

[d] *vighnān utsāryamānaḥ śamayatu niyataṃ śātravān kṣetra-pālaḥ //*

ST:

[a] *kṣeṃ kṣeṃ kṣeṃ zhes bzod pa'i sku can ca co sgrogs par mdzad cing bzod pas gdug pa rnams bsad de /*

[b] *gcig pus sna tshogs mnan cing mnan nas ka ha ka ha brjod par mdzad pa char sprin sngon po'i mdog /*

[c] *hrīm klīm śrīm zhes sngags kyi sku can sngags kyi rigs rnams pa tsa pa tsas kun nas bsreg par mdzad*

[d] *zhing skyong gis ni sgrub po rnams kyi bgegs rnams rab tu skrod cing nges par zhi bar mdzad du gsol //*

Translation of **ST:**

[a] 'With *kṣeṃ-kṣeṃ-kṣeṃ* bodily form of forbearance, uttering exclamations⁶⁶ and having killed the noxious with forbearance,

[b] Alone subduing all kinds [of negative factors?] and after subduing [these]⁶⁷ uttering *kaha-kaha*, having the hue of a dark-blue cloud,

[c] Having a *hrīm-klīm-śrīm* mantra-body, [with various] classes of mantras⁶⁸ burning [negative factors?] everywhere with *paca-paca* [sounds],

[d] May the Protector of the Field, expelling the obstacles of the adepts, surely bring [us] to tranquility.'

Si tu's gloss ad 3a (...) -*baddha* (...):

S 2r4: *bcings zhes bsgyur ba'ang 'dug*

'One could also translate [*baddha*] as 'bound' [instead of 'noxious' (*gdug pa*) as in my translation].'⁶⁹

Si tu's gloss ad 3c *hrīm-klīm-śrīm*:

S 2r3: *krīm kṣīm śrīm zhes 'gar snang*

⁶⁶ See SS: *kala-kala-rava-kṛt*, 'making *kala-kala* noises'.

⁶⁷ An alternative translation for line (b) would be: 'Alone subduing again and again all kinds [of negative factors?], uttering (...)'.

⁶⁸ See SS: *jāti-mantraḥ*, 'with mantras of nobility' i.e. excellent mantras(?); cf. PS: *jāta-mantraḥ*.

⁶⁹ All canonical versions translate similarly to Si tu: *gdug pa rnams* (Peking 2639 f. 294r1; Peking 2644 f. 298v2; Peking 2645 f. 299v5; Peking 2646 f. 301r6).

'In some [manuscripts (or translations?) the form] *krīṃ-kṣīṃ-śrīṃ* occurs [instead of *hrīṃ-klīṃ-śrīṃ*].⁷⁰

2.4. Stanza 4

SS:

- [a] *hā-hā-hā-ttā-ttā-hāsair atīśaya-bhaya-kṛt sarvadā yaḥ paśūnāṃ /*
 [b] *pāpānāṃ viḥna-hantā pratidivasam alaṃ-prāpta-saṃbodhi-lābhaḥ /*
 [c] *hūṃ-phaṭ-phaṭ-tvora-nādais tri-bhuvana-kuharaṃ pūrayan pūrṇa-śaktiḥ /*
 [d] *pāyād vaḥ kṣetra-pālaḥ kapilam urur jaṭā-śmaśru-keśopahāraḥ //*

PS:

- [a] *hā-hā-hā-hāttā-hāsair atīśaya-bhaya-kṛt sarvadā 'sat- paśūnāṃ /*
 [b] *pāpānāṃ viḥna-hantā pratidivasam asau prāpta-saṃbodhi-lābhaḥ /*
 [c] *hūṃ-phaṭ-hūṃ-phaṭ-ninādais tri-bhuvana-kuharaṃ pūrayan pūrṇa-śaktiḥ /*
 [d] *pāyāc chrī-kṣetra-pālaḥ kapilatara-jaṭā-jūṭa-kleśāṅga-bhāraḥ //*

ST:

- [a] *hā hā hā ttā ttā zhes bzhad pa gang gis dus kun du ni phyugs rnamshin tu 'jigs par byed /*
 [b] *nyin re bzhin du bgegs dang sdig pa thams cad bcom pas nges par rdzogs byang du ni gshegs pa brnyes /*
 [c] *hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ ces mi bzod sgra yis srid pa gsum gyi khongs ni kun du gang bar 'gengs nus pa /*
 [d] *ral pa sma ra skra yi nyer spyod dmar ser rgyas pa'i zhing rnamshkyong ba khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod //*

Translation of **ST:**

- [a] '[You] who with laughter [sounding] *hā-hā-hā-ttā-ttā* constantly make the cattle panic,
 [b] As [you] conquered the obstacles and⁷¹ sins each and every day [you] have surely gained arrival⁷² at perfect Awakening,

⁷⁰ Note that all canonical sources have readings variant from both of Si tu's readings (the one in SS and the alternative one he suggests in this gloss), namely, Peking 2639 f. 294r3: *hrīṃ kṣīṃ śrīṃ*; Peking 2644 f. 298v2: *hrīṃ kṣīṃ śrīṃ*; Peking 2645 f. 299v7: *hrīṃ kṣīṃ śrīṃ*; Peking 2646 f. 301r7: *hrīṃ glīṃ śrīṃ*. PS has yet another variant: *hrīṃ śrīṃ klīṃ*.

⁷¹ Si tu's rendering 'and' does not tally with his own Sanskrit reading (SS) *pāpānāṃ viḥna*-(...), 'obstacles of the sins'.

⁷² *gshegs pa brnyes*, see SS (...) *-lābhaḥ*. Note also that Sanskrit *alaṃ*-(...) is not reflected in Si tu's translation.

[c] Able to fill the hollow of the three worlds⁷³ entirely with the unbearable⁷⁴ sound *hūm-phaṭ-phaṭ*,

[d] May you, Protector of the Fields, with a red-yellow widely extending hairdress of long beard and locks, protect [us]!

Si tu's gloss ad 4a *shin tu 'jigs par mdzad* (for *atiśaya-bhaya-kṛt*):

S 2r6: *'dir rnam dbye'i 'bros* [or: *'gros?*] *kyis phul byung 'jigs pa dang 'brel gyi gad rgyangs dang mi 'brel bas 'di bzhin byas*

'On account of the [syntactical] structure [*'gros*, lit. 'course']⁷⁵ of the cases in this [passage] there is a [semantical/syntactical] connection for [the translation] 'panic', but not for [the translation] 'laughter', therefore I have translated it accordingly.'

Si tu's gloss ad 4b *sdig pa* (for *pāpānāṃ*):

S 2r6-2v3: *'dir rgya dpe kha cig na lo kā nāṃ zhes snang yang dkyus ltar rgya dpe gzhan mang po mthun zhing 'gyur rnying la yang snang bas 'di ltar bsgyur*

'In some Indian manuscripts [the form] *lokānāṃ* occurs here [instead of *pāpānāṃ*], yet as [the reading *pāpānāṃ*] as a customary reading accords with many other Indian manuscripts and also occurs in the old[er Tibetan] translation[s], I have translated it accordingly [i.e. as 'sins', *sdig pa*].⁷⁶

Si tu's gloss ad 4b *nges par*:

S 2v3: *dri med kyi skad dod med pas 'di bzhin bsgyur ba legs*

'The word 'stainless' (*dri med*) does not occur [here], therefore it is in order to translate thus [i.e. as in my translation].⁷⁷

⁷³ This, the upper and the nether world.

⁷⁴ *mi bzod pa*, see SS (...)–*ttora*(...), 'deep'.

⁷⁵ My translation 'structure', based on the reading *'gros*, is tentative. If we read *'bros* instead of *'gros*, an alternative translation could be: 'In this [passage] where elision (?) [*'bros*, lit. 'fleeing'] of the case-ending [scil. of *atiśaya* in the compound?] occurs, there is [in this verse] a [semantical/syntactical] connection for [the translation] 'extreme fear' (...). This would make sense also, as the elision of the case ending after *atiśaya-* indeed indicates it forms a compound with the following *-bhaya-kṛt* precluding an attribute construction with the preceding terms (as the alternative translation presupposes). However, this analysis of *'bros* must be tentative as well, as by far the most common terms for 'elision' in Indo-Tibetan grammatical literature are forms of the verb *'byi ba*, in particular *phyis* and *dbyi*. Note that the phrase *rnam dbye'i 'gros* / *'bros* occurs also in Si tu's gloss on verse 6c.

⁷⁶ See also Verhagen (2010: 476), Schaeffer (2013: 307) and Verhagen (2013: 326).

⁷⁷ The point is that earlier Tibetan translations have the element *dri med*, 'stainless', in their rendering of this verse, whereas Si tu did not find this term attested in the Sanskrit manuscripts. Indeed Peking 2639 f. 294r5 has: *bgegs dang sdig 'joms dri med bsnyems* (?) *pa chu nyi bzhin*; Peking 2644 f. 298v4: *nyi ma re re dri med mnyes pa*

Si tu's gloss ad 4c *hūṃ-phaṭ-phaṭ*:

S 2v3: 'ga' *zhig tu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ zhes snang*

'In some [manuscripts/translations (?) the form] *hūṃ-hūṃ-phaṭ* occurs [here instead of *hūṃ-phaṭ-phaṭ*].'⁷⁸

Si tu's gloss ad 4d (...) -*keśopahārah*:

S 2v3: *rgya dpe 'gar ke śā gra bhāra zhes 'byung ba ltar na skra yi khur mchog ces bsgyur dgos kyang dkyus ltar bzhag pa*

'In some Indian manuscripts [the form] *keśāgra-bhāra* occurs [here instead of *keśopahārah*] and accordingly one should translate this as 'the highest burden of hair' (*skra yi khur mchog*),⁷⁹ but in accord with the customary [reading] [I] have established [this (i.e. *keśopahārah*) as the reading].'

Si tu's gloss ad 4d *dmar ser* (for *kapilam*):

S 2v6: 'dir *rgya dpe kha cig la ka pi la ta ra zhes 'byung bas [?] shin tu dmar ser bsgyur byar dkyus bzhin legs*

'Here in some Indian manuscripts [the form] *kapilatara*⁸⁰ occurs, which one could translate as 'very red-yellow' (*shin tu dmar ser*),⁸¹ [but] in accord with the customary [reading, scil. *kapilam urur*] it is in order [to translate as I have, namely 'yellow-red widely extending'].'

2.5. Stanza 5

SS:

[a] *khaṃ-khaṃ-khaṃ-khaḍga-pāṇir lala-lala-lalito lampako rakta-pānāt /*

[b] *raṃ-ṛaṃ-ṛaṃ-rakta-netraṃ ru-ru-rudhira-karaiś carccitaś caṇḍa-vegaḥ /*

[c] *kruṃ-kruṃ-kruṃ-krodha-dṛṣṭiḥ kuha-kuha-kuṭilākuñcitāśeṣa-mārah /*

[d] *ḍaṃ-ḍaṃ-ḍaṃ-ḍamaro vo ḍamaruka-sahito rakṣatāṃ kṣetra-pālah //*

chu 'dzin mdog; Peking 2645 f. 300r1: *bgegs dang sdig 'joms dri med mnyes pa chu nyi bzhin*; cf. Peking 2646 f. 300v7: *dri med rdzogs pa'i byang chub brnyes kyang*.

⁷⁸ All four canonical versions, that is Peking 2639 f. 293v3, Peking 2644 f. 298v4, Peking 2645 f. 299r7 and Peking 2646 f. 300v7 have *hūṃ-hūṃ-phaṭ*. Yet another variant can be found in PS 4c: *hūṃ-phaṭ-hūṃ-phaṭ*.

⁷⁹ I have not found the rendering *skra yi khur mchog* in any of the canonical translations I have consulted.

⁸⁰ Indeed, PS 4d has this precise variant: *kapilatara-jaṭā*(...).

⁸¹ Peking 2646 has this exact phrase f. 300v8: *ral pa sma ra shin tu dmar ser nye bar 'phro ba*. Not verbatim identical, yet comparable are the translations Peking 2639 f. 293v5: *smar ra ches ser nye bar spyod pa*; Peking 2644 f. 298v4-298v5 and Peking 2645 f. 299v1: *rma ra cher ser nye bar spyod pa*.

PS:

- [a] *khaṃ-khaṃ-khaṃ-khaḍga-pāṇir lala-lala-lalito rūpato rakta-pāṇih /*
 [b] *raṃ-raṃ-raṃ-rakta-netro ru-ru-rudhira-karaś carcitaś caṇḍa-vegah /*
 [c] *kruṃ-kruṃ-kruṃ-krodha-dṛṣṭih kuha-kuha-kuṭilāḥ kuñcitāśeṣa-duṣṭah /*
 [d] *ḍaṃ-ḍaṃ-ḍaṃ-ḍamarāṅgo ḍamaruka-sahito rakṣatāt kṣetra-pālāh //*

ST:

- [a] *khaṃ khaṃ khaṃ zhes ral gri'i phyag gis khrag gsol mdzad nas rgyan gyis rtse zhing 'jo sgeg dag gis rol /*
 [b] *raṃ raṃ raṃ zhes dmar ba'i spyān dang ru ru ru zhes khrag gi lag pas gtum po'i shugs kyis sdigs par mdzad /*
 [c] *kruṃ kruṃ kruṃ zhes khros pa'i lta bas mtshar zhing mtshar bar bdud rnams ma lus gya gyur kun nas 'khums /*
 [d] *ḍaṃ ḍaṃ ḍaṃ zhes 'dul mdzad ḍā ma ru dang ldan pa'i zhing rnams skyong ba khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod //*

Translation of **ST:**

- [a] 'With a *khaṃ-khaṃ-khaṃ* sword in [your] hand, after partaking of [the offering of] blood, playing with [your] ornaments and frolicking in a playful posture,
 [b] With *raṃ-raṃ-raṃ* red eyes, with furious force pointing [your finger] menacingly with *ru-ru-ru* blood[-red] hands,
 [c] With *kruṃ-kruṃ-kruṃ* angry look most wondrously slaying⁸² the demons, all of these deceitful [beings],
 [d] Subduing [them] with *ḍaṃ-ḍaṃ-ḍaṃ* [tumult], carrying a *ḍamaru*[-drum], may you, Protector of the Fields, safeguard [us]!'

Si tu's gloss ad 5a *lala-lala*:

S 2v3: *rgya dpe kha cig tu la li la li zhes yod*

'In some Indian manuscripts [the form] *lali-lali* occurs [here instead of *lala-lala*].'

Si tu's gloss ad 5a *rgyan*:

S 2v6: *laṃ ba ka zhes pa laṃ ba gar 'khrul nas gsus 'phyang du bsgyur kyang rgya dpe thams cad mthun par 'di bzhin yod pas rgyan du bsgyur dgos*

'Although [the Sanskrit term] *lambaka*⁸³, on the basis of an erroneous [reading] *lambaga*, has been translated as 'hanging-belly' (*gsus*

⁸² Taking 'khums as erroneous for 'gum(s), 'to kill'. An alternative translation, without amending the form 'khums, would be: 'Due to [his] *kruṃ-kruṃ-kruṃ* angry look most wondrously the demons, all of these deceitful [beings], shrink'.

⁸³ Note that SS actually has the reading *lampaka*.

'*phyang*)⁸⁴ this [scil. *lambaka* / *lampaka* ?] is the form that occurs here in accordance with all Indian manuscripts, therefore it should be translated as 'ornament' (*rgyan*).⁸⁵

Si tu's gloss ad 5b:

S 2v6-3r3: *bod dpe 'gar 'dir ku ru ku ru zhes 'dug pas / ma lus mdzod cig mdzod ces bsgyur 'dug pa yi ge la 'khrul gzhi byung ba yin tshig phyi ma'i 'gros dang mi 'brel zhing / 'dir khrag gsol gtum po'i shugs kyis spyod ces zha lus bsgyur kyang gsol ba'i skad dod med tsa rtsi [?] ta dpyad pa la 'jug kyang spyod ces pa 'gal bas dkyus bzhin don dang mthun khul lags*

'In some Tibetan manuscripts [i.e. Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Tibet] [the form] *kuru-kuru* occurs here [instead of *ruru-ru(ru)*]; this could be translated as 'do and do [this] completely'.⁸⁶ It appears that the source of confusion lay in the [ortho-]graphical form [of phonemes *k* and *r*]⁸⁷ and [it would result] in a lack of [semantical/syntactical] connection with the following term.

Zha lu translated here: 'performing the offering of blood with furious force',⁸⁸ however, the word 'offering' (*gsol ba*) does not occur [in the Sanskrit], [and] although [the term] *carcita* may occur in [the meaning] 'to investigate' (*dpyad pa*) it does not accord with [the translation] 'to perform' (*spyod*).

Therefore, [my translation 'with furious force pointing [your finger] menacingly with (...) blood[-red] hands'], in accord with the customary [reading], seems to correspond [better] to the [intended] meaning.'

Si tu's gloss ad 5c (or 5 in general?):

⁸⁴ As in Peking 2646 f. 301r1: *gsus pa 'phyang bab*. Cf. also Jäschke (1881: 589): *gsus 'phyang po*, 'a deity'. Is there a connection with terms such as Sanskrit *lambodara*, 'pot-bellied', Monier-Williams (1899: 897)?

⁸⁵ The precise purport of this gloss has remained obscure to me: I fail to see how any of the variant readings for the Sanskrit term (*lampaka*, *lambaka*, or *lambaga*, i.e. *lampaka*, *lambaka*, or *lambaga*) connects meaningfully to Si tu's translation 'ornament' (unless *lamba-ka* would mean something like 'having pendent [ornaments]?). Cf. e.g. Monier-Williams (1899: 897): *lampaka* = 'name of a Jain sect', and *lambaka* = 'a perpendicular' etc., Edgerton (1953: 461): *lampaka* = 'some sort of garment', and *-lambaka*, (only at the end of a compound) = 'excellent, fine'.

⁸⁶ This exact translation is not attested in the canonical versions, but there is some similarity with Peking 2644 f. 298v6 and Peking 2646 f. 301r2 which have: *mdzod cig*.

⁸⁷ Up to this point this gloss was translated in Verhagen (2010: 475) and Verhagen (2013: 326).

⁸⁸ This translation is not attested in the canonical versions. An alternative English translation could be: 'acting with the furious force of a blood-offering'.

S 3r3-3r6: *kho bos mthong ba'i rgya dpe rnam su dkyus bzhin byung ba de ga 'thad pa'i lugs su byas / de dang bdag gis mthong ba'i bod dpe nyis bid can rnam la krim krim krim sogs 'og gi klog gcig 'dir snang*

'I have made [my translation] in according with precisely that [reading] which occurs, as the customary [reading], in the Indian manuscripts which I have seen.

In these [Indian manuscripts] and the bilingual [copies] housed in Tibet which I have seen, once the reading of the bottom [half of the stanza as] *krim-krim-krim*⁸⁹ etc. occurs here [instead of *krum-krum-krum* etc.].'

Si tu's gloss ad 5d:

S 3r3: *rgya dpe kha cig la 'dir sau zhes dang pā la'i tshab tu so baḥ zhes 'dug pas 'di yis 'dul mdzad ces bsgyur bar snang*

'In some Indian manuscripts here [the form] *sau* [= 'sau = asau] [occurs instead of *vo*?] and instead of *pāla* ('protector') [the form] *sovaḥ* [= ?] occurs, therefore [this passage] occurs in translation(s) as 'this one subdues' ('*di yis 'dul mdzad*).⁹⁰

2.6. Stanza 6

SS:

[a] *yam-yam-yam-yāti viśvaṃ yamaṃ iva niyatam yāmino yāmano vā /*

[b] *vaṃ-vaṃ-vaṃ-vāta-vego jhaṭ-iti taḍid iva prāpta-loka-pracārah /*

[c] *bhrūṃ-bhrūṃ-bhrūṃ-bhīṣaṇāṅgo bhr̥kuṭi-kṛta-bhayo muktidaḥ sādhaḥkānām /*

[d] *kṣam-kṣam-kṣam-kṣema-kārī kṣapayatu duritam rakṣatām kṣetra-pālah //*

PS:

[a] *yam-yam-yam-yāti viśvaṃ yama-niyama-yuto yāmino 'yāmino vā /*

[b] *vaṃ-vaṃ-vaṃ-vāta-vego jhaṭ-iti karaka-dhṛt prāpta-lokopacārah /*

[c] *bhrūṃ-bhrūṃ-bhrūṃ-bhīṣaṇāṅgo bhr̥kuṭi-kṛta-bhayo muktivān sādhaḥkānām /*

[d] *kṣam-kṣam-kṣam-kṣema-kārī kṣapayatu duritam rakṣatāt kṣetra-pālah //*

ST:

[a] *yam yam yam zhes gshin rje lta bur nges par kun du gshegs shing yang na mtshon cha can rnam s'gog /*

⁸⁹ This reading is not attested in any of the four canonical translations.

⁹⁰ Peking 2639 f. 293v8, Peking 2644 f. 298v6, and Peking 2645 f. 299v4 have this precise translation. The translation in Peking 2646 f. 301r2 ('*dul bar mdzad pa*) is more similar to that of Si tu ('*dul mdzad*).

[b] *waṃ waṃ waṃ zhes rlung gi shugs kyis skad cig glog dang mtshungs pa'i 'jig rten spyod par rab tu son /*

[c] *bhrūṃ bhrūṃ bhrūṃ zhes 'jigs rung sku dang 'jigs pa'i khro gnyer mdzad pas sgrub po rnams la sgröl ster ba /*

[d] *kṣaṃ kṣaṃ kṣaṃ zhes bde bar byed pa'i zhing rnams skyong bas gnod pa sel bar mdzad cing bsrung du gsol //*

Translation of ST:

[a] 'Surely *yaṃ-yaṃ-yaṃ* going everywhere, just like Yama [i.e. the deity of the dead], yet eradicating [his, i.e. Yama's?] armoured [demons],

[b] With *vaṃ-vaṃ-vaṃ* force of the wind instantly travelling through the world like a flash of lightning,

[c] With *bhrūṃ-bhrūṃ-bhrūṃ* fearsome body, with a terrifying grimace, granting liberation to the adepts,

[d] [I] pray that, creating *kṣaṃ-kṣaṃ-kṣaṃ* bliss, the Protector of the Fields clear away the harmful and safeguard [us]!

Si tu's gloss ad 6a:

S 3r6-3r7: 'dir bod dpe nyis bid can 'gar yā ma lo pā ma lo tsā zhes 'dug pa snga 'gyur dang zha lus dri ma med pa'i chu bzhin gzigs zhes bsgyur kyang yah dang a ma la mtshams sbyar ba yin pa rnam bcad phyi zhing mtshams sbyor ba mi 'thad / a pām. chur 'jug kyang a lo tsā dang mtshams sbyar bas chu ma mthong zhes par 'gyur bas 'brel med cing bzhin sgra 'ang ma byung bas yig nor ram gang yin chu ma 'tshal da lan bal po'i dpe mang po dang bod dpe rnying pa gnyis rnams mthun par byung ba bzhin dkyus ltar bsgyur ba lags

'Here in some Tibetan bilingual manuscripts [the passage] *yāmalo*[']pām *alocā*⁹¹ occurs. In the earlier translation(s) and [in the translation] by Zha lu this is translated as 'seeing as [through] clear water'.⁹² However, if *yah* and *amala* are juxtaposed, the *visarga* [= *h*] would be elided and [further] *sandhi* would not apply [and therefore the resulting form could not be *yāmalo*]. *Apām* could occur in the meaning 'water', and in combination with *alocā* it could be translated as 'not seeing the water', yet [this reading] lacks [proper] [semantical/syntactical] connection. Also the word [translated as] *bzhin* ('as') does not occur [in the Sanskrit], so there [appears] to be some kind of scribal error here, [and, finally] [the word] 'water' (*chu*)

⁹¹ I.e., in all probability: *yah* + *amalah* + *apām* + *alocā*.

⁹² Precisely this rendering is attested in Peking 2644 (269v8-269v1). Similar translations can be found in the other three canonical versions; Peking 2639 f. 294r7 and Peking 2645 f. 300r3 have *dri ma med pa'i sna tshogs chu bzhin gzigs* and Peking 2646 f. 301r4 has *dri med chu bzhin gzigs*.

is not appropriate [lit. desirable] [here].[Therefore] at present [I] have translated [it as 'eradicating [his] armoured [demons]'], as the customary [reading], corresponding to [the reading] which concurs with many Nepalese manuscripts and two old [Sanskrit] manuscripts [housed in] Tibet.'

Si tu's gloss ad 6b:

S 3r4: *mkhyen pa'i skad dod med pas 'di bzhin byas*

'As [in the Sanskrit] there is no term for 'to know' (*mkhyen pa*) [as found in other translations],⁹³ I have translated it thus [i.e. as in my translation, 'moving through'].'

Si tu's gloss ad 6c:

S 3r7: *yi ge 'gar bhī ṣa nā gro zhes 'dug pas mchog tu 'jigs rung zhes bsgyur kyang dkyus bzhin legs shing 'jigs pa dang grol snyer zhes pa'ang mi 'thad pa don thob dang rnam dbye'i 'gros kyis shes so*

'In some texts [the reading] *bhīṣaṇāgro* [instead of *bhīṣaṇāṅgo*] occurs, and therefore [earlier translators] have translated this as 'able to scare in the highest degree',⁹⁴ which is in order [as it is] in accord with the customary [reading].

And [the translation] 'fear and liberation-grimace'⁹⁵ [instead of 'jigs pa'i khro gnyer 'terrifying grimace', for Sanskrit *bhṛkuṭi-krta-bhaya*] is not applicable; [we] know [this] on account of the appropriate meaning and the [syntactical] structure⁹⁶ of the cases.'

Si tu's gloss ad 6d:

S 3v3: *'dir rgya dpe 'gar baḥ kṣa nāt. zhes 'dug pa de lta na zha lus 'gyur bzhin zhing skyong khyod kyis gnod pa skad cig gis ni bsal du gsol zhes pa'ang legs*

'Here in some Indian manuscripts [the passage] *vaḥ kṣaṇāt* occurs,⁹⁷ and in accordance with Zha lu's translation based on that [reading], it

⁹³ Attested in Peking 2639 f. 294r7 and Peking 2645 f. 300r4: 'jig rten gnod byed *mkhyen*.

⁹⁴ A comparable though not identical translation appears to be attested in Peking 2644 f. 299r1: *mchog gi 'jigs mdzad nus pa*, however compare also Peking 2639 f. 293v5 and Peking 2645 f. 299v1: *mchog gi khro gnyer 'jigs mdzad*.

⁹⁵ Tentative translation. I have not been able to trace the term *grol snyer*. I assume *snyer* ('to frown', see *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* s.v. *snyer ba*) = *gnyer* (as in *khro gnyer*). The phrasing 'jigs pa dang grol snyer' is not attested in any of the *Bstan 'gyur* versions. See Peking 2639 f. 293v5 and Peking 2645 f. 299v1: *mchog gi khro gnyer 'jigs mdzad*, Peking 2644 f. 299r1: *khro gnyer mchog gi 'jigs mdzad nus pa*, and Peking 2646 f. 301r5: *khro gnyer bsnyer bas 'jigs par mdzad*.

⁹⁶ On the phrase *rnam dbye'i 'gros* (or 'bros), see supra my notes ad gloss 4a. The interpretation 'elision of the case[-ending]s' is even less plausible in the present gloss.

⁹⁷ Instead of *rakṣatām*.

is also in order to translate 'Protector of the Field, may you clear away the harmful instantly!'.

2.7. Stanza 7

SS:

[a] *klām-klām-klām-klaina-mūrtis tri-bhuvana-namitaṃ kledayet sarvadā yah /*

[b] *paṃ-paṃ-paṃ-pāśa-hastaḥ paśu-dhr̥ta-kavalaṃ [?] pālayan pālanīyān /*

[c] *mantrātmā mantra-mūrtis tv abhimata-phala-daṃ mantriṇām mantra-tulyaṃ /*

[d] *kṣetrāṇām pālako 'sau sakala-jana-tanuḥ pātu yuṣmāṃś ciraṃ yah //*

PS:

[a] *klām-klām-klām-krānti-mūrtis tri-bhuvana-maṇiśaṃ kledayan sarvadā yah /*

[b] *paṃ-paṃ-paṃ-pāśa-hastaḥ paraśu-dhr̥ta-karaḥ pālayan pālanīyān /*

[c] *mudrāṇām mantra-mūrtis tvam abhimata-phala-do mantriṇām mantra-tulyaḥ /*

[d] *kṣetrāṇām pālako 'sau sakala-jita-tanuḥ pātu yuṣmāṃś cirāyuh //*

ST:

[a] *klām klām klām zhes rul ba'i lus can srid pa gsum gyis btud cing gang gis kun nas nyams par mdzad /*

[b] *paṃ paṃ paṃ zhes phyag gi zhags pas phyugs rnam bzung nas gsol zhiṅ bsrung bya rnam ni skyong mdzad pa /*

[c] *sngags bdag sngags kyi sku can sngags pa rnam la sngags dang mtshungs par mngon par 'dod pa'i 'bras ster ba /*

[d] *gang zhiṅ zhiṅ rnam skyong bar mdzad pa khyod kyis mtha' dag skye bo'i lus 'di yun ring skyong bar mdzod //*

Translation of **ST:**

[a] '[You] who have a *klām-klām-klām* putrid body, for whom [the inhabitants of] the three worlds⁹⁸ bow down and who in all respects⁹⁹ make [the evil factors?] perish,¹⁰⁰

[b] With a *paṃ-paṃ-paṃ* noose in [your] hand, after catching the cattle,¹⁰¹ feeding [them],¹⁰² and protecting those who are to be safeguarded,

⁹⁸ I.e. this, the upper and nether world.

⁹⁹ *Kun nas* for Sanskrit *sarvada*, 'always'.

¹⁰⁰ 'Make (...) perish' (*nyams par mdzad*) for Sanskrit *kledayet*, 'may cause to putrefy'.

[c] With a *mantra*-self, with a *mantra*-bodily form, granting to the *mantra*-practitioners the result of what they wish for in accordance with the *mantra*,

[d] [You] who protect the Fields, may you protect this body [i.e. life] of a limitless number of living beings for a long time!

Si tu's gloss ad 7a *tri-bhuvana-namitaṃ / srid pa gsum gyis btud*:

S 3v3: 'dir ga ma naiḥ zhes dpe 'gar byung bas srid gsum 'gro ba zhes sngar bsgyur

'Here [the Sanskrit form] *gamanaiḥ* occurs in some manuscripts, and therefore it has previously been translated as 'moving in the three worlds'¹⁰³.'

Si tu's gloss ad 7b:

S 3v3: 'dir la lar bi dhr̥ta ka raḥ zhes yod pas rnam 'dzin phyag gis zhes bsgyur kyang dkyus bzhin gzhan du byung ba legs

'Here in some [manuscripts] [the form] *vidhr̥ta-karaḥ* occurs [instead of (-)*pāśa-hastāḥ*], and therefore it has been translated as 'with widely wielding hand' (*rnam 'dzin phyag gis*),¹⁰⁴ but it is better [to translate] in accord with the customary [reading] and [to follow the reading] occurring in other [manuscripts].'

Si tu's gloss (1) ad 7c *mantrātmā mantra-mūrtis / sngags bdag sngags kyi sku can*:

S 3v3: bal po'i dpe mang por mu drā ṅāṃ mantra mu kti zhes 'dug pa de ltar na sngags dang phyag rgyas grol ba zhes 'gyur

'In many Nepalese manuscripts [the passage] *mudrāṅāṃ mantra-mukti* occurs, and accordingly this [could] be translated as 'liberation by *mantra* and *mudrā*'¹⁰⁵.'

¹⁰¹ Cf. stanza 4a. Metaphor for the 'flock' of adepts, or the 'herd' of ignorant beings? The former interpretation seems more apt in the present stanza, the latter in stanza 4a.

¹⁰² *Gsol*, 'to offer a meal' (Jäschke 1881: 591-592) for Sanskrit *kavala*, 'a mouthful, a morsel' (Monier-Williams 1899: 264)?

¹⁰³ Specifically in Peking 2646 f. 301r8: *srid gsum 'gro ba'i* (...); the other canonical translations read: *srid gsum nyin mtshan dus kun* (...) (Peking 2639 f. 294r8; Peking 2644 f. 299r2; Peking 2645 f. 300r4).

¹⁰⁴ Three canonical translations appear to be based on this reading, namely Peking 2639 f. 294r8, Peking 2644 f. 299r3, and Peking 2645 f. 300r5: *rnams 'dzin phyag gis* (in all three cases emend *rnams* to *rnam*?). Peking 2646 f. 301r8 has *phyag gi zhags pas*, corresponding to Si tu's translation.

¹⁰⁵ Note that Si tu disregards the genitive plural of Sanskrit *mudrāṅāṃ* in this rendering. None of the canonical translations reflect this variant reading, in fact they all correspond to Si tu's reading, with only a minor variant in Peking 2646 f. 301r8-301v1: *sngags kyi bdag nyid sngags kyi sku can*. SP does offer yet another

Si tu's gloss (2) ad 7c *sngags dang mthun par / (mantrinām) mantra-tulyam:*

S 3v6: *rgya dpe 'gar 'dir sa ma su kha zhes 'dug pas zhi bder bsgyur 'dra yang 'di bzhin legs*

'In some Indian manuscripts here [the form] *sama-sukha* occurs, and therefore it has been translated as 'bliss [of/and] tranquility' (*zhi bde*),¹⁰⁶ [yet] it is in order [to translate] as above [scil. in my translation].'

Si tu's gloss ad 7d:

S 3v6: *'dir tsi rā yuḥ zhes dang tsi rā yām zhes pa'ang dpe 'ga' la snang yang dkyus bzhin legs par rtogs*

'Here [the forms] *cirāyuh* ['long-lived'] and *cirāyām* ['for a long time'] occur in some manuscripts [instead of *ciraṃ yah*], But [I] considered it best [to translate] in accord with the customary [reading].¹⁰⁷

2.8. Stanza 8

SS:

[a] *kriṃ-kriṃ-kriṃ-kṛtti-vāsāḥ kṛta-ripu-niyamaṃ kleśikānāśaneśaḥ /*
 [b] *kaṃ-kaṃ-kāpāla-mālī kali-kaluṣa-haraṃ tāla-vṛndhābha-kāyaḥ /*
 [c] *caṃ-caṃ-caṃ-caṇḍa-vegāḥ pracalita-samayaiḥ kāra-bhūtaikalokaḥ /*
 [d] *saṃ-saṃ-saṃsāryamāno 'sama-sukha-phala-daṃ kṣetra-paḥ pātu yuṣmān //*

PS:

[a] *klīm-klīm-klīm-kṛtti-vāsā kṛta-ripu-niyamaḥ kleśitānām sadeśaḥ /*
 [b] *kaṃ-kaṃ-kaṃ-kāpāla-mālī kali-kaluṣa-haraḥ kāla-vṛndhābha-kāyaḥ /*
 [c] *caṃ-caṃ-caṃ-caṇḍa-vegāḥ pracarita-samayāḥ kāla-bhūtaikalokaḥ /*
 [d] *saṃ-saṃ-saṃ-saṃyatātmā samaya-śubha-phalaṃ lakṣyatā pātu yuṣmān //*

variant which is similar –though not identical- to the alternative reading that Si tu signals here: *mudrāṇām mantra-mūrti*.

¹⁰⁶ Si tu's gloss has Sanskrit *sama-sukha* here, probably an editorial (?) error for **sama-sukha* which would correspond precisely to Tibetan *zhi bde*, 'tranquility [and] bliss' or 'bliss [of] tranquility'. This reading is reflected in only one canonical translation, Peking Peking 2646 f. 301v1: *zhi ba'i bde ster*; the others are evidently based on a different Sanskrit passage, Peking 2639 f. 294v1: *'bras bu blo gros mtshungs med ster*, Peking 2644 f. 299r3 and Peking 2645 f. 300r6: *blo gros 'bras bu mtshungs med ster*.

¹⁰⁷ Indeed PS has the reading *cirāyuh*. I have not found Sanskrit *cirāyuh* reflected in the canonical translations; Peking 2644 f. 299r4 seems to represent *ciraṃ* or *cirāyām*: *yun ring*.

ST:

[a] *kriṃ kriṃ kriṃ zhes pags pa'i gos can nyon mongs can gyi dgra rnam*
nges par 'joms mdzad dbang phyug ste /

[b] *kaṃ kaṃ zhes ni thod pa'i phreng ldan rtsod pa'i rnyog ma 'phrog cing*
tā la'i tshogs dang mtshungs pa'i sku /

[c] *tsaṃ tsaṃ tsaṃ zhes dam tshig gtum po'i shugs kyis rab tu g'yos nas*
'byung po gsod byed 'jig rten gtso /

[d] *saṃ saṃ saṃ zhes gshegs par mdzad cing mtshungs med bde ba'i 'bras*
ster zhing skyong khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod //

Translation of **ST:**

[a] 'Dressed in a *kriṃ-kriṃ-kriṃ* antelope skin, truly vanquishing the enemies of those afflicted by impurities [Sanskrit: *kleśas*], the mighty one,

[b] Wearing a *kaṃ-kaṃ* garland of skulls, taking away the obscuration¹⁰⁸ of the evil enemies, with a body as [impressive as] a group of *Tāla* trees,

[c] With *caṃ-caṃ-caṃ* fierce force setting the solemn vows in motion,¹⁰⁹ killer of demons, the highest of the world,

[d] Coming *saṃ-saṃ-saṃ* near, granting the result of unequalled bliss, Protector of the Field, may you safeguard [us]!

Si tu's gloss ad 8a *kriṃ-kriṃ-kriṃ*:

S 3v4: *dpe 'gar kraṃ kraṃ kraṃ zhes snang*

'In some manuscripts [the form] *kraṃ-kraṃ-kraṃ* occurs [here].¹¹⁰

Si tu's gloss ad 8a *nyon mongs can gyi dgra rnam nges par 'joms mdzad* [?]:

S 3v6-3v7: '*dir sngon gyi bod dpe 'gar kle śi tā śe śa mā raḥ zhes yod pas*
bdud dang dgra bo nyon mongs gyur rnam ma lus nges par 'joms mdzad
pa / zhes bsgyur kyang 'joms pa'i skad dod med cing mi 'grigs dkyus ltar
don dang 'byor / 'gyur gsar rnying thams cad la kā la 'dir lha chen po'i
mtshan nag po chen po la sbyar ba te 'chi med mdzod du gzig gos can zhes
bsgyur kyang dkyus bzhin legs gshegs pas zhes bsgyur zhing bshad pa byed
pa ni ya m [?] tshan pa'i gnas so

'Here in some old(er) [Sanskrit] manuscripts [housed] in Tibet [the passage] *kleśitāśeṣa-māraḥ* occurs (instead of *kleśikānāśaneśaḥ*),¹¹¹ which

¹⁰⁸ Lit. 'turbid(ness)'.

¹⁰⁹ Or: 'With *caṃ-caṃ-caṃ* solemn vow, setting in motion with fierce force (...)'.

¹¹⁰ Peking 2645 f. 300r2 has this variant. Other variants, different from both mentioned by Si tu are found in PS: *klīm-klīm-klīm*, Peking 2639 f. 294r6: *kriṃ-kriṃ-kriṃ*, Peking 2644 f. 298v7: *kriṃ-kriṃ-kruṃ*, and Peking 2646 f. 300v8-301r1: *hriṃ-hriṃ-hriṃ*.

¹¹¹ I.e. *kleśika + ānāśana + īśaḥ?*

could be translated as 'truly totally vanquishing the demons and the enemies that the impurities [Sanskrit: *kleśas*] have become',¹¹² but the word 'vanquish' does not occur [here]¹¹³ and is incorrect, [and therefore I have translated] in accordance with the customary [reading and] in accord with the meaning [of the context?].

In all translations, old[er] and [more] recent, [the form] *kāla* is applied [?] here [as] in the name of the great deity 'The Great Black' [Tibetan *Nag po chen po*, i.e. Sanskrit *Mahākāla*], whereas in the *Amarakośa* ('*Chi med mdzod*) [Sanskrit lexicon] it is translated as 'wearing a leopard[-skin]-garment' (*gzig gos can*), but in accord with the customary [reading] it could be translated and explained as 'by the well gone' [Sanskrit *sugata*?], which is an instance of an honorary [epithet].¹¹⁴

Si tu's gloss ad 8b:

S 4r3: *tunḍa nag po'i mchu zhes snang yang bal po'i dpe thams cad la 'di bzhin snang ba legs snyam nas bkod*

'Although [the form] *tunḍa*,¹¹⁵ [i.e.] 'black lips' [or: 'black-lipped?'] occurs [here in certain manuscripts],¹¹⁶ [I] deemed [the form] as above

¹¹² Cf. Peking 2639 f. 294r6 and Peking 2645 f. 300r2: *dgra bo nyon mongs pa rnam nges par nyon mongs 'joms mdzad cing*, Peking 2644 f. 298v7: *dgra bo nyon mongs pa rnam nges par nyon mongs par mdzod cig*, and Peking 2646 f. 301r2: *nges par gnod* [?] *pa'i bdud dang nyon mongs bag chags gcod byed*.

¹¹³ A curious statement as this term does occur in SS (-*(ā)nāśana-*) –which is reflected in ST (*'joms mdzad*)—as well as in the variant reading Si tu discusses here (-*māra*).

¹¹⁴ My interpretation of the second part of this gloss is entirely tentative. The form *kāla* is not attested in the Sanskrit sources or reflected in the available Tibetan translations of this verse-line. Had Si tu seen a manuscript reading **kāla-vāsa* here instead of his own reading *kr̥tti-vāsa*? Or is Si tu perhaps speaking of the translation of the Sanskrit name of the deity Mahākāla in general? The actual term "Mahākāla" does not occur in this verse, or in any other verse of this hymn. The deity is consistently addressed as "Protector of the Field(s)" (Sanskrit *kṣetrapāla*) in this hymn. The name of the deity of course does appear in the title of the text. Moreover, I have not been able to trace a locus in *Amarakośa* that glosses *kāla* as 'wearing a leopard[-skin]-garment'. A secondary meaning of the Sanskrit terms *kāla* and *kālaka* is 'black spot [on a garment]', Edgerton (1953-2: 179). Is this the rationale for the reference to the spotted 'leopard[-skin]-garment', perhaps based on a(n unattested) reading **kāla-vāsa*? Finally, the rendering *legs gshegs pas* is not attested in any of the canonical versions. However, at this point Peking 2639 f. 294r6 and Peking 2645 f. 300r2 have: *zhes gshegs pas*. Is there a confusion between *zhes gshegs* and *legs gshegs* here? Cf. also Peking 2644 f. 298v7 which here has: *zhes mnan pas*.

¹¹⁵ Monier-Williams (1899: 450) *tunḍa* = "a beak, snout (of a hog etc.), trunk (of an elephant); the mouth (used contemptuously) (...)"; Edgerton (1953-2: 255) "(in Sanskrit 'beak, snout', of birds and animals, only contemptuously of men (...)) 1. 'face' (?) of men, as a part shaven (...)".

¹¹⁶ Or: '(...) [the rendering] *tunḍa*-black lips' [or: '*tunḍa*-black-lipped?'] occurs [here in certain translations] (...). Note that the translation *nag po'i mchu* ('black lips' or 'black-lipped') is found in Peking 2639 f. 293v4 and Peking 2646 f. 301r2.

[i.e. in my edition/translation], which occurs in all Nepalese manuscripts, as in order and consequently [I] have established [the text thus].¹¹⁷

Si tu's gloss ad 8c *kāra-bhūtaikalokaḥ* = 'byung po gsod byed 'jig rten gtso: S 4r1: *kā ra gsod pa dang e ka gtso bo la 'jug*
'[The Sanskrit term] *kāra* functions in [the meaning] 'to kill' (*gsod pa*) and [the Sanskrit term] *eka* in [the meaning] 'the highest' (*gtso bo*).¹¹⁸

Si tu's gloss ad 8c:

S 4r3: 'dir dpe 'gar pra tsa la ta ra tsa ma kṣā [?] kṛ llo ka lo ka zhes dang 'gar kṣā ra bhū rlo ka lo kaḥ zhes snang yang sngar gyur pa'i rmad byung gi skad dod ma nges shing ma bde bas bal dpe rnams mthun par 'byung bas 'di bzhin bkod pa yin

'Although here in some [Sanskrit] manuscripts [the passage] *pracalātara ca makṣā-kṛl loka-loka* [?] [occurs] and in other [Sanskrit] manuscripts [the passage] *kṣāra-bhūr loka-lokaḥ* occurs, and as the word 'miraculous' (*rmad byung*) [found] in earlier translations¹¹⁹ is dubious and infelicitous, [I] have established [the text] thus [i.e. as above] as it is in accordance with the Nepalese [Sanskrit] manuscripts.'

Si tu's gloss ad 8d:

S 4r3-4r6: *saṃ gha tā rya* [?] *dang saṃ dza* [?] *tā rya* [?] *zer ba 'ga' zhig snang zhing sa ma yaṃ su ta dha ra zhes dang sa ma ya śu bha tsa ra zhes mi 'dra tsam 'dug pas de dag dang bstun nas bsgyur kyang rung mod kyi 'dir bal po'i dpe ltar byas*

'[In] some [manuscripts] the forms *saṃghatārya*¹²⁰ [?] and *saṃja-tārya* [?] occur [instead of *saṃsāryamāno*]¹²¹ and [the forms] *samayaṃ-suta-*

¹¹⁷ Also translated in Verhagen (2013: 327).

¹¹⁸ A quite opaque gloss. Sanskrit *kāra* can indeed mean 'killing', a nominal derivation from the root *kṛ*, 'to hurt, to kill', see Monier-Williams (1899: 274, s.v. 4. *kāra*, 308, s.v. 2. *kṛ*). However, I fail to see how *bhūta*, which follows in the compound, can be construed as the direct object to *kāra*, as Si tu does in his translation of this verse-line. Moreover, the Sanskrit term *eka*, 'one', can indeed denote 'singular, pre-eminent', see Monier-Williams (1899: 227), but again the order of terms within the compound is problematic. Si tu's translation 'the highest of the world' seems to be more in keeping with Sanskrit *loka* + *eka* (instead of *eka* + *loka*, as in SS).

¹¹⁹ All canonical translations (Peking 2639 f. 294r3; Peking 2644 f. 298v8; Peking 2645 f. 300r2 and Peking 2646 f. 301r3) have the term *rmad 'byung* here.

¹²⁰ Perhaps reflected in Peking 2639 f. 294r6 and Peking 2645 f. 300r3: *tshogs pa'i bdag nyid?*

¹²¹ PS has *saṃyatātma*.

*dhara*¹²² and *samaya-śubha-cara*¹²³ occur [instead of (a)*sama-sukha-phala-dam*]; therefore [these passages] have been translated in accordance with these [readings],¹²⁴ but I have established [the text] in accordance with the Nepalese manuscripts.'

2.9. Stanza 9 (Declaration of Merit)

SS:

[a] *mantrāṇām aṣṭako niyata-paṭu-matir yat paṭhet sa trisandhyām /*
 [b] *ācāryaḥ sādḥako vā samaya-śubha-caraḥ puṇyavān jāyate 'sau /*
 [c] *āyuh-śrī-kīrti-lakṣmī-dhṛti-balam atulaṁ kānti-puṣṭi-prabhāvaḥ /*
 [d] *sarvajñaṁ tasya nityaṁ dina-niśi matulaṁ*¹²⁵ *nāśayed vighna-jālam //*

PS:

[a] *mantrāṇām mantra-kāyo niyata-yama-dyutih sat-pathe śuddha-tīre /*
 [b] *ācāryaḥ sādḥako vā japati ca niyataṁ puṇyavān jāyate 'sau /*
 [c] *āyuh śrī kīrti-lakṣmī-dhṛti-balam atulaṁ śāntipuṣṭi prabhā ca /*
 [d] *sarvajñatvaṁ ca nityaṁ dina-niśam atulaṁ nāśyate vighna-jātam //*

ST:

[a] *sgrub pa po 'am slob dpon gang zhig dam tshig bzang po spyod byed nges par sgrin zhing blo ldan gang /*
 [b] *thun gsum du ni sngags rnam brgyad po klog par byed pa de ni nyin dang mtshan mor rtag tu ni /*
 [c] *bsod nams ldan zhing tshe dang dpal dang grags dang 'byor pa blo gros mtshungs med stobs dang mdzes pa dang /*
 [d] *de'i nus mthu rgyas shing mtshungs med thams cad mkhyen par 'gyur te bgegs kyi tshogs rnam nyams par 'gyur //*

Translation of **ST:**

[a] 'When some adept (*sādḥaka*) or preceptor (*ācārya*), performing an excellent solemn vow, with a truly acute mind,
 [b] Recites this octad of *mantras* during the three divisions of the natural day, during day and night, permanently
 [c] Virtuous, [for this person] there will be [long] life, glory, fame, wealth, intelligence, unequalled strength and beauty,

¹²² Perhaps reflected –based on a reading of *samayaṁ-suta-dhara* as *samayaṁ-śruta-dhara?* – in Peking 2639 f. 294r6 and Peking 2645 f. 300r3: *dam tshig thos 'dzin?*

¹²³ Cf. PS 8d: *samaya-śubha-phalaṁ*; cf. also *samaya-śubha-caraḥ* in SS 9b.

¹²⁴ Peking 2646 f. 301r3-4 *lha mchog dam tshig ldan pa* may reflect *samaya-(śubha?)-cara*.

¹²⁵ Judging by his translation 'unequalled' (*mtshungs med*) it seems that Si tu read this passage as (...) *niśam atulaṁ*, which makes better sense than the reading in SS and is attested by SP. Is there a corruption in the blockprint of SS here?

[d] And after his powers have increased he will arrive at unequalled omniscience, whereas the groups¹²⁶ of obstacles will perish.'

Si tu's gloss ad 9d:

S 4r6-4v1: *bstod pa bklag pa'i phan yon bstan pa'i tshigs bcad 'di rnam dbye dang tshig gi 'gros dang don thob la legs par brtags nas 'di ltar bsgyur ba yin gyi / gsar 'gyur zha lu'i de ni don shin tu mi 'brel bar snang / 'gyur rnying la brtags nas sarba dzñam ta sya zhes pa'i thad 'dir gzhan zhig yod 'dra yang dpe ma rnyed / gzhan bal dpe 'gar tshig zur 'dra min phran bu snang yang / bod dpe ltar byas pa legs par rtog pas de bzhin byas pa lags*¹²⁷

'After carefully considering the structure and the appropriate meaning of the words and cases in this stanza, which expounds the benefits of the recitation of the hymn, I have translated it thus. However, [the translation of] that [stanza] in the [more] recent translation, namely the [one by] Zha lu,¹²⁸ seems to deviate to a great extent from the meaning [of the stanza]. Upon examination of [some] old[er] translation[s], it appeared that [in the manuscript(s) on which these translations were based] there was a different [reading] instead of the passage *sarvajñam tasya*, but I have not found [this reading in] a [Sanskrit] manuscript.¹²⁹ Elsewhere [in the text], in some Nepalese manuscripts there appear to be minor variations in parts of words, but as the reading according to the Tibetan manuscripts [i.e. the manuscripts kept in Tibet] makes good sense, I have established [the text] accordingly.'

2.10. Concluding phrase / Sanskrit manuscript's colophon

SS: *iti śrī-mahākālāṣṭakam stotram samāptam /
kṛtir ayam ācārya-nāgārjuna-pādānām iti //*

PS: *śrī-vajra-mahākāla-stotram samāptam /*

ST: *dpal rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba rdzogs so /
'di ni slob dpon klu sgrub zhabs kyis mzdad pa'o //*

¹²⁶ Note that SS has *vighna-jālam*, i.e. 'web of obstacles'.

¹²⁷ For earlier slightly different translations of this gloss, see Verhagen (2001B: 81-82) and Verhagen (2010: 476).

¹²⁸ An alternative, yet in my opinion less plausible translation could be: '(...) the [more] recent translation(s) and the [one] by Zha lu seem to (...)'.
¹²⁹ The variant reading which Si tu may have had in mind here is the one reflected in all four canonical versions as *sa steng(s) dang ni mtho ris su*, 'on earth and in the heaven(s)' (Peking 2639, f. 294v2-294v3; Peking 2644, f. 299r5; Peking 2645, f. 300r8; and Peking 2645, f. 300r8) for which no equivalents can be found in SS (or in SP for that matter, which reads *sarvajñatvam ca*).

Translation of **ST**:

'The **Śrī-Vajra-Mahākālaṣṭaka-stotra* ['The Eight-stanza Hymn to the noble *Vajra-Mahākāla*'] has now been completed. This [hymn] was composed by *Ācārya Nāgārjuna*(-pāda).'

The concluding phrase as recorded in the four canonical versions:

Peking 2639 f. 294v3:

*dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba /
slob dpon 'phags pa sgrub [sic; = klu sgrub?] kyi mdzad pa rdzogs so //*

Peking 2644 f. 299r6

*dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa sngags rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba /
slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi mdzad pa'o //*

Peking 2645 f. 300r8-300v1:

*dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba /
slob dpon chen po 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas mdzad pa'o //*

Peking 2646 f. 301v3-301v4:

*rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa slob dpon chen po klu sgrub kyi
zhal snga nas mdzad pa'o //*

2.11. Si tu's translator's colophon

S 4v2-4v4: *zhes sgrub brgyud mchog gi gtsug rgyan dpal 'brug pa rin po
che'i bkas bskul bar brten / bod du sngar byung ba'i rgya dpe dngos dang
zhal bshus nyis bid can 'ga' re / bal yul yam bu dang ye rang gi dpe dag min
mang po bcas go bsdur nas / zha lu lo tsas 'gyur bcos pa de'i steng du ci nus
kyi zhu dag byed pa po ni snyoms las pa / bstan pa nyin byed de rab byung
bcu gsum pa'i mgo zla'i dbang phyogs tshes bcu'i nyin par gangs can sa'i
thig le 'phrul snang gandho la'i nye 'dabs su grub pa dza yantu / /¹³⁰*

'Following the exhortation by the noble 'Brug pa Rin po che,¹³¹ the crown-ornament of the highest traditions of realization, after comparing actual Indian manuscripts that had reached Tibet in earlier times, some bilingual [?] copies and many corrupt

¹³⁰ On this colophon, see also Verhagen (2001B: 78-79, 81).

¹³¹ Probably to be identified as 'Brug chen VII Dkar brgyud 'phrin las shing rta (1718-1766); see Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 19).

manuscripts from Kathmandu and Patan [in] Nepal,¹³² the person who made the revision to the best of his abilities after correcting the translation by Zha lu Lo tsā [ba Chos skyong bzang po]¹³³ was [I], the indolent Bstan pa nyin byed,¹³⁴ [and I have] completed [this work] during the daytime of the tenth day of the latter half¹³⁵ of the eleventh month¹³⁶ [in the first (?) year] of the thirteenth *Rab byung* [cycle]¹³⁷ in the vicinity of the hall of worship (*Gandhola*) of the 'Phrul snang [temple],¹³⁸ the centre of the Land of Snows. *Jayantū!* ('May [the good forces] be victorious!')

3. Si tu's sources and editorial techniques: Sanskrit sources

It is quite evident that Si tu was working with a true wealth of sources. Just to give an impression: in one single gloss (ad 6a) we find references to 'some Tibetan bilingual manuscripts', 'many Nepalese manuscripts' and 'two old manuscripts [housed in] Tibet'. When referring to the Sanskrit manuscript sources in his glosses, in most instances Si tu speaks of 'Indian manuscripts' (*rgya dpe*)¹³⁹ in general, or occasionally less specifically of 'manuscripts' (*dpe*).¹⁴⁰ But, in six

¹³² See Verhagen (2001B: 78); please correct there my erroneous translation of *Yam bu* as "Svayambhū" to "Kathmandu".

¹³³ An alternative translation: '(...) the person who made the corrections to the best of his abilities on the basis of the revised translation [i.e. the revision of the earlier translation(s)] by Zha lu Lo tsā[ba Chos skyong bzang po] was [I], the indolent (...)'.
¹³⁴ One of the commonly used detachable parts of Si tu's two major ordination names, viz. Chos kyi 'byung gnas 'Phrin las kun khyab Ye shes dpal bzang po and Karma Bstan pa'i nyin byed Gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba, see Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 9), Verhagen (2001B: 61).

¹³⁵ *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo: Dbang phyogs = Mar ngo.*
¹³⁶ *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo: Mgo zla ba = (1) Hor zla bcu gcig pa (2) 'Dul ba lung las hor zla bcu pa'i bcu drug nas bcu gcig pa'i bco lnga'i bar mgo zla ba zer.*

¹³⁷ If the dating here –the eleventh month of the thirteenth *Rab byung* [cycle]-- is taken literally this would imply it refers to the eleventh month of the first year of that cycle, i.e. the 'Fire-female-hare' year, corresponding to the year 1747 CE. However, as the year is not specified it could theoretically refer to any year in that cycle, so between 1747 and 1774 when Si tu passed away.

¹³⁸ I.e. the famous Lha sa (or Lha ldan) Gtsug lag khang, more commonly designated as Jo khang, in Lha sa.

¹³⁹ Sixteen times: in gloss 1b (1v3, twice), 1d (1v6), 2c (2r3), 2d (2r3-6, twice), 4b (2r6-v3, twice), 4d (2v6), 5a (2v3), 5a (2v6), 5c (3r3-6), 5d (3r3), 6d (3v3), 7c (3v6); also in Si tu's translator's colophon (4v2). Of these in seven instances followed by *kha cig* ('some, several'), four times by 'ga' ('some, several'), once by *thams cad* ('all, every') and once by *gzhan mang po* ('many other').

¹⁴⁰ Three times, in all instances followed by 'ga' ('some, several'): in gloss 7d (3v6), 8a (3v4), 8c (4r3).

instances he explicitly distinguishes manuscripts kept in Tibet (*bod dpe*)¹⁴¹ and in six other cases he refers to manuscripts acquired in or stemming from Nepal (*bal po'i dpe* or *bal dpe*).¹⁴² He appears to have been well aware that the Sanskrit manuscripts housed in Tibet which he had consulted were older than the ones found in Nepal, as he speaks of 'two old manuscripts in Tibet' (gloss 6a) and 'old(er?) manuscripts in Tibet' (gloss 8a). His Nepalese manuscript sources seem to have been more numerous, though. Twice he refers to 'many' Nepalese manuscripts (gloss 6a, 7c) and in his colophon he states that he compared 'many corrupt manuscripts from Kathmandu and Patan [in] Nepal' (*bal yul yam bu dang ye rang gi dpe dag min mang po bcas go bsdur*). For the manuscripts located in Tibet we find that 'some' (gloss 5b, 6a) and 'two' (gloss 6a) are the highest quantifications he gives, which suggests that he had at least two and possibly more of such manuscripts at his disposal.

In addition to that, Si tu used sources that he characterizes —with a quite puzzling term, elsewhere unknown— as *nyis bid can*, which I tentatively interpret as meaning 'bilingual'.¹⁴³ The colophon suggests that these 'bilingual' [?] versions were in fact 'copies' (*zhal bshus*). Perhaps we should think of —probably handwritten— versions similar to the one in Si tu's collected works which we are currently investigating, where the Sanskrit text (presumably in transliteration in Tibetan script) and a Tibetan translation were juxtaposed. Si tu categorizes these *nyis bid can* versions also as *bod dpe*, that is 'manuscript [of the Sanskrit text] [housed] in Tibet' (gloss 5c and 6a) and clearly he had a few of them at this disposal (gloss 6a: 'ga'; colophon: 'ga' re).

4. Si tu's sources: Tibetan translations

Si tu not only drew on bilingual copies of the hymn —if my conjecture *supra* is correct— but he also consulted a considerable number of Tibetan translations that were made before his time. In his glosses he refers to '(an) old translation(s)'¹⁴⁴ as well as to '(a) new [i.e. more recent] translation(s)'.¹⁴⁵ From his gloss on 8a we can gather that he had several previous (including both 'old(er)' and 'new(er)')

¹⁴¹ In gloss 5b (2v6-3r3), 5c (3r3-6), 6a (3r6-7, twice), 8a (3v6-7), 9d (4r6-v1).

¹⁴² In gloss 6a (3r6-7), 7c (3v3), 8b (4r3), 8c (4r3), 8d (4r3-6), 9d (4r6-v1).

¹⁴³ In gloss 5c (3r3-6), 6a (3r6-7); also in Si tu's translator's colophon (4v2).

¹⁴⁴ 'gyur [...] rnying: gloss 4b (f. 2r6-2v3), gloss 8a (f. 3v6), gloss 9d (f. 4r6-4v1); *snga*

'gyur: gloss 6a (f. 3r6); *sngar gyur pa*: gloss 8c (f. 4r3); *sngar bsgyur*: gloss 7a.

¹⁴⁵ *gyur gsar*: gloss 8a (f. 3v6); *gsar 'gyur*: gloss 9d (f. 4r6).

translations at his disposal as he speaks of 'all translations, old[er] and [more] recent' (*gyur gsar rnying thams cad*).

So, clearly Si tu worked with quite a few translations of this hymn that were made by his predecessors. The ones that were entered into the Sde dge *Bstan 'gyur* blockprint edition were almost certainly available to him, taking into account that the production of this xylograph collection had been completed in 1744 and its redaction had taken place in his immediate vicinity a few years before he authored his version of the Mahākāla hymn (1747). Therefore it seems he must have known the 'canonical' translations (four in total). He may also have had access to other renderings that did not reach the *Bstan 'gyur* canon. It is very likely that this was indeed the case. Regrettably I have not been able to trace any such extra-canonical translation.

I have come across several indications that Si tu probably had access to one (or more) translation(s) that have not been transmitted in the *Bstan 'gyur* xylographs. Specifically, in his glosses he discusses a number of renderings that are not found in the canonical versions and are therefore very likely to stem from (an) unknown extra-canonical Tibetan version(s) of this hymn:

- (1) *gdong gis brgyan*, 'adorned with faces [or: heads]' (in gloss ad 1b)
- (2) *mchog gi zhal nas*, 'from the highest head' (in gloss ad 2a)
- (3) *mi'i nags*, 'forest of humans' (in gloss ad 2d)
- (4) *krīṃ kṛīṃ śrīṃ* (in gloss ad 3c)¹⁴⁶
- (5) *skra yi khur mchog* 'the highest burden of hair' (in gloss ad 4d)
- (6) *mchog tu 'jigs rung* 'able to scare in the highest degree' (in gloss ad 6c)
- (7) *'jigs pa dang grol snyer* 'fear and liberation-grimace' (in gloss ad 6c)

It is not evident which of the translations that antedated him Si tu termed 'old' and which 'new / recent'. Unfortunately he did not give any specifics here. Moreover, we have no criteria for establishing the relative chronology for the presently available translations, namely those preserved in *Bstan 'gyur*. On account of general ordering principles for groups of texts observed in this canon,¹⁴⁷ one might surmise that the versions of this hymn have been arranged in chronological order. This assumption would make Peking 2639 the earliest and Peking 2646 the most recent translation. However, as only one of the four canonical versions contains a translator's

¹⁴⁶ Si tu's gloss here is very laconic, so it is not clear whether this variant reading is based on Sanskrit manuscripts or on a Tibetan translation.

¹⁴⁷ See Schaeffer (2009: 154-157).

colophon, the *Bstan 'gyur* editors may not have been able to establish their dates and therefore may have followed a different principle of ordering, or may even have arranged them at random.

Si tu does specify one particular earlier translation, namely the one by 'Zha lu', i.e. assuredly the renowned translator Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528). Si tu definitely did not regard Zha lu's as one of the 'old(er)' translations, for he distinguishes the former from the latter in his gloss on 6a.¹⁴⁸ Therefore the translation by Zha lu lo tsā ba which, according to the colophon, Si tu is revising in his present version must have belonged to the category which he dubbed 'new(er)'.¹⁴⁹ As there is no marking of a plural for the designation 'new translation(s)' anywhere in the annotation it is even conceivable that Zha lu's translation is the new translation [singular] referred to by Si tu, but, for the time being, let us assume Si tu was comparing several 'new(er) translations' one of which was the one by Zha lu.

Si tu refers explicitly to the version by Zha lu at a number of occasions throughout his annotation:

(1) In the gloss on 2a Si tu speaks of Zha lu's rendering *mchog gi zhal nas*, 'from the highest head', for Sanskrit (...) *-agra-vaktraiḥ* (where Si tu translates *gdong gi rtse mo yis*, 'with the top of [your] head').

(2) And in his gloss on 5b he quotes Zha lu's translation *khraḡ gsol gtum po'i shugs kyis spyod*, 'performing the offering of blood with furious force' (where Si tu has *khraḡ gi lag pas gtum po'i shugs kyis sdigs*, 'with furious force pointing [your finger] menacingly with (...) blood[-red] hands').

Neither of these phrases is attested in any of the four canonical versions.

(3) In a gloss on 6a Si tu attributes the translation *dri ma med pa'i chu bzhin gzigs*, 'seeing as [through] clear water', to Zha lu and earlier translator(s). This rendering is attested in Peking 2644 (269v8-269v1). The other three canonical versions have very similar translations here: *dri ma med pa'i sna tshogs chu bzhin gzigs* (Peking 2639 f. 294r7 and Peking 2645 f. 300r3) and *dri med chu bzhin gzigs* (Peking 2646 f. 301r4). However, as Si tu ascribes this translation also to another earlier translator (or translators), we cannot definitely identify Peking 2644 as the work of Zha lu Lo tsā ba.

¹⁴⁸ Note also that the one canonical translation for which we have the names of the translators (Peking 2645) predated Zha lu, see Verhagen (2001B: 79-80).

¹⁴⁹ See Verhagen (2001B: 79).

(4) In the gloss for 6d Si tu attributes the translation *zhing skyong khyod kyis gnod pa skad cig gis ni bsal du gsol*, 'Protector of the Field, may you clear away the harmful instantly!', to Zha lu, which was based on a reading of the Sanskrit in this line with *vaḥ kṣaṇāt*, 'for/of you instantly', probably instead of SS *rakṣatām*, '[he] must safeguard'. Two of the four canonical translations seem to be based on a Sanskrit reading *kṣaṇāt* (Tib. *skad cig gis*; not reflecting *vaḥ*) here but none of them correspond to the precise phrase from Zha lu's translation that Si tu gives: Peking 2644 f. 299r2: *snod pa skad gis* [sic; = *skad cig gis*?] *sel zhing skyong khyod kyis skyongs*; Peking 2645 f. 300r4-300r5: *gnod pa skad cig gis sel zhing skyong khyod kyis skyongs*; the corresponding phrase in Peking 2639 is missing; and Peking 2646 f. 301r5-301r6 has *gnod pa'i sgo rnams bsrung ba'i zhing skyong* which does not reflect the form *kṣaṇāt* in any way.

(5) In his observations on the translation by Zha lu in his gloss on verse 9, Si tu does not quote Zha lu's translation, but merely remarks that it is quite 'off the mark' in its rendering of that verse. All four canonical translations deviate from Si tu's at a number of points—for instance, all four have the reading 'on earth and in the heaven(s)' which Si tu appears to be condemning further on in this gloss—yet we have no means to establish which—if any—of them is the one by Zha lu on the basis of this remark.

(6) Finally, in the colophon to his translation, Si tu again refers to Zha lu's translation in the most general terms, and he appears to suggest that his own present work is in fact a revision of the translation by Zha lu Lo tsā ba.

In sum, we cannot at this point identify any specific one(s) of the canonical translations as made by Zha lu. On the basis of gloss 6a one might surmise that Peking 2644 is a possible candidate to be the work of Zha lu, but this is highly improbable. The reading discussed in gloss 6a is also attributed to (an)other previous translation(s), and, more importantly, the other readings that Si tu specifies for Zha lu cannot be traced to Peking 2644. It seems therefore that the translation by Zha lu is not among the four that were collected in the *Bstan 'gyur* canon, but belongs to Si tu's category of extra-canonical 'more recent' translations.

Generally Si tu's judgment on Zha lu's translation of this hymn is quite critical. This is no wonder taking into consideration the fact that Si tu offers his version as a revision of Zha lu's translation. And, elsewhere also, Si tu has expressed severe critique of the translation

work by Zha lu Lo tsā ba, in particular some of his translations of treatises on Sanskrit grammar.¹⁵⁰

5. Si tu's Translation Technique

Generally speaking, Si tu's translation of this Mahākāla hymn is quite precise, and faithful to the Sanskrit original as supplied in his own *Bka' 'bum* edition (SS). By far the most remarkable anomaly —if we can call it that— in his translation must be his syntactical analysis of the final lines of no less than six of the eight stanzas (namely 1d, 2d, 4d, 5d, 7d and 8d). In all these instances the Sanskrit original as offered in SS has a main verb in an (either imperative or optative) third-person singular form and a personal pronoun of the second person plural as the direct object in the sentence. However, in his translation (ST) Si tu consistently renders these phrases with a second-person (presumably singular) pronoun as the agent for the verb¹⁵¹ and does not represent the direct object. For example, SS 2d has: 'may the Protector of the Field protect you [plural]' (*kṣetrapaḥ pātu yuṣmān*), but Si tu translates: 'Protector of the Field, may you protect [us]' (*zhing skyong khyod kyis skyong bar mdzod*), and SS 4d has *pāyād vaḥ kṣetrapālaḥ* ('may the Protector of the Field protect you [plural]') which is translated by Si tu as: 'may you, Protector of the Fields, (...) safeguard [us]' (*zhing rnam skyong ba khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod*). We find the same discrepancy in Si tu's rendering of the final lines of stanza 1, 5, 7 and 8!¹⁵² It is striking that the very same construction is found throughout all canonical translations of the hymn, yet is not attested in Si tu's (SS) or Pandey's (PS) edition of the Sanskrit in any of the six instances.

¹⁵⁰ See e.g. Verhagen (2001A: 177-178).

¹⁵¹ In fact one could argue that in SS 1d *rakṣatāt* can be a second as well as a third person singular imperative (see Pāṇini 7.1.35), but this does not take away the fact that the form *vaḥ*, 'you' [accusative, dative or genitive plural] is not reflected in Si tu's translation. Actually the form *rakṣatāt* is quite rare in later Sanskrit (see Whitney (1888: 213-214 par. 570-571) so one might wonder whether the form actually should be read as *rakṣatām*, 'he must/may he safeguard' (imperative 3rd person singular medium). Note however also the similar forms *avatāt* in SS 1d (attested in PS 1d) and *rakṣatāt* in PS 5d and 6d (where SS has *rakṣatām*).

¹⁵² The main verbs in these stanzas in SS, 1d: *avatāt* (imperative 2nd [see infra] or 3rd person singular active from root *av*, 'to help'), 5d: *rakṣatām* (imperative 3rd person singular medium from root *rakṣ*, 'to safeguard'), 6d: *kṣapayatu* (imperative 3rd person singular from causative of root *kṣi*, 'to destroy'), 7d and 8d: *pātu* (imperative 3rd person singular active from root *pā*, 'to protect'). Compare this to Si tu's translations where he consistently chooses a second person subject for the main verb.

Moreover, we encounter the same problematic analysis in Si tu's gloss on line 6d where he signals a variant reading *vaḥ kṣaṇāt* ('for/of you instantly') in all probability instead of *rakṣatām* ('he must/may he safeguard'), which would result in a reading of that line as: *kṣaṃ-kṣaṃ-kṣaṃ-kṣema-kārī kṣapayatu duritaṃ vaḥ kṣaṇāt kṣetra-pālah*. Again, in the alternative translation which Si tu sanctions here he seems to overlook or fail to interpret correctly the term *vaḥ* (unaccented personal pronoun 2nd person plural, accusative, dative or genitive case).

In the light of this it is all the more striking that, on the other hand, Si tu did construe the other two stanzas (3d and 6d) with a third person subject for the main verb in exact accord with the Sanskrit original!¹⁵³ This clearly shows that he must have been well aware of the syntactical structure of the final phrases in the verses of this hymn.

How, then, can we explain this awkward apparently erroneous yet remarkably persistent rendering? Did Si tu follow a customary practice, or succumb to some form of peer group pressure? For instance, did he conform to some prevalent convention or common usage in such liturgical practices involving incantations? Or did he yield to the 'weight' of each and every previously canonized translation of this hymn that he laid eyes on which indeed addressed the deity in the second person in the final line of each stanza? And this he did—we must assume, Si tu being a master-grammarian—knowing full well that the rendering was not grammatically sound. I do not dare to venture a definite answer to any of these questions. We can only simply conclude that Si tu's translations for these passages do not match the syntax of the Sanskrit as contained in Si tu's own edition.

There is of course also the possibility that the Sanskrit transliteration was garbled by the editors of the xylograph of Si tu's Collected Works, who may have been less knowledgeable about the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar. After all, this edition was compiled posthumously so Si tu could not supervise this redaction himself. Therefore this scenario cannot be ruled out, but it seems highly improbable that the responsible editor(s) or craftsmen would err in exactly the same fashion no less than six times in a text of merely eight stanzas (or nine, including the additional stanza).

¹⁵³ SS 3d: *śamayatu* (imperative 3rd person singular from causative of root *śam*, 'to appease'), ST: *zhing skyong gis (...) nges par zhi bar mdzad du gsol*, 'May the Protector of the Field (...) surely bring (...) to tranquility', and SS 6d: *kṣapayatu* (imperative 3rd person singular from causative of root *kṣi*, 'to destroy'), ST: *zhing rnamis skyong bas (...) sel bar mdzad (...) du gsol*, '[I] pray that (...) the Protector of the Fields clear away (...).'

I may mention one other instance in the translations by Si tu that is in a way reminiscent of the case under consideration. In volume six of his Collected Works we find a short commentary by Si tu on the well-known 'Hundred-Syllable' (Tibetan *Yi ge brgya pa*) *mantra* of Vajrasattva.¹⁵⁴ In this work he discusses various aspects of the exegesis as well as the pronunciation and grammar of this *mantra*. At five points in his explanation of the terms in the *mantra* Si tu translates Sanskrit *bhava* (imperative second person singular active from the root *bhū*, 'to be', so it would translate as: 'be!', 'you must be', 'please be!') as *mdzod cig*, 'make!', 'you must make', 'please make!'. Granted, in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit, we know of the phenomenon of non-causative verb forms occurring in causative meaning¹⁵⁵ and this might justify the rendering '(please) cause to be!', '(please) produce!', '(please) make!'. But the syntactical construction of the five phrases actually rules out the reading of the main verb as a causative.¹⁵⁶ Here, again, Si tu persists in a somewhat puzzling interpretation that cannot fully be justified by the Sanskrit text that he himself provides and the reading of which is attested in numerous other sources as well.

Other minor observations on Si tu's translation technique attested in this document:

— In stanza 4b Si tu's translation 'the obstacles and sins' is in fact not in accord with the reading of the Sanskrit in his own edition, which has 'the obstacles of sins' (*pāpānāṃ vighna-...*).

— In the same stanza (4b), Si tu does not translate the term *alaṃ* in the compound *alaṃ-prāpta-saṃbodhi-lābhaḥ*.

— In stanza 6a I must admit I fail to see the rationale for Si tu's translation of part of this line on the basis of the Sanskrit text (SS) which he himself provides: *mtshon cha can rnam* 'gog, 'eradicating [his] armoured [demons]', for Sanskrit *yāmino yāmano* (or is it *yāmino* 'yāmano for *yāminas* + *ayāmanas*?, cf. PS *yāmino* 'yāmino?').

— In stanza 8c, even with his explanation (in the second gloss ad 8c: *kāra* = 'to kill' and *eka* = 'the highest') it is unclear to me how Si tu has

¹⁵⁴ Sherab Gyaltzen (ed.) (1990 vol. 6: 619.3-627.6, f. 1-5r5); see Verhagen (2001A: 163-165).

¹⁵⁵ Edgerton (1953-1: 189-190 paragraph 38.24-38.33); note Edgerton gives no attestation for such a formation for the verb *bhū*.

¹⁵⁶ The Sanskrit passages are: *dr̥ḍho me bhava* / *sutoṣyo me bhava* / *supoṣyo me bhava* / *anurakto me bhava* / and, near the end of the *mantra*: *vajrī bhava* /, so: '(Please) be steadfast for me!', '(Please) be well-appeasable for me!', etc.

arrived at his translation ('killer of demons, the highest of the world', *'byung po gsod byed 'jig rten gtso*) on the basis of his Sanskrit for this passage, viz. *kāra-bhūtaikalokaḥ*.

— In the translation of stanza 9 Si tu abandons the principle he maintained thus far in this hymn, namely of rendering each verse-line of the original stanza in one verse-line of his translation. It may be noted that in fact this freedom of changing the ordering of words and phrases within a single verse is allowed to the Tibetan translators as early as the ninth century, specifically in the imperial edict forming the introductory part of *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*.¹⁵⁷

— Si tu's reference to a *don 'gyur* type of translation is also interesting (gloss 1d). The fundamental dichotomy of *sgra 'gyur* and *don 'gyur*, that is between —broadly speaking— a 'literal translation' and a 'free translation', or —more precisely— between a 'convention/ sense-based translation' and an 'intention/reference-based translation',¹⁵⁸ is also specified early in the history of Tibetan translation activities in —again— the imperial edict section of *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*.¹⁵⁹ At issue in Si tu's gloss 1d is his translation of the Sanskrit compound *śava-gamana-rata* as 'delighting in cemeteries' (i.e. literally 'delighting in the places where corpses go'). Si tu argues that *prima facie* the rendering 'delighting in going to corpses' could be correct —indeed, grammatically speaking within this compound the relation between the terms *śava* 'corpse' and *gamana* 'the going' could very well be thus— but he opts for the *don 'gyur*, the intention-based translation. This gloss clearly shows the extreme density of argumentation that Si tu applies in this annotation. Indeed, as Si tu states, the Sanskrit compound *śava-gamana-rata* could mean 'delighting in going to corpses' as the middle term *gamana* can in fact designate '[the act of] going' as well as '[the place] where one goes'. Si tu opts for the latter interpretation, reading the combination *śava-gamana* as '[the place] where corpses go' i.e. 'a cemetery'. Si tu admits that the translation 'delighting in going to corpses' is conceivable as an —in Si tu's eyes rather too— literal rendering on the basis of the form *śava-gamana-rata* which occurs in his Sanskrit sources. Nonetheless, here he prefers a different type of translation, i.e. an intention-based (or reference-based) translation (*don 'gyur*) which more emphatically reflects the semantics of the term rather than its morphology. What rendering,

¹⁵⁷ Ed. Ishikawa (1990: 2); see Simonsson (1957: 248), Snellgrove (1987: 442), Verhagen (1996: 284), Kapstein (2003: 756).

¹⁵⁸ Verhagen (forthcoming).

¹⁵⁹ Ishikawa (1990: 2); see Simonsson (1957: 245), Snellgrove (1987: 442), Scherrer-Schaub (1999: 72), Verhagen (2001B: 72-75), Kapstein (2003: 756).

then, was it that Si tu “left unchanged”¹⁶⁰ (*sor bzhang*)? And in what sense was that “the customary [reading]” (*dkyus*)? I think both apply to the earlier Tibetan translations of this work. Three of the four versions of this hymn canonized in *Bstan 'gyur* translate this passage as ‘delighting in cemeteries’.¹⁶¹ Obviously Si tu followed the rendering chosen by his predecessors here, but not without thorough examination of the matter, justifying his choice for a *don 'gyur* type of translation.

6. Canonical translations

In general, the order of the stanzas and—in some cases— of the verse-lines in S is different from the four available canonical versions (Peking 2639, 2644, 2645 and 2646). Peking 2639 and 2645 appear to be based on a similar Sanskrit text, perhaps even the same manuscript, which however differed considerably from the manuscript(s) on which Peking 2644, 2646 and Si tu’s edition and translation (SS and ST) were based. On the other hand, Peking 2644 and 2646 seem more closely related to S as they display basically only variance in the order of the stanzas. In Peking 2639 and 2645 the arrangement and division of the individual lines of the stanzas is entirely different from S and Peking 2644 and 2646. The ninth, additional stanza is the only one where S and all four canonical versions correspond closely. The structure of the eight stanzas of the hymn proper in Peking 2639 and 2645 is in fact quite opaque: as these versions do not seem to divide the hymn into eight four-line verses, but into an irregular pattern of two-, three-, four- and even five-line stanzas, I have consecutively numbered the lines of these two versions for more convenient reference.

Concordance of stanzas in S, Peking 2644 and Peking 2646:

S:	Peking 2644:	Peking 2646:
1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	7
4	4	3

¹⁶⁰ Note that commonly the phrase *sor bzhang* means ‘has been left untranslated’, but as we do not have a rendering by means of a loanword here, this is definitely not intended.

¹⁶¹ Peking 2639, f. 293v6, and Peking 2645, f. 299v2: *ro yi gdan la dgyes pa*; Peking 2646, f. 300v4: *dur khrod la dgyes*; cf. Peking 2644, f. 298r7: *ro yi gdan la skyes pa*.

5	5	4
6	7	6
7	8	8
8	6	5
9	9	9

Concordance of verse-lines in Peking 2639, Peking 2645, and S:

Peking 2639:	Peking 2645:	S:
[1]	[1]	4c
[2]	[2]	4a
[3]	[3]	8b
[4]	[4]	cf. 6c
[5]	[5]	4d

[6]	[6]	cf. 5b / 5c
[7]	[7]	1d

[8]	[8]	1a / 1c
[9]	[9]	cf. 5b
[10]	[10]	5a
[11]	[11]	5d

[12]	[12]	cf. 1b
[13]	[13]	3a
[14]	[14]	3b
[15]	[15]	cf. 1b

[16]	[16]	cf. 2c / 1c / 1a
[17]	[17]	cf. 2c

[18]	[18]	3c
[19]	[19]	2d

[20]	[20]	cf. 2a
[21]	[21]	?

[22]	[22]	cf. 4b
[23]	[23]	cf. 8c
[24]	[24]	cf. 8a
[25]	[25]	cf. 8d

[26]	[26]	cf. 6b/6a

[27]	[27]	cf. 6a/6b
[28]	[28]	cf. 7a
[line missing]	[29]	6d

[29]	[30]	cf. 7b
[30]	[31]	7c
[31]	[32]	7d

[32]	[33]	9a
[33]	[34]	9b
[34]	[35]	9c
[35]	[36]	9d

6.1. Peking 2639

(*Bstan 'gyur Rgyud 'grel* vol. la (26), f. 293v2-294v3)

Reconstruction Sanskrit title: *Śrī-Mahākālasya Aṣṭa-mantra-stotra*.
 Author: Nāgārjuna (*slob dpon 'phags pa sgrub [= klu sgrub?]*, 294v3).
 Translator: not mentioned.

[minusc.: *Dpal nag po'i* [sic] *bstod pa bzhugs sho* //]
 // *rgya gar skad du* / [293v3:] *śrī ma hā kā la sya aṣṭa mantra sto tra nā ma /*
bod skad du / *dpal nag po'i* [sic] *stod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba /*

dpal nag po chen po la phyag 'tshal lo /
om grub par gyur cig /

[1] *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ ces drag po'i sgra yi srid pa* [293v4:] *gsum gyi khongs ni*
ma lus 'gengs nus pa'i /

[2] *ha ha ṭa ṭa zhes brjod pa gang zhig dus kun du ni shin tu 'jigs mdzad*
cing /

[3] *kaṃ kaṃ kaṃ zhes pod* [?] *pa'i phreng bas dbul spras shing nag po'i*
mchu dang mtshungs pa'i sku /

[4] [293v5:] *hūṃ* [?] *hūṃ* [?] *hūṃ* [?] *zhes bros* [?] *pa'i mchog gi khro gnyer*
'jigs mdzad 'jigs pa kha gdangs [?] *sha za zhing /*

[5] *dbus sgra* [sic; = *dbu'i skra?*] *dang ni sma ra ches ser nye bar spyod pa'i*
zhing skyong khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod /

[6] *raṃ raṃ raṃ zhes spyān dmar 'khyug cing sgyur* [293v6:] *mdzad krum*
krum zhes rab sgrogs spyān gyis gzigs /

[7] *smin ma ser zhing mche gtsigs ro yi gdan la dgyes pa'i zhing skyong*
khyod kyis zhing skyong mdzod /

[8] *ha ha hūm dang kī la kī la zhes sgrogs phyag g'yon* [293v7:] *khatwaṃ gar bcas thod pa bsname /*

[9] *ru ru ru zhes khrag gi rgyun 'bab phyag gis bsname shing gsol ba 'thung ba la dgyes shing /*

[10] *khaṃ khaṃ khaṃ zhes gtum po'i phyag g'yas gri gug ral gri bgegs rname la* [293v8:] *ni rol mdzad pas /*

[11] *ḍaṃ ḍaṃ ḍaṃ zhes ḍa ma ru can 'di yis 'dul mdzad 'khor bcas zhing skyong khyod kyis bsrungs /*

[12] *rab tu rngam zhing mgo bo rname kyi phreng bas gshin rje dang mtshungs 'jigs pa'i sku brgyan* [294r1:] *cing /*

[13] *kṣaṃ kṣaṃ kṣaṃ zhes gzugs can ca co sgrogs par byed pa'i gdug pa rname bzung ste /*

[14] *gcig pus sna tshogs mnan nas ka ha ka ha brjod mdzad char sprin sngon po'i mdog /*

[15] *sku la mi yi* [294r2:] *sha dang rgyu mas 'brel bas kun nas bgyan cing zhal du* [?] *gsol /*

[16] *drag shul phyag gis 'dod pa'i gzugs dang mi gdug gzugs can gyi ni 'byung po ro langtshogs /*

[17] *ma lus gzung nas myur du bsad pa* [294r3:] *rname kyi mgo bo'i khrag rgyun 'bab pa rab tu gsol /*

[18] *hrīm kṣīm śrīm zhes sngags kyi gsung can pa tsa pa tsa'i sngags kyis bgegs rname rab tu bsreg /*

[19] *rol pas rol pa sel cing mi yis gang ba'i mtsho* [294r4:] *la zhing skyong khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod /*

[20] *phem phem phaṭ ces sgrogs pa so sor bskyed pa'i me dpung chen po'i dbus su bzhugs nas su /*

[21] *rigs kyi lus can skrod par mdzad cing bsgrub pa rname kyi zhing rname* [294r5:] *nges par zhing skyong mdzod /*

[22] *phyugs rname kyi ni nyin re bzhin du bgegs dang sdirg 'joms dri med bsnyems* [?] *pa chu nyi bzhin /*

[23] *tṣaṃ tṣaṃ tṣaṃ zhes gtum pa'i shugs kyis rab dbye rmad byung 'od kyi 'jig rten snang* [294r6:] *mdzad pa /*

[24] *kriṃ kriṃ kriṃ zhes gshegs pas dgra bo nyon mongs pa rname nges par nyon mongs 'joms mdzad cing /*

[25] *saṃ saṃ saṃ zhes tshogs pa'i bdag nyid dam tshig thos 'dzin zhing skyong gang yin khyod kyis skyongs /*

[26] [294r7:] *baṃ baṃ baṃ zhes gshin rje ltar 'gro dri ma med pa'i sna tshogs chu bzhin gzigs mdzad cing /*

[27] *yaṃ yaṃ yaṃ zhes rlung gi shugs kyis myur du rgyu zhing nyon mongs 'jig rten gnod byed mkhyen /*

[28] *kli kli kla zhes gdug pa'i [294r8:] gzugs kyis srid gsum nyin mtshan dus kun nyon mongs gyur pa gang /*

[29] *paṃ paṃ paṃ zhes thugs rje'i zhags pas byol [?] song rnam 'dzin phyag gis gdul bya rnam skyong la /*

[30] *sngags bdag sngags kyi [294v1:] lus can thugs kyi sngags pa rnam la 'bras bu blo gros mtshungs med ster /*

[31] *zhing rnam skyong bar mdzad pa khyod kyi [?] 'gro ba'i lus rnam ma lus bskyang du gsol /*

[32] *sgrub pa po 'am slob dpon 'ga' zhig thos 'dzin gang [294v2:] zhig [?] blo ldan nus pa dang /*

[33] *thun gsum du ni sngags rnam brgyad po klog byed de ni bsod nam ldan par 'gyur ba dang /*

[34] *tshe dang dpal dang grags dang 'byor pa 'dzin dang gzi rgyas dang / mtshungs med dang /*

[35] *sa steng [294v3:] dang ni mtho ris su'ang de yi bgegs kyi tshogs rnam rtag tu nyams par 'gyur /*

Colophon:

dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba / slob dpon 'phags pa sgrub [sic; = klu sgrub?] kyi mdzad pa rdzogs so //

[No translator's colophon]

6.2. Peking 2644

(*Bstan 'gyur Rgyud 'grel* vol. la (26), f. 298r4-299r6)

Reconstruction Sanskrit title: *Śrī-Mahākāla-padāṣṭaka-stotra*.

Author: Nāgārjuna (*slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub*, 299r6).

Translator: not mentioned.

[298r4, minusc.: *Dpal nag po chen po'i bstod pa bzhugs so /*]

[298r5:] *rgya gar skad du / śrī ma hā kā la pa da aṣṭa ka sto tra nā ma / bod skad du / dpal nag po chen po'i bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba /*

dpal nag po chen po la phyag 'tshal lo /

[298r6:] *om grub par gyur cig /*

Stanza 1:

[a] 'byung po ro langs tshogs rnams ha ha hūm dang ki li ki [sic] zhes myur bar ni /

[b] sku la rgyu ma'i phreng bas kun nas klubs shing zhal du mi yi sha ni gsol mdzad cing /

[c] 'dod pa'i [298r7:] gzugs dang mi sdug gzugs can kha tṡam gar bcas phyag bcas phyag g'yon mi yi thod pa bsnams /

[d] smin ma ser zhing mche gtsigs ro yi gdan la skyes pa'i zhing skyong khyod kyis zhing skyong mdzod /

Stanza 2:

[a] phem phem phem zhes sgrogs par byed cing [298r8:] so sor skyes pa me dpung chen po'i dbus na ni /

[b] mgo yi rnams [sic] kyis mgo'i phreng byas rab gsal 'jigs pa'i sku brgyan gshin rje dang mtshungs shing /

[c] drag shul phyag gis bsad pa rnams kyi mi [298v1:] mgo'i ma lus 'dzin cing khrag [?] ...gs [?] 'bab pa gsol /

[d] rol pas rol pa sel cing mi yis gang gis la zhing skyong khyod kyis srung bar mdzod //

Stanza 3:

[a] kṡam kṡam kṡam zhes brjod pa'i sku can ca co sgrogs par [298v2:] byed pa'i gdug [?] pa rnams bzung te /

[b] gcig pu snod mnan cing mnan nas ha ga ha brjod cing char sprin sngon po'i mdog /

[c] hriṡ kṡiṡ śriṡ gi sngags kyi rgya can ba tsa ba tsa rigs kyi sngags kyis kun bsreg pa /

[d] [298v3:] bgegs rnams rab tu bskrang [or: bskrad?] par mdzod cig sgrub po rnams kyi zhing gnas nges par zhing skyong mdzod /

Stanza 4:

[a] gang zhig dus kun du ni ha ha ṡa ṡa zhes bzhad shin tu 'jigs mdzad cing /

[b] phyag rnams kyis ni [298v4:] sdig dang dgeg 'jig nyi ma re re dri med mnyes pa chu 'dzin mdog /

[c] hūm hūm phaṡ ces drag po'i sgra yis srid pa gnyis po'i khong ni ma lus 'gens nus shing /

[d] dbu skra dang ni rma ra cher ser nye bar spyod pa'i [298v5:] zhing skyong khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod /

Stanza 5:

[a] kham kham kham zhes phyag g'yas gri gug ral gris bgegs rnams rol khrag 'thung pa la dgyes /

[b] ram ram ram zhes spyan nam du ru ru zhes phyag ni khrag gis brgyan cing stu [?; sdu?] pa'i [298v6:] shugs /

[c] *kruṃ kru[m?] kru[m?] zhes khros pa'i spyān ni byas gzigs par mdzod cig bgegs rnam s khyod kyi sgyur bar mdzad /*
 [d] *dṭaṃ dṭaṃ dṭaṃ [??] zhes 'di yis 'dul mdzad rda ma tu dang bcas pa'i zhing skyong khyod srungs /*

Stanza 6:

[a] [298v7:] *kriṃ kriṃ kruṃ zhes mnan pas dgra bo nyon mongs pa rnam nges par nyon mongs par mdzod cig /*
 [b] *kaṃ kaṃ kaṃ zhes thod phreng sku la spras shing nag po'i mchu dang 'dra ba'i sku /*
 [c] *tsaṃ tsaṃ tsaṃ stuṃ [?; sduṃ?] pi [?] shug kyis [sic] rab [298v8:] g'yo rmad byung ba'i 'jig rten snang mdzad cing /*
 [d] *saṃ sa[m?] sa[m?] zhes 'tshogs pa'i bdag gi dgra bro s [?; thos?] dzin zhing skyong gang yin khyod kyis skyongs /*

Stanza 7:

[a] *yaṃ yaṃ yaṃ zhes snod gshin rje ltar 'gro dri ma med pa'i chu [299r1:] bzhin gzigs mdzad cing /*
 [b] *baṃ baṃ baṃ zhes rlung gi shugs kyis myur du rgyu zhing nyon mongs 'jig rten skyong ba mnyes /*
 [c] *baṃ baṃ baṃ zhes 'jigs pa'i khro gnyer mchog gi 'jigs mdzad nus pa'i khra [?] sha [299r2:] za zhing /*
 [d] *kṣa [ṃ?] kṣaṃ kṣaṃ zhes [...?]n par mdzad snod pa skad gis [sic; = skad cig gis?] sel zhing skyong khyod kyis skyongs /*

Stanza 8:

[a] *klaṃ klaṃ klaṃ zhes gdug pa'i gzugs kyi srid gsum nyin mtshan dus kun nyon mongs par mdzad pa gang /*
 [b] *paṃ paṃ paṃ [299r3:] zhes thye'i [?; = bya'i?] zhags pas byol [?] song [?] rnam s 'dzin phyag gis 'dul ba rnam s skyong ba /*
 [c] *sngags bdag sngags kyi sku can blo yis sngags pa rnam s la blo gros 'bras bu mtshungs med ster /*
 [d] *zhing rnam s skyong [299r4:] bar mdzad pa khyod kyis 'gro ba'i lus rnam s ma lus yun ring bskyang du gsol /*

Stanza 9:

[a] *bsgrub pa po'i slob dpon blo ldan bdag gis thos 'dzin gzhi gus dang ldan pas /*
 [b] *thun gsum du ni sngags rnam s [299r5:] brgyad po klog byed de ni bsod nam s ldan par 'gyur ba dang /*
 [c] *sa stengs dang ni mtho ris su ni de yi rtag tu bgegs rnam s nyams 'gyur zhing /*
 [d] *tshe dang dpal dang grags dang 'byor 'dzin stobs dang [299r6:] mthu dang gzi brjid rgyas par mtshungs med 'gyur /*

Colophon:

*dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa sngags rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba /
slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi mdzad pa'o //*

[No translator's colophon]

6.3. Peking 2645

(*Bstan 'gyur Rgyud 'grel vol. la (26), f. 299r6-300v1*)

Reconstruction Sanskrit title: *Śrī-Mahākālasya Aṣṭa-mantra-stotra.*

Author: Nāgārjuna (*slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub, 300r8 300v1*).

Translator: 'the Indian scholar, yogin from Kośala, Śrī Vairocanavajra and the Tibetan translator, the venerable Ding ri Chos grags' (300v1: *rgya gar gyi mkhan po go [?] sa la'i rnal 'byor pa shri bai ro tsa na badzra dang / bod kyi lo tsa ba bande ding ri chos grags*).

[299r6:] *rgya gar skad du / [299r7:] śrī ma hā kā la syāṣṭa mantra sto tra nā
ma /
bod skad du / dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya
ba /*

*dpal nag po chen po la phyag 'tshal lo /
[298r6:] om grub par gyur cig /*

[1] *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ [299r8:] ces drag po'i sgra yis srid pa gsum gyi khong ni
ma lus 'gengs nus pa'i /*

[2] *hā hā ṭṭa ṭṭa zhes bzhad gang zhig dus kun du ni shin tu 'jigs mdzad pa /*

[3] *kaṃ kaṃ kaṃ zhes thod pa'i phreng bas dbu la spras [299v1:] shing nag
po'i mchu dang mtshungs pa'i sku /*

[4] *bhruṃ bhruṃ bhruṃ zhes khros pa'i mchog gi khro gnyer 'jigs mdzad
'jigs pa'i gdangs sha za zhing /*

[5] *dbu skra dang ni rma ra cher ser nye bar spyod pa' zhing skyong khyod
kyis srung bar [299v2:] mdzod /*

[6] *raṃ raṃ raṃ zhes spyan dmar 'khrug cing sgyur mdzad krum krum
krum zhes rab sgrogs spyan gyis gzigs /*

[7] *smin ma ser zhing mche gtsigs ro yi gdan la dgyes pa'i zhing skyong
khyod kyis zhing skyong mdzod /*

[8] *ha ha [299v3:] hūṃ dang ki li ki li zhes sgrogs phyag g'yon kha ṭwām
gar bcas thod pa bsnam /*

[9] *ru ru ru zhes khrag rgyun 'bab pa phyag gis bsnamshing gsol de 'thung ba la dgyes shing /*

[10] *kham kham kham zhes gtum pa'i phyag [299v4:] g'yas gri gug ral gri bgegs rnams la ni rol mdzad pa /*

[11] *dam dam dam zhes da ma ru can 'di yis 'dul mdzad 'khor bcas zhing skyong khyod kyis srungs /*

[12] *rab tu rngam zhing mgo bo rnams kyi phreng bas gshin rje dang mtshungs [299v5:] 'jigs pa'i sku brgyan cing /*

[13] *kṣīṃ kṣīṃ kṣīṃ zhes bzod pa'i gzugs can ca co sgrogs par byed pa'i gdug pa rnams gzung ste /*

[14] *gcig pus snot [?; = sna tshogs?] bsnan cing bsnan nas ka ha ka ha brjod mdzad char sprin sngon [299v6:] po'i mdog /*

[15] *sku la mi yi sha dang rgyu ma sbrel ba'i phreng bas kun nas brgyan cing zhal du gsol /*

[16] *drag shul phyag gis 'dod pa'i gzugs dang mi sdug gzugs can gyi ni 'byung po ro langshags /*

[17] *ma [299v7:] lus gzung nas myur du bsad pa rnams kyi mgo bo khrag rgyun 'bab pa rab tu gsol /*

[18] *hrim kṣīṃ śrīṃ gi sngags kyi gsungs can pa tsa pa tsa'i sngags kyis bgegs rnams rab tu bsreg /*

[19] *rol pas rol [299v8:] pa sel zhing mi yis gang ba'i sa la zhing skyong khyod kyis bsrung bar mdzod /*

[20] *phem phem phaṭ ces sgrogs pas so sor bskyod pa'i me dpung chen po'i dbus su gzhugs nas su /*

[21] *rigs kyi lus can spyod [?] [300r1:] par mdzod cig sgrub po rnams kyis zhing rnams nges par zhing skyong mdzod /*

[22] *phyugs rnams kyis ni nyin re bzhin du bgegs dang sdig 'joms dri med mnyes pa chu nyi bzhin /*

[23] *tsam tsam tsam [300r2:] zhes gtum po'i shugs kyis rab g'ayos rmad byung 'od kyis 'jig rten snang mdzad pa /*

[24] *kram kram kram zhes gshegs pas dgra bo nyon mongs pa rnams nges par nyon mongs 'joms mdzad cing /*

[25] *sam sam sam [300r3:] zhes tshogs pa'i bdag nyid dam tshig thos 'dzin zhing skyong gang yin khyod kyis skyongs /*

[26] *bam bam bam zhes gshin rje ltar khro dri ma med pa'i sna tshogs chu bzhin gzigs mdzad cing /*

[27] *yam yam yam zhes rlung gi shugs [300r4:] kyis myur du rgyu zhing nyon mongs 'jig rten gnod byed mkhyen /*

[28] *klām klām klām zhes gdug pa'i gzugs kyis srid gsum nyin mtshan dus kun nyon mongs gyur pa gang /*

[29] *kṣaṃ kṣaṃ kṣaṃ zhes phan par mdzad cing gnod pa [300r5:] skad cig gis sel zhing skyong khyod kyis skyongs /*

[30] *paṃ paṃ paṃ zhes thugs rje'i zhags pas byol song rnams 'dzin phyag gis gdul bya rnams skyong ba /*

[31] *sngags bdag sngags kyi lus can thugs kyis [300r6:] sngags pa rnams la blo gros 'bras bu mtshungs med ster /*

[32] *zhing rnams skyong bar mdzad pa khyod kyis 'gro ba'i lus rnams ma lus yun ring bskyang du gsol /*

[33] *sgrub pa po'i slob dpon gang zhig dam tshig thos [300r7:] 'dzin gang zhig blo ldan gyur pa dag /*

[34] *thun gsum du ni sngags rnams brgyad po klog byed de ni bsod nams ldan par 'gyur ba dang (/)*

[35] *tshe dang dpal dang grags dang mthu stobs 'byor pa 'dzin dang gzi brjid rgyas pa [300r8:] mtshungs med ster /*

[36] *sa steng dang ni mtho ris su yang de yi bgegs kyi tshogs rnams rtag tu nyams par 'gyur /*

Colophon (300r8 300v1):

dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba / slob dpon chen po 'phags [300v1:] pa klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas mdzad pa'o //

Translator's colophon (300v1):

rgya gar gyi mkhan po go [?] sa la'i rnal 'byor pa shri bai ro tsa na badzra dang / bod kyi lo tsa ba bande ding ri chos grags kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o //

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(*Bstan 'gyur Rgyud 'grel* vol. la (26), f. 300v2-301v4)

Reconstruction Sanskrit title: *Vajra-Mahākāla-aṣṭaka-stotra*.

Author: Nāgārjuna (*slob dpon chen po klu sgrub*, 301v4).

Translator: not mentioned.

[300v2:] [minusc.: *rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa bzhuḡs so /*]

// *rgya gar skad du / badzra ma hā kā la aṣṭa ka sto tra /*

bod skad du / rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa /

om nag po chen po [300v3:] la phyag 'tshal lo /

Stanza 1:

[a] *hā hā hūm mdzad ki li ki li sgrogs pa'i dgra yis 'byung po'i tshogs pa rnam par 'thag /*

[b] *hūm hūm sgrogs pa'i zhal rnams kyis ni mi yi sha za rgyu ma'i phreng ba 'khrug [300v4:] pa'i sku /*

[c] *phyag na kha tṡwām ga dang gdung thung mi yi lag pa'i mtshan pa 'dzin cing mdzes pa'i gzugs /*

[d] *mi sdug gzugs can spyang dang dbu skra dmar ser dur khrod la dgyes zhing skyong kun [300v5:] nas bsrungs /*

Stanza 2:

[a] *zhal dang zhal nas phaṃ phaṃ bet ces sgrogs pas so sor bskyed pa'i me dpung chen po yi /*

[b] *phreng ba rab tu 'bar ba'i dbus na bzhugs shing sku la brgyan pas yan lag nye bar [300v6:] mdzes /*

[c] *gsod byed drag po'i phyag gis mi yi khrag 'dzag rgyun tu btung zhing sprul gyi phreng bas brgyan /*

[d] *dmyal bar bsreg pa sel zhing sa steng zhing rnams skyong ba khyod ni rol zhing rol par [300v7:] mdzod /*

Stanza 3:

[a] *dri med rdzogs pa'i byang chub brnyes kyang srid pa gsum po khed [sic] par 'gengs nus 'od 'dod kyis /*

[b] *hūm hūm phaṡ ces ma rungs dgra yis nyin bzhin 'jig rten phyugs rnams kyi ni bgegs 'joms [300v8:] shing /*

[c] *hā hā aṡṡa [sic] rgod pa yi ni dus rnams kun tu shin tu rab tu 'jigs par byed /*

[d] *mgo skye ral pa sma ra shin tu dmar ser nye bar 'phro ba'i zhing skyong bsrung bar mdzod /*

Stanza 4:

[a] *sgeg cing rol pa'i 'jo sgeg dang ldan [301r1:] gsus pa 'phyang bab [?] phyag na ral gri khaṃ khaṃ khaṃ /*

[b] *rakta 'thungs pa'i spyang dang phyag ni khrag ltar dmar [?] ba raṃ raṃ raṃ dang ru ru ru /*

[c] *ngo mtshar snang mdzad gtum po'i shugs cad [= can?] khro bo'i lta bas khro [301r2:] gnyer mdzod cig krūṃ krūṃ krūṃ /*

[d] *'khor bcas skyong pa'i zhing skyong ma lus bdud dang ro lang's 'dul bar mdzad pa ḡaṃ ḡaṃ ḡaṃ /*

Stanza 5:

[a] *nges par gnod [?] pa'i bdud dang nyon mongs bag chags gcod byed gri gug 'dzin pa hriṃ [301r3:] hriṃ hriṃ /*

[b] *nag po'i mchu dang 'dra ba'i sku ni rtso dang nyes 'phrog thod pa'i
phreng can kam kam kam /*
 [c] *rmad byung 'od kyis 'jig rten g'yo zhing [?] snang bar mdzad pa gtum
po'i shugs can tsam tsam tsam /*
 [d] *lha mchog dam tshig [301r4:] ldan pa khyod kyi tshogs kyi mchog dang
zhing rnams skyongs shig sam sam sam /*

Stanza 6:

[a] *'gro ba sna tshogs dri med chu bzhin gzigs nas nges par gshi [?] ... [?]
'gog byed yam yam yam /*
 [b] *rlung gi shugs bzhin myur du rgyu [301r5:] bas nyon mongs 'jig rten
snang bar mdzad pa bam bam bam /*
 [c] *smin ma gya gyu'i khro gnyer bsnyer bas 'jigs par mdzad kyang 'jigs las
thad [?] byed bhrum bhrum bhrum /*
 [d] *sgrub po rnams la phan dang bde mdzad gnod pa'i [301r6:] sgo rnams
bsrung ba'i zhing skyong ksham ksham ksham /*

Stanza 7:

[a] *bzod pa'i lus can kshim kshim kshim zhes gdug pa rnams kyis bzod par dka'
ba'i ca co sgrog /*
 [b] *ka ha ka ha'i gsung gi rgyun dang char sprin sngon po'i lus can [301r7:]
gcig pus thams cad gnou /*
 [c] *hrim glim srim gis sngags dang pa tsa pa tsa'i sngags rnams kyis ni lus
can thal bar byed /*
 [d] *sgrub po rnams la kun tu gnod pa'i bgegs rnams nye bar zhi bar mdzod
cig zhing skyong che /*

Stanza 8:

[a] *[301r8:] klam klam klam zhes rtag tu nyon mongs gyur pa'i lus can srid
gsum 'gro ba'i nyon mongs rnams /*
 [b] *rnam par gsal nas phyag gi zhags pas skyong zhing srung ba la phan
phyugs bdag pam pam pam /*
 [c] *sngags kyi [301v1:] bdag nyid sngags kyi sku can sngags myos sngags
kyis zhi ba'i bde ster 'bras bu'i phyag /*
 [d] *mtha' dag rgyal ba'i sku bzhin mdzes pa zhing rnams skyong bar mdzad
pa khyod kyis de rnams srungs /*

Stanza 9:

[a] *sgrub pa po 'am [301v2:] slob dpon gang zhig dam tshig bde mchog
mkhas pa'i blo can thun gsum du /*
 [b] *sngags kyi bstod pa brgyad po klog byed de rnams bsod nams ldan zhing
rgyal bar 'gyur ba dang /*
 [c] *tshe dang dpal dang grags [301v3:] dang 'byor ldan mnyam med stobs
kyis rnam par gnin [?] pa'i gzi brjid rgyas /*

[d] *thams cad shes shing de yi nyin mtshan rtag tu bgegs kyi tshogs ni myos shing nyams par 'gyur //*

Colophon (301v3 301v4):

rdo rje nag po chen [301v4:] po'i bstod pa brgyad pa slob dpon chen po klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas mdzad pa'o //

[No translator's colophon]

7. Concluding Observations

This bilingual annotated edition of the 'Eight-Stanza' hymn to Mahākāla shows clearly that extensive and wide-ranging considerations underly the act of translating in the hands of a master scholar such as Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774). We see that Si tu consulted a multitude of sources for his rendition of the hymn, ranging from older Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in specialized monastic libraries in Tibet to more recent ones stemming from Nepal. He weighed the intrinsic and contextual aptness of the variant readings he encountered in them. He also involved earlier translations in his deliberations (distinguishing 'old[er]' and 'new[er]' ones) —four of which have been preserved in the *Bstan 'gyur* canon— and gave particular attention to that by Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528), which Si tu regarded his own translation to be a revision of and which is distinct from the extant canonical renditions.

Si tu's version of the Mahākāla hymn has proved to be an important document for our comprehension of the exact procedure followed by a Tibetan translator. Only very rarely do we get such a close view of the actual processes of deliberation of the translator at work. Precisely how did these *lo tsā bas* go about their task? What arguments did they base their choices on? Where did they struggle with the fundamental linguistic differences between their source language (Sanskrit) and their target language (Tibetan)? And how did they overcome these discrepancies and incompatibilities? These and many such questions remain to be answered in full. This essay merely offers some working materials for those interested in such matters. I will not claim that I have taken account of every conclusion that can be drawn from this document, far from it. My article constitutes merely another small step in the academic exploration of the technical and practical aspects of the Tibetan translating activities, hopefully contributing to our understanding and appreciation of the genesis of the vast corpus of Tibetan translations of Buddhist scripture.

Abbreviations

Peking + title number = Peking *Bstan 'gyur*, reprint Suzuki (1955-1961).

PS = Sanskrit text of this hymn according to the edition Pandey (1994: 206-207).

S = Si tu's bilingual version of this hymn (SS and ST).

SS = Sanskrit text of this hymn based on Si tu's transliteration

ST = Si tu's Tibetan translation of this hymn

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On *Maṇi* and Epigraphy Four Stone Inscriptions from Spiti

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Little is known about Spiti, a high altitude river valley situated at a crossroad between Western Tibet, Ladakh, and the mountainous region of Himachal Pradesh in India (Fig.1). To date, historical sources relevant to the history of the Spiti Valley are limited and often oblique. In most cases these documents deal with the period commonly referred to as the second spread of the doctrine, when Spiti laid in the bosom of the Kingdom of Guge, from the late tenth to the mid-twelfth centuries. Notwithstanding a dearth of information about later periods, written documents retrieved from Spiti have recently started to emerge. They consist mostly of diplomatic and legal documents kept by the descendants of the local nobility (Schuh 2016), or preserved in monastic archives (Laurent *forthcoming*). In the first half of the twentieth century, however, some European scholars had the chance to study a number of stone inscriptions *in situ*. The content of these engravings seemed important at the time, but copies of these epigraphs were not published and the historical information they contained fell into oblivion.

The present article analyses four *maṇi* stone inscriptions from Spiti. The first three documents were retrieved by Henry Lee Shuttleworth in 1918. They are currently part of Shuttleworth's collection of unpublished papers preserved at the British Library. The fourth inscription was found by the author during fieldwork in summer 2016. The dates of these epigraphs span from the late sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. In addition to historical information, these inscriptions represent a unique corpus with regard to compositional features and phraseology. Their content stresses the importance of epigraphic documentation for the study of Tibet and the Himalayas and raises questions about the nature and function of inscribed *maṇi* stones.

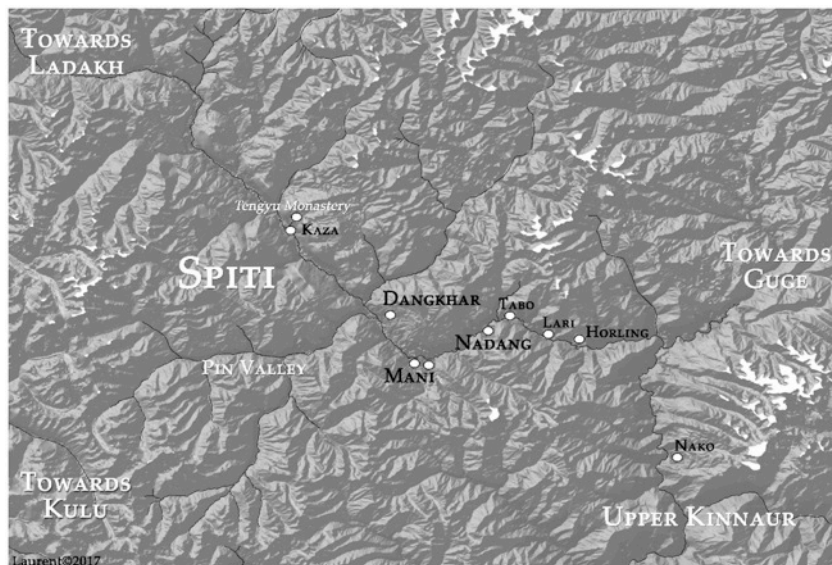


Figure 1. The Spiti Valley and the main places discussed in the text. Map: the author, 2017.

Maṇi stones: state of the art

A typological approach to *maṇi* walls is beyond the scope of this research. It is nevertheless important to recall some basic characteristics. *Maṇi* stones are found on *maṇi* walls, an architectural feature ubiquitous across the Tibetan Buddhist world.¹ These walls come in all shapes and sizes measuring a few meters up to several hundred meters in length. They can be built within villages or along the paths leading to them. Likewise they are found in monastic compounds, at the top of mountain passes, or even on high desert plateaus. These devotional structures derive their name from Avalokiteśvara's six syllable *mantra*, *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, which is repeatedly carved on *maṇi* stones. Other formulae are similarly engraved, along with excerpts from Buddhist *sūtra* texts. In a small number of cases, as we shall see, donor inscriptions find their way onto their surface, too. In addition, these votive stones may bear figurative representations, such as Buddhist deities, *stūpa* monuments, and portraits of religious figures. A recurring theme on

¹ The production of engraved stones is not exclusive to Tibetan Buddhism. Bon mantras, for instance, are also being carved on stones and are sometimes arranged in similar types of architectural features. I am not aware, however, of any research on this topic, nor am I able to comment on the possibility of Bon epigraphs akin to inscribed *maṇi* stones.

maṇi stones, for example, is the depiction of a group called the three classes of protectors (*rigs gsum mgon po*) — whether in the form of deities or *stūpas* — suggesting from the outset the polysemic value of their function. These texts and images can be carved in high relief on slabs, large pebbles, and slates. Some stones are left in a raw state while others are painted.

Despite being an integral part of the Himalayan landscape these monuments have not retained the attention of many Tibetologists. In fact, the scholarly literature devoted to the subject is surprisingly sparse. Two specific articles devoted to the *maṇi* walls of Bhutan define them as a communication medium in the service of a religious and political project (Ardussi 2004, 2006). According to John Ardussi, the reappropriation of these monuments as public media began around the seventeenth century when religious hierarchs used stone inscriptions to promote and reaffirm religious values and secular law. In this process the names of rulers, donors, and stone carvers also began to appear in epigraphs, representing an important source of information for the study of social history. His analysis of the Ura inscription stresses in particular the impetus to the production of *maṇi* stones along with the accumulation of merit under the injunction of the third 'Brug sde srid, dPon slob Mi 'gyur brtan pa (1613–1681). The *maṇi* walls of Bhutan thus worked as religious monuments and public message boards, namely as “a medium of communication created by local communities to cement the social fabric and to articulate a common dedication to the principles of Buddhism” (Ardussi 2006 : 17).

Anthropologist Monia Chies has taken an active interest in the pilgrimage site of Gyanak Mani (*rgya nag maṇi*) in Upper Kham, which she describes as “a vast array of shrines with tens of thousands of *maṇi*-stones” forming the core of a *maṇḍala* complex (Chies 2014 : 320). The ethno-historical approach adopted in her work explores the development of Gyanak Mani as a pilgrimage circuit, its dismantlement during the Cultural Revolution, together with its cultural revitalization process and post-mortem dimension in the aftermaths of the earthquake that devastated the urban area of Yushu in April 2010. According to the literary tradition, Gyanak Mani was founded in 1715 by a yogi named rGya nag rTogs ldan in fulfilment of a prophecy made by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Following Toni Huber's work on pilgrimage (Huber 1999), the author examines the place-making process at work whereby *maṇi* stones are support of worship (*rten*) which, once they are piled up and arranged together to form a *maṇi* wall, operate as a power place (*gnas chen*) and a source of empowerment (*byin rlabs*) within a sacred route (*gnas skor*). As part of a larger ethnographic project, the author recalls the economic

dimension of pilgrimage. For example, the sacred stones are traditionally traded or exchanged at Gyanak Mani during religious festivals. Moreover, local and outsider pilgrims would frequently visit the site — and presumably purchase and offer *maṇi* stones — following the death of a relative in accordance with the Buddhist belief in transmigration and psychopompal rituals prescribed to this effect. This Tibetan Buddhist worldview is, as we will see, often supported by epigraphical evidence. After the Yushu earthquake, the pilgrimage site of Gyanak Mani was gradually restored. On this occasion, thousands of *maṇi* stones used for construction purposes in the city during the 1960-70s were eventually dug out from the rubble and cleaned by a local *maṇi* society (*ma ṇi tshogs pa*) in an attempt to generate spiritual merit before being put back upon the sacred monument. Interpreted in terms of ‘de-disasterization’, Chies concludes that “the analysis of ‘identification and contiguity’ aspects with this *gnas* has proven to be a valid approach to explain not only the historical features of the Gyanak Mani site but also to delineate the most remarkable post-earthquake re-integration activities and cultural responses in this earthquake area”.

The periodic cleaning of *maṇi* stones by Himalayan people has also been observed in the Langtang Valley in Nepal. Between 2009 and 2014, an international team of geologists and environmental scientists studied the growth rate of *Rhizocarpon geographicum*, a lichen found on *maṇi* walls, as a potential dating technique (Emerman et al 2016). In doing so, their scientific analysis was complemented by ethnographic fieldwork in order to better apprehend the historical and functional dimensions of these monuments. Local informants interviewed in this regard, however, often presented differing views. While acknowledging the absence of historical evidence, they generally believed that the *maṇi* walls in their region were constructed some 400-600 years ago. They observed that most stones are carved with Avalokiteśvara’s six-syllable *mantra*. In a few instances, people who were able to read Tibetan script recognised that these blocks also bear the names of other deities and even “sometimes the name of parents are carved”. The date of construction of the walls remains generally unknown. One informant, however, underlined that many engravings indicated a Tibetan calendar year, such as ‘Tiger Year’ or ‘Snake Year’. Finally, it was suggested that *maṇi* walls were originally erected to keep dangerous animals away from human settlements. Occasionally, some of them might have been constructed, or rebuilt, in areas prone to landslides, rock falls, and avalanches. This last aspect offers an innovative approach to the location, alignment, and function of some

remotely situated *maṇi* walls as landslide warnings (Weidinger 2001, 2002).

As a result of this study, the analysis of lichen growth to date Buddhist sacred walls appears relatively limited in scope. The organic nature of these structures built at ground level, where new carved stones are being deposited on top of older ones and where local communities are periodically engaged in cleaning some of them thoroughly,² will likely reduce the use of lichenometry for archaeological purposes. Interviews conducted among the local population, however, reaffirmed the presence of written information other than the ordinary Buddhist prayers and formulae traditionally engraved. Accordingly, the inscribed *maṇi* stones of Langtang may still be located within the realm of historical and epigraphical analysis.

The study of historical inscriptions has been the primary focus of Kurt Tropper's work in the Western Himalayas. A series of three articles in particular addresses the subject of *maṇi* walls. At first, the epigraphist and Tibetologist argues that the practice of engraving Buddhist tenets and *mantras* on stone is consistent with Mahāyāna literature insofar as the production and dissemination of Buddhist texts are often advocated as a meritorious act (Tropper 2007a). The underlying notion is that accumulating merit can improve both individual and collective *karman*, possibly leading to a higher or better rebirth, or even to Buddhahood. As a result, *maṇi* stones are often sponsored for the sake of a donor's spiritual progress, or for a deceased parent in accordance with the principle of transferring merit to others. A modern stone inscription from the Pin Valley in Spiti, for instance, attests to the construction of a *maṇi* wall in memoriam of a man named mGon po, an optative expression of filial piety requesting the departed to be cleansed of all negative actions and to be reborn in the pure land of Sukhāvātī (Tropper 2007b).³ Similarly, it is not unusual to find dedicatory inscriptions including all sentient beings in the process. Alternatively, the pursuit of merit-making may also simply involve the circumambulation of *maṇi* walls and the simultaneous recitation of *mantras*.

² About 68% of the twenty-four *maṇi* walls studied were cleaned in the last 4-38 years, with an average of 13 years.

³ Tshe 'khor ba thog mtha' med pa na bsags pa'i sdig sgrib dang / las ngan pa'i rnam par smin pa dang / bag chags ngan pa'i tshogs thams cad byang zhing dag nas / sangs rgyas kyi zhing khams bde ba can du skye bar shog /; "May he be reborn in the Buddha field of Sukhāvātī through the purification and elimination of accumulated wrongdoings and defilements, fully mature negative actions, and of all collections of bad karmic imprints in the beginning and endless circle of life", translation mine. For a translation of this passage in German; see (Tropper 2007b).

Generally, *maṇi* walls may arise and expand over time, observes Tropper, as a result of pilgrims' devotion in which case the age of these monuments can no longer be established with any degree of certainty. In other cases, the construction of a particular *maṇi* wall may be commissioned as a single act of religious fervour performed by a patron or a group of benefactors. As with the Ura wall of Bhutan, a donor inscription can be found on a separate stone, from which can be gleaned the reasons as to why the monument was erected along with the names of the donor, stone carver, and other agents. The so-called donor inscription is often positioned at a prominent place such as in the middle or at one of the extremities; it may offer the means to determine when it was built (Tropper 2007a).

A donor inscription at Nako in Upper Kinnaur is a good example of some of the features described above (Tropper 2009). The inscription is located inside a niche at the north-western end of a *maṇi* wall measuring approximately one hundred meters in length. Following a religious praise and a devotional opening, the epigraph states that Phun tshogs dbang po, a man from an illustrious line of ancestors, had a thousand *maṇi* formulae inscribed on immutable stones (*mi 'gyur rdo la maṇi stong ra bzhengs*). The establishment of the wall per se is further supported by the aspiration of the donor to see the *maṇi* stones of hundreds of travellers appear there in the future (*'di la 'grul mi rnams kyi maṇi brgya rtsa re snang ba zhu zhu*). As for the reasons given for commissioning the wall, they are large in scope and imbued with altruistic motives. They include the fulfilment of a lama's aspiration (*bla ma'i thugs dgongs rdzogs phyir*) — presumably the donor's own preceptor —, but also the attainment of awakening (*byang chub thob phyir du*) for the donor, his parents, relatives, a local lord, and, more generally, for all sentient beings.

A final point worthy of note is the situational character expressed by the inscription at Nako. As a constitutive element of the wall, the donor's epigraph asserts loudly and clearly its territorial position whilst reiterating its function within a greater Buddhist landscape. After an exclamatory expression of wonder (*e ma ho*), the stone declares, "Here at the royal site of Nako, a land where the ten virtues abound" (*yul dge bcu 'dzoms pa'i na go rgyal sa dir*), so-and-so did such and such. As we shall go on to examine, the stone inscriptions from Spiti go a step further in defining their geographical location and political affiliation.

Epigraphic survey of the Spiti Valley

The archaeological exploration of the Spiti Valley began in the early twentieth century under the aegis of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). In 1909, the German missionary August Hermann Francke (1870–1930) was hired to conduct a four month archaeological survey of Western Tibet. As an expert in ‘local history and antiquities’ Francke combined an assessment of ancient monuments with an epigraphical documentation. During his survey of the Spiti Valley the German scholar reported about eight stone inscriptions located in the villages, or in the vicinity of, Horling, Tabo, Lari and Kaza. On July 26th, for instance, the scholar spotted several *maṇi* stones that stood out from the regular Buddhist engravings. Francke saw that they bore the names of Tsong kha pa and three of his main disciples. One of them, Lha dbang blo gros, is believed to have been particularly active in the region. A cursive palaeographic analysis of these inscriptions led him to assert that the stones were carved in the fifteenth century. Likely “put up on the roadside during the Lamaist reformation, and later on placed on or near *maṇi* walls”, Francke concluded that “they testify to the enthusiasm with which Tsongkhapa’s reformation was welcomed in these tracts”.⁴

In the same way, the Moravian scholar noted down the names of other significant actors involved in the regional history of Western Tibet in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, two epigraphs mentioned the King of Guge, Khri bKra shis grags pa, who resided at Tsaparang before his forcible exile in the neighbouring Kingdom of Ladakh around 1630.⁵ Similarly another inscribed stone

⁴ “The 26th July was spent in the same desert on our march to Horling, a desert camping-place on the Spiti river. I had expected to have an archaeological holiday in this uninhabitable region. But that was not so. Strange to say, we passed by *maṇi* walls, from time to time, and several of the stones placed on, or by the side of, the walls were of unusual interest. I found here four or five stones which must have been carved in the 15th century. They contained the names of the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa and three of his contemporaries, mKhas-grub-pa (1384–1437), Lha-dbang-blo-gros (1388 –1462), and dGe ’adun-grub (1389–1473). What points in particular to their ancient origin is the fact, that in these inscriptions the e, o, and u vowel signs are all directly joined to their consonant bases. These stones were, in all probability, put up on the roadside during the Lamaist reformation, and later on placed on or near *maṇi* walls. They testify to the enthusiasm with which Tsongkhapa’s reformation was welcomed in these tracts.” (Francke 1914 : 35-36).

⁵ “The name of the king who is mentioned on the votive tablet, is Khri-bkra-shis-grags-pa-lde. This name is not found in the genealogical tree, and therefore he must be one of the later members of the second Lde dynasty from Purang. He cannot well have reigned before 1600 A.D., for *maṇi* walls were hardly ever constructed before that time [...] This supposition is strengthened by the

gave the name of a district officer named Ga ga bSod nams who sojourned at Dangkhar, the capital of Spiti, at "the time of the Ladakhi regime".⁶ The *maṇi* stones documented also contributed, to a minor extent, to the study of the social history of Spiti. In one of the cases cited earlier, Francke observed that the *maṇi* wall near Horling, where the name of the King of Guge was identified, had been commissioned by a man from the village of rGyu mkhar. His ethnographic enquiries into the paternal family lineages of Spiti also revealed that "every *pha-spun-ship* has to look after the cremation of their dead, and monuments in commemoration of the dead, *mchod-rten* or *maṇi* walls, are generally erected by the whole *pha-spun-ship* of a certain village, and the name of the particular *pha-spun-ship* is found on the votive tablets of such monuments" (Francke 1914 : 48).

Regrettably, the Tibetan inscriptions discussed in the narrative account of Francke's two-week survey of the Spiti Valley were never published in extenso; none of them have been passed down to us at this time.

A similar fate seemed to await the stone inscriptions recorded by Henry Lee Shuttleworth (1882–1960) during his tenure as Assistant Commissioner of Kulu. Between 1912 and 1924, the British officer and orientalist played a pioneering role in the exploration of the Western Himalayas. His efforts to write the first ever history of Spiti exceeded those of Francke's and culminated in a rich collection of handwritten documents and photographs now preserved at the British Library in London (Laurent *forthcoming*). During his second trip to the Spiti Valley in July 1918, Shuttleworth recopied three epigraphs found on *maṇi* stones at the villages of Mani and Dangkhar. These historical inscriptions are the foci of this research and will be discussed further in the following section.

Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) is likely to be the last scholar who took a vague interest in the epigraphic record of the Spiti valley. In the footsteps of Francke and Shuttleworth, the Italian Tibetologist reached Spiti in the summer of 1933. Tucci's scholarly contribution to the history of the region remained largely ensconced within the chronological framework of the second spread of Buddhism in West

discovery of a similar votive tablet which I made three days after at Tabo in Spiti. This contained the name of the same king and gave Tsaparang as his residence. But what is still more surprising, is the occurrence of the following short passage on the same tablet: 'He who clears away all the apostasy and darkness at the great palace of *Tsabarang rtse*'." (Francke 1914 : 35-36).

⁶ "The name of the capital of Spiti is spelt here *Drag-mkhar rtse* (against *Brang-mkhar* on other stones). A nobleman, Ga-ga Sod-nams, is mentioned as having held the office of Resident at the castle, but the name of the king of Leh is missing." (Francke 1914 : 45).

Tibet and the study of Buddhist art. Supplementing a series of works on these topics, an account of his scientific expedition in the Western Himalayas was co-authored with Eugenio Ghersi (1904–1997), a young medical officer and photographer who accompanied Tucci on his journey.

While in Spiti, the scientific exploration of the valley led them to take the steep and narrow track to the Sakya monastery of Tengyu, an impressive monastic bastion perched on top of a vertiginous precipice far above the modern district capital of Kaza. After an exhausting ascension under a blazing sun, the two men had to prove their worth and cultural sensitivity by taking a small detour around a *maṇi* wall, under the scrutiny of the local monastic community. “Tired and breathless as we were”, explain the Italian explorers, “we have to adapt ourselves to the custom of every devout pilgrim and make the ritual circuit of an interminable little wall covered with stones, on which is cut the sacred formula of Avalokiteśvara. We are able to examine only one by one and to photograph the votive inscriptions, almost all of the time of the king of Ladakh *Ñi ma rnam rgyal*; they are important because they preserve the name of certain Gagas, as they call the Nonos of Spiti, and they show that their family is derived from ancient rulers who administered the district in the name of the Ladakh kings” (Tucci & Ghersi 1935 : 43-44).

What happened to the pictures of these inscriptions taken by Ghersi is not known. Two prints illustrating the monastery of Tengyu and a group of Sakya monks performing monastic dances were eventually published in *Secrets of Tibet*. They suggest that the photographic documentation of that day found its way back to Europe and may still be available in the Tucci’s Fund in Rome (IsIAO). At present, and without Tucci’s photographic archives, we are left with a sense of the importance of stone inscriptions for the study of Spiti. The recurring mention of local officials, who acted on behalf of the neighbouring Kingdom of Ladakh, underlines the geopolitical complexity prevalent in the region after the mid-seventeenth century. It is also becoming increasingly apparent that the use of *maṇi* stones throughout the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas often exceeded the scope of Buddhist praxis.

Four stone inscriptions from Spiti

The study of *maṇi* stone inscriptions cannot dispense with an analysis of their archaeological context, namely their locations, functions, and potential chronological markers. The epigraphs under discussion here were all documented in the Spiti Valley, yet none of them can be directly connected to a particular *maṇi* wall. There is no doubt,

however, that they were all *maṇi* stones and as such had once belonged to a larger structure, such as those observed in Bhutan, Kham, Nepal, and Upper Kinnaur.

In this regard, compositional features — and sometimes Buddhist imagery — confirm the primary use of these stones as votive objects. These epigraphs invariably start with a religious opening. It pays homage to a list of core Buddhist ideas in the stone from Lower Mani (SI2), while it opens with an invocation to Avalokiteśvara in the remaining inscriptions (SI1, SI3, SI4). In effect, the epigraphs from Dangkhar and Nadang (SI1, SI4) address the exact same praise to Avalokiteśvara, whereby his spiritual activity is described as that of a universal monarch (*cakravartin*) and a Buddha of the Fortunate Aeon (*bhadrakalpa*), suggesting perhaps the use of stock phrases by stone carvers in Spiti.

The devotional nature of these inscriptions is further emphasised in the donative section. Individual donors, too, are being praised for their generosity and altruistic endeavours. They are specifically honoured for having commissioned the engraving of the supreme six-syllable *mantra* (*gsung mchog yi ge drug ma*) (SI1), the making of *maṇi* on immutable stones (*mi 'gyur rdo la ma Ni*) (SI2), and the production of a thousand holy and sublime *maṇi* stones (*dam chos khyad 'phags ma Ni*) (SI4). The other circumstances that led to these donations will be discussed for each epigraph. Suffice to note here that the inscribed stones under review were all intended to be offered and deposited atop a *maṇi* wall.

As it is often the case with non-literary and epigraphic work, the orthography of these stone inscriptions is rarely straightforward and some passages will need further clarification. The inscriptions are presented in English translation, whilst the original Tibetan text and a normalised transliteration are given in the appendix. These inscriptions follow a similar template, except for SI3 which is too short to conform entirely to this model, and therefore offer an interesting avenue for the study of epigraphy. Each inscription is composed of three sections: (1) a religious opening in the form of a praise or invocation (*mchod brjod*); (2) a cosmological and territorial description; (3) and a donative narration and dedication. These epigraphs tend to begin and/or finish with auspicious Sanskrit formulae and symbols (e.g. *siddham*, *maṅgala*). They are also punctuated with Tibetan interjections such as *kyee* and *kye lags*, specifically between the first and second sections. These exclamatory expressions, and the use of vocative forms, seem to confer on these stones a certain performative function. I will return to this aspect in the final discussion.

The stone inscription from Dangkhar (SI1)

The first inscription was found by Shuttleworth at Dangkhar (*brag mkhar/grang khar*) in July 1918. The copy of the text, which is now at the British Library, indicates that it was carved on a large green blackish stone of approximately 18 by 13 inches (45.7x33cm), together with an image of Vajrapāṇi (Shuttleworth : MssEur D722/8) (Fig. 2). In his unfinished manuscript on the history of Spiti, however, Shuttleworth offered further information specifying that the epigraph had been found “in a small temple on the roof of Drangkhar fort”.⁷ His clarification is significant for two reasons. First, it indicates that the stone had been removed from its original location. Second, it suggests that a conscious choice was made to transfer and preserve it inside the district fort of the old capital, a place expressly stated in the epigraph.

Om. May this be auspicious!

I bow down to the Venerable Avalokiteśvara who has a thousand hands like a thousand Universal Monarchs; who has a thousand eyes like a thousand Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon; and who displays whatever is necessary to tame and guide each and every one.

Hail! May the helmet of the Dharma King Seng ge rnam rgyal be high on top of the Victorious Palace erected on the promontory of the Great [capital of] Leh on the right side of the flowing Indus River. Hail! On top of Dangkhar in his dominion of Spiti, let Ga ga Tshe ring rnam rgyal enjoy a long life.

Hail! The patron [and] minister Tshe ring bkra shis, whose noble ancestry is the minister family of Par ca, is praised for having accomplished the great deed of completing and accumulating two hundred of the supreme six-syllable mantras for the sake of holding high the helmet of the king and the ministers. [His] sister is

⁷ “An inscribed votive stone tablet, found by the writer in 1918 in a small temple on the roof of Drangkhar fort names both *Señ-ge-rnam.rgyal* and *Ga-ga Tshe-rin-rnam.rgyal* of the family of *Par-cha Blon-po* (minister), who was apparently the ruler of Spiti under this king of Leh. The king’s name also occurs in a book dedication sheet found at Drangkhar in 1908, and in a wall inscription in the small entrance shrine at *Lha - lung*, as well as in other inscriptions or documents of these parts.” (Shuttleworth : MssEur D722/25).

from the immaculate lineage of 'Od gsal lha. The patron, Lady Jo co 'Dzoms lags, supplied sustenance, [like] a divine nectar, to the people, delighting those receiving the offerings. How wonderful!

This first inscription can be dated without any major difficulty to the last decade of King Seng ge rnam rgyal's life (c. 1590–1642). As a result of the conquest of Guge in the early 1630s, Spiti came under his dominion and officials were appointed in order to administer the small valley on behalf of the king of Ladakh. From that time onward, these representatives were titled Ga ga or No no depending on the period, their age and their seniority (Petech 1977 : 155-156; 1997 : 249). They are believed to be the highest-ranking local officials in Spi-

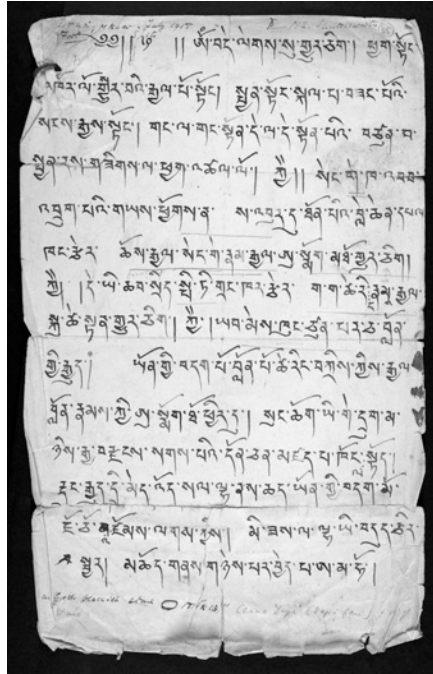


Figure 2 Paper copy of the inscription from Dangkhar retrieved by Shuttleworth in 1918.
Photo: MssEur D722/4-12 f35r © British Library Board.

ti. Subordinated to the prefect of the fort (*mkhar dpon*/*rdzong dpon*) of Ladakh, they were stationed in the district fort (*rdzong mkhar*) at Dangkhar and eventually assumed the role of local magistrate (*khrimis dpon*) (Schuh 2016 : 2-12). It is therefore along these lines that Ga ga Tshe ring rnam rgyal in the epigraph was likely the first official to be appointed by Seng ge rnam rgyal to hold office at Dangkhar,

following the integration of Spiti into the neighbouring kingdom. As for Shuttleworth's note, it remains to be determined whether Ga ga Tshe ring rnam rgyal, like the minister Tshe ring bkra shis, belonged to the Par cha minister lineage (*par cha blon po*), too.

It is generally held that the members of the *blon chen pa* family occupied an important position among the uppermost strata of Spitian society (Laurent 2013 : 127). The donative section clearly reaffirms Tshe ring bkra shis' noble paternal family lineage as being of the Par ca minister (*yab mes khung btsun par ca blon gyi rgyud*). As a benefactor (*yon gyi bdag po*) and a minister (*blon po*) himself, he is praised for upholding the power of the king and the ministers by commissioning two hundred *maṇi* stones engraved with the six-syllable mantras (*yi ge drug ma nyis brgya*). Whether Ga ga Tshe ring rnam rgyal and the minister Tshe ring bkra shis were related to each other is difficult to determine at present.⁸

The inscription also highlights the family lineage (*gdung rgyud*) of the *donatrix* (*yon gyi bdag mo*) but in terms that defy common social stratifications. Lady Jo co 'Dzoms lags is said to descend from a line of 'shining gods' (*'od gsal lha*), explaining, perhaps, her ability to transform worldly sustenance into a divine nectar (*lha'i bdu rtsi*).⁹ It may well be, however, that the *donatrix* from Dangkhar was somehow related to the Kingdom of Gung thang in West Tibet. In fact, her peculiar family ancestry occurs in two legal documents issued by the royal house of Gung thang in the fifteenth century (Schuh 1981 : 349, 364). In them, King Kun bzang nyi zla grags pa and King rGyal mchan bsod nams are both said to belong to the 'progenies of Shinning Gods' (*'od gsal lha brgyud*), offering an interesting historical precedent for 'Dzoms lags' filiation.¹⁰ It is yet clear that Lady Jo co 'Dzoms lags, like her brother, was a member of the nobility. She acted as a devout patron and generously donated food supplies to the local monastic community.

At the outset, SI1 is a vivid testimony to the religious and political influence of the *blon chen pa* family of the old capital of Spiti in the 1630s. The members of this illustrious family are still found among the people of Dangkhar today, and their ancestral home occupies a dominant position at the top of the settlement (*mkhar stod*). In fact, the

⁸ To compound matter further, it has been suggested that in the eighteenth century the *blon po* were none other than "the *mkhar dpon* of Spiti who resided at Dankhar" (Jahoda 2009 : 49-50).

⁹ Although less commonly used nowadays, the word *jo co* is an affectionate term of address for women and little girls in Spiti. I am grateful to Lochen Rinpoche for this clarification.

¹⁰ I owe Dieter Schuh a debt of gratitude for drawing my attention to these documents and their possible implication for the political history of Western Himalayan polities.

minister's house is situated immediately to the right of the district fort, where bKra shis tshe ring must have held office during the Ladakhi paramountcy (Fig. 3). The spatial proximity of the minister's household to the centre of power is not so surprising. Around the same time, the aristocratic houses of Seng ge rnam gyal's chief minister (*bka' blon*), minister (*blon po*), Munshi, together with the large household of the Rupshu's, were all located just under the walls of the king's newly built palace in Leh (Harrison 2016 : 66-69).



Figure 3 Dangkhar: view of the settlement, monastery, and district fort on top of the ridge.
Photo: Samuel Bourne, 1866 © Victoria and Albert Museum London.



Figure 4 Heap of *mani* stones, upper part of the settlement (*mkhar stod*), Dangkhar. Photo: the author, 2014.

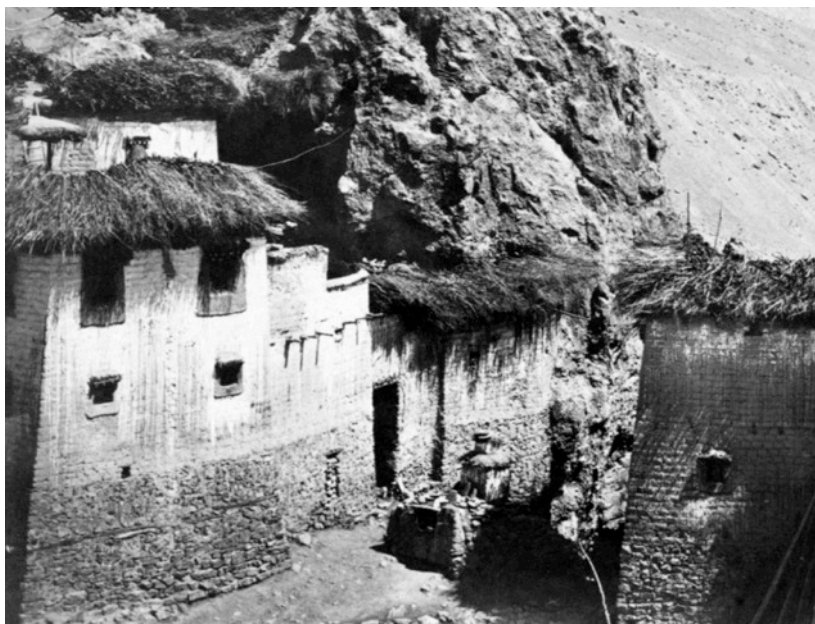


Figure 5 A *maṇi* wall built in the upper part of the settlement (*mkhar stod*) at Dangkhar.
Photo: Frank Mason Good for Francis Frith, 1869.

Today, a small heap of *maṇi* stones can still be seen not far below the district fort and the minister's house (Fig. 4). It is collectively referred to as 'thousand *maṇi*' (*maṇi stong*). A photograph taken in 1869 provides an additional view of this *maṇi* wall, which religiously marked the access to the upper part of the settlement and regulated people's comings and goings (Fig. 5). Was it the original location of SI1? There is, nonetheless, every reason to believe that bKra shis tshes ring's offering of two hundred stones contributed to the establishment of a fully-fledged *maṇi* wall somewhere in the polity. As time went by, the recording of his munificence and aristocratic filiation ensured the donor inscription to be persevered in a secure location. And what better place than the small chapel of the district fort, on top of Dangkhar, in King Seng ge rnam rgyal's dominion of Spiti (*chab srid spi ti grang khar rtser*).

The stone inscription from Lower Mani (SI2)

The following two inscriptions were captured on paper by Shuttleworth at Mani (*ma ṇi/ma nas*), a village consisting of two settlements: Lower Mani (*ma ṇi 'og ma*) and Upper Mani (*ma ṇi gong*

ma) less than a kilometre away (Fig. 6) (Shuttleworth MssEur D722/8).¹¹ The copy of SI2 kept in London indicates that the epigraph had been engraved on a white stone adorned with a representation of Padmasambhava (Fig. 7). The handwriting is quite distinct from the copy of SI1 and cannot be attributed to the hand of the British orientalist either. No other information has been made available with regard to the location where the inscription was documented.

Om svasti. May this be auspicious!

I bow down to Lord Buddha in whom the three bodies are manifest, to the noble doctrine which is enriched by the three scriptural collections, and to the noble doctrine which is enriched by the threefold trainings. I respectfully bow down to the three rare and sublime jewels.

Hail! This continent is the southern Jambudvīpa. The snowy hillsides of Mt. Kailash are the dwelling place of Foe Destroyers. The tepid abode is Lake Manasarovar. On the right side of the flowing Indus River, up in the hinterland, is the charming [village] of Mani. May the great Dharma King Nyi ma rnam rgyal live long and his dominion thrive!

The patron, Lady sGrol ma skyabs, practiced purification [and had] a hundred *mani* on immutable stones [inscribed] for the long life of the protector [and] lord, [and for her] loving and kind parents to move along the path of liberation. May this be auspicious! May external enemies be subjugated and family members be protected!¹²

¹¹ These designations may in fact suggest an expansion of the village of Mani in time, with an early Mani (*ma ni gong ma*) and a later Mani (*ma ni 'og ma*), in particular since there is no substantial difference in elevation that would justify a distinction between a lower and upper settlement.

¹² Shuttleworth's papers contain a rough translation of SI2: "Namaskar to the protectors of religion, the three divinities (1) Sanges of the three kinds (2) scriptures of the three kinds (3) genduns (lamas) of the three kinds. Listen O, good people! In the southern globe there is jambu dweep the best of all the dweeps. In this dweep is situated Kailas glacier which is the dwelling place of Dachoms (disciples of Budha). At the foot of the Kailash is the Mapang lake (lake of turquoises or Manasarovar), which is the dwelling place of Mado/Madros nag. In vicinity of this lake to the right of Bhutan runs the river which flows from the lion's mouth. To the right of this river is situated the picturesque village of Mane. {long live and flourish the just gyalpo Nima (1590-1620) Nima Namgyal} Dolma Kyabs for the long life of her kind master and for the purpose of securing

The stone inscription from Lower Mani is structurally very similar to the one previously discussed. It opens with an enumeration of Buddhist triads (i.e. *trikāya*, *tripitaka*, *triśikṣā*, and *triratna*) to which homage is paid. Then, following the interjection *kye lags* (Hail! / Listen!), the village of Mani is located within a wider Buddhist cosmographical description. Zooming in on the terrestrial world of Jambudvīpa, the narration progresses within a sacred landscape featuring the holy Mt. Kailash, Lake Manasarovar, and the Indus River. At the end of this journey stands the virtuous and mighty Dharma king (*chos rgyal chen po*) ruling over these lands.

From the occurrence of the king's name, it can be deduced that SI2 was made during Nyi ma rnam rgyal's reign (r. c.1694–1738). Nyi ma rnam rgyal ruled over Spiti and Purig together with bKra shis rnam rgyal until 1738. Literary and epigraphic sources often praise the former for his religious activities throughout Tibet and Ladakh. The Ladakhi king is said to have made lavish offerings to monastic communities and temples, commissioning images, texts, and even long *maṇi* walls made of slates (*rdza nang gi maṇi ring mo*) (Laurent



Figure 6 The village of Mani: upper (or later) settlement on the left and lower (or early) settlement to the right of the centre. Photo: the author, 2016.

heaven for her parents inscribed a hundred names on such stones the inscriptions from which can not be effaced. There be peace. The enemies may perish and the relatives may flourish." (Shuttleworth MssEurD722/8).

2014 : 131-133). His involvement in the local affairs of Spiti is also attested, albeit elusively. As mentioned earlier, Tucci witnessed the name of this king carved on several *mani* stones at Tengyu. Based on

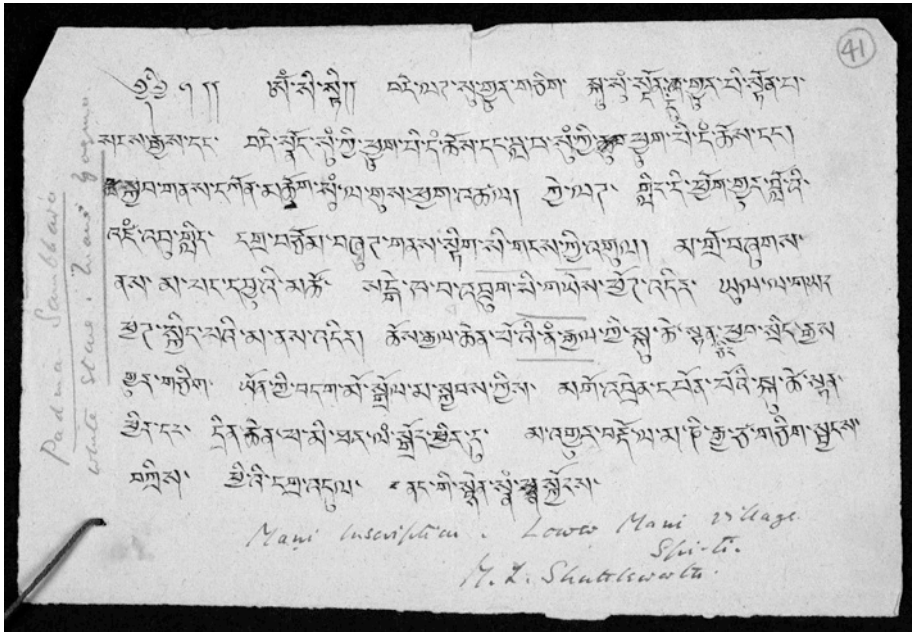


Figure 7 Paper copy of the inscription from Lower Mani retrieved by Shuttlesworth in 1918. Photo: MssEur D722/4-12 f41r © British Library Board.

the reading of these inscriptions, the Italian scholar believed that Nyi ma rnam rgyal had a palace at Kaza and participated in the renovation of the Sakya monastery.¹³ Tucci’s observation has yet to be called into question.¹⁴ On the whole, it does not exclude the

¹³ “In the inscriptions the usual form is: *k’ar* (= *mk’ar*) *rtse*. According to some of these inscriptions there was at Kaze a palace (*p’o bran*) of the kings of Ladakh, when Spiti passed under the rule of that dynasty, and the restorer of the gompa was *Ni ma rnam rgyal* (seventeenth century), the king whom P. Desideri met when he passed through Ladakh on his ways to Lhasa in 1715.” (Tucci & Ghersi 1935 : 41 : 1).

¹⁴ Faithfully following Tucci on the matter, Luciano Petech wrote, “In 1933 G. Tucci found a group of inscriptions of this king at *mk’ar-rtse* (Kaja) in Spiti. A palace of the Ladakhi kings existed there, and *Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal* caused the *Sa-skyapa* monastery of *mk’ar-rtse* to be renovated.” (Petech 1977 : 82-83). More recently, however, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub proposes to relocate Tucci’s ‘*k’ar rtse*’ based on a geographical description found in a document pertaining to Spiti and dated to the reign of King *Tshe dpal rnam rgyal* (r. c. 1802 –1837). “Though our text that mentions a *pho brang chen po* seems to support Tucci’s observation, among other

possibility that other places and monastic communities benefitted from the king's largesse and patronage as Spiti was still under the suzerainty of Ladakh (Laurent 2014).

As for the donative section, it is a classic example of Mahāyāna praxis whereby the merits generated by a virtuous action are transferred to others. In this case, the *donatrix*, Lady sGrol ma skyabs, dedicated one hundred *maṇi* stones to the wellbeing of her family. Her gesture did not only intend to accompany her parents — who presumably passed away — on the path of liberation (*thar lam*), but also to ensure the long life (*sku tshe brten*) of an anonymous benefactor (*mgo 'dren*) and lord (*dpon po*). There is nothing to indicate in the use of these terms whether the latter was a religious figure, a member of the ruling aristocracy, or even the donor's husband. From the dedication itself, we still get the sense that sGrol ma skyabs' relatives were experiencing some adverse circumstances, possibly calling for the subjugation of external threats (*phyi yi dgra 'dul*).

The stone inscription from Mani (SI3)

The second stone inscription recorded by Shuttleworth at Mani, the settlement of which is not specified, is the shortest in length (Shuttleworth MssEur D722/8). Moreover, the reproduction of this epigraph furnishes no information whatsoever about the stone and its location.

Om svasti siddham.

I bow down to the Buddha, in whom the three bodies are manifest, and to Avalokiteśvara.

hypotheses," explains the Indologist, "one could take «mkhar rtse» as a common name or also as an abbreviation of Grag mkhar rtse of 1.14. The description that follows (1.10-11) nicely fits to Drang mkhar, present Dankar (Fig. 8.1), as well as to the castles/fortresses built on the summit of rocky mountains. As we may note, our text mentions two *rgyal sa, na*. Rang rig, hosting a *mkhar dpon* and Drang mkhar (cf. infra n.112) where the *rdzong dpon chen po* resides, see Table I." (Scherrer-Schaub 2013 : 129). Her hypothesis was rendered moot by Dieter Schuh who has recently pointed to her faulty reading of that passage (Schuh 2016 : 92-93). The reasons given by the German historian and Tibetologist are particularly relevant for the present article. As it will be discussed later, the territorial description under scrutiny is a recurring trope found in many epigraphs and stone inscriptions from the Western Himalayas. It follows a defined sequence in which regional authorities are mentioned after the reference to the ruling sovereign.

Hail! The pious patron [offered this]. May the monk Nam mkha' rgya mtsho's adversity and obstacles of this life be appeased! [And may he] be reborn in Sukhāvātī [in his] next life!

Despite its brevity, SI3 is still composed of two distinct sections. It begins with a homage to the Buddha's *trikāya* and to the compassionate Avalokiteśvara. As for the donative section, it does not bring much grist to the mill of social history. The name of the donor is unknown.¹⁵ The recipient of the virtuous offering is a monk (*dge slong*) named Nam mkha' rgya mtsho, likely nearing the end of life.

The stone inscription from Nadang (SI4)

The last inscription was found by the author at Nadang (*na dang*) during fieldwork in the summer of 2016. The small hamlet of Nadang is located a few kilometres upstream from Tabo on the right side of the Spiti River. The stone is now preserved inside a small chapel at the foot of the main altar (Fig. 8). The inscription was carved in high relief on the flat surface of a naturally polished stone of approximately 49 by 23 centimetres (Fig. 9).

I bow down to the Venerable Avalokiteśvara who has a thousand hands like a thousand Universal Monarchs; who has a thousand eyes like a thousand Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon; and who displays whatever is necessary to tame and guide each and every one.

Hail! The best continent is the southern Jambudvīpa. To the left side of the flowing Indus River, praise the Dharma King Khri Grags pa lde! At Dangkhar under his dominion, praise the lord Yid rgyal!

In the land of Nadang where prosperity and happiness melt, the faithful patron mKon mchog tshe ring had one

¹⁵ In the present context, the absence of additional grammatical particles does not permit to tell whether the 'pious patron' (*dad ldan yon gyi bdag po*) designates the donor himself/herself or the recipient of the donation, namely the monk Nam mkha' rgya mtsho. However, the use of a similar expression in SI4, followed this time by the donor's name and an amended agentive particle, would tend to indicate that the 'pious patron' does not qualify the beneficiary but rather stands for the anonymous donor.

thousand holy and sublime *maṇi* stones made for the development of the temple's assembly. Likewise the faithful patron, Lady Jo co Chog pa, transformed sustenance into nectar. What the second lord did is marvellous. Their relatives and friends also had outsiders [and] commodities dispatched. How wondrous!

Compositional features are by now easily recognisable. The donor inscription from Nadang begins with the exact same homage to Avalokiteśvara as the one found at Dangkhar (SI1). The next section is introduced by the exclamatory figure of speech *kye lags*. It continues with a geographical description combining several of the tropes observed in the previous epigraphs. From the Indus River to Nadang, the jurisdiction of the territory recounted is said to be under the *cakravartin* Khri Grags pa lde and his Spitian subordinate. As a result, SI4 can be dated to the first three decades of the seventeenth century.

SI4 is therefore the earliest epigraph in our possession. Incidentally, it confirms observations made by Francke on two separate occasions during his survey of the Spiti Valley. King bKra shis grags pa lde (r. c. 1606–1630) was the last ruling king of Guge, a kingdom established by his forefathers in the tenth century. In the *Chos 'byung pa'i yid 'phrog*, a historical work chiefly focused on West Tibet, the author, Zhang zhung pa dPal'byor bzang po (b. 1552), offers a concise tribute to the monarch: “The divine throne holder, lHa'i dbang phyug (lit. lord of the gods) bKra shis grags pa lde, too, from a young age, conquered political power and a mighty realm. [By gaining] the respect of long-time domestic rivals and the like, both the religious and the temporal sphere thrived”.¹⁶ As such, the people of Spiti were under his power (*khong gi mnga'og*) and a lord (*dpon po*) represented his interests at the capital of Spiti.¹⁷ That is to say until the year 1630, when Khri Grags pa lde was deposed by the King Seng ge nam rgyal of Ladakh. With the fall of Tsaparang and the forcible exile of the last king of Guge, Spiti changed hands for good. With SI1 and SI4, we have therefore two stone inscriptions representing a pivotal moment for the history of the region, yet remarkably similar in composition and references.

¹⁶ / lha khrid lha'i dbang phyug bkris grags pa lde yang sku gzhon nu nas rgyal srid phyug btsan zhing mnga' thang rgyal / phas rgol ngang gi 'dud pa sogs chos 'jig rten gnyis ka dar la rgyas song /; (Vitali 2012b : 215 : 8-11). For a different translation of this passage and, more generally, on Khri Grags pa lde; see (Vitali 2012a : 57).

¹⁷ The term *yid rgyal* is an abbreviation for ‘wish-fulfilling king of power’ (*yid bzhin dbang rgyal*). It is not entirely clear in the present context if it designates the name of a person or if it is used as an epithet.



Figure 8 Inscribed stone at the foot of the altar inside the temple at Nadang.
Photo: the author, 2016.

From the donative section, it stands out that the local monastic congregation (*lha khang gi tshogs*) of Nadang received the patronage of several benefactors led by the faithful patron (*dad ldan yon gyi bdag po*) mKon mchog tshe ring and the donor (*yon gyi bdag mo*) Lady Jo co Chog pa. The nature of their support is somewhat reminiscent of Tshe ring bkra shis and Lady Jo co 'Dzoms lags' at Dangkar. Only this time, one thousand sacred and magnificent *maṇi* stones (*dam chos khyad 'phags ma ṇi*) were produced for the occasion, while the *donatrix* is still confined to her role of the divine nurturing mother. Joining them in the effort, an anonymous lord (*dpon*) with his relatives and

friends (*gnyen grogs rnams*) appeared to have supported the local temple, too.

Overall, it generally transpires from the donative section a sense of wealth and abundance. Indeed, Nadang is described further up in the inscription as a land where prosperity and happiness (*g.yang chags skyid pa*) convene. This idea, however, does not accord well with the present settlement or with even the vestiges visible in and around the hamlet today. When Francke toured Spiti in 1909, the situation was already indicative of a different material state. The German scholars then noted, “On the other bank of the Spiti river, we saw the large monastery of Nathang with many terraced fields round about it, some under cultivation, but most of them bare. The monastery is built in three stories, the one above always a little narrower than the one below it, like a pyramid of three steps, thus reminding me of Alchi (and also of the mTho-lding) monastery. Nathang also is said to have been founded in the days, when the Tabo monastery was built. During summer, there is not a single lama residing in it.” (Francke 1914 : 43).

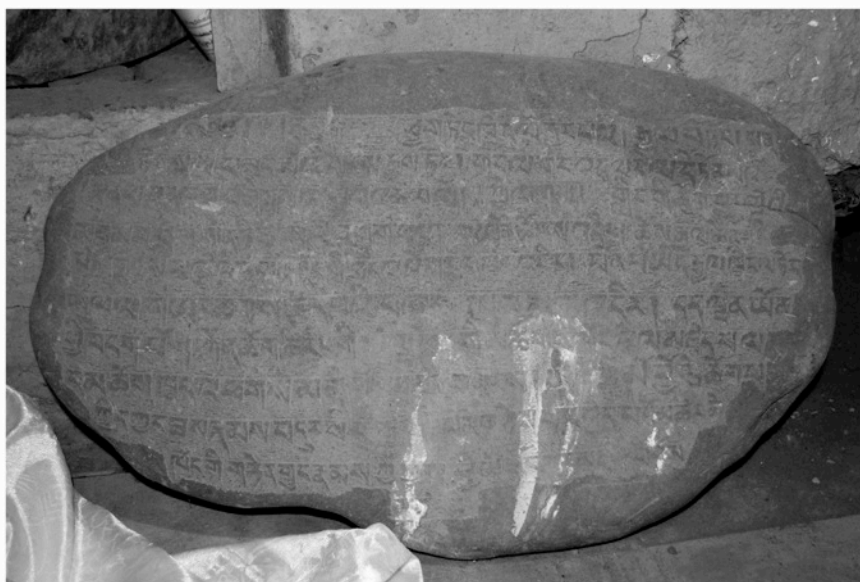


Figure 9 *Maṇi* stone inscription from Nadang. Photo: the author, 2016.

What happened to the three storey-building seen by Francke from a distance is not known. Today, the single-storey temple at Nadang has been heavily repaired with a completely new roof-framework (Fig. 10). There is yet very little left in situ that could suggest that the

original building was erected at the turn of the first millennium when Tabo was founded. Moreover, a cursory evaluation of the wall-paintings inside shows a clear leaning towards the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism. In fact, it is not impossible that these murals date back to the time of the donor inscription, or perhaps a bit earlier, when Gelugpa institutions in West Tibet received substantial support from the rulers of Guge in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Regardless of the date of the building, the stone inscription from Nadang was somehow removed from its original context in order to be preserved inside the temple to which it refers. Once again, we are left with the impression that the donor inscriptions of these *mani* stones were read and deliberately saved for the information they contain.



Figure 10 One-storey temple at Nadang, back of the building. Photo: the author, 2016.

Discussion

By a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, stone inscriptions from Spiti have resurfaced at a time where the historical study of the Western Himalayan valley returns to the foreground. Thanks to the pioneering work of Shuttleworth, we are now able to lay the foundations for an epigraphic analysis of *mani* stones produced in the river valley. The inscriptions presented in this paper generally corroborate historical trends and observations made by early

scholars, such as Francke, Tucci, and Petech. As a tool for microhistory, on the other hand, these epigraphs bring first-hand evidence of social practices engaging local communities at different periods of time. This notwithstanding, the well-defined format of these inscriptions locates their production within the wider geopolitical context of Western Tibet.

Remarkably, the donor inscriptions inscribed on *maṇi* stones correspond to a model of written documents produced in Spiti, Zanskar, and Ladakh from at least the thirteenth century onwards. If these documents vary in length and material support, they often follow the same literary pattern using established phraseology and similar images to organise and adjust their content to regional particularism. Common to all these documents is the recording of meritorious deeds and patronage. Examples of donative records include the wall inscription at Wanla in Ladakh (Tropper 2006, 2015), the dedication poem from Lari in Spiti (Tauscher 1999), the donor chronicles from Zangla in Zanskar (Dargyay 1987), the register of Rangrik in Spiti (Scherrer-Schaub 2013), and numerous inscriptions from Ladakh (Jina 1998; Francke & Jina 2003). A review and discussion on this topic is beyond the scope of the present research. I will therefore confine myself to outline dominant traits and particular aspects found in these documents that are equally relevant for the study of inscriptions from Spiti.

In most cases, the structure of donative records starts with a religious opening in the form of a praise, invocation, or eulogy. It opens with the auspicious Sanskrit formula, *Ōṃ sva sti siddham*, whether in full or in part. The passage is addressed to various Buddhist entities, both animate and inanimate. It is almost invariably composed in verse, from a single to many stanzas in length, and ends with an expression of piety; typically 'I respectfully bow down to' (*la gus pas 'dud*) or 'I pay homage to' (*la phyag 'tshal lo*).

The following section sketches a cosmological representation featuring topoi like the southern continent Jambudvīpa and the seat of the Buddha's awakening (*vajrasana / rdo rje gdan*). From the holy land of India, the narration moves to Tibet, Mt. Kailash, and the dominion of Upper Ngari where the teaching of the Buddha spread. By the time it reached West Tibet, the description veers towards the Indus River and the realm of politics. This literary trope is conspicuous in most donative documents and was already noticed by Francke during his tour of Spiti. At Kaza, the German scholar noticed "a fairly old votive tablet dating from the time of the Ladakhi regime in Spiti". "It was written in bad orthography", remarked the ASI member, "and was in a poor state of preservation. The 'national anthem' was similar to that of Guge stones, but in the place where

the Guge version has the Satluj (*gLang-chen-kha-bab*), here we find the Indus (*Seng-ge-kha-bab*)" (Francke 1914 : 45).¹⁸

The so-called 'national anthem' identified by Francke is a recurring expression used in donative records from the Western Himalayas. A review of its occurrences, however, reveals diverging formulations that have occasionally misguided scholars in their translations. In its simplest form the expression bears the meaning of "to the right/left side of the Indus River". For instance, it is written "*seng ge kha 'bab 'brug pa'i g.yon phyogs su*" in the wall inscription at Wanla, leading Tropper to translate it as "on the (proper) left side of the thundering Indus river" (Tropper 2006 : 124). Here the rendering of *'brug pa'i* as 'thundering' seems a bit awkward and is at odds with classical Tibetan grammar. The same phrasing is equally found in the register from Rangrik. This time it is translated "to the right side of the streams of the Indus river", showing little concern for the use and possible meaning of *'brug pa'i* in the Tibetan original (Scherrer-Schaub 2013 : 129). The matter is further complicated in the epigraphs from Spiti in which geographical accuracy and spelling consistency were at the mercy of stone carvers. SI1 and SI2 closely follow the example given above, only this time to situate the village of Mani surprisingly to the right side of the Indus River.¹⁹ In SI4, however, the sentence reaches a high level of incorrect spelling and phonetic rendering, reading "*sin ti tsang po'i 'grug pa'i g.yon chogs 'dir*".

The matter can be easily resolved, it would seem, thanks to a relatively large corpus of inscriptions from Ladakh in which the expression 'to the right/left side of the Indus River' is written using three different forms: *'brug pa'i*, *'dug pa'i*, or *rgyug pa'i*.²⁰ In light of these inscriptions, it is reasonable to assume that the correct spelling and grammatical form should be the existential verb 'to exist' (*'dug*) or the verb 'to flow' (*rgyug*), whereas the single incidence of *'brug pa'i* in these inscriptions should likely be regarded as a corrupted form; perhaps induced by a vague homonymic relationship between these terms?

¹⁸ I am not familiar with any inscription bearing a reference to the Sutlej River, whereas mentions of the Indus River are plentiful.

¹⁹ That is "*seng ge kha 'bab 'brug pa'i g.yas phyogs na*" and "*sangge kha ba 'brug pi g.yes phyogs 'dir*" respectively.

²⁰ Jina's transliteration scheme is far from ideal and consistent. Following his transliterations of Tibetan originals, it appears that some of the words were originally misspelt, which should not come as a surprise in view of the nature of these inscriptions. Nonetheless, Jina's work allows the identification of **'brug pa'i* in SI.No.40 (Jina 1998 : 19). The form **'dug pa'i* is found in SI.No.38, SI.No.51, and possibly SI.No.92 (Francke & Jina 2003 : 44, 51, 92). Finally, the form **rgyug pa'i* is used in SI.No.2, SI.No.42 (Jina 1998 : 3, 21), and SI.No.78 (Francke & Jina 2003 : 96).

Regardless, the frequent literary reference to the Indus River in donative records is instrumental in revealing the realm of worldly power within this sacred Buddhist geography. Located to the right/left side of the flowing river stands the 'great' or 'divine' palace (*pho brang*), from where the ruling monarch exercises power over his western Himalayan dominions. Described as a religious king (*chos kyi rgyal po*), his mighty power is requested to be firmly established, following the proverbial expression 'May the helmet be high!' (*dbu rmog mtho gyur cig*). The identity of the current ruler is usually established, offering ground for dating these documents, and a royal genealogy may also be recounted and praised. At the end of this cosmological and territorial narrative comes the place of enunciation. It is the location where the wall inscription, the *maṇi* stone, or the manuscript is not only situated but from where it speaks.

Donative records are public, or semi-public, testimonies meant to be put on display and read. In some ways, these documents are able 'to speak' to the devotee and 'to apostrophize' the passers-by in order to draw attention to their content and message. The use of interjections is another structuring element in the composition of these records. The vocative expressions *kye lags*, *kye legs*, or simply *kye*, not only call out to bystanders, but also break down the documents into easily identifiable sections. The literary device is typically placed between the opening praise and the following cosmological narrative. At Wanla, for instance, the interjection *kjee legs* "does not seem to be part of the verse proper", remarks Tropper, "[it] rather appears to form a *caesura* separating the opening verse from the main body of the inscriptional text" (Tropper 2006 : 114 : 50). Similarly in the epigraph from Dangkhar (SI1), the interjection *kjee* is repeated thrice, marking important sections and parts of the donor inscription.

Recalling the situational character and functions of stone inscriptions, one is therefore inclined to think, like Ardussi, that *maṇi* walls operate as a communication medium within Tibetan and Himalayan Buddhist communities. Within the framework of merit-making, these votive structures are primarily the repository of pious offerings in the form of carved *maṇi* stones. With their donor inscriptions placed at prominent positions, on the other hand, these walls become public message boards and territorial markers. By setting an example of Mahāyāna praxis, these epigraphs reiterate normative ethical behaviours and civic values. In this process, the current world order is reaffirmed by means of a territorial anthem headed by the tutelary *cakravartin*. All those subordinated to the ideal ruler, from local officials to the donors themselves, are therefore exhorted to emulate the monarch and rule ethically and benevolently

over his vassal territories and their communities. In view of our donor inscriptions, the *maṇi* walls of Spiti operated as semaphoric architectural features put to the service of a politico-religious ideology.

Overall, the main body of donative records praises donors, meritorious acts, and the motivations for performing them. Looking at donor chronicles (*chab brjod*) from Zanskar, Dargyay summarizes the underlying dynamic of merit-making, gift-giving, and patronage. "The motivation for such a deed", she explains, "is to dedicate the merit generated through this act to the benefit of the donor's deceased parents, in some cases to ensure the prosperity of the living (and ruling) members of the family, to purge one's own wrong deed, and in general to the benefit of all sentient beings" (Dargyay 1987 : 16).

As we have seen, the donor inscriptions from Spiti often involved a main donor and the participation of supplementary benefactors. From the gift of a single stone to the establishment of an entire *maṇi* wall, it is not clear how the making of *maṇi* stones could impact the economy and benefit local communities beyond their religious value. In fact, assessing the production cost of *maṇi* stones in Spiti is a complex task considering that the economic system of these regions relied essentially on barter. Based on the data provided by these inscriptions, it is interesting to observe the following ratio. In SI3, an anonymous donor offered a single stone to alleviate the suffering of an individual. At Dangkhar, a minister had two hundred *maṇi* stones made to ensure the prosperity of the state (SI1), while the Lady from Lower Mani donated one hundred stones for a member of the (local) nobility and her parents (SI2). Finally, the main donor of Nadang bestowed one thousand *maṇi* stones towards the improvement of the local temple, with the possible assistance of a lord and other benefactors. One is therefore tempted to think that the making of a few hundred *maṇi* stones was a somewhat average donation for the wealthy upper classes of Spiti. Ordinary men and women, on the other hand, could probably not afford to offer more than a couple of carved mantras; and their gesture did not necessarily result in the creation of a donor inscription. As we have seen, the commissioning of *maṇi* stones could yet amount to a fully-fledged wall of one thousand stones. A similar donation was also reported at Nako in Upper Kinnaur (Tropper 2009). Here, again, the donor is found among the uppermost section of the society in which his family lineage and ancestry are heavily stressed.

Donative records also draw attention to the fundamental role performed by *donatrices* in Western Himalayan societies. Although they tend to appear as supplementary donors, women figure prominently in several documents. In effect, meritorious acts

dedicated to entire communities often include the contribution of Lady donors (*yon gyi bdag mo*), spouses, and sisters. The dedication poem from Lari in Spiti, for instance, details the assistance offered by two pairs of sisters in attending a monastic community (Tauscher 1999). Following the traditional expression observed in SI1 and SI4, the sisters from Lari delighted their countrymen by transforming food into nectar, and by serving it to the monks with their graceful hands (*lag bde*). These *donatrices* are designated by their full name and, like the male donors to whom they tend to be associated, likely belong to the local nobility. As such, the study of epigraphy gives women a visibility often compromised in other literary forms.

Maṇi walls are ubiquitous features in the rich material and visual culture of Tibetan-speaking regions. The interest of these multifunctional monuments for the study of social history, however, has received little attention in academic circles. In particular, the analysis of donor inscriptions engraved on *maṇi* stones provides valuable information to apprehend the social actors of communities, who, more often than not, 'escaped the historian's net'. With the four inscriptions presented here, we are also reminded of the complex political situation experienced by Spiti, a mountainous landlocked river valley wedged between powerful Buddhist kingdoms, in the course of its history. Composed according to well-established literary patterns, these epigraphs imitate, in many ways, other written documents produced to record the common memory of individuals and communities engaged in gift-giving and merit-making. As such, donor inscriptions were engraved in stone in order to last. The content of these inscriptions was made public and, therefore, accessible to all. It ensured the safekeeping of a collective memory and the diffusion of normative Buddhist beliefs from one generation to the following.

Epilogue

In the 1930s, the ability of stone inscriptions to operate as a means of mass communication did not escape the attention of missionaries engaged in the religious conversion of Western Himalayan populations. Drawing from Francke's experience, members of the Moravian church used stone carving as a medium for the dissemination of Christ's message (Fig.11). "During a missionary journey to Spiti", remarks Rafal Beszterda, "they hired a stonemason to inscribe verses taken mainly from the Gospel of Mark in classical Tibetan on the rocks and stones along the way. In this way, the Moravians utilised a regional tradition of inscribing religious

(Buddhist) texts in stone. They continued to use this technique until the 1950s. When the mission in Keylong closed, the Moravian bishop F.E. Peter stated that in the future, these stone carvings would be left to provide testimony to the Saviour and the missions once in the area" (Beszterda 2013 : 96-97). But as Buddhist *mani* stones or Christian evangelical engravings, the study of stone inscriptions offers a vibrant testimony to lesser known aspects of Tibetan and Himalayan history.

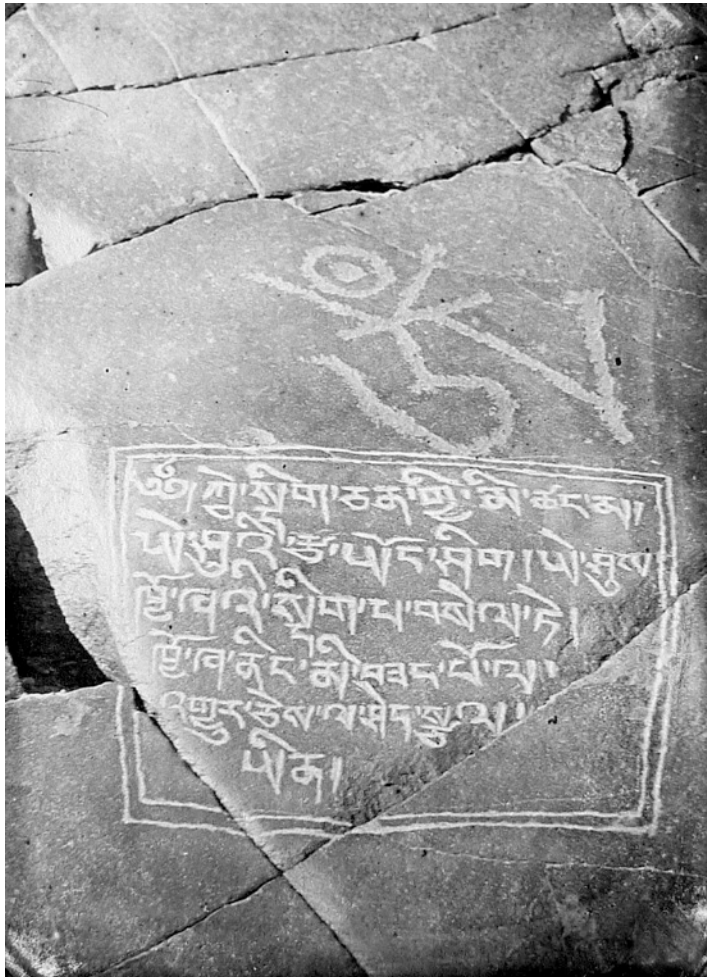


Figure 11 Christian evangelical text engraved on a stone somewhere near the Baralacha Pass (Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut, Germany). Photo: courtesy of Rafal Beszterda 2010

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APPENDIX

Stone Inscription from Dangkhar (SI1)

༄༅། ། ཨོ་བདེ་ལེགས་སུ་གྱུར་ཅིག། འཇུག་སྒོང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྒོང་། སྐུན་སྒོང་སྐལ་བ་བཟང་པོའི་
 སངས་རྒྱལ་སྒོང་། གང་ལ་གང་སྒོན་དེ་ལ་དེ་སྒོན་བའི་བཙུན་བ་སྐུན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆམ་ལོ། གྲི། སེང་
 བོ་ཁ་འབབ་འབྲུག་བའི་གཡས་ཕྱོགས་ན་ ས་འབྲུང་དུ་མོན་བའི་མེ་ཆེན་དབལ་ཁང་ཅེར་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་སེང་བོ་རྣམ་
 རྒྱལ་ལྷ་སྒོག་མཚོ་གྱུར་ཅིག། གྲི། །དེ་ཡི་ཆབ་སྲིད་སྲི་ཉི་གང་ཁང་ཅེར་ ག་ག་ཆེ་རིང་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་ཆེ་སྐུན་གྱུར་
 ཅིག། གྲི། །ཡལ་མེས་ཁང་ཚུན་བར་ཅ་སྒོན་གྱི་རྒྱུད། ཡོན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་སྒོན་པོ་ཆེ་རིང་བའི་ས་གྲིས་རྒྱལ་སྒོན་
 རྣམས་གྱི་ལྷ་སྒོག་མཚོ་གྱུར་དུ། སུང་ཆོག་ཡི་གོ་དུག་མ་ཉེས་རྒྱ་བརྒྱུད་ས་གསལ་བའི་དོན་ཅན་མཛད་བཞེས་ལ་སྒོང་།
 རུང་རྒྱུད་ཅི་མེད་འོད་སལ་ལྷ་ནས་ཆད་ཡོན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ཚོ་ཅོ་འཛོམས་ལགས་གྲིས། མི་ཟས་ལ་ལྷ་ཡི་བདུན་ཅེར་
 སྐྱུར། མཚོད་གནས་གཉེས་བར་བྱེད་བ་ཨ་མ་ཏོ།

// Ōṃ bde legs su gyur cig / phyag stong 'khor [los] sgyur ba'i rgyal
 po stong / spyang stong skal pa bzang po'i sangs rgyas stong / gang
 la gang [dul] de la de[r] ston pa'i / btsun [pa] spyang ras gzigs la
 phyag 'tshal lo / kyee / seng ge kha 'bab [rgy]ug pa'i g.yas phyogs

na [/] sa 'bur du thon pa'i ble chen dpal [m]kha[r] rtser [/] chos rgyal
 seng ge rnam rgyal [dbu] [r]mog mtho gyur cig / kyee / de yi chab
 srid spi ti grang khar rtser [/] ga ga tshe ring rna[m] rgyal sku tshe
 [brtan] gyur gig / kyee / yab mes khung [b]tsun par ca blon gyi
 rgyud / yon gyi bdag po blon po tshe ring bkris kyis rgyal blon rnam
 kyi [dbu] [r]mog mtho] phyir du / [g]sung [m]chog yi ge drug ma
 nyis [b]rgya [rdzogs] [b]sags pa'i don [ch]len mdzad pa khong la
 [b]stod / [gd]ung rgyud dri med 'od [g]sal lha nas [mche]d yon gyi
 bdag mo jo co 'dzoms lags kyis / mi zas la lha yi bdu[d] rtsir sbyar /
 mchod gnas [m]nyes par byed pa [E] ma ho

Stone Inscription from Lower Mani (SI2)

༄༅། །། ཨོཾ་སི་མྲི།། བདེ་ལཱ་སུ་གུར་གཅིག་སྐྱ ་སྲི་སྒོན་དུ་གུར་བི་སྒོན་བ་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བདེ་སྒོན་སྲི་གི་
 ལྷུག་མི་དྲི་ཚེས་དང་ལྷ་བ་སྲི་གི་ལྷུག་མི་དྲི་ཚེས་དང་། ལྷུག་གནས་དགོན་མཚོག་སྲི་ལ་གྲུས་ཕྱག་འཚེལ། གྲེ་ལཱ་
 སྒྲིང་དེ་ཕྱོག་གུར་སྒོ་འི་འཛི་འབྲུ་སྒྲིང་ དབྲུ་བཅོམ་བཞུར་གནས་སྒྲིག་སི་གངས་གི་འགྲུལ། མ་མོ་བཞུགས་ནས་མ་
 བང་དབྲུའི་མཚོ་ སརྒྱེ་ཁ་བ་འབྲུག་མི་གཡེས་ཕྱོར་འདིར་ ཡུལ་ལ་གཡུང་ཕྱར་སྒྲིད་པའི་མ་ནས་འདིར། ཚེས་རྒྱལ་
 ཚེན་པོ་ཉི་ཉི་རྒྱལ་གི་སྐྱ་ཚེ་སྐྱན་ཅིང་ཕུབ་སྲིད་རྒྱས་གུར་གཅིག་ ཡོན་གི་བདག་མོ་སྒོལ་མ་སྐྱབས་གིས། མགོ་འབྲེན་
 དཔོན་པོའི་སྐྱ་ཚེ་སྐྱན་ཕྱིར་དང་ དེན་ཚེན་མ་མི་ཐར་ལོམ་སྒོལ་ཕྱིར་དུ་ མ་འགྲུར་བརྗོལ་མ་ཁེ་རྒྱ་ཅ་གཅིག་སྐྱབས་
 བགྲུས་ ཕྱི་འི་དབྲུ་འདུལ་ བང་གི་སྐྱན་སྒོ་སྒོངས་

// Ōṃ [swa] sti // bde l[e]gs su gyur gcig [/] sku [g]su(m) [mng]lon
 du gyur pa('i) ston pa sangs rgyas dang [/] [s]de snod [g]su(m) kyi
 phyag pa('i) da(m) chos dang [bslab] pa [g]su(m) kyi phyug pa('i)
 da(m) chos dang / skyab[s] gnas dkon mchog [g]su(m) la gus phyag
 'tshal / kye la(gs) gling [']di [mchog] gyur l[h]o [y]i 'dza(m) [b]u
 gling [/] dgra bcom gzhu(gs) gnas [ti] si gangs kyi [m]gul [/] ma
 [d]ro bzhugs [g]nas ma [pham] [g.y]u [y]i mtsho [/] s[e]ng ge kha
 ['bab] [rgy]ug pa'i g.yas phyo(gs) 'dir [/] yul la [y]ar phy(ogs) skyid
 pa'i ma nas 'dir / chos rgyal chen po nyi [ma] [r]na(m) rgyal [g]yi
 sku tshe [br]tan [zh]ing [ch]lab srid rgyas gyur gcig / yon [g]yi bdag
 mo sgrol ma skyabs kyis / mgo 'd]ren dpon po'i sku tshe [br]tan
 phyir dang [/] drin chen pa m[a] thar la(m) ['gro] phyir du [/] m[i]
 'gyur [r]do la ma Ni [b]rgya [r]tsa gcig sbyangs (bkra shis) [/] phyi
 [y]i dgra 'dul nang gi [g]nyen [r]na(m)[s] skyongs [/]

- 6 yul la g.yang chags [s]kyid pa'i bzhur yul na dang 'dir / dad ldan
yon
- 7 gyi bdag po / [d]kon [m]chog tshe ri[n]g gi[s] / lha khang gi
[tsh]ogs gong [']phel mdzad pa la
- 8 dam chos khyad 'phags ma Ni stong [rtsa] bzh[e]ngs / yon gyi
bdag mo [j]o co chog pa
- 9 [gis] kyang zas rnam [bdud] [rtsir] [s]gyur / [d]pon gnyis par
byed pa ngo mtshar che
- 10 khong gi gnyen [grogs] rnam kyi[s] kyang / phyi mi zong [bsk]ur
mdzad pa ng[o]
- 11 mtshar che [//]



Tibetan documents in the archives of the Tantric Lamas of Tshognam in Mustang, Nepal: An interdisciplinary case study

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Introduction

Besides being an important source of information for the reconstruction of Mustang's social history, the archives of the district's villages are an extremely valuable source of knowledge about local paper- and book-production. It is not only their content but their material that can provide information essential to tracing a past history, clarifying, among other things, the economic factors shaping the production. The documents preserved in the family archives of the Tantric Lamas of Tshognam, which are the main subject of this paper, were for the most part locally produced and cover a century and a half, from 1816 to 1964.¹

Tshognam is the name of an area in the Shöyul enclave of Baragaon, in the southern part of Nepal's Mustang District. The communities of Te and Tshug, on whose territory Tshognam stands, form part of a constellation of five villages known collectively as the Shöyul, literally the "Low-lying communities". Since none of the settlements in question is below 3000 metres above sea level, the name must have been bestowed by the inhabitants of the more northerly area of Mustang, which is at a higher altitude and closer to the former centre of political power. (Fig. 1)

¹ The full collection of documents in the archive has been published in facsimile form, with edited transliterations and translations, in *Tibetan Sources 2*, and may also be consulted on the website www.tibetanhistory.net. For other studies of archival collections in Mustang, see for example Schuh 1994, 1995, 2016, and *Tibetan Sources 1*.



Fig. 1. Map showing the location of the archives and places visited in the course of two expeditions to Lower and Upper Mustang, in 2015 and 2016.

The religious overtones of the name (Tib. *tshogs rnam*s), which means “Accumulations [of virtue and merit]”, are appropriate to the fact that the settlement is inhabited, and may even have been founded and named, by a family of hereditary Buddhist priests of the Nyingmapa school. The Nyingmapas are family-based village tantric lamas and have a close relationship to the communities. Like village lamas throughout the Himalayan region, the priests of Tshognam not only had a religious function but acted as physicians, astrologers and scribes for the communities—Te and Tshug—on whose territories their residences stood. Although other communities in the five Shöyul also had priestly families, those of Tshognam seem to have had parishes that extended beyond their immediate communities to embrace neighbouring villages.

Tshognam consists of three small clusters of building, with stupas on the path that connects them. Between the upper and the lower two houses there is an invisible line that can be traced between certain boulders across the valley floor. These boulders mark the territorial boundary between two large villages: Te, upstream to the east, and Tshug, downstream to the west. (Fig. 2) Tshognam, then, in spite of its small size, straddles the territorial boundary of two major settlements, and the two halves are conventionally divided into two parts, “Lower” and “Upper” Tshognam. “Middle” Tshognam, represented by a single house on the Tshug side of the border, seems never to

have been occupied by a priestly family. Lower and Upper Tshognam each contain an archive, comprising respectively 31 and 47 documents, and the provenance is indicated in the name of each. (Fig. 3) These archives are preserved in wooden or metal boxes or bamboo baskets as a loose assemblage of folded sheets of paper. To get access to the documents we needed to ask for permission from the owners of the respective houses.



Fig. 2. The village of Te (centre), with Tshognam's fields and trees visible to the left.



Fig. 3. Binod Gurung, the heir of the abandoned Lower Tshognam estate, removing the documents from the container in which they are kept.

Most of documents from Mustang were photographed in black and white in the framework of the Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology (NGPHMA, 1992–1996) headed by Dieter Schuh. (Fig. 4) Documents are named in such a way as to provide information about the project, the provenance, and the language, followed by an individual number within that collection. Thus in the case of HMA/UTshognam/Tib/01, HMA is an abbreviated form of the NGHMA mentioned above; UTshognam denotes the Upper Tshognam archive; Tib. the fact that it is in Tibetan, rather than Nepali, and 01 that it is the first in chronological order. Numbers were assigned to them at the time when they were catalogued by Charles Ramble and Nyima Drandul. Usually, this is the number under which a document is catalogued within an archive and is the designation by which the document is known. The documents referred to in this paper were edited, translated and published within the framework of the ANR/DFG project “The Social History of Tibetan Societies, 17th to 20th centuries” (henceforth SHTS) directed by Charles Ramble and Peter Schwieger. In April 2015, and again in 2016 Agnieszka Helman-Ważny photographed and examined fifty-eight documents from Upper Tshognam and Lower Tshognam within the project funded by DFG (2015–2017) and entitled: “The Mustang Archives: Analysis of Handwritten Documents via the Ethnographic Study of Papermaking Traditions in Nepal.” (Fig. 5)



Fig. 4. Photographing the folded documents in the community archives of Te, Southern Mustang, in 1993.



Fig. 5. The documents of Upper Tshognam being examined by Nyima Drandul and his nephew, Namgyal – the heir of the estate – in April 2015. Then documents were photographed, described for codicological features and sampled for paper study.

Material and Methods

Within our sample we examined twenty from Lower Tshognam and forty-four documents from Upper Tshognam. This forms our experimental group ordered according to category of text: its function and the parties involved; type of script and scribal hands; ownership marks; format and layout; and paper type (see Table 1).

The documents in the two archives of Tshognam range in date from 1875 to 1914 and 1832 to 1927. (A document that carries an even earlier date of 1816 appears to be a later copy). The Tibetan diplomatic tradition recognises a large number of categories of documents. One of the main differences between archives from Central Tibet under the Ganden Phodrang—the government of the Dalai Lamas, which ran from 1642 to 1959—on the one hand, and those from Mustang on the other, is that the former include relatively few documents concerning dealings between villagers; the overwhelming majority of them consist of different categories of communication from institutions or individuals in positions of authority to lower-ranking members of the population, such as the peasantry. In archives from Mustang the opposite is true. In the case of the Tshognam archives, with the exception of a few letters from the King of Lo, local dignitaries and monasteries in Tibet, much the greater part of them concern dealings *inter pares*. (As members of the priestly stratum the lamas of Tshognam occupied a higher social rank than the commoners on whose territory they lived, but this did not place them in a legally superior position of authority.)

Documents such as contracts and letters were usually written on single sheets and folded into thin, rectangular packages. Found among Dunhuang manuscripts and constantly used in Tibet, this popular format resembles a flattened scroll or—more rarely, a concertina—folded first from bottom to top in one direction, then horizontally into a short rectangle. In the Dunhuang documents this format was reserved especially for governmental use, but here we find it widely used for various administrative purposes throughout Mustang's villages. The format and layout of Tibetan documents has probably not changed significantly over the centuries; however some features of format and layout were more common than others, and some developed in particular areas and periods of time. Features such as size, the procedure for folding, the number of text lines per page, and the presence or absence of margins are helpful for developing typologies and for identifying particular categories of document. They may offer clues about the appearance of other copies, as well as the original location and date of a document.

Over recent years scholars have made some attempts at analysing

handwriting styles in Tibetan manuscripts. From a range of auxiliary tools available they have turned to palaeography in order to define styles of Tibetan writing. Such attempts, together with analyses of other physical features, can help to link documents in meaningful ways or determine the age of the manuscripts or documents that are currently undated. Sam van Schaik has described several imperial-period writing styles found in Dunhuang manuscripts that are particular to certain genres based on palaeographic features (van Schaik 2014). Together with Jacob Dalton and Tom Davis, van Schaik has also applied the techniques of forensic handwriting analysis in order to identify individual scribal hands (Dalton et al. 2007). This has made it possible to see particular manuscripts in the context of their genre, origin (scriptorium, location) and scribal habits.

The application of these techniques to Tibetan writing, however, is still in its early stages, and we must be cautious in maintaining the distinction between the standardised features of a particular script (imposed from the stylistic norms of different scripts) and the idiosyncracies of a particular scribe. Handwriting, understood as the extension of the scribe's personality defined by very detailed individual features, can help us to attribute manuscripts to specific scribes and consequently group them in ways that otherwise would not have been justifiable or even imaginable. At the same time these detailed studies have a direct impact on our understanding of local written traditions. The comparison and evaluation of these individual features or habits enable forensic analysts of documents to identify the same scribal hands. The average person may recognise the handwriting of an individual and differentiate between individuals to some degree; however, only the gross features of the handwriting, such as letter formation, size, or slope of the handwriting are observed in such cases (on methods for analysing handwriting, see: Morris 2000). Such an approach fails to consider the subtleties in the writing that may differentiate it from other very similar hands.

As will be seen from the examples analysed below, scribal identity cannot be established through the confirmation of a single individual feature in the writing. Rather, it is established through a combination of the significant features shared by examples of writing, with no significant differences. Moreover, the writing of a single scribe will vary depending on a range of factors, such as the material support, writing tool, the script style (e.g., headed or headless, the size and slope of the writing), the perceived importance of the work, pen pressure, pen lifts, the spacing between words and letters, the position of the writing on the real or imaginary baseline, height relationships, beginning and ending strokes, and any number of other factors not to mention personal handwriting character change over time. Defining

these features for Tibetan texts entails a letter-by-letter comparison of the same type of writing, and this must be carried out before we can even consider the possibility of identifying scribal hands.

The Tshognam archives afford a rare opportunity to test the extent to which we can or cannot identify the same scribal hands. It should be noted that most of these documents were produced by a small community of local scribes using a very narrow selection of materials and tools and not subjected to restricted script standards. Thus in our sample we deal with personal handwriting rather than any standardised script. By examining documents written by the same scribe we tested how, if at all, writing materials influence the final result, as well as the degree to which an individual's handwriting might vary over time and according to the casualness or formality of the document. Our main aim is to develop a methodology by producing the reference material, and point to features which cannot be ignored, rather than to identify the same scribal hands from among anonymous documents.

The documents bear a variety of marks that are intended to certify ownership or validate the document. These are seals, fingerprints and other signatures, such as written names or crosses. We recorded the occurrence of these marks, and propose to use them together with other observed features as criteria in the future development of a typology of documents.

Characterisation of paper recorded in the last eight columns of our table includes identification of fibre composition and description of technological features. (Table 1) Fibre analysis informs us what things are made of, since the primary feature of paper is the type of raw material used for its production. This is why fibre analysis, if applicable, can be helpful for locating regional origin and sometimes for dating, when using a method that entails overlapping typologies. When comparing the results of fibre analyses of paper with the distribution of the same plant, we can obtain information about the possible region of a document's origin. The area suggested by plant distribution can be critically evaluated by other sources of information, such as other features recorded in our table. In this way, we can know whether all features originate from the same area (understood as a cultural context, country, or region) or not. These results should help in answering some questions about the history of paper in the region, as well as the trade and import of paper and other writing materials in the Himalayas and Central Asia, even though much more research needs to be done to achieve higher precision for regional attribution (Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013; Helman-Ważny 2016).

Additionally, the fibres in some samples exhibited a relatively

high degree of fibrillation, suggesting that these documents may have been made from recycled components. The word “fibrillation” denotes both a process and the result of that process. Refining can be defined as the passage of a slurry of papermaking fibres between plates in relative motion to each other that have raised bars on their surfaces. The fibres are subjected to shearing and compression forces. One of the things that happens during refining of fibres is fibrillation, the partial delamination of the cell wall, resulting in a microscopically hairy appearance of the wetted fibre surfaces. The “hairs” are also referred to as fibrillation. Fibrillation tends to increase the relative bonded area between fibres after the paper has been dried.²

The further aim of the procedure is fibre identification in collected specimens of paper, using an Olympus BX51 Transmitted-Reflected light microscope with polarised light with camera attached for photographic documentation.³ Olympus Stream Software is used for image analysis during identification. A varying magnification from 50× up to 400× with both plain and polarised light is applied. For study, the sample is placed in a small beaker, immersed in distilled water, and boiled for about 20 minutes. The water is then decanted and the sample is drained, de-fibred into a fine suspension of individual fibres, and placed on the slide. Fibres will be observed and then treated with Herzberg stain. Attention will be paid to stain colouring, morphology of fibres, and other cells and elements of pulp. Both the width and length of fibres will be measured to support identification in particular cases.

The technological features of paper in Mustang archival documents were documented via examination of paper sheets against light to identify the type of papermaking sieve used from its print. The print of a textile sieve differs clearly from one made of bamboo (laid, regular), reed, or other grasses (laid, irregular). When sealed in the paper structure, this allows us to distinguish handmade woven paper and handmade laid paper by the number of laid lines within a space of 3cm. Also, from the even or uneven distribution of the fibres, one can determine whether the fibres were poured into the floating mould and spread by hand, or scooped by the mould from a vat, and how quickly drainage of the pulp took place. The presence of uneven pulp thicknesses distributed and visible within a sheet of paper, sometimes along the chain and laid lines, sometimes evenly

² Encyclopedia of Papermaking Wet-End Chemistry accessed on 26 May 2016 <http://www4.ncsu.edu/~hubbe/Defnitns/Fibrilzn.htm>

³ The laboratory fibre analyses were conducted by AHW at the University of Hamburg.

along one edge, also helps with the identification of the type of raw material used and methods by which it was pulped. This feature is reflected in the thickness of paper which is usually lower in better quality papers with even fibre distribution, rather than in case of rough papers with uneven fibre distribution where raw material was not well beaten during pulping.

*Grouping: document categories
according to function and codicological features*

Most documents in the Mustang archive belong to the category known as *gan rgya*, a term that may be translated as “contract”, “covenant” or “written obligation” according to the context. The validation of *gan rgya* usually requires the participation of at least two parties, either individuals or groups, but generally more: most *gan rgya* involve a witness and, in the case of dispute-resolution, one or more mediators. This means that a single document is likely to contain a much greater number and variety of endorsements than, for example, royal orders and letters. In view of the wide-ranging application of the *gan rgya* genre, it may be more useful here to group the Tshognam documents into *ad hoc* categories based on their actual function and the identities of the parties involved. For the sake of convenience, we will begin with documents that deal with external affairs, before turning to those that have a direct bearing on the priestly family itself.

Although the word *gan rgya* itself does not appear frequently in these documents, the two earliest items in the collection identify themselves by the closely-related term *chod tshig*, signifying a written agreement. In other collections we encounter terms such as *chod yig* and *chod gan*, which may respectively be contractions of *chod tshig yi ge* and *chod tshig gan rgya*, both of which are also attested. One of the documents to be discussed below (LT/08) contains the term *chod rgya*, which we may also understand as an abbreviation of the latter.

3.1. *Records of three plenary gatherings*

The first two documents (LT/01, LT/02), written sixteen years apart (in 1816 and 1832) are similar insofar as each is a record of a plenary gathering of the five communities, and the overriding concerns they share are the integrity of their alliance and the need for secrecy and vigilance in their dealings with the outside world. (Figs 6 and 7) It is possible that they are the minutes of meetings that were held at regu-

lar intervals (probably less than sixteen years). In any event, the explicit statement in one of them that the document “should be offered to the lamas of Tshognam” suggests that the priestly family at the time were the trusted repository of the secret proceedings of meetings among the Shöyul. In view of the fact that they are significantly earlier than the other documents in the archives, it is possible that they date from a period preceding the arrival of the priestly family to which most of the documents belong: the Drenjong Gyalpö Gyüpa (Tib. ‘Bras ljongs rgyal po’i rgyud pa), the “Clan of the Kings of Sikkim.” The third document (LT/26) dates from 1862.⁴ It records a meeting of the five communities of the Shöyul that was held in Tshognam with the aim of appointing from each of the communities a category of official known as *centsug* (variously spelt). Two *centsug* were appointed from each of the two largest settlements, Te and Tshug, and one from each of the other three. The purpose of this appointment is not stated. Both documents have a similar size; however LT/01 is slightly larger (43.5 × 41.5 cm) than LT/02 (41 × 37 cm). LT/01 is produced more neatly, with 15 text lines written evenly and composed centrally with an upper margin with a width of a double fold, and a bottom margin with a single fold width. (Fig. 6a) LT/02 is prepared in a rather sloppy way: its 23 lines are not straight, and the text is not centred. (Fig. 7a) Both documents, however, are written on the very similar type of good-quality paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. (Figs 6b, c and 7b, c) While the paper of LT/01 contains a certain amount of associated cells and fibrillation, the fibres in the paper of LT/02 are very clean. The paper of LT/01 is thinner (0.09–0.16 mm) and better processed (beaten during the papermaking process) than that of LT/02 (0.12–0.25 mm), which contains clots of fibre bundles—visible when backlit—which makes the fibre distribution uneven. (Fig. 7b) However, the raw material used is the same in both documents, which suggests that in both cases paper was traded from the valleys where these plants grow (the Beni and Baglung area south of Mustang District) rather than being produced locally.

⁴ LT/26 has not been tested for fibre composition.



Figs. 6 a, b, c. Document LT/01 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres (document dated 1816 but probably a later copy): a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 100× magnification.



Figs. 7 a, b, c. Document LT/02 from Lower Tshognam, written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres in 1832, with the record of a plenary gathering. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 100× magnification.

3.2. Taxes and fiscal documents

The Shöyul were a part of the larger enclave of Baragaon, and it is probably in its capacity as the representative of the Shöyul that Tshognam received a communication, written in 1886, concerning the successful prosecution of the aristocratic coterie that administered the enclave on behalf of the government for levying double taxes on the villages in their charge (UT/13). The document, composed of 21 text lines, is identified by the Nepali term *ra' zhigs pha rag* (Nep. *rāji-patra*), a “voluntary letter” declaring the acceptance, by the commoners of Baragaon, of the formal apology issued by the guilty parties; it is validated with eighteen crosses and one seal. (Fig. 8a) This document is written on a woven type of paper made from mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. with a small addition of *Stellera* sp. and individual

textile fibres. (Fig. 8b, c) The presence of the *Stellera* fibres suggests that this paper could have been produced at an altitude of over 2600 m above sea level, where *Stellera* sp. grows, and can be used for making paper. However, the fact that the fibres are slightly fibrillated and that individual cotton and hemp fibres are found in the paper suggest that this paper could have been made from recycled materials. Recycled raw material is usually used when there is a shortage of material in the area. An even distribution of fibres within a paper sheet indicates that the raw material was cooked and beaten well to produce good quality paper.



Figs. 8 a, b, c. Document UT/13 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres mixed with *Stellera* and individual fibres of recycled cotton. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. with addition of *Stellera* and recycled fibres observed in 100× magnification.

The fiscal status of the lamas of Tshognam is the subject of two other documents. One of these (LT/10), containing 8 lines of text, is a letter from the King of Lo to Lama Tshewang Bumpa. (Fig. 9a) The lama apparently claimed that he and his brother Doyön were not liable for the payment of trade tariffs when travelling through Lo on the grounds that they, and not the king, were the owners of their priestly estate. However, the king rejected the latter claim but acquiesced to the Tshognam lamas' exemption from tariffs, not on the basis of their ownership of the estate but on the grounds of their priestly status and activities. The document, authenticated with a red-ink seal (red ink was reserved for the king) is made of a woven type of paper made from mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. and *Stellera* sp. in approximately equal proportions. (Figs 9b, c) The paper is exceptionally thin (0.05–0.11 mm), but with slightly uneven (or relatively even) fibre distribution. (Fig. 9b) For several decades towards the end of the nineteenth century, one of the dependent buildings of Lower Tshognam was inhabited by a woman named Phurba Angmo and her two illegitimate sons, Nyagdo (apparently a nickname) and Ösal Dorje. Nyagdo died young, but Ösal Dorje went on to become

a tantric lama of some standing. Phurba Angmo apparently had the use of a number of fields in Tshug, because in 1884 she was taken to task for several years worth of unpaid taxes to the community that she was obliged to make good (UT/44). This document measures 18.5×23 cm and comprises nine lines of text on paper made of purely *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. (Fig. 10) A later document, undated but probably from around 1912, gives a short list of fields in Tshug for which the main priestly estate in Lower Tshognam had fiscal responsibility (LT/27).



Figs. 9 a, b, c. Document LT/10 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres mixed with *Stellera* sp. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. mixed with *Stellera* observed in 200× magnification.



Figs. 10 a, b, c. Document UT/44 from Upper Tshognam written on paper of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 50× magnification.

In 1910—by which time Lama Ösal Dorje had moved to Upper Tshognam on Te's territory—the community of Tshug seems to have called into question the exemption of the remaining priestly family

from certain taxes. The lama—probably Tshewang Bumpa—made a convincing case for tax exemption, invoking a precedent in which a local duke had once excused the family from corvée duty on the grounds of its priestly status, and Tshug agreed to perpetuate these and other privileges (LT/17). (Fig. 11a) For this claim he selected paper made purely from *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres possibly made in lower areas where these plants grow. (Figs 11b, c) The paper of this document is of a similar thinness (0.06–0.2 mm) to that of the previous item, although the unevenness of the fibre distribution is even clearer. The document is signed by Subba Bhagat Bahadur with the word *sāhī* in Devanāgarī, the seal of the community of Tshug, and the fingerprints of 5 other parties.



Figs. 11 a, b, c. Document LT/17 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of pure *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 100× magnification.

We should not be surprised that, in spite of the fact that these archives belong to a priestly family, religious affairs do not feature prominently. After all, documents of this sort deal mainly with legal and administrative issues, not spiritual concerns. There are, however, a few items of relevance to religious matters, although they are almost all concerned with managerial aspects. *Na rag* is an important ceremony in many Nyingmapa Buddhist communities, and in 1887 it was either established or augmented in Tshognam. Shortly before her death an elderly woman initiated a fund for the regular performance of the ceremony. The list of other donors begins with two lamas from Tshognam and one from the now-abandoned temple of Tshaldang, which is located in a gorge to the west of Tshug. The sums of money collected, and the various duties of the patrons and their families, are recorded in a document (LT/09). The text is in the form of a small booklet, consisting of 4 bi-folios (to make 8 sheets) of paper folded along a horizontal axis and stitched along the fold to create a form that is relatively common for longer documents with numerous en-

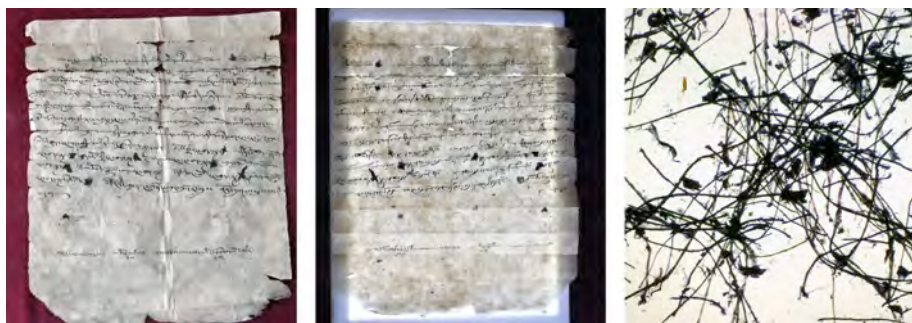
tries, such as local law books and endowment registers. (Fig. 12a) The book measures 6.5×17 cm and is made in a similar way to LT/10, of *Stellera* and *Daphne* sp. fibres with the addition of individual recycled fibres of hemp and cotton. (Figs 12b, c) It is exactly the same type of paper used for document UT/13.



Figs. 12 a, b, c. Document LT/09 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres mixed with recycled singular fibres of *Stellera*, cotton and hemp. a. Document in a booklet form; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. with addition of *Stellera*, cotton and hemp observed in 200 \times magnification.

On the west bank of the Kali Gandaki, directly opposite Tshug, stands the now-abandoned nunnery of Kunzang Chöling, popularly known as Gompa Gang, “the convent ridge”. Gompa Gang originally served all five of the Shöyul, but over time the communities ceased to send their daughters here. The first to withdraw its membership may have been Taye. Tensions subsequently arose between the nuns from Te and those from Tsele, Gyaga and Tshug at the beginning of the twentieth century. It seems that the lamas of Tshognam were trying to bring the Tewa faction under their control. In 1906 the Te nuns were expelled from the convent, and signed a document in which they agreed to be under the tutelage of the lamas of Tshognam (UT/23). This document, measuring 33×27 cm, was written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. (Fig. 13) There are only three other documents in the Tshognam archives concerning nuns. In 1915 the nuns of Tshug (who may have been the only ones left in the convent by that time) agreed that they would take collective responsibility for a theft that had occurred (UT/35). This declaration was made on *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. paper measuring 19×33 cm and 0.07–0.12 mm thick; the same type of paper as in the case of the previous document. The following year, the community of Te agreed to offer the second of any three daughters born in a family to be a nun under the authority of the Lama of Tshognam (UT/36). This document was written on paper made of *Stellera* sp. fibres with only a small addition of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., suggesting that the paper was made local-

ly or brought from the northern areas (possibly the Tibetan plateau). (Fig. 14) The last document, probably from 1927, records an attempt by the declining body of nuns in Tshognam—there were only three at this stage—to preserve their ceremonial activities by redistributing the financial responsibility (UT/38).⁵



Figs. 13 a, b, c. Document UT/23 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of pure *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 14 a, b, c. Document UT/36 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Stelleria* sp. fibres with small addition of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.

There are three other documents that are concerned with specifically religious matters. The first (LT/15) is a short account of the sacred imagery in Traduntse (Pra dun rtse), a famous temple located in Tibet to the north of Mustang and believed to have been built in the time of Songtsen Gampo (seventh century). This document, measuring 31 × 34 cm, was produced in 1898 on paper (thickness 0.09–0.11 mm) made of *Stelleria* sp. fibres with a small addition of *Daph-*

⁵ UT/38 was missing from the collection when the documents from Upper Tshognam were photographed again in 2015.

ne/Edgeworthia sp.; the raw material, growing above 2600 m above sea level and used for making paper in Tibet, corresponds well with the location of Traduntse monastery, suggesting that the paper was produced locally. The document may be the only existing description of the temple to have been written before it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Lamas frequently keep records of the teachings and initiations they have received from their various teachers. These texts are known as *thob yig*, "documents of what has been received", or *gsan yig*, "documents of what has been heard". The archive of Lower Tshognam contains one such record (UT/40) of teachings received by Lama Tenpai Gyaltzen, the son of Ösal Dorje. LT/29 is an undated supplement (*kha bskong*) to a religious ceremony written on purely *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. paper; UT/42, which is made of mixed paper, consists of notes for the performance of a ritual, and UT/46, made of unidentified grass, is part of a manual for an unspecified religious event. UT/47, in a sewn book format on purely *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. paper, is an incomplete, undated copy of the famous Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama. LT/30 (not tested for fibre composition) is an agreement, drawn up in 1885, by the groups of patrons for two ceremonies that were held a few days apart in the autumn; the parties agree to combine their resources of food and beer in order to create a joint social event around the two ceremonies.

3.3. Contracts between individuals

Tshognam was clearly regarded as a neutral point of articulation for contracts drawn up between individuals from different communities, notably Te and Tshug. Where contracts are concluded between individuals of the same community, it is considered sufficient for each of the two parties to have a copy of the document. (In the case of loan contracts, only the creditor need have a copy bearing the signature, or some other endorsement, of the debtor.) With dealings between members of these two different villages, however, it was apparently considered necessary to involve a third party. Three documents in the collection record the sale of fields by Tshugpas to Tepas (UT/02, 03, 07) and are written on the same type of woven paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres, with a small addition of *Stellera* sp. (Figs 15, 16, 17); two concern loans by Tepas to borrowers from Tshug, one of these being notice of the forfeit of a field that had been put up as security (UT/10, UT/24; Figs 18, 19). The paper of UT/10 is based on *Stellera* sp. with only a small addition of *Daphne*; and UT/24 contains purely *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. In one case (LT/18) a Tepas and a Tshugpa agree to exchange two designated fields for

a period of ten years, probably because of their relative proximity to the houses of the respective parties. (Fig. 20) In a few cases we cannot be sure whether both parties to a contract are members of the priestly family of Tshognam or not. As mentioned earlier, certain individuals who evidently do belong to the family make a single appearance in the archives, but the documents in question give us insufficient information to be able to situate them in the genealogy. This is the case with a loan contract from 1904 (UT/22), in which a nun agrees to let a pair of brothers take her turn to collect a rotating fund. The interest is not specified, but a number of fields and a poplar tree are listed as security. The two borrowers are from the priestly village of Chongkhor, but we do not know whether the lender was a nun from Tshognam or another community. The document UT/22 had been lost by 2015 and thus it was not possible to examine its material features.



Figs. 15 a, b, c. Document UT/02 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of Daphne/Edgeworthia sp. fibres with small addition of Stellera sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 16 a, b, c. Document UT/03 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of Daphne/Edgeworthia sp. fibres with small addition of Stellera sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 17 a, b, c. Document UT/07 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 18 a, b, c. Document UT/10 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Stellera* sp. fibres with small addition of *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 100× magnification.



Figs. 19 a, b, c. Document UT/24 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of pure *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 100× magnification.

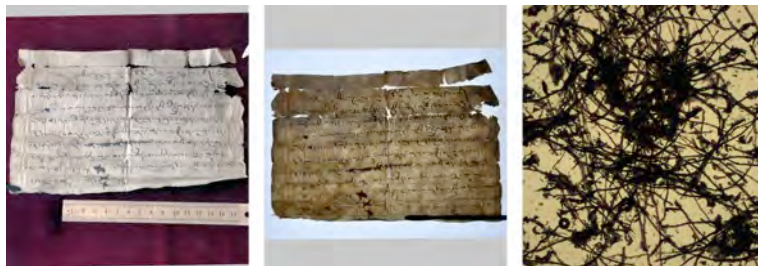


Figs. 20 a, b, c. Document LT/18 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.

3.4. The acquisition of land in the village of Tshug

In the case of most of the documents in the archives, the Tshognam lamas are not just mediators but are directly involved, either with outsiders or with other members of the family. Sixteen documents are related to the acquisition of land in the village of Tshug. It is interesting to note that, without exception, these acquisitions were made by Lama Ösal Dorje. As the natural son of Phurba Angmo, the sister of Lamas Rigden and Rangdrol, Ösal Dorje received no inheritance, and clearly felt it necessary to have an agrarian economic base to supplement the income he received from performing rituals and from lending money and grain. There are nine contracts for the outright purchase of fields, the first in exchange for grain (UT/04) and all the others for cash (UT/06, UT/08, UT/09, UT/12, UT/19, UT/21, UT/28, UT/34; Figs 21–24). But the lama may also have acquired a certain amount of land by claiming the security on loans from defaulting debtors. There are five loan receipts (UT/16, UT/18, UT/20; LT/11, LT/12), one of which (UT/20) includes a confirmation that the borrower is also ceding a field to the lama in lieu of the repayment of 10 rupees. Most of these documents are relatively small (9.5–15.8 × 21–34.5 cm) and are written on a single-layer woven type of paper characterised by similar thickness (excepting LT/11 which is clearly thinner) and uneven fibre distribution. The majority of these documents are written on *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. paper with a small addition of other fibres. The paper of UT/19 and UT/21 is composed of pure *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres; UT/04, UT/08, UT/16, UT/28, UT/34, LT/11 and LT/12 are written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with a small addition of *Stellera* sp. (Figs 25–

31) UT/06 is composed of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with an addition of unidentified grass fibres. UT/34 and LT/12 has an addition of recycled textile fibres; and LT/11 has an addition of individual synthetic fibres.



Figs. 21 a, b, c. Document UT/04 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 22 a, b, c. Document UT/06 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of pure *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 23 a, b, c. Document UT/08 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 100× magnification.



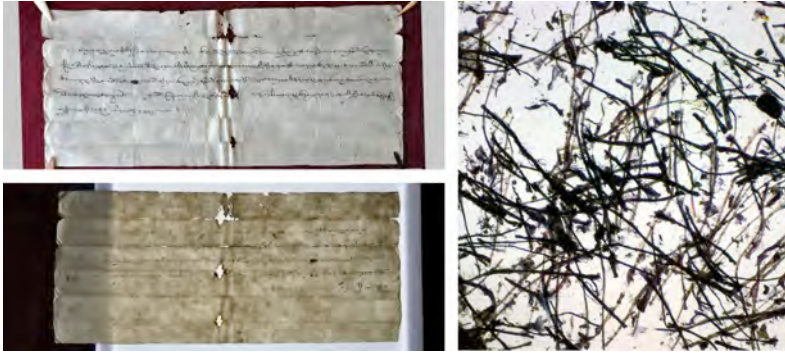
Figs. 24 a, b, c. Document UT/09 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Stellera* sp. fibres with small addition of *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 200× magnification.



Figs. 25 a, b, c. Document UT/19 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of pure *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 100× magnification.



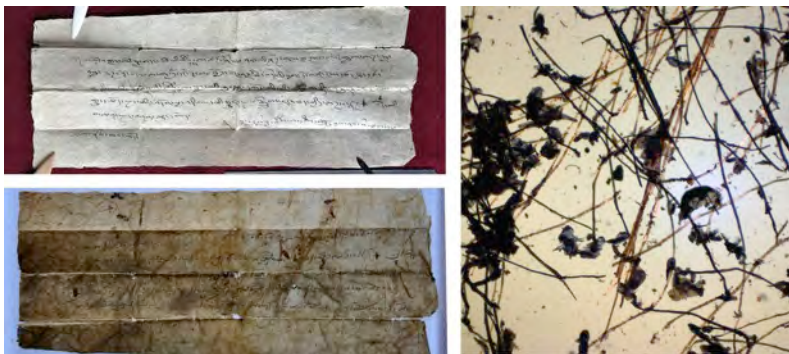
Figs. 26 a, b, c. Document UT/21 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of pure *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres of *Daphne*/*Edgeworthia* sp. observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 27 a, b, c. Document UT/28 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of mixed *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. and *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



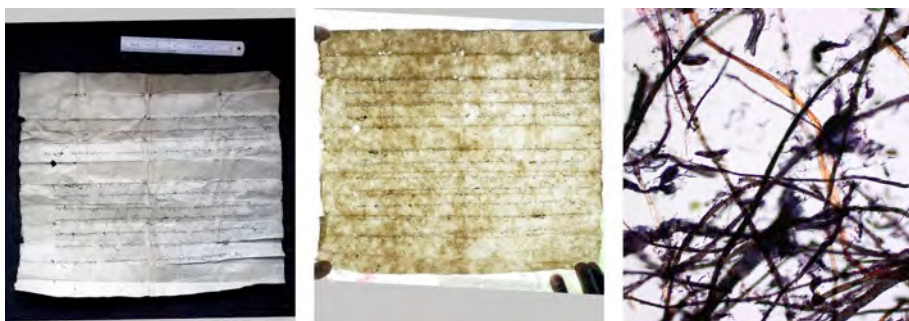
Figs. 28 a, b, c. Document UT/34 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and other recycled fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 100× magnification.



Figs. 29 a, b, c. Document UT/16 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 30 a, b, c. Document LT/11 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and individual synthetic fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 31 a, b, c. Document LT/12 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and other recycled fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 100× magnification.

3.5. Inheritance

The primary cause of tension with the family in every generation was the question of inheritance. The documents that deal with this matter are of various sorts, and it is worth examining them briefly to consider the terminology used. What may be one of the earliest items in the collection (LT/23, possibly from 1854 or 1842) concerns the inheritance by Yeshe Angmo,⁶ the wife of the first lama in the lineage, of a house in her natal village of Tshug, in the face of opposition from rival claimants. (Fig. 32) This document is referred to simply as '*chod*

⁶ Since the document is dated simply as Bird year, without an element or a weekday, it cannot be dated, and the possibility that it concerns a different Yeshe Angmo from a later period cannot be overlooked.

'tshig (< *chod tshig*). Disputes over the priestly estate in Tshognam itself arose in the following generation, between Yeshe Angmo's two sons and, subsequently, between her younger son and her daughter. This document, measuring 18 × 37.5 cm, is written on a woven type of paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with uneven fibre distribution (thickness 0.11–0.17 mm), with many fibre bundles visible in pulp. This means that the raw material was not properly boiled and beaten, which did not make it possible to achieve a sufficiently good quality. In or around 1860 the two brothers, Lamas Rigden and Rangdrol, came to terms over the matter of who should inherit the estate in the generation below them, and recorded their agreement in a document described as a *'dum khra*, a “dispute resolution” (LT/04; Fig. 33). The agreement was recorded on the same type of woven paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with uneven fibre distribution (thickness 0.1–0.23 mm). In 1871 there was a disagreement over the ownership of a house by two people in Tshognam whose relationship to the main family is unclear. The matter was investigated by the Duke of Baragaon, who declared that he was “giving the mark of his seal” (*phyags* [*phyag*] *rtags gnang*) to the party in whose favour he had found. In this case it seems that they term *phyag rtags*—“seal mark”—is being used as a metonym for the certificate itself.



Figs. 32 a, b, c. Document LT/23 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 33 a, b, c. Document LT/04 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.

LT/08 is a valuable document for our understanding of the tensions in the family since it contains copies of two earlier documents, from 1876 and from 1866 (in that order), of which the originals have been lost. (Fig. 34) Both sections are agreements, the first part concerning the terms of Ösal Dorje's usufruct of a field given to him by his uncle, and the second detailing the terms of his mother's occupancy of a house on the estate. The first part refers to itself as a *cham yi ge*—a document of accord or resolution—and the second section as a *chod rgya*, a term mentioned above as a probable abbreviation of *chod tshig gan rgya*. This document is written on exceptionally thin paper (thickness 0.06–0.09 mm) with relatively even fibre distribution, but nevertheless characterised by visible fibre bundles in the structure. This paper is made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., and *Stellera* sp. with possible addition of unidentified fibres. UT/05, another confirmation of Ösal Dorje's usufruct of the same field, opens with the declaration that it is “a document that accomplishes a reconciliation” (*cham 'thun bsgrubs gyis yi ge*) between two previously antagonistic parties. (Fig. 35) This document is produced on a similar type of paper with possible addition of recycled textile fibres.



Figs. 34 a, b, c. Document LT/08 from Lower Tshognam written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and other recycled fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 200× magnification.



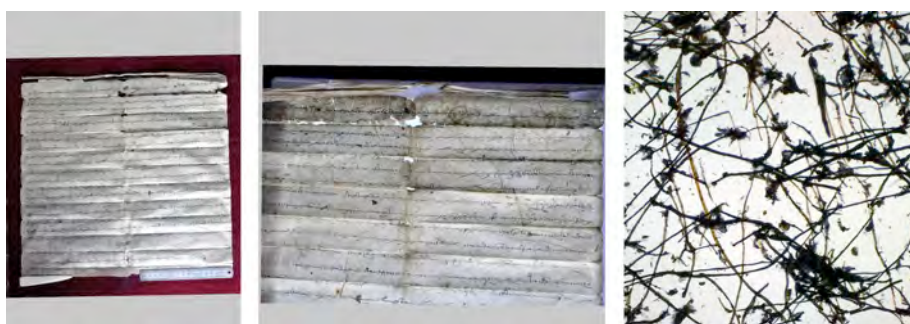
Figs. 35 a, b, c. Document UT/05 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and other recycled fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 200× magnification.

As we have seen earlier, in 1890 the elderly Phurba Angmo transferred the ownership of her house to her son, Lama Ösal Dorje. Interestingly, the declaration of the transfer does not use the term *kha chems*, the usual term for a will, perhaps in tacit acknowledgement of the fact that legal ownership lay with the main estate to which it was meant to revert following her death (although this was later disputed by her grandson). The term that is used is the vaguer *phog sprod*, which may be glossed as “transfer” or “bestowal”. In contrast to this “transfer”, the archive contains the will of a nun, who may or may not be a member of the priestly family. This document does use the term *kha chem* (< *kha chems*), but in fact it is only the moveable goods of two households of which she is the sole heir that are at issue. The heirs to the estates themselves are not specified, and it is therefore probable that they were simply to be inherited by her closest relatives.

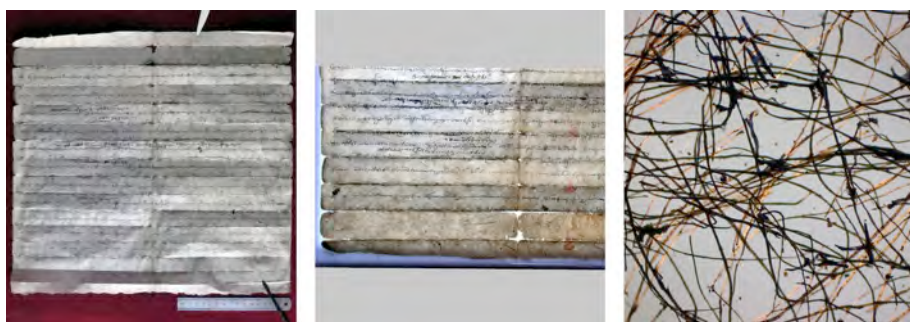
When the ownership of Phurba Angmo’s house in Lower Tshognam was contested by the two main branches of the family in the next generation, Ösal Dorje’s son, Tenpa Gyaltsen, submitted a legal petition to the government court (UT/31) written in *’khyug ma tshugs* (*kmt*) script on medium-thick *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. paper. (Fig. 36) The document, measuring 38 × 38 cm, is characterised by uneven fibre distribution written in 24 text lines with barely any margins. As one might expect, Nepali legal terms become increasingly frequent as time passes, and this document, which dates from around 1912, is introduced as a *ba ti i sar* (Nep. *bādi ijhar*), denoting a legal petition. Similarly, a reaction to a petition in what may be the same case (LT/19; since the dates of these documents are uncertain, we do not know if this is a direct riposte to UT/32) is identified as a *phirād patra*, a formal rejoinder. UT/32, measuring 38.6 × 41 cm is made of *Daph-*

ne/Edgeworthia sp. with the addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. (Fig. 37)

The adoption of Nepali terms is by no means ubiquitous, and a legal petition submitted at the same time and in the same case by someone who is either the plaintiff's brother or the plaintiff himself under a different name, contains no generic designation in either Tibetan or Nepali (UT/33; Fig. 38). UT/33 is composed of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. with a small addition of *Stellera* sp. and singular recycled textile fibres. Regarding components and technological features such as fibre distribution, UT/32 and UT/33 are made of the same type of paper.



Figs. 36 a, b, c. Document UT/31 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 37 a, b, c. Document UT/32 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



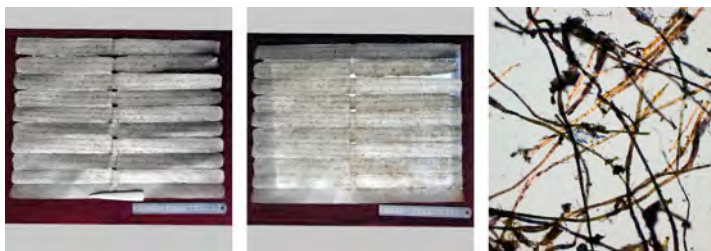
Figs. 38 a, b, c. Document UT/33 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and other recycled fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 200× magnification.

One of the documents related to this dispute (UT/32) is particularly difficult to read because of the many deletions and interlineal insertions, but it is a valuable piece since it tells us something about how the author, Tshewang Angyal, constructed his argument. The rough draft—which is what we suppose this to be—shows that his claims for ownership initially included numerous daring assertions that he omitted in the version that was later submitted to the court, presumably because he felt that these would not stand up under questioning.

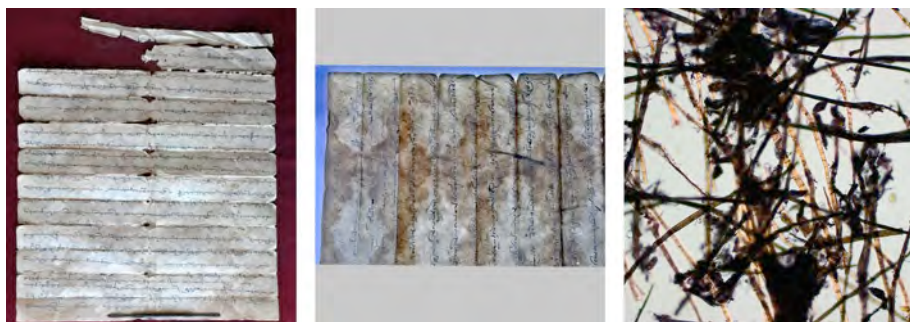
3.6. Dealings with outsiders

While conflicts within the family were mainly about inheritance, disputes with outsiders were more varied in character. Lama Ösal Dorje was the defendant in an interesting case that was brought against him in 1907, when a man called Trogyal from Dzar accused him and several others of beating him up, robbing him and threatening to kill him and destroy his household by means of black magic (UT/25; Fig. 39). UT/25, measuring 30 × 39.5 cm, is written on paper composed of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres with the addition of singular fibres stained yellow/orange with Herzberg (the fibres may have been recycled). In a formal response (UT/26–27) the lama vigorously defended himself against the charges, and made a counter-accusation against Trogyal and others for making an unprovoked attack on him and his son. The case was examined at the government court in Lower Lo—probably in Kag—but since neither of the documents is signed, it is likely that the versions used in court were in Nepali; both are likely to be copies of the Tibetan originals that were submitted for translation for official use. (Fig. 40) The outcome of the case is not recorded. This response was written on thicker paper made with

Daphne/Edgeworthia sp. fibres and characterised by uneven fibre distribution.



Figs. 39 a, b, c. Document UT/25 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 100× magnification.



Figs. 40 a, b, c. Document UT/26-27 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 100× magnification.

UT/31, which dates from 1910, is ostensibly a declaration by a blacksmith that he will cease to pester the Lama Ösal Dorje and his son Tenpa Gyaltzen for the return of property he had deposited with them. However, the *narratio* section of the document reveals the background to this undertaking. The blacksmith, named Kuka Hrithar, had borrowed 10 rupees from Ösal Dorje, for which his father left seventeen coral beads and a rosary of black crystal as security. It is not clear whether the blacksmith repaid the loan or defaulted, but whatever happened the lamas denied having received the valuables, and Kukar Dorje brought a case—*bha sti* for Nep. *bādī*—to the effect that the security had been worth ten times the sum that had been borrowed. Lama Tenpa Gyaltzen reciprocated with a formal response (*spar sti*, for Nep. *prati*) categorically denying that the stones were in his house. The possibility that the case went to a government court is supported by the use of the Nepali legal terms, and also the assertion that a formal legal investigation was undertaken (*ka khrim dar zhin*

mdzad < bka' khrims brdar shan mdzad). However, it appears that the parties subsequently decided to come to an out-of-court settlement after seeking the mediation of a prominent or respected local figure (*bha bla ha rdi mi* [Nep. *bhalādmī*] *nang grigs* [*< 'grigs*] *zhus nas*), and thereby came to a resolution (*bar dum*). There is evidence in other documents from Mustang that government courts were sometimes used strategically to initiate legal cases, perhaps because of the initial unresponsiveness of the accused to the demands of the accuser, whereas the disputes themselves were then settled informally with the mediation of a third party. By the time the blacksmith brought this case against him, Ösal Dorje had already had the salutary experience of pursuing a case through the court to its conclusion. In the 1880s he initiated proceedings against the community of Tshug to contest a claim that he owed them sixteen years' worth of unpaid taxes. He kept a meticulous account of all the costs he incurred throughout the duration of the case (UT/14) itemising his expenditure for the nine months the case was in court over a period of three years, either beginning or ending in 1888. (Fig. 41) The expenditure amounted to 91 rupees—a very substantial sum at that time—in addition to which he lost the case and had to pay the taxes demanded by the village. The document is an excellent example of why, whenever possible, people preferred to resolve their differences through mediation rather than by formal legal action. UT/14 is written on slightly worse quality paper (than others) composed of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. and *Stellera* sp. and characterised by uneven fibre distribution and bundles of woody fibres in the paper structure.



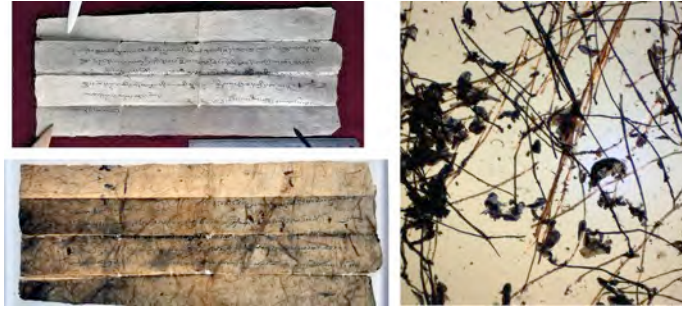
Figs. 41 a, b, c. Document UT/14 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of mixed *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. and *Stellera* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.

3.7. *The Shari Pöngyuta lama lineage*

In 1893 a certain Amchi Tshewang, a member of a different family of Nyingma lamas and doctors (Tib. *am chi*) was invited by the Tepas to take up residence in a free-standing house to the east of the village in an area called Baza. The favourable terms on which he and his family were allowed to occupy the property are set out in a contract (UT/37) written on paper measuring 21.5 × 28.3 cm made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. (Fig. 42) In 1895 Amchi Tshewang acquired land from a defaulting debtor, and lent more money to a third party (UT/20). Tshewang's son and heir was Namgyal, also a lama and a doctor, who married a woman from Lower Tshognam. She bore one son before dying at an early age, reputedly of smallpox. Her natal family sold her private inheritance—a field, some jewelry and some clothes—but in 1916 Namgyal was able to recover them from the purchasers, insisting that they be held in trust until his young son was old enough to inherit them (UT/16; Fig. 43). This document is written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. with small addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres. The last of the four documents relating to the family is a short letter, apparently written in some haste on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres, addressed to “the learned doctor Namgyal”. The undated letter (UT/39) was sent by someone whose elder daughter was in the advanced stages of smallpox, and who was trying to take measures to save his younger daughter from the same fate. (Fig. 44)



Figs. 42 a, b, c. Document UT/37 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 43 a, b, c. Document UT/16 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.



Figs. 44 a, b, c. Document UT/39 from Upper Tshognam written on paper made of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. a. Recto side of the document; b. Paper transparency observed against light; c. Fibres observed in 50× magnification.

Summary of codicological features

4.1. Format and layout

Various formats and sizes were registered in our sample depending on content and function of particular documents. While the majority of documents comprise a single rectangular sheet with either a “portrait” or a “landscape” orientation folded in little packages, we also registered two documents in approximately square format and three documents in a sewn book format. (Figs 45 and 46)

The majority of documents in a smaller single-sheet format contain the text of contracts between individuals or the record of the acquisition of land in the village of Tshug. These documents usually measure from 10–15 × 21–34 cm and most of them are folded four times (UT/06, UT/08, UT/16, UT/19, UT/34, UT/45). The majority of such documents contain 5, 6 or 7 lines of text aligned with the left

margin, with the exception of two documents which have 11 lines of text.

By contrast, the documents recording plenary gatherings were larger, written on vertical rectangular sheets measuring about 43.5 × 41.5 cm (LT/01) and 41 × 37 cm (LT/02). LT/01 has 15 text lines organized in three paragraphs, written evenly and composed centrally with an upper margin with a width of a double fold, and a bottom margin with a single fold width. LT/02 is prepared in a rather sloppy way: its 23 lines, organised in two paragraphs, are not straight, and the text is not centred.

The largest document in our sample, with a nearly square format, folded 15 times, measures 63.5 × 58 cm (UT/24). It is private contract between external parties, containing 6 lines of text on the recto and one line on the verso side.

Other roughly square documents are: UT/13 (29.8 × 31.8 cm), UT/31 (38 × 38 cm), UT/32 (38.6 × 41 cm), LT/01 (43.5 × 41.5 cm). All, except LT/01, have over 20 lines on the page, and although they lack side margins they have an upper margin that is clearly marked.

The booklet format is seen in UT/46, UT/47 and LT/09. UT/46 is a ritual manual, a 20-page book of 9.5 × 44 cm, sewn at the left side (6-8 text lines per page). UT/47 (Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama) is a book measuring 8.5 × 19 cm containing 14 bi-folios (16 × 19 cm) and sewn at the top.



Fig. 45. Document UT/25 comprise a single rectangular sheet folded into a little package.

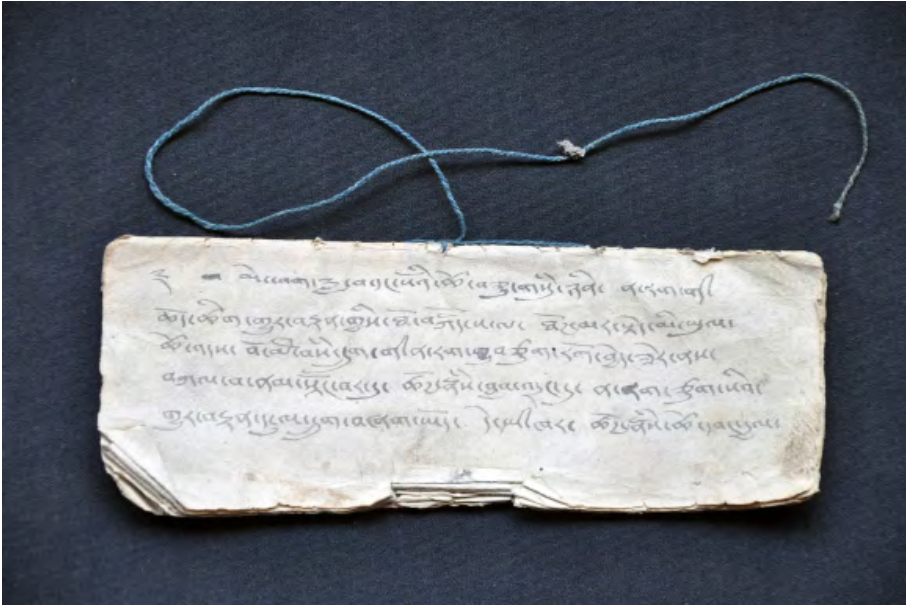


Fig. 46. Document LT/09, representing the typical format of a stitched Tibetan book (*deb ther*).

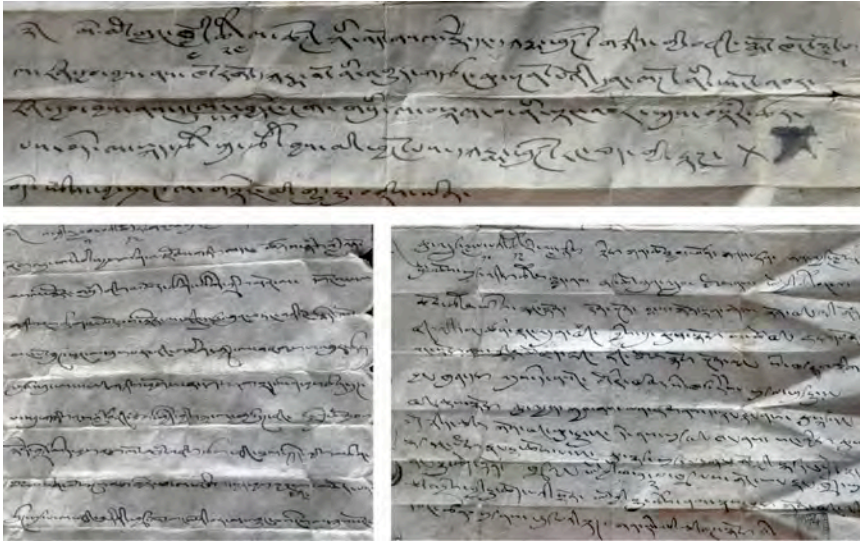
4.2. Script and scribal hands

It was sometimes said, only partly in jest, that the sole requirement for recruitment as a *rtse drung*, a member of the government secretarial corps of the Ganden Phodrang Government, was neat handwriting (Goldstein 1991: 27). While this observation is of course an exaggeration, it does at least reflect an insistence on conformity in handwriting, in much the same way that Roundhand was enjoined on the scribes of English legal documents from the eighteenth century on until typewritten texts came to be regarded as acceptable. Most Tibetan scripts fall into one of two main categories: “headed” (*dbu can*) and “headless” (*dbu med*). The headless category subsumes a wide variety of styles, ranging from clearly formed, unconnected letters to a fluid hand that can properly be described as cursive.

Tibetan has names to describe numerous sub-categories of headless script, depending on features such as the length of the descenders, the form of the vowels and so forth. The great majority of official documents were written in the cursive script, known as *khyug*. This script was a requirement for private documents in Central Tibet, though a slightly more formal version, known as *gshar ma*, was sometimes used until the end of the nineteenth century (Schneider 2002: 417). Documents from South Mustang, including the archives of

Tshognam, exhibit a wider variety of hands than is generally to be found in Central Tibetan collections. The variety is likely to be the result of the setting in which scribes were trained. Many scribes appear to have been tantric lamas who would have been taught to write not in a school or monastery but at home, by their fathers, or else by another village lama to whom their basic education had been entrusted. This situation would favour a greater degree of idiography (that is, scribal idiosyncrasy) than an environment in which the transmission of stylistic norms was more regulated. Predictably, the Tshognam documents displaying the most standard form of *'khyug* are communications from Tibet, from the King of Lo and from local dignitaries, who are likely to have had scribes who were educated in Tibet.

An obstacle facing any attempt to classify scripts in the Tshognam archives is that the formal Tibetan scriptural categories denote ideal types, whereas in reality—and certainly in South Mustang—there are numerous intermediate forms that do not correspond precisely to one category or another. Whereas some documents are written in *'khyug*, and in others the script is closer to the more rounded, larger-lettered *tshugs*, most fall into the category called *'khyug ma tshugs (kmt)*: that is, a script that exhibits features of both. LT/09, a record of endowments for a ceremony, is written in *tshugs*, but a tendency to increasing fluidity is notable after the first page (see Figs 12, 46 above). Many documents are written in *'khyug*, but even a superficial comparison reveals that this is not the type of *'khyug* that characterises documents from Central Tibet or Northern Mustang. Fig. 47, which features a selection of excerpts from documents written in *'khyug*, illustrates the range of individual variants. The intermediate *kmt* form is itself subject to variation. In some documents, such as LT/11 and LT/15 (Figs 48 and 49, below) the *kmt* script is very close to a true *tshugs*; by contrast, UT/32, is also in *kmt*, but one that is verging on the fluidity of *'khyug*.



Figs. 47 a, b, c. Examples of 'khyug' script in the selection of fragments from the documents.

Some documents feature more than one kind of script. While this is true of documents to which additions are made over the course of time, it is also a diplomatic feature known as *ingrossare*, in which a larger or more formal script is used for certain parts of a document (Schneider 2002: 417). Numerous instances of this practice are to be found in documents from South Mustang. In the Tshognam documents, the mixture of styles is most apparent in the case of scribes who use forms of letters belonging to two different scripts within the same document, probably for no reason other than that an initial intention to write in a slower, more formal style is periodically superseded by a desire for greater speed. Examples of such documents will be given presently.

The archives of Tshognam offer a rich repository for the study of Tibetan handwriting, for two main reasons: first, as stated above, the documents exhibit a relatively wide range of writing styles; and secondly, because the scribes often identify themselves by name. In spite of this variety, certain documents do bear a strong resemblance to each other, and it can be tempting to conclude that they were written by the same person. A case in point is the pair of documents LT/11 and LT/15. The former is a contract for the sale of a field, and the latter an account of the sacred imagery contained in temple in Tibet not far from the Nepalese border. The scribe of the former identifies himself as the meditator (*sgrub pa*) Tshering Dorje. On the subject of LT/15, one of the authors of the present article has elsewhere stated that:

The author of the document does not give his name. However, the distinctive handwriting is unmistakably the same as that in HMA/LTshognam/Tib/11, where the scribe identifies himself as *sgrub pa* Tshering Dorje (Tshe ring rdo rje)... Ösal Dorje and Tshering Dorje were probably close acquaintances, and the document may well have been a gift from the latter to his friend in Tshognam following a pilgrimage to Tradum. (Ramble 2015: 379–80)

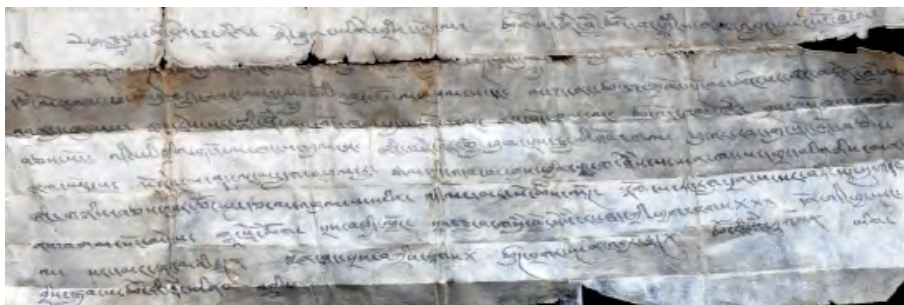


Fig. 48. Fragment of the handwriting of Tshering Dorje in document LT/11 from Lower Tshognam, a contract for the sale of a field.

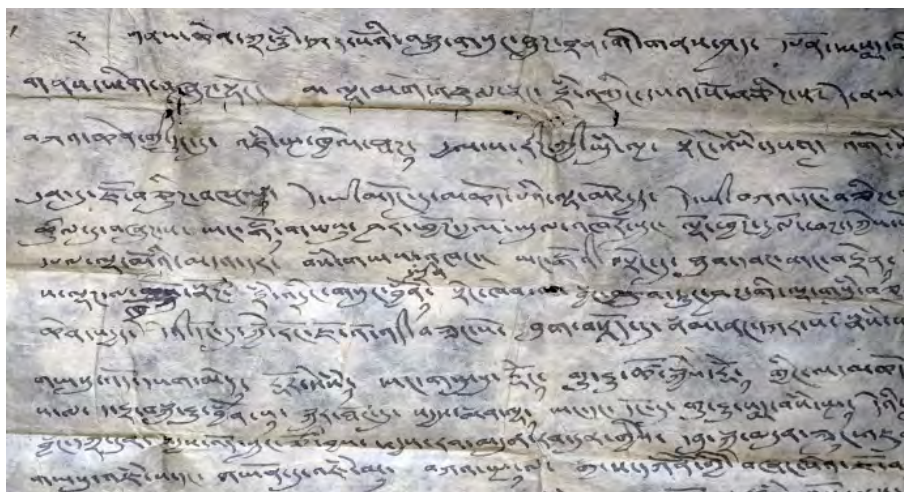


Fig. 49. Fragment of handwriting from the document LT/15 from Lower Tshognam, an account of the sacred imagery contained in temple in Tibet not far from the Nepalese border.

Unfortunately, this claim is not supported by a close examination of certain scribal details, notably the form of the letters *za*, *ka* and *cha/tsha*. In LT/11, the *z* is always written in a fluid 'khyug style, in a single movement, to produce a graph resembling the Tibetan numeral 3. (Fig. 50a) In LT/15 the same letter is written in three move-

ments: one to form the topmost horizontal and the vertical line, and two more for the middle and lowest horizontal strokes. (Fig. 50b)



Figs. 50 a, b. Details of the grapheme z from LT/11 and LT/15; LT/15 favours a "headed" form of the letter, but even the two "headless" examples at the end differ from the form of the z in LT/11.

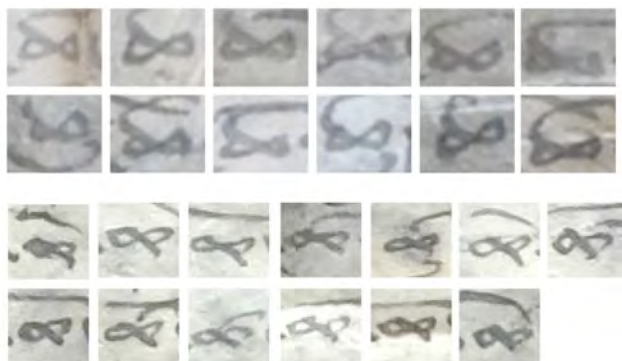
Caution should be exercised here: it is common for scribes to employ a diversity of forms for a single letter. As we shall see presently, the scribe of UT/40 uses both of these forms for the letter z. In the present case, then, we should not take this feature alone as being diagnostic of different scribal hands, and must extend our analysis to other letters. First, the consonant k: in LT/11 the first downstroke is a straight, right-to-left diagonal line that ends slightly before the left limit of the horizontal stroke. (Fig. 51a) In LT/15, by contrast, the first downstroke is slightly curved to produce a shallow "u", and extends beyond the cross-stroke.



Figs. 51 a, b. Details of the grapheme k from LT/11 and LT/15: in LT/11, the first downward stroke is relatively straight and does not extend to the left of the horizontal line; in LT/15, the stroke is curved and usually extends well to the left.

In LT/11, the *ch* is written in a single movement, ending above the double loop. The *tsh* is formed either by continuing this single stroke upward and over towards the right, or by adding a separate horizontal stroke. (Fig. 52a) In LT/15, the *cha* is written in two strokes: first, the two loops, formed like a recumbent letter S or incomplete numeral 8, followed by a second stroke diagonally downwards from left to right. The beginning of this stroke does not protrude above the loops

but it is often extended below them. For the *tsh*, the additional component is always written as a separate stroke. (Fig. 52b)



Figs. 52 a, b. Details of the graphemes *ch* and *tsh* from LT/11 and LT/15; the former produces the grapheme in a single stroke, while in LT/15 all examples feature a separate descending left-to-right stroke that extends beyond the lower limit of the main body of the grapheme.

On the evidence of the form of these letters, it may be concluded that the two documents were almost certainly *not* written by the same scribe. LT/11 is written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and individual synthetic fibres, and LT/15 is written on paper made of *Stellera* sp. fibres with small addition of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp.

Determining whether or not a given document was written by a particular individual is not always such a straightforward matter, as the next example will show. The example will be presented as an exercise to identify the scribe of a contract written in 1890, based on a comparison with six other documents in the archive.

The document in question is UT/19, a contract for the purchase of a field by Lama Ösel Dorje from someone in Tshug (Fig. 25a) It is written on one-layered paper of uneven fibre distribution made purely of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. The scribe identifies himself in the closing phrase: *yig bris bu/nga yin*; “the scribe of this document was *bu/nga*”. It appears that *bu* has been overwritten with *nga*, or *vice versa*. The phrase might therefore mean either “The letter-writer was myself (*nga*)” or “The letter-writer was the son (*bu*)”; or perhaps the scribe did not intend that one syllable should overwrite the other, but wished to include both: “The letter-writer was me, the son (*bu nga*)”. Since the document in question concerns an acquisition by Ösal Dorje, it would not be unreasonable to surmise that “myself” in this case referred to the lama himself, and the *bu* would be the lama’s son,

Tenpai Gyaltsen.⁷

Let us examine the first hypothesis, that the scribe was Ösal Dorje. For the sake of simplicity we will take three graphemes for comparison: the *yig mgo mdun ma* (the opening flourish that begins the first line), and the consonants *z* and *l*. As samples of Ösal Dorje's handwriting we may take UT/10 and UT/11, two of several documents where the lama identifies himself by name as the scribe. In both UT/10 and UT/11 the *yig mgo* consists of a graph resembling the Tibetan numeral 2 and surmounted by a roughly symmetrical dome. (Figs 53a, b) (In UT/11 the right descender of the dome is slightly longer than the left.) In UT/19 the *yig mgo* has the same basic structure, but differs in that the right descender of the dome continues well below the "2" before flattening out at the end. (Fig. 53c) Since the right descender of the dome in the *yig mgo* appearing in other documents by Ösal Dorje is sometimes relatively lengthened—though never with such exuberance as we see in UT/19—we cannot take this feature alone as being indicative of a different hand.

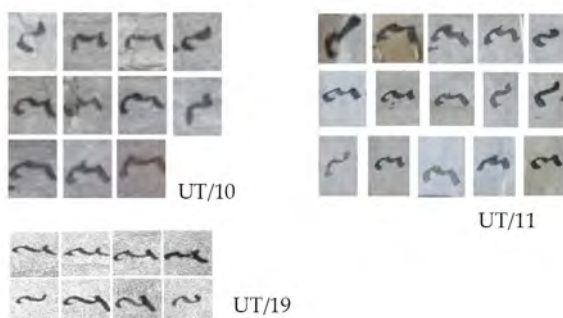


Figs. 53 a, b, c. The *yig mgo mdun ma* (the opening flourish that begins the first line) from the documents UT/10 and UT/11 and UT/19.

The letter *l* of Ösal Dorje's hand has two relatively distinct forms. The commoner of the two consists of a c-shaped downstroke, followed by a second which begins at the top of the "c", dips down and rises again in a shallow "u" before continuing downwards and slightly outwards to end at roughly the same horizontal level as the lower end of the first stroke. The other variant consists of a single stroke, beginning at the base of the initial "c", continuing roughly horizontally, and concluding upwards, rather than downwards, to produce the final vertical element. (Figs 54 a, b) The scribe of UT/19 also has two forms of the letter *l*. (Fig. 54 c) In one of the variants, the first component is identical to his 'a': a single stroke rising from the baseline in an arch before descending and flattening slightly at the end;

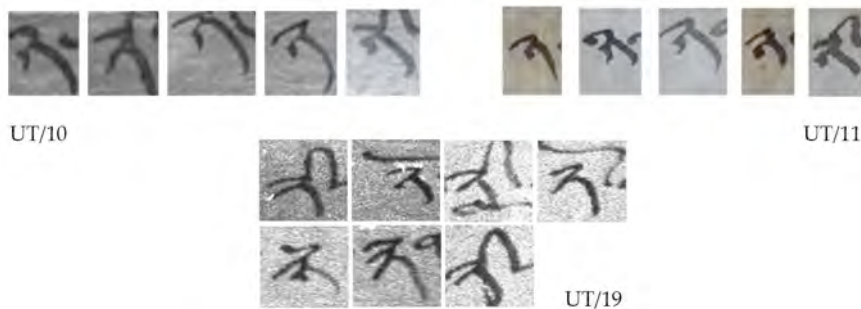
⁷ It is not clear from the documents how many sons Ösal Dorje had. The names Tenpai Gyaltsen, Namkha and Namkha Gyaltsen appear in different documents to identify a son; however, no document mentions more than one son, and it is therefore likely that the different names refer to a single individual.

the *l* is completed by a downstroke that either inclines to the left or has the form of a shallow “c”. The other version of the *l* is a single stroke that arcs upwards, descends to the horizontal level of the departure point and then rises again to a height no greater than the apex of the arch. In short, both forms of the *l* are significantly different in the two documents.



Figs. 54 a, b, c. Examples of the grapheme *l*, showing the occurrence of both cursive and *tshugs* forms in the same documents.

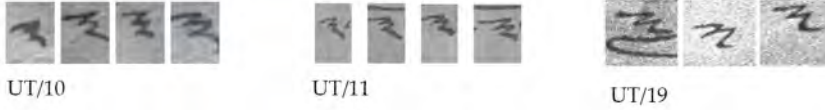
In the five occurrences of the consonant *ny* in Ösal Dorje’s UT/11, the first component is sickle-shaped, with a short downward stroke at the lower end of the arc. In the case of UT/19 this stroke is absent in all occurrences but one (in the syllable *snyad* in line 3; Fig. 55).



Figs. 55 a, b, c: Forms of the grapheme *ny* by Ösal Dorje (UT/10, UT/11); and c. by a different scribe (UT/19)

Ösel Dorje’s *z* resembles a Tibetan numeral 3, and the second right-to-left downstroke is followed by a relatively long left-to-right stroke that departs from it at a sharp angle. In all occurrences of the letter *z* in UT/19, by contrast, the end of the stroke is relatively short and horizontal and it departs from the letter after a gentle curve, nev-

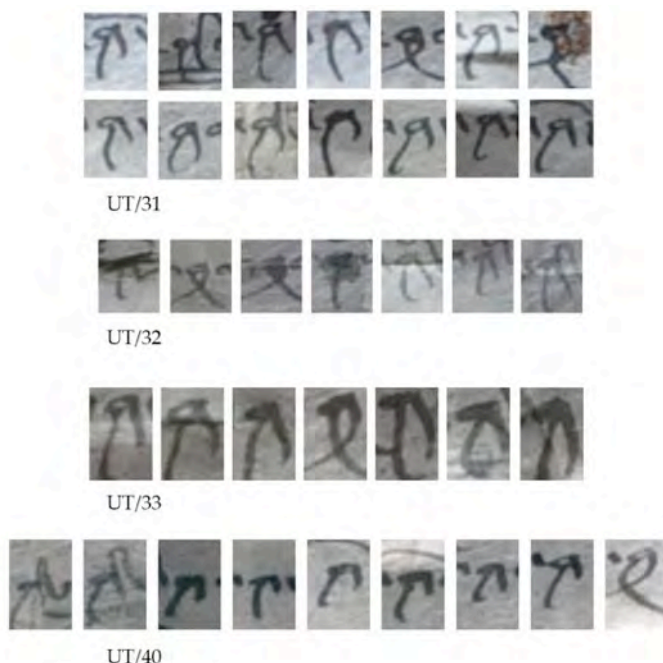
er after an angle. (Fig. 56) On the strength of these two letters alone it may be concluded that UT/19 was probably not written by Ösal Dorje.



Figs. 56 a, b, c: Forms of the consonant *z* by Ösal Dorje (UT/10, UT/11) and c. by a different scribe (UT/19)

As mentioned earlier LT/11 is written on paper made of mixed fibres of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp., *Stellera* sp. and individual synthetic fibres, and LT/19 purely of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres. Thus these are two different types of paper.

Might the document have been written by his son, Tenpai Gyaltsen? There are no documents in which Tenpai Gyaltsen explicitly identifies himself as the scribe. However, there are four in which he features as the protagonist: UT/31–33 all relate to a legal case in which he claims to be the rightful owner of a disputed property, while the fourth, UT/40, is a *thob yig*, a list of spiritual teachings and initiations he received. Before pursuing a comparison with UT/19, it must first be determined whether he is actually the scribe of these four documents. There are certain differences in the handwriting of these documents, but they all share one graphic feature that occurs in no other document in the archive. This is the form of the consonant *sh*, which is characterised by the following traits: the left descender departs from the middle or left of the lower edge of the circular element of the *sh* and diverges only slightly from the vertical axis. (Fig. 57) In all other documents, this left descender departs either from the right descender, or from the point at which the latter departs from the circle (if it is attached to the rest of the letter at all), and usually diverges widely from the vertical axis.



Figs. 57 a, b, c, d. The distinctive form of the consonant *sh* in UT/31, UT/32, UT/33 and UT/40

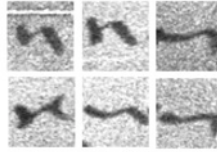
Unfortunately, we cannot use the grapheme *sh* to determine whether Tenpai Gyaltsen was the scribe of UT/19, since it does not appear in the document. The comparison must therefore be based on other features. But this requirement raises an interesting problem: the form of other letters differs significantly from one document to another. If we consider the consonant *sh* to be indicative of a single scribal hand, then we must accept that the form of certain other letters cannot be similarly diagnostic because of the inconsistencies in their form. An examination of these differences is instructive, since it highlights the importance of taking into account factors other than graphic form alone in any attempt to establish scribal identity. For reasons of space, our comparison will be confined to brief remarks on the *yig mgo* and the consonants *s* and *l*.

UT/32 is apparently a rough draft of UT/31. They are by the same scribe, but the *yig mgo* in each case is significantly different. (Fig. 58)



Figs. 58 a, b. The *yig mgo* in documents UT/31 and UT/32.

In UT/31 most occurrences of the letter *s* are distinguished by two notable features: the vertical strokes curve inwards to produce an hour-glass shape, and the horizontal stroke extends from the foot of the first vertical stroke to the middle of the second. In UT/32, by contrast, in most cases the vertical lines are straight rather than incurved, and the connecting stroke rises from the base of the left vertical stroke to the top—*not* the middle—of the right one. The casualness and fluency of the *s* is even more notable in UT/40. (Fig. 59)

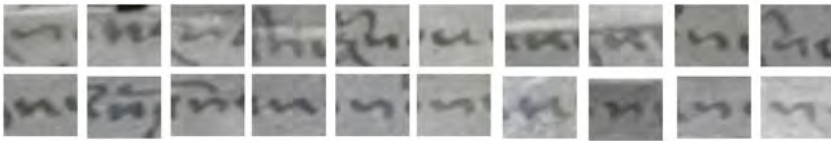


UT/19

Figs. 59 a, b, c, d, e: Cursive and tshugs forms of the grapheme s in UT/19 and UT/31, UT/32, UT/33 and UT/40.



UT/31



UT/32



UT/33



UT/40

Figs. 59 a, b, c, d, e: Cursive and tshugs forms of the grapheme s in UT/19 and UT/31, UT/32, UT/33 and UT/40.

In UT/31 the majority of instances of the consonant *l* are written as two strokes, whereas in UT/32 and 33 there is a higher incidence of *l* written in a single stroke. (Figs 60 and 61)



UT/31



UT/32

Figs. 60 a, b. Occurrences of the tshugs form of the grapheme l in UT/31 and UT/32



UT/31

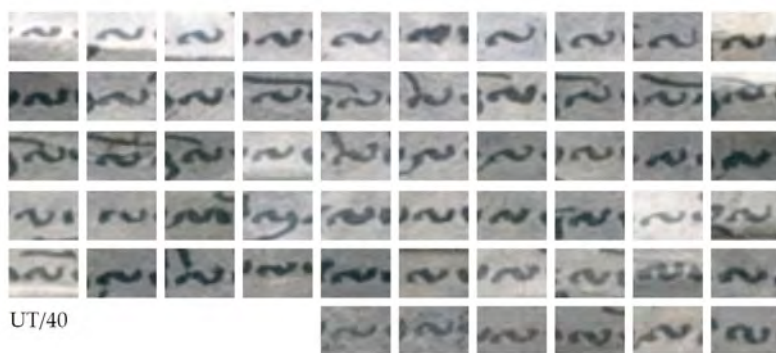


UT/32

Figs. 61 a, b, c, d. Occurrences of the cursive ('khyug') form of the grapheme l in UT/31, UT/32, UT/33 and UT/40



UT/33



UT/40

Figs. 61 a, b, c, d. Occurrences of the cursive ('khyug) form of the grapheme l in UT/31, UT/32, UT/33 and UT/40

Examples such as these could be multiplied, but the conclusion to be drawn from this cursory comparison is clear: the designation *'khyug ma tshugs* is not a precise definition, but indicates a spectrum between the relatively rigid *tshugs* and the more fluid and cursive *'khyug*. The four documents under consideration here all fall on this continuum, but at different points along it, UT/31 being the most *tshugs*-like, and UT/40 the nearest to *'khyug*.

To return to the question posed above: might UT/19 have been written by Tenpai Gyaltsen, the son of Ösal Dorje? First, the *yig mgo* of UT/19 is different from those in UT/31, 33 and 40, but almost identical to that which appears in UT/32. Secondly, the form of the z described above for UT/19 is also the usual form of the letter in all the other four documents. In UT/40 alone there are a few occurrences of another form of z that is more characteristic of *dbu can*. The form of the z that features here—distinguished by a curved hook at the lower

end—is not unique to these documents; it appears in a few others by different scribes, but it is certainly unusual. Third, the two forms of the letter *l* both appear in all four documents; however, as in the case of the consonant *s*, the more fluid form, consisting of a single stroke, appears rarely in UT/31, and much more frequently in UT/32 and UT/33, whereas in UT/40 the more “formal”, two-stroke version does not appear at all. (Fig. 62)



UT/32



UT/33



UT/40

Figs. 62 a, b, c. Forms of the grapheme *z* in UT/32, UT/33 and UT/40

Documents UT/31 and UT/40 are written on *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. paper, and UT/32 and UT/33 are made of of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. with the addition of *Stellera* sp. fibres (UT/33 also has an addition of individual recycled textile fibres).

All these observations lead us to the following tentative conclusion: that while UT/19 was almost certainly not written by Ösal Dorje, it may *possibly* have been written by his son Tenpai Gyaltsen. Finally, it may be observed that the *general* appearance of the handwriting in UT/19 is different from that in UT/31-33 and UT/40, insofar as the letters are horizontally more protracted and more widely spaced; however, as we have seen from the comparison of LT/11 and LT/15, general appearance is not a reliable indicator. In the present case, allowance should also be made of the possibility of a different stylus, ink or paper as well as the likelihood of change in an individual's hand over time: UT/19 and the group of four documents with which we are comparing it were probably written at an interval of some twenty years.

Except in extreme cases the writing tools and materials such as pen, ink, and paper, usually will not make writing identifiable. A writer using legitimate writing tools and materials, together with a smooth writing surface, should be able to write in a normal and natural manner. On those rare occasions when one or a combination of these factors is unsatisfactory, or various tools or materials undergo a change during writing by the same hand, the act of writing can be affected. How much depends upon the type of modification encountered, and how the writer compensates for it. Thus, the general appearance of handwriting can be influenced by the type of writing tools up to a point. Especially, the size of letters or spaces in between letters and words depend on the size of pen end, and how it is cut. A further important factor is absorbency of paper and thickness of ink. The paper suitable for handwriting should usually have processed and sized surfaces to allow ink to be spread by a pointed tool. Thus the main two features which should be adjusted to each other for best writing results are paper absorbency and thickness of ink (Banik et al. 2011: 492).⁸ Furthermore, the quality of any writing has always depended on the type of paper support, the quality of the inks and the skill of the scribe. A very fine quality of writing usually comes from the perfect match of ink thickness (viscosity), type of paper and smoothness of its surface.⁹ This conscious selection of materials provides a refined appearance that is the result of sharp, fine lines with little blurring. This refinement also applies to the appearance of the verso side of the leaf; when ink does not bleed through, the paper was properly sized. Thus highly absorbent (improperly sized) paper will cause blurring, and can make the letters larger and more irregular. In such cases the final effect is more difficult to control. Also, the surface of more absorbent paper is usually more rough and creates more surface tension when writing.

Our research shows that the Tshognam documents were not sized before use, so that absorbency comes mainly from the type of raw material. In our case it shows that *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia* sp. paper creates a better and smoother surface for writing compared to *Stellera* sp. paper, which is significantly more absorbent with a surface that is more difficult for writing.

⁸ Absorbency is the ability of a material to take in other substances with which it is in contact, either in liquid or gaseous form; the process of absorption is associated with changes in its physical or chemical properties.

⁹ The viscosity of a fluid is a measure of its resistance to gradual deformation by shear stress or tensile stress. For liquids, it corresponds to the informal notion of "thickness".

4.3. *Validation marks*

The validation of documents from Mustang involves the application of several possible signs: seals, fingerprints, thumbprints, crosses, signatures, and the Nepali word (of Arabic derivation) *sāhī* written in either Tibetan or Devanāgarī script. The use of these devices is not random, but depends on two main factors: the status of the signatory, and the period when the document was written. Signatures are a recent device, whether in Nepal, Tibetan or Roman script, and do not appear in documents earlier than the 1980s. Thumbprints seem not to have been used before the 1880s. Although thumbprints were used in China, Central Asia, India and Tibet, in some cases even in ancient times, to validate agreements, their widespread usage in documents in Nepal seems to have been promulgated by the Rana government, following the official adoption of the practice in British India after 1877. Some marks of validation prior to this date seem to have been made with the tip of a finger rather than the pad of the thumb, and are therefore likely to represent an affirmatory procedure independent of Nepalese official practice. There is evidence to suggest that among co-signatories who would normally have used seals, some other object may have been used as a substitute in the event that one of the parties may not have had his seal to hand. In such a case it may be that a fingertip was acceptable.¹⁰

Before the use of thumbprints became widespread, documents were commonly validated by means of crosses. In certain cases, signatories would pass the document from hand to hand as a gesture of endorsement, and the scribe would place an "X" to indicate that it had been approved. If there were several signatories, the scribe might add a single cross to represent the approval of the whole group, or, more often, one cross for each member of the group. The use of seals was largely confined to certain social categories: the King of Lo, aristocrats, *subbas*, and hereditary lamas, although, as we shall see below, commoners also sometimes used seals, suggesting that there may have been no regulation prohibiting the use of seals by commoners, only that most commoners simply did not possess them. The King of Lo alone used a red seal, as seen in the detail from LT/10 below; the motif on the seal is a pair of crossed vajras. (Fig. 63)

¹⁰ Emil Schlagintweit recounts an episode in which his brother Robert, negotiating with a Chinese official in Western Tibet for permission to cross the Sutlej, was obliged to pay 5 *srang* and to endorse a document to which the official had applied his seal. Lacking a seal of his own, he instead used the handle of his riding whip, a solution that was deemed acceptable (Schlagintweit 1863: 278, fn. 2). We are grateful to Christoph Cüppers for drawing our attention to this passage.



Fig. 63. LT/10, seal of the King of Lo

In addition to individuals, certain groups also had seals, notably monasteries and settlements. Document LT/02 is a good illustration of the use of seals by groups and individuals. Dated 1832, it is one of the oldest documents in the archives, and consists of two parts. The first part is an agreement among the five communities comprising the Shöyul concerning procedures for coordination in the event of a crisis. Each of the communities has endorsed the document with its own seal, but in the case of Gyaga, Te and Tshug the same seal is placed twice in each case: from a later document we know that Te and Tshug, as the largest of the five, each had two officials called *centsug* (*spyan btsug* etc.), whereas the others had only one each (LT/26). However, the latter document names only one *centsug* for Gyaga. In the second part of LT/02, the scribe has simply placed five crosses representing the five communities that have given their approval to an agreement concerning trade regulations. In the first part of the document, Figs 64–68 show respectively the seals of the communities of: 64. Taye, 65. Tshug 66. Gyaga 67. Tsele and 68. Te. The motifs in Figs 64 and 65 are illegible. Fig. 65 contains Devanāgarī letters, possibly featuring the words *śri siva*; Fig. 67 seems to contain the words *śri bhūpāla*, and the word *ganeṣ* may also appear in Fig. 68.



Fig. 64. LT/02; seal of Taye



Fig. 65a, b. LT/02, seal of Tshug (inverted on document)



Fig. 66a, b. LT/02; the seal of Gyaga



Fig. 67. LT/02, seal of Tsele

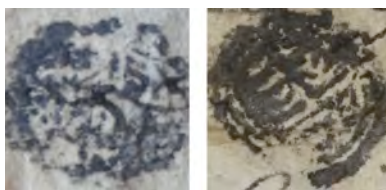


Fig. 68a, b. LT/02, seal of Te

The last seal (Fig. 69) in the first part of the document is an endorsement not by one of the communities but by the witness, in this case a lama by the name of Jamyang Wangdü. The letters in the first are unfortunately too indistinct to decipher but appear to be Tibetan.



Fig. 69. LT/02, seal of Lama Jamyang Wangdü, acting as witness

We cannot be sure that the seals representing the five settlements were indeed community seals, or seals belonging to individuals that were used *pro tem* for the occasion. Whatever the case, in 1910 we find Tshug using a seal that is unequivocally its own. The document, LT/17, is an agreement by the whole community to grant a newly-

arrived lama tenancy of an abandoned estate. The seal, which is placed twice, bears the inscription *tshug yul spyi=* (the last letter being illegible), meaning “the community of Tshug in general.” (Fig. 70)



Figs. 70a, b: LT/17, seal of Tshug from 1910

Fig. 71 (UT/45, also LT/06) also shows the seal of a private individual, in this case a lord of Baragaon from Dzar who has intervened in a dispute over the ownership of a house. This figure, who appears in several documents, used the Nepali name Candra Bir; the inscription on the seal, which is in Devanāgarī, reads *śrī pṛthvī*.



Fig. 71: UT/45, seal of Candra Bir, a noble from Dzar

A seal purporting to be his also appears in a document, dated 1870, from Te, but that seal is square and bears Tibetan script (see *Tibetan Sources 1*: HMA/Te/Tib/65).

There are a few instances in which private individuals with the social rank of commoners, not priests or aristocrats, have used seals. An example of this is to be seen in LT/18, a document from 1910 in which a man from Te and another from Tshug agree to exchange fields for a period of ten years. The seal of the former, Tshering Trashi, contains three lines of script: 1. *pad*; 2. *ma* 3. *kha'gro*, and therefore probably representing the words *padma mkha' 'gro*, a personal name. (Fig. 72)



Fig. 72. LT/18; seal of Tshering Trashi of Te

The smaller seal of the co-signatory, Ogyan Samdrub of Tshug (Fig. 73) contains the letters *p*, *u* and *l*, but it is not clear if these are meant to represent the syllable *pul*, and whether the other marks are letters or other signs.



Fig. 73. LT/18, seal of Ogyan Samdrub of Tshug

A similarly-designed seal is to be seen in UT/42, an undated excerpt from a religious work possibly (to judge from the handwriting) written by Tenpai Gyaltsen. (Fig. 74) The upper line contains the consonants *p* and *z*, and the lower line the letter *ng*. Also present are two other marks: a superscript curve that may stand for the letter *e*, and a concluding half-circle—two features that also appear in Fig. 73. If these are not alphabetical signs, the letters may stand for the name *[d]pa[l b]zang*.



Fig 74. UT/42, seal probably belonging to Lama Tenpai Gyaltsen

UT/02, a document from 1869, offers another example of a commoner with a seal. A mother and her two sons are selling a field, and all the parties concerned sign with a cross except one of the sons, Phurba Dorje, who applies a seal. Apart from an abstract spiral motif that may represent a conch, it is not clear if the seal also contains lettering. (Fig. 75)



Fig. 75. UT/02, seal of Phurba Dorje, a commoner, apparently with conch motif

The conch, together with swastikas one of the commonest motifs in anepigraphic Tibetan seals (Bertsch 2005), is also present in the seal representing the community of Te that appears in UT/37 (Fig. 76), an agreement reached in 1893 by the members of the community to allow a lama to occupy an abandoned estate.



Fig. 76. UT/37, seal of Te from 1893

UT/05 (from 1876) concerns the resolution of a dispute over the ownership and use of a field, and bears five seals. The first (Fig. 77) is that of Lama Tshewang Bumpa, who is conceding lifelong usufruct of the field to his cousin, Ösal Dorje (the second seal, Fig. 78).



Fig. 77. UT/05, seal of Lama Tshewang Bumpa



Fig. 78. UT/05, seal of Ösal Dorje

There are three witnesses to the agreement of whom one is the scribe. They are represented by three seal impressions, partially superimposed, and the seal may possibly be the same in each case. (Fig. 79) All the impressions are elliptical and bear Devanāgarī script, possibly reading *śrī gagāta*.



Figs. 79a, b, c. UT/05, seals (possibly the same) representing three witnesses, of whom one is also the scribe

4.4. Paper

All documents found in Tshognam Archives are written on single layer of the woven type of paper. This means that the traditional method typical of the Himalayan region was employed, using a textile sieve attached to a wooden frame. The distribution of fibres shows some variety, mostly related to the preparation of the papermaking pulp, which produces a range of qualities.

The majority of samples examined were composed of plants from the Thymelaeaceae family, but involving a variety of species. Paper plants belonging to the Thymelaeaceae family are well known by Tibetans in rural areas of the Himalayas, where they go by local names (Boesi 2005: 33–48). In Tibetan, the papermaking plants are generally named *shog gu me tog* ('paper flower'), *shog shing* ('paper tree'), and *shog ldum* ('paper plant') (Boesi 2014: 96).

In Nepali, the usual name for *Daphne* species (*D. bholua*, *D. cannabina*, and *D. involucrata*) is *lokta*, but in certain localities it may also be designated by the name *kagate* (Trier 1972: 50–59; Holmberg & March 1999: 47).

The species of *Edgeworthia* used for papermaking in the Himalayas is especially well known in Nepal. *E. gardneri* also grows in moist places in the forests of Tibetan cultural areas (E Xizang, NW Yunnan), Bhutan, India, North Myanmar, and Nepal at an elevation of 1000–2500(/3500) m.

Stellera chamaejasme thrives at high altitudes, and in some regions of Tibet it has been used as the main raw material for papermaking. *Stellera* is a small genus of fewer than 10 species found growing in comparatively dry conditions in areas such as Central Asia, and parts of China, Tibet, Bhutan, Mongolia, Nepal, and Russia.¹¹ It is widely

¹¹ Gansu, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Henan, Jilin, Liaoning, Nei Mongol, Ningxia, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Sichuan, Xinjiang, Xizang, Yunnan. See: <http://flora.huh.harvard.edu/china/mss/volume13/Thymelaeaceae.pdf> retrieved on July 1, 2015.

distributed along the Himalayan range where it is found on sunny, dry slopes and sandy places at altitudes of 2600 to 4500 m. The name of *Stellera* in Mustang is *Gumbu rejagpa* or *Sibri mentok*.

Regarding fibre components, there are three main types of papers in our sample.

Fifty-seven (57) documents include various amounts of *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres as a component. Twenty-eight (28) papers are made of pure *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres.¹² *Daphne* sp. has strong lignified fibres which give stability to paper. Additionally, a high content of starch and other naturally-occurring sizing components are released during pulping and produce an even surface suitable for writing.

The next type of paper found in twenty-seven (27) documents is composed of *Stellera* sp. fibres mixed with *Daphne* sp. (in only 5 samples was *Stellera* sp. dominant).¹³ It is interesting that none of the paper samples was made of pure *Stellera* sp. fibres. *Stellera* fibres are soft and flabby with a wide lumen and narrow irregular fibre walls, which is why, when used alone, *Stellera* produces a soft and absorbent paper with properties resembling those of tissue paper; it is not stable enough for the large formats of archival documents since it can easily bend or break, especially if it is only single-layered. Even increasing the thickness of the *Stellera* paper by gluing it in layers was not enough to achieve the stability necessary for a large format, which is obvious in *Daphne/Edgeworthia* based papers. This is probably why *Daphne/Edgeworthia* alone, or with additions of *Stellera*, was preferred as a support for documents.

Besides the components described above there were two papers made of fibres from a type of grass which has not yet been identified.

Conclusions

As described above, we applied a two-level approach to our material. First, we grouped our documents according to their function and the parties involved in order to interpret our results of material analyses within smaller collections. At the same time, we grouped all the Tshognam documents according to particular features (preliminary typology), and tested what was specific to the Upper and Lower

¹² These are: UT/02, UT/03, UT/04, UT/07, UT/08, UT/16, UT/17, UT/19, UT/21, UT/23, UT/24, UT/29, UT/31, UT/37, UT/39, UT/40, UT/41, UT/44, UT/45, UT/47, UT/unknown.

¹³ These are: UT/01, UT/09, UT/10, UT/11, UT/13, UT/14, UT/15, UT/28, UT/36.

Tshognam documents.

When studying Tshognam documents within smaller groups, we noticed a connection between features such as format and size and the function of documents. The horizontal or vertical way of folding the documents seems to be rather secondary (arbitrary) and not determined by the type of document. However, most documents tend to be folded horizontally. The number of folds usually follows the size of document.

The documents examined here constitute a fertile arena for the study of Tibetan handwriting. This is thanks to a number of factors, the most important of which are, first, that the identity of the scribes of several of the documents is known and, secondly, that the same scribes display different hands. The following general observations could be profitably applied to other manuscript collections. First, the general appearance of a hand is not a reliable indicator of the scribe's identity; close attention must be paid to the construction of individual letters. While it is the case that certain letters are diagnostic of a particular scribe insofar as they retain idiographic features in different scripts and over the course of time, other letters are subject to variation. Most documents are written in either *'khyug* or *'khyug ma tshugs*, but it is important to note that there are numerous intermediate forms between the truly cursive *'khyug* and the more rigid *tshugs*, and a single document may contain several of these forms.

Various devices are used for the authentication of documents, and here we have given particular attention to the use of seals. Although there is a growing body of published research on the subject of Tibetan seals (see Bertsch 2005 for references), their use in borderland areas such as Mustang would reward closer attention. The brief examination of a selection of seals appearing in the Tshognam archives has identified certain areas that deserve further investigation, and we hope in the future to undertake a more extensive survey based on a larger sample from several archives. Such an enquiry would aim to shed light on features such as the shape of the seals, the choice of the language (Tibetan or Nepali) and script, the incidence and relevance of certain motifs, and the extent to which the content of the seal is implicated in the identity of the owner, or whether the motifs and text are, at least in certain cases, as impersonal as the butt of Schlagintweit's riding whip.

Despite observing some similarities in the case of paper type within our groups of documents, we have not been able to observe a clear pattern in the relationship between a particular form or type of paper and the function of the document. The type of paper used may well have been dependent on what was available, and which papermaking workshops were active at that time.

In spite of the fact that the selection of raw material and technology of papermaking does not show a great variety, it does enable us to understand the processes of making archival documents, transfer of technological knowledge, trade of materials and the social historical background concerned (from the textual content of documents). The key feature is the raw material used for making paper. From this perspective there are four types of paper to be distinguished within our sample. The woven sieve print is recorded in all Tshognam documents, suggesting that during the 19th and 20th centuries the same technique was used locally in the Tshognam area and also in other places from which this paper could have been obtained. This technology involves a floating papermaking mould with a textile sieve attached to the wooden frame, the method that is still used in Western Nepal and Tibet.

Thus we have documents written on paper made from: 1) pure *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia* sp. fibres; 2) *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia* sp. mixed with *Stellera* sp. fibres; 3) paper based on previous compositions with an addition of cotton or hemp recycled fibres; and 4) documents on paper made of a variety of grass.

The question that arises from this list of raw materials concerns the provenance of particular types of paper: what type of paper was locally produced in Tshognam, and what kinds were traded from longer distances. We should take into consideration the fact that Tshognam is located in the heart of the Kali Gandaki valley corridor, which was a highway for travellers, traders and monks, and an obvious route for the dissemination of new ideas and technologies between Central Asia and India. Thus we have two "natural" directions from which paper could be traded—North and South.

Furthermore, Tshognam and neighbouring villages are all located above 3000 m above sea level, which represents the upper range of *Daphne* sp. plants. This suggests that paper made of *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia* spp. used for the largest group of manuscripts was probably brought to Tshognam from more low-lying valleys (the Beni/Baglung area).

Research carried out on the living tradition of papermaking in Nepal indicates that this area is currently the location of many small paper manufactories, and the region is known for paper production. *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia* plants are still the main material for this purpose in the region. Information collected from craftsmen interviewed suggests that these manufactories do not usually exist for more than a couple of years: unlike European paper mills these workshops do not have a long continuous history. However, it was found that whenever one factory closed, another soon started to operate in the vicinity. The production seems to be conditioned by local

availability of plants, tools, and skills. The fact that the region is known for the production of good quality paper may also have contributed to the ease with which new workshops can be established and the sale of products assured. Tools, facilities and skilled papermakers were present in this particular area.

The *Stellera* sp. plants present in a group of samples as an addition possibly originated in areas neighbouring Tshognam, or else were imported from the Tibetan plateau, where the plant was often used. However, it is difficult to identify the location of papermaking workshops. From the interview with Sonam Dondup we learned that one located was in Tiri, on the border between Upper and Lower Mustang. He remembered that raw material was collected locally there from above the forest (clearly from trees, not plant roots). Nyima Dandrul also reported that his grandfather produced paper in Tshognam. He learned his skills in Drakar Taso, near Kyirong in Tibet, and may have used *Stellera* roots for making his paper. However, our sample of paper produced by Nyima's grandfather is made of grass, not *Stellera*. In fact none of the interviewed papermakers mentioned the use of grass as an ingredient in Mustang. However, grass was mentioned by Jampa Tsundru who is a papermaker from Lhasa (Tsundru 2010).

This suggests that some of the samples from the material examined could have been produced in Tibet. However, we cannot yet identify the location more precisely.

Interestingly, besides Nyima Dandrul's recollections about his grandfather, nobody mentioned *Stellera* as a material used for papermaking in Nepal. However, it does seem to be a component commonly used in Central and Western Tibet. Taking into account a natural occurrence of *Stellera*, it might also have been used in Mustang, and especially in and around the Muktinath Valley. However, there is no evidence of this at the present. It seems that it may have been easier to trade paper made of *Stellera* from Tibet or *Daphne* paper from the lowland valleys (Beni/Baglung area) than to produce it locally in Upper Mustang.

Another question emerging from the samples examined is the usage of recycled materials, which were found in a few cases such as UT/05, UT/13, UT/25, UT/33, UT/34, LT/09, LT/11 and LT/12. However, the content and provenance of the documents mentioned above are varied: they do not form a coherent group in terms of subject-matter, and were issued in different communities of Mustang. More samples should be checked, but on the basis of the existing evidence, the use of recycled fibres cannot be taken as a diagnostic feature regarding the origin or category of documents.

On the basis of studies conducted on the paper used in the Tshog-

nam documents, as well as on interviews with papermakers, our results suggest that paper was often traded along the Kali Gandaki corridor in both directions. Thus we have numerous documents made of *Daphne* and/or *Edgeworthia* produced in the middle hills to the south of Mustang, as well as from *Stellera* manufactured locally or else imported from the north.

The preliminary typology of paper that has been developed on the basis of the Tshognam documents should be supported with analysis of documents from other archives in Mustang. However, the analysis of the documents presented here does at least help with the identification of local material resources, as well as with the likely places of origin of the paper used.

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HMA Collection/ Acc. No.	Archive Location/ village	Date base don text	Category of text Title	Format and layout		Writing		Authentic ation marks	Paper							
				Size (h x w) cm	No of text lines	Type of script	Scriba hands		Seals , Cross es, and finge rprints	Fibre composition			Sieve print		Thick ness	Fibre distrib ution
										Daphne/ Edgewor thia/ Wikstro emia	Stelle rasp	Other	Woven	Laid		
UT/0 1	Upper Tsho gnam	186 6	Draft of a petition prepared by Lama Rangrol in an inheritance dispute with his brother Rigden.	Single sheet 31.5 × 38 9 folds	15	kmt		2 seals	++		++	+		1 Thick	Unev en with visibl e fibre bundl es	
UT/0 2	Upper Tsho gnam	186 9	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 13 × 34.5 5 folds	6	kmt/ tshugs thung	Jamya ng Wang dü	1 seal 2 cross es	+++	+		+		1	Even	
UT/0 3	Upper Tsho gnam	187 3	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 15.5 × 29.5 6 folds	6	kmt		1 cross	+++	+		+		1	Even	
UT/0 4	Upper Tsho gnam	187 5	Contract for sale of four fields.	Single sheet 14.5 × 21	10	kmt		3 cross es	+++	+		+		1	Even	

UT/0 5	Upe r Tsho gnam	187 6	Resolution of dispute over ownership and use of a field.	7 folds Single sheet 28.7 × 31 31 9 folds	10	'khyu g	Lama Thuto b	6 seals 2 cross es (in the seals)	++	?	+ Singula r recycle d fibres	+	1	Even
UT/0 6	Upe r Tsho gnam	187 7	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 10.5 × 29.5 4 folds	6	kmt		2 cross es	+++		+ epiderm al cells	+	1	Even with slight irregu laritie s
UT/0 7	Upe r Tsho gnam	187 7	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 11.5 × 33 12 folds	7	tshugs thung	Lama of Tshog nam	1 or 2 cross es	+++	+		+	1	Even
UT/0 8	Upe r Tsho gnam	187 9	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 9.5 × 26.3 4 folds	5	kmt		1 seal	+++	+?		+	1	Even
UT/0 9	Upe r Tsho gnam	188 0	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 15.7 × 21 6 folds	5	kmt		1 cross	+	+++		+	1	Unev en
UT/1 0	Upe r Tsho gnam	188 1	Confirmation by a defaulting debtor that he will forfeit a field pledged as security on	Single sheet 22 × 31.5 8 folds	11	kmt	Lama Osai Dorje	3 cross es	+	+++		+	1	Even with some irregu laritie s

UT/1 1	Uppe r Tsho gnam	188 1	an loan. Copy of UT/10.	Single sheet 26 × 31 8 folds	14	kmt	Lama Ösal Dorje	3 cross es	++	++	+	1	Even with some irregu laritie s
UT/1 2	Uppe r Tsho gnam	188 2	Contract for sale of a field to Lama Ösal Dorje.	Single sheet	7	'khyu g		2 cross es					
UT/1 3	Uppe r Tsho gnam	188 6	Public declaration by Baragaon of acceptance of apology from fraudulent leaders.	Single sheet 29.8 × 31.8 10 folds	21	kmt		1 seal 18 cross es	++ Fibrillate d fibres	+	+	1	Even
UT/1 4	Uppe r Tsho gnam	188 8	List of expenses incurred by Ösal Dorje in legal dispute over taxes to the community.	Single sheet 66.5 × 19.5 27 folds	49 (3 text lines in red ink)	tshugs thung (same hand, 2 differ ent styli?)		-	++	++	+	1	Unev en
UT/1 5	Uppe r Tsho gnam	188 8	Agreement on action to be taken over recurring theft of crops from a field.	Single sheet 58 × 19.5 23 folds	28	'khyu g	Ancho rite Sangy e Tshec u of Puran g	1 seal 2 sth ???	+	+++	+	1	Even with some irregu laritie s


UT/1 6	Upe r Tsho gnam	188 9	Contract for loan of grain.	Single sheet 13.2 × 30 4 folds	7	kmt				+++	+		+	1		Unev en
UT/1 7	Upe r Tsho gnam	189 0	Transfer of responsibility for a house to Ósal Dorje from his mother.	Single sheet 25.7 × 32.5 8 folds	11	tshugs thung	Ómpo Tshult rim of Te	-	++++		+			1		Unev en
UT/1 9	Upe r Tsho gnam	189 0	Receipt for loan of foodstuffs.	Single sheet 11.5 × 31.5 4 folds	5	missi ng - check	Lama Ósal Dorje (signe d 'I myself)	1 cross	++++		+			1		Unev en
UT/2 1	Upe r Tsho gnam	189 8	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 15.8 × 34.5 6 folds	8	tshugs thung	Lama Ósal Dorje (signe d 'I myself)	2 seals 5 cross es	++++		+			1		Even with some irregu laritie s
UT/2 2 missi ng	Upe r Tsho gnam	190 4	Contract for loan of cash.	Single sheet	11	tshugs thung	Sonam Wang dü	3 finge rprint s								
UT/2 3	Upe r Tsho gnam	190 6	Contract for loan of cash.	Single sheet 33 × 27 12 folds	13	kmt		10 cross es	++++		+	+?		1	Thi n	Unev en
UT/2	Upe	190	Contract for	Single	7	kmt		-	++++		+			1		Unev

4	r Tsho gnam	6?	loan of grain.	sheet 63.5 × 58 15 folds													en
UT/2 5	Upe r Tsho gnam	190 7	Legal petition against Ósal Dorje <i>et al.</i> for various charges.	Single sheet 30 × 39.5 10 folds	25	kmt		-	++++				Singula r fibres stained yellow/ orange	+	1		Unev en
UT /26– 27	Upe r Tsho gnam	190 7	Formal response by Ósal Dorje <i>et al.</i> to petition in UT/25.	Single sheet 41.5 × 36.5 12 folds	24	kmt		-	++++					+	1	Thi cke r	Unev en
UT/2 8	Upe r Tsho gnam	190 7	Contract for sale of a field.	Single sheet 16.5 × 38 6 folds	5	'khyu g/ kmt		2 cross es	++			++		+	1		Unev en ?
UT/2 9	Upe r Tsho gnam	190 9	Confirmation of previous sale of a field and assurance of lifelong maintenance for vendor.	Single sheet 17.5 × 38 6 folds	6	kmt		1 seal 1 cross	++++					+	1		Even with some irregu laritie s
UT/3 0	Upe r Tsho gnam	191 0	Settlement of a dispute between Tenpai Gyaltzen and a	Single sheet 16 × 22.5 8 folds	9	kmt		4 finge rprint s	+++?				+++?	+	1		Even

LT/02	Lower Tsho gnam	1832	Covenant among the five Shöyul.	10 folds Single sheet 41 × 37	23	2 hands, kmt												1	0.1 2– 0.2 5	Even (fibre bundles)
LT/04	Lower Tsho gnam	1860	Resolution of an inheritance dispute between two lama brothers.	Single sheet 26 × 34.5 8 folds	12		Kusho g Trashig	2 seals	++++ many associated cells									1	0.1 – 0.2 3	Uneven
LT/05	Lower Tsho gnam	1871	Settlement of dispute over a debt.	Single sheet 19.5 × 24.5	10	kmt		2 crosses	++++									1	0.1 1– 0.2 5	Even with rare fibre bundles
LT/06 missing	Lower Tsho gnam	1871	Confirmation of ownership of a house.	Single sheet	7	<i>khyug</i>		1 seal												
LT/07	Lower Tsho gnam	1875	Will of a nun regarding inheritance of movable property from two estates.	Single sheet 20 × 29.5	14			-	++++									1	0.1 3– 0.1 7	Uneven
LT/08	Lower Tsho gnam	1876, 1886	Copy (from 1876) of two settlements in dispute over field and house.	Single sheet 46 × 33.5	21	kmt	Nyilda Gyalpo and Thutob Lama	-	++									1	0.0 6– 0.0 9	Even with some fibre bundles spread

Materials Toward the Study of Vasubandhu's *Vimśikā* (II): An edition of the Dunhuang Manuscript Pelliot tibétain 797

Jonathan A. Silk

he philosopher Vasubandhu is one of the most influential proponents of the early phase of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda tradition, and his short work titled *Vimśikā* one of the central statements of his viewpoint. We are fortunate that this verse work, accompanied by a prose commentary which is almost universally held to belong to the same author, exists in Sanskrit, in Tibetan translation, and in three Chinese versions. Recently I published an edition of the Sanskrit text, accompanied by a critical edition of the Tibetan translation found in the Tanjur (*Materials Toward the Study of Vasubandhu's Vimśikā (I): Sanskrit and Tibetan Critical Editions of the Verses and Autocommentary, An English Translation and Annotations*. Harvard Oriental Series 81 [Cambridge, 2016]). In this publication I included an edition of a Dunhuang manuscript (Pelliot tib. 125) containing what I hypothesized to be a draft of the Tibetan translation of the verses alone which, in a highly revised form, eventually was canonized in the Tanjur. My edition of the verses and the commentary was based on the text in five known Tanjurs, those of Cone, Derge, Ganden, Narthang and Peking. However, at the time I published this edition I was unaware of the existence of the commentary in another Dunhuang manuscript (P. tib. 797), something which was brought to my attention by two colleagues from Budapest, Ferenc Ruzsa and Mónika Szegedi, immediately after the printing of my book. These colleagues too had been busy with the same *Vimśikā*, and they published their Sanskrit edition at precisely the moment that my volume appeared in print: "Vasubandhu's *Vimśikā*. A critical edition" (Vasubandhu *Vimśikājānak kritikai kiadása* (bevezető) in *Távol-keleti Tanulmányok* 2015/1: 99–158. This was accompanied by a Hungarian translation by Szilvia Szanyi (pp. 159–190; not seen). When I sent these colleagues a copy of my edition, they learned that they had overlooked P. tib. 125, and immediately thereafter, Dr. Szegedi noticed the existence of P. tib. 797. I am deeply in her debt for bringing it to my attention.

Lalou's catalogue entry on this manuscript reads as follows:

Vimśakavṛtti de Vasubandhu (*biñ ça ka 'brid ti*). *Ñi-çu-pa 'grel-pa*.
 Complet: *slobs dpon dbyig-ñen-gyis / ñi-çu-pa'i 'grel-pa mjad-pa
 rjogs-sho // rgya-gar-gyi mkhan-po ji-na-mi-tra dan / çi-lin-dra-bo-de
 dan / źu čhen-gyi lo-ca-pa / ban-de ye-ces-sdes źus-te gtan-la phab-
 pa' // Trad. par Jinamitra et Śīlendrābodhi, corrigé par Ye shes sde.*
 Cf. *Tanjūr, Mdo*, LVIII, 3).

6 f. (7.5 x 49.2) finement pag. en rouge *kha, ña, ča, čha, ja, ña, ta;*
 6 l., trou à gauche; éléments en rouge. Complet.

I was able to insert an Errata sheet in my volume thanks to the kindness of the series editor Prof. dr. Michael Witzel, in which I pointed out the most important readings of this manuscript. In fact, the text contained in P. tib. 797 is in almost every respect superior to that preserved in the Tanjurs, and had I known of it, I would have printed its readings, and followed its punctuation, in the vast majority of cases. Alas, through my lack of attention, it simply escaped my eye until it was too late to include its evidence in the printed book. I therefore take this opportunity to present the complete text of P. tib. 797, keyed to the divisions of my edition, and with a small set of mostly technical notes.¹ Future careful study of the Tibetan translation of the *Vimśikā* should take account of both editions, since it is not feasible here to reproduce also the information presented in the above-mentioned book.

In the following I indicate the reversed *gi gu* (*gi gu log*) with *ï*. This is the preferred form of the *i* vowel in this manuscript, except in almost all cases of the words *phyir* and *nyid*, in which the 'normal' *gi gu* is usually found, and otherwise apparently randomly. The scribe writes *du* in almost all cases including those in which we would expect *tu*, but in a manner that is graphically speaking something between his usual *ta* and *da*; I transcribe all such cases as *du*. Corrections and words added below the line are noted after the text. The manuscript carefully rubricates the verses, that is, it writes the quoted verses in red in the manuscript. I reproduce this below. All numbering below is imposed by myself.

¹ I must thank my student Channa Li for her check of my transcription.

Critical transcription of P. tib. 797:

0

rgya gar skad du | bñng shī ka 'brīd tī || ||
 bod skad du nyī shu pa 'grel ba ||
 'jam dpal gzhonur gyur pa la phyag 'tsal lo ||

I

A) theg pa chen po la khams gsum pa rnam par rīg pa tsam du rnam
 par gzhag ste || B) mdo las kye rgyal ba'i sras dag | 'dī lta ste |
 khams gsum pa 'dī ni sems tsam mo zhes 'byung ba'i phyir ro || C)
 sems dang yīd dang rnam par shes pa dang | rnam par rīg pa zhes
 bya ba nī rnam grangs su gtogs pa'o || D) sems de yang 'dir
 mtshungs par ldan ba dang | bcas par dgongs pa'o || E) tsam zhes
 bya ba smos pa nī don dgag pa'i phyir ro || F) rnam par shes pa 'dī
 nyīd don du snang bar 'byung ste | G) dper na rab rīb can rnam kyīs
 || skra lastsogs pa mthong ba bzhin te | H) don gang yang myed do
 ||

II

A) 'dir 'dī skad ces brgal te ||

gal te rnam rīg don myin na ||
 yul dang dus la nges myed cñng ||
 sems kyang nges myed ma yīn la ||
 bya ba byed pa 'ang myī rīgs 'gyur || [2]

B) jī skad du bstan par 'gyur zhe na || C) gal te gzugs lastsogs pa'i don
 myed par gzugs lastsogs pa'i rnam par rīg pa 'byung ste || gzugs
 lastsogs pa'i don las ma yīn na || D) cī'i phyir yul la lar 'byung la
 thams cad na ma yīn || E) yul de nyid na 'ang res 'ga' 'byung la |
 thams cad du ma yīn | F) yul dang dus de na 'khod pa thams cad kyī
 sems la nges pa myed bar 'byung la | 'ga' tsam la ma yīn || G) jī ltar
 rab rīb can nyīd kyī sems la | skra lastsogs pa snang gī gzhan dag la
 ma yīn || H) cī'i phyir gang rab rīb can gyīs mthong ba'i skra dang
 sbrang bu lastsogs pas skra lastsogs pa'i bya ba myī byed la | de ma
 yīn ba gzhan dag gīs nī byed || I) rmyī lam na mthong ba'i bza' ba
 dang btung ba dang | bgo ba dang dug dang mtshon lastsogs pas |
 zas dang skom lastsogs pa'i bya ba myī byed la || de ma yīn ba
 gzhan dag gīs nī byed | J) drī za'i grong khyer yod pa ma yīn bas

grong khyer gyi bya ba myi byed la | de ma yin ba gzhan dag gis ni
byed || _K 'di dag don myed par myed du 'dra na | yul dang dus
nges pa dang | sems nges pa myed pa dang | bya ba byed pa 'di dag
kyang myi rung ngo zhe na ||

III

A) myi rung ba ma yin te 'di ltar ||

yul lastsogs pa nges grub ste |
rmyi 'dra'o || [3ab]

B) rmyi lam du rmyis pa dang mtshungs pas na rmyi 'dra'o || _C ji lta
zhe na _D rmyi lam na yang don myed par yul la la na grong dang |
kun dga' ra ba dang | skyes pa dang | bud med lastsogs pa ji dag
snang la thams cad na ma yin | yul de nyid na 'ang | res 'ga' snang
la dus thams cad du ma yin bas | _E don myed par yang yul lastsogs
pa nges par grub bo ||

sems kyang nges pa myed || |
yid dags bzhin te | [3bc]

F) grub ces bya bar snyegs so || _G yi dags rnams kyi dang mtshungs
pas na yi dags bzhin no || _H ji ltar 'grub ||

thams cad kyis || |
klung la rnag lastsogs mthong phyir || [3cd]

J) rnag gis gang ba'i klung ni rnag gi klung ste | _K mar gyi bum pa
bzhin no || _L las kyi rnam par smyin pa mtshungs pa la gnas pa' |
yi dags rnams ni kun kyis kyang mtshungs par klung rnag gis gang
bar mthong ste | gcig 'gas ni ma yin no || _M rnag gis gang ba ji lta
ba bzhin du | gcin dang ngan skyugs dang | mye ma mur dang |
mchil ma dang | snabs kyis gang ba dang | dbyig pa dang | ral gyi
thogs pa'i myi dag gis bsrungs pa yang de bzhin te | stsogs pa zhes
bya bar bsdu'o || _N de ltar na don myed par yang rnam par rig pa
rnams kyis sems nges pa myed par grub bo ||

IV

bya byed rmyi lam gnod pa 'dra' || [4a]

A) grub ces bya bar rīg par bya'o || B) dper na rmyi lam na gnyis kyī gnyis phrad pa myed par yang | khu ba 'byung ba'i mtshan nyid ni | rmyi lam gyi gnod pa'o || C) de ltar re shig dpe gzhan dang gzhan dag gis | yul dang dus lastsogs pa bzhī grub bo ||

thams cad sems can dmyal ba bzhin || [4b]

D) grub ces bya bar rīg par bya'o || E) sems can dmyal ba dag na yod pa dang | mtshungs pas sems can dmyal ba bzhin no || F) ji ltar 'grub ce na ||

dmyal ba'i srungs lastsogs mthong dang ||
de dagis kyang gnod phyir ro || [4cd]

G) dper na sems can dmyal ba dag na | sems can dmyal ba'i sems can rnam kyis | sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma lastsogs pa mthong ste | yul dang dus nges par grub bo || H) khyi dang bya rog dang lcags kyi ri lastsogs pa 'ong ba dang | 'gro bar yang mthong ba ni stsogs pa zhes bya bar bsdu ste | I) thams cad kyis mthong gi gcig 'gas ni ma yin no || J) de dag gis de dag la gnod pa yang grub ste | sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma lastsogs pa myed par yang | rang gi las kyi rnam par smyin pa mtshungs pa'i dbang gi phyir ro || K) de bzhin du gzhan du yang | yul dang dus nges pa lastsogs pa bzhī po 'di dag thams cad grub par rīg par bya'o ||

L) c'i phyir sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma dang | bya rog dang khyi lastsogs pa de dag | sems can du myi 'dod ce na | M) myi rigs pa'i phyir ro || N) de dag ni sems can dmyal ba par myi rigs te | de bzhin du sdug bsngal de myi myong ba'i phyir ro || O) gcig la gcig gnod pa byed na ni 'di dag ni sems can dmyal ba pa dag go || 'di dag ni sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma dag go zhes rnam par gzhas pa myed par 'gyur ro || P) byad gzugs dang bong tsod dang | stobs mtshungs pa dag ni | gcig la gcig gnod pa byed kyang | de lta bur 'jigs par myi 'gyur ro || Q) lcags rab tu 'bar ba'i sa gzhī la tsha ba'i sdug bsngal yang myi bzod na | ji ltar de na gzhan la gnod pa byed par 'gyur || R) sems can dmyal ba pa ma yin pa dag | sems can dmyal bar 'byung bar ga la 'gyur |

V

A) 'o na dud 'gro dag kyang jī ltar mtho ris su 'byung ste || B) de bzhin du sems chan dmyal bar yang dud 'gro dang | yī dags kyī bye brag sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma lastsogs pa 'byung bar 'gyur ro zhe na ||

jī ltar dud 'gro mtho ris su ||
 'byung ba de ltar dmyal bar myin ||
 yī dags myin te 'dī lta bur ||
 de yod sdug bsngal des myī myong || [5]

C) dud 'gro gang dag mtho risu 'byung ba de dag nī | snod kyī 'jig rten na de'i bde ba myong bar 'gyur ba'i las kyīs | der 'byung ba dag ste | de na yod pa'i bde ba so sor myong ngo || D) sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma lastsogs pa dag nī de bzhin du | sems can dmyal ba pa'i sdug bsngal myī myong ngo || E) de'i phyir dud 'gro dag der 'byung bar myī rigs so || F) yī dags kyī bye brag kyang ma yin no ||

VI

A) sems can dmyal ba pa de dag gī las rnam kyīs | der 'byung ba'i bye brag dag 'dī lta bur 'byung ste | mdog dang | byad gzugs dang bong tsod dang | stobs kyī bye brag gang gīs sems can dmyal ba'i srungs ma lastsogs pa'i mying 'thob pa'o | B) gang lag pa brkyang ba lastsogs pa | bya ba sna tshogs byed par snang ba lta bur yang 'gyur te | de dag 'jigs pa skyed pa'i phyir ro || dper na lug lta bu'i ri dags 'ong ba dang | 'gro ba dang | lcags kyī shal ma l'i nags tshal tsher ma kha thur du lta ba dang | gyen du lta bar 'gyur ba lta bu ste | C) de dag nī myed pa ma yin no zhe na ||

gal te de'i las kyīs der ||
 'byung ba dag nī 'byung ba dang ||
 de bzhin 'gyur ba 'ang 'dod na go ||
 rnam par shes par jī myi 'dod || [6]

D) de'i las rnam kyīs rnam par shes pa nyid | der de lta bur 'gyur bar cī'i phyir myi 'dod la || E) cī'i phyir 'byung ba rnam su rtog | F) yang |

VII

gzhan na las kyī bag chags la ||
 'bras bu dag nī gzhan du rtog ||
 gang na bag chags yod pa der ||
 cī'i phyir na 'dod myi bya || [7]

A) sems can dmyal ba pa rnam kyī las gang gis | der 'byung ba dag |
 de lta bur 'byung ba dang 'gyur ba yang rtog pa'i las de'i bag chags |
 de dag nyid kyī rnam par shes pa'i rgyud la gnas te | gzhan na ma
 yin na | B) bag chags de gang na yod pa de dag nyid la de'i 'bras bu
 rnam par shes pa gyur pa de | 'dra bar cī'i phyir myī 'dod la | C)
 gang na bag chags de myed pa der | de'i 'bras bu rtog pa 'dī la gtan
 tshigs cī yod ||

D) smras pa lung gi gtan tshigs yod de || E) gal te rnam par shes pa
 nyid gzugs lastsogs par snang gi | gzugs lastsogs pa'i don nī myed
 na | gzugs lastsogs pa'i skye mched yod par bcom ldan 'das kyis
 gsungs par myi 'gyur ro zhe na ||

VIII

A) 'dī ni gtan tshigs ma yin te 'dī ltar ||

gzugs stsogs skye mched yod par nī ||
 des 'dul ba'i skye bo la ||
 dgongs pa'i dbang gis gsungs pa ste ||
 rdzus te byung ba'i sems can bzhin || [8]

B) dper na bcom ldan 'das kyis rdzus te byung ba'i sems can yod do
 zhes gsungs pa yang | phyi ma la sems kyī rgyud rgyun myī 'chad
 pa la dgongs nas | dgongs pa'i dbang gis gsungs pa ste ||

C) 'dī na bdag gam sems can myed ||
 chos 'dī rgyu dang bcas las byung |

D) zhes gsungs pa'i phyir | ro || E) de bzhin du bcom ldan 'das kyis
 gzugs lastsogs pa'i skye mched yod par gsungs pa yang | de bstan
 pas 'dul ba'i skye bo'i ched du ste | bka' de nī dgongs pa can no ||

IX

A) 'dir ji las dgongs she na | |

rang gi sa bon gang las su | |
 rnam rig snang ba gang byung ba | |
 de dag de'i skye mched ni | |
 rnam pa gnyisu thub pas gsungs | te | [9]

B) ji skad bstan par 'gyur zhe na | | C) gzugs su snang ba'i rnam par
 rig pa | rang gi sa bon 'gyur ba'i bye brag du gyur pa gang las
 'byung ba'i sa bon de dang snang ba gang yin ba D) de dang | de dag
 ni de'i myig dang | gzugs ky'i skye mched du bcom ldan 'das kyis go
 rims bzhin du gsungs so | | E) de bzhin du reg byar snang ba'i rnam
 par rig pa'i bar du | rang rang gi sa bon 'gyur ba'i bye brag du gyur
 pa gang las 'byung ba'i sa bon de dang | snang ba gang yin ba F) de
 dang | de dag ni bcom ldan 'das kyis | de'i lus dang reg bya'i skye
 mched du go rims bzhin du gsungs te | G) 'di ni 'dir dgongs pa'o | |

X

A) de ltar dgongs pa'i dbang gis bstan pa la yon tan ji yod ce na | |

de ltar gang zag bdag myed par | |
 'jug par 'gyur ro | | [10ab]

B) de ltar bshad na gang zag la bdag myed par 'jug par 'gyur te | C)
 drug po gnyis las rnam par shes pa drug 'byung gi | lta ba po gcig
 pu nas reg pa po'i bar du gang yang myed par rig nas | gang dag
 gang zag la bdag myed par bstan pas 'dul ba de dag gang zag la bdag
 myed par 'jug go | |

gzhan du yang | |
 bstan pas chos la bdag myed par
 'jug 'gyur | [10bcd]

D) gzhan du yang zhes bya ba ni | rnam par rig pa tsam nyid du
 bstan pa'o | | E) ji ltar chos la bdag myed par 'jug ce na | F) rnam par
 rig pa tsam 'di nyid gzugs lastsogs ba'i chos su snang bar 'byung ste
 | G) gzugs lastsogs pa'i mtshan nyid ky'i chos gang yang myed par rig
 nas 'jug go | |

H) gal te chos rnam pa thams cad du myed na | rnam par rîg pa tsam zhes bya ba de yang myed pas | ji ltar rnam par gzhang ce na |

I) chos ni rnam pa thams cad du myed pa ma yin bas | de ltar chos la bdag myed par 'jug par 'gyur te ||

brtags pa'i bdag nyid kyis || [10d]

K) gang byis ba rnam kyis chos rnam kyî rang bzhin kun brtags pa'i bdag nyid des | de dag bdag myed kyî | L) sangs rgyas rnam kyî yul gang yin ba brjod du myed pa'i bdag nyid kyis ni myed pa ma yin no || M) de ltar rnam par rîg pa tsam yang | rnam par rîg pa gzhan gyis | kun brtags pa'i bdag nyid kyis | bdag myed pa'r rtogs pa'i phyir | rnam par rîg pa tsam du rnam par bzhag pas | chos thams cad la bdag myed par 'jug pa yin gyi | yod pa de la yang rnam pa thams cad du bskur pas ni ma yin no || N) gzhan du na ni rnam par rîg pa gzhan yang rnam par rîg pa gzhan gyî don du 'gyur bas | rnam par rîg pa tsam nyid du myi 'grub ste || rnam par rîg pa rnam don dang ldan ba'i phyir ro ||

XI

A) bcom ldan 'das kyis dgongs pa 'dis gzugs lastsogs pa'i skye mched yod par gsungs kyî gzugs lastsogs pa gang dag yod bzhin du | de dag rnam par rîg pa so so'i yul du myi 'gyur ro zhes bya ba de | ji ltar rtogs par bya zhe na |

B) 'di ltar |

**de ni gcig na 'ang yul myin la ||
phra rab rdul du du ma 'ang myin ||
de dag 'dus pa 'ang ma yin te ||
'di ltar rdul phran myi 'grub phyir || [11]**

C) ji skad du bstan par 'gyur zhe na | D) gang gzugs lastsogs pa'i skye mched | gzugs lastsogs pa'i rnam par rîg pa rnam so so'i yul yin du zin na | de gcig pu zhig yin te | dper na bye brag pa rnam kyis cha shas chan gyî ngo bor brtags pa lta bu 'am | rdul phra rab du du ma 'am | rdul phra rab de dag nyid 'dus pa zhig tu 'gyur grang na | E) gcig pu de ni yul ma yin te | cha shas rnam las gzhan ba | cha shas can gyî ngo bo gang la yang myi 'dzin pa'i phyir ro || F) du ma 'ang

yul ma yin te | rdul phra rab so so la myi 'dzin pa'i phyir ro | | _G) de
dag 'dus pa 'ang yul ma yin te | 'di ltar rdul phran rdzas gchig du
myi 'grub pa'i phyir ro | |

XII

A) ji ltar myi 'grub ce na |

B) 'di ltar |

drug gis chig char sbyar pas na | |
phra rab rdul cha drug tu 'gyur | | [12ab]

_C) phyogs drug nas rdul phra rab drug gis cig char du sbyar na ni | |
rdul phra rab cha drug du 'gyur te | gcig gi go gang yin ba der gzhan
myi 'byung ba'i phyir ro | |

drug po dag gi go gcig na | |
gong bu rdul phran tsam du 'gyur | | [12cd]

_D) ji ste rdul phra rab gcig gi go gang yin ba de nyid | drug po rnam
kyi go yang yin na ni | | _E) des na thams cad go gcig pa'i phyir |
gong bu thams chad rdul phra rab tsam du 'gyur te | phan tshun tha
dad pa myed pa'i phyir | _F) gong bu gang yang snang bar myi 'gyur
ro | | _G) kha ce pa'i bye brag tu smra ba rnam nyes pa 'di 'byung du
'ong zhes te | rdul phra rab rnam ni | cha shas myed pa'i phyir
sbyor ba ma yin gyi | 'dus pa dag ni phan tshun du sbyor ro zhes zer
ba _H) de dag la | 'di skad du _I) rdul phra rab rnam 'dus pa gang yin
ba de | de dag las don gzhan ma yin no zhes brjod par bya'o | |

XIII

rdul phran sbyor ba myed na ni | |
de 'dus yod pa de gang gi | | [13ab]

A) sbyor ro zhes bya bar bsnyegs so | |

cha shas yod pa ma yin bas | |
de'i sbyor myi 'grub ma zer chig | | [13cd]

B) jī ste 'dus pa dag kyang phan tshun myi sbyor ro zhe na | rdul phra rnam cha shas myed pa'i phyir sbyor ba myi 'grub bo zhes ma zer cig | 'dus pa cha shas dang bcas pa yang sbyor bar khas myi len pa'i phyir ro || C) de lta bas na rdul phra rab rdzas gcig du myi 'grub bo || D) rdul phra rab sbyor bar 'dod kyang rung myi 'dod kyang rung ste ||

XIV

gang la phyogs cha tha dad yod ||
de ni gcig du myi rung ngo || [14ab]

A) rdul phra rab kyī shar phyogs kyī cha yang gzhan pa nas | 'og gi cha 'i bar du yang gzhan te | phyogs kyī cha tha dad na de'i bdag nyid | kyī rdul phra rab gcig pur jī ltar rung ||

grib dang sgrīb pa jī ltar 'gyur || [14c]

B) gal te rdul phra rab re re la phyogs kyī cha tha dad pa myed na | nyī ma shar pa'i tsheng ngos gzhan na | grīb ma bab par jī ltar 'gyur te | C) de la nī gang du nyī ma myī 'bab pa'i phyogs gzhan myed do || D) gal te phyogs kyī cha tha dad par myī 'dod na | rdul phra rab la rdul phra rab gzhan gyis sgrīb par yang jī ltar 'gyur || E) rdul phra rab gang la yang cha gzhan myed na | gang du 'ong ba'i phyir gcig la gcig thogs par 'gyur | F) thogs pa myed na nī | thams cad go gchig du gyur pas | 'dus pa thams cad rdul phra rab tsam du 'gyur te | de ni bshad zin to ||

G) grīb ma dang sgrīb pa rdul phra rab kyī ma yin yang | gong bu'i yin ba de ltar myī 'dod dam |

H) rdul phra rab rnam las gong bu gzhan zhig yin bar 'dod dam jī na | de dag de'i yin |

I) smras pa ma yin no ||

gong bu gzhan myin de de'i myin || [14d]

J) gal te rdul phra rab rnam las gong bu gzhan ma yin na | de dag de'i ma yin bar grub pa yin no ||

K) yongsu rtogs pa 'dī ni | gnas pa'i khyad bar te | gzugs lastsogs pa'i mtshan nyid ni ma bkag na | rdul phra rab ce 'am | 'dus ba zhes bsam pa 'dis cī zhig bya zhe na |

L) de dag gī mtshan nyid gang yīn |

M) myīg lastsogs pa'ī yul nyid dang |
sngon po lastsogs pa nyid do | |

N) gang myīg lastsogs pa'ī yul sngon po dang ser po lastsogs pa 'dod
pa de cī rdzas gcīg pu zhīg gam | 'on te du ma zhīg ces de dpyad par
bya'o | |

XV

A) 'dīs cī zhīg bya zhe na

B) du ma'ī nyes pa nī bshad zīn to | |

gcīg na rīms kyīs 'gro ba myed | |
zīn dang ma zīn cīg char myed | |
rīs chad du ma gnas pa dang | |
myīg gīs myī sod phra ba 'ang myed | | [15]

C) gal te myig gī yul sngon po dang ser po lastsogs pa | gang yīn ba
de risu ma chad de | rdzas gcīg par rtog na | sa la rīm gyīs 'gro bar
myi 'gyur te | gom pa gcīg bor bas thams cad du son pa'ī phyir ro | |

D) tshu rol gyī cha zīn la | pha rol gyī cha ma zīn pa cig car du myī
'gyur te | de'ī tshe zīn pa dang zīn pa de myī rīgs so | |

E) glang po che dang rta lastsogs pa | rīgs su chad pa du ma gcīg na
'dug par myī 'gyur te | | F) gcīg gang na 'dug pa de nyīd na gzhan
yang 'dug na | de dag rīs su chad par jī jī ltar rung | | G) de gnyis kyīs
gang non pa dang | ma non pa de gcīg du jī ltar rung ste | bar na de
dag gīs stong ba gzung du yod pa'ī phyir ro | | H) gal te mtshan nyid
tha dad pa nyīd kyīs rdzas gzhan kho nar rtog gī | gzhan du nī ma
yīn na go | | chu'ī skye bo phra mo rnam kyang chen po dag dang
gzugs mtshungs pas | myīg gīs myī sod | par myī 'gyur ro | | I) de'ī
phyir nges par rdul phra rab tha dad par brtag par bya ste | | J) de gcīg
du myī 'grub bo | | K) de ma grub pas gzugs lastsogs pa yang myīg
lastsogs pa'ī yul nyīd du myī 'grub ste | | L) rnam par rīg pa tsam du
grub pa yīn no | |

XVI

A) tshad ma'ī dbang gīs na | yod dam myed pa dmyīgs kyīs dbye bar
'gyur la | tshad ma thams cad kyī nang na yang mngon sum gyī
tshad ma nī mchog yīn no | | B) don de myed na 'dī ni bdag gī mngon
sum mo | snyam ba'ī blo 'dī jī ltar 'byung zhe na |

mngon sum blo ni rmyi stsogs bzhin | | [16a]

c) don myed par yang zhes sngar bstan pa nyid do | |

de yang gang tshe de'i tshe | |
khyod kyī don de myi snang na | |
de ni mngon sum ji ltar 'dod | | [16bcd]

d) gang gi tshe 'di ni bdag gi mngon sum mo snyam du | mngon sum gyi blo de byung ba de'i tshe kyod kyī don de myi snang ste | yid kyī rnam par shes pas yongsu bcad pa dang | myig gi rnam par shes pa yang de'i tshe 'gags pa'i phyir ro | | ^{EF)} lhag par yang skad cig par smra bas de mngon sum du ji ltar 'dod | de'i ltar na | de'i tshe gzugs dang ro lastsogs pa de dag ni 'gags zin to | |

XVII

A) myong ba myed par yid kyī rnam par shes pas dran bar myi 'gyur bas | B) don gdon myi za bar myong bar 'gyur te | de ni de mthong ba yin no | | C) de ltar de'i yul gzugs lastsogs pa mngon sum du 'dod do zhe na | |

D) myong ba'i don dran ba yin no zhes bya ba de ma grub ste | 'di ltar |

dper na der snang rnam rig bzhin | |
bshad zin | [17ab]

E) dper na don myed par don du snang ba myig gi rnam par shes pa lastsogs pa'i rnam par rig pa 'byung ba bzhin te | bshad zin to | |

de las dran bar zad | [17b]

F) rnam par rig pa de las dran pa dang | mtshungs par ldan ba der snang ba nyid gzugs lastsogs pa la rnam par rtog pa yid kyī rnam par rig pa 'byung ste | G) dran ba byung ba las don myong bar myi 'grub bo | |

H) dper na rmyi lam gyi rnam par rig pa'i yul yod pa ma yin ba de bzhin du gal te gnyid kyis ma log pa na yang I) de lta yin na ni | de kho na bzhin du de myed par 'jig rten rang gis khong du chud pa'i rigs na | J) de lta yang ma yin te | K) de'i phyir rmyi lam bzhin du don dmyigs pa thams chad don myed pa ma yin no zhe na | |

L) de ni gtan tshigsu myi rung ste | 'di ltar

rmyi lam mthong ba yul myed par | |
ma sad bar du rtogs ma yin | | [17cd]

M) de ltar log par rnam par rtog pa la goms pa'i bag chags kyi gnyid kyis log pa'i 'jig rten ni rmyi lam bzhin du yang dag pa ma yin ba'i don mthong ste | N) ma sad kyi bar du de myed par ji lta ba bzhin du rtogs pa ma yin gyi | O) gang gi tshe de'i gnyen po 'jig rten las 'das pa rnam par myi rtog pa'i ye shes thob nas | sad par gyur pa de'i tshe | de'i rjes la thob pa dag pa 'jig rten pa'i ye shes mngon du gyur nas yul myed pa ji lta ba bzhin du khong du chud de | de ni mtshungs so | |

XVIII

A) gal te rang gi rgyud gyur pa'i khyad bar nyid las sems can rnam kyi don du snang ba'i rnam par rig pa 'byung gi | don gyi khyad bar las ma yin na | B) bsten pa de dang | bshad pa de myed pas | sdig pa'i grogs po dang | dge ba'i bshes gnyen la bsnyen pa dang | dam pa dang dam pa ma yin ba'i chos mnyan pa las sems can rnam kyi rnam par rig pa ji ltar nges par 'grub par 'gyur | |

gcig la gcig gi dbang gis na | |
rnam par rig pa phan tshun nges | | [18ab]

C) sems can thams cad kyi rnam par rig pa phan tshun gyi dbang gis phan tshun du | rnam par rig pa rnam nges par 'gyur | te | ci rigs su sbyar ro | | D) gcig la gcig ces bya ba ni phan tshun no | | E) de'i phyir rgyud gzhan gyi rnam par rig pa'i khyad bar las rgyud gzhan la | rnam par rig pa'i khyad bar 'byung gi | don gyi khyad bar las ma yin no | |

F) dper na rmyi lam gyi rnam par rig pa don myed pa bzhin du | gal te gnyid kyis ma log pa'i yang de lta na | gnyid kyis log pa dang | ma log pa na | dge ba dang myi dge ba'i las kun tu spyad pa'i 'bras bu | phyi ma la 'dod pa dang | 'dod pa 'dra bar ci'i phyir myi 'gyur |

sems ni gnyid kyis non pas na | |
de phyir rmyi dang 'bras myi mtshungs | | [18cd]

H) de ni 'dir rgyu yin gyi | don yod pa ni ma yin no | |

XIX

A) gal te 'dī dag nram par rīg pa tsam du zad na | gang la yang lus dang ngag kyang myed pas | shan pa lastsogs pas gsod pa na | lug lastsogs pa 'chī bar jī ltar 'gyur | B) 'chī ba de des ma byas na nī | shan pa lastsogs pa srog gcod pa'i kha na ma tho ba dang jī ltar ldan bar 'gyur zhe na |

'chī ba gzhan gyī nram rīg gī ||
 bye brag las de dper bya na ||
 'dre lastsogs pa'i yid dbang gīs ||
 gzhan gyī dran nyams 'gyur stsogs bzhin || [19]

C) dper na 'dre lastsogs pa'i yid kyī dbang gīs gzhan dag gī dran ba nyams pa dang | rmyi ltas su mthong ba dang | 'byung po'i gdon phab pas 'gyur ba dang | D) rdzu 'phrul dang ldan ba'i yid kyī dbang gīs te | E) dper na 'phags pa ka ta 'i bu chen po'i byin kyī rlab kyīs | sa ra nas rmyī ltasu mthong ba dang | F) drang srong dgon pa' pa'i yid 'khrugs pas thag zangs rīs G) bzhin du gzhan gyī nram par rīg pa'i bye brag gīs gzhan gyī srog gī dbang po dang | myi 'thun ba'i 'gyur ba 'ga' 'byung ste | des skal ba 'dra ba'i rgyud kyī rgyun 'chad pa zhes bya ba 'chī bar rīg par bya'o ||

XX

drang srong khros pas dan ḍa ka'i ||
 dgon pa jī ltar stongs par 'gyur || [20ab]

A) gal te gzhan gyī nram par rīg pa'i bye brag gīs | sems can dag 'chī bar myī 'dod na || B) yid kyī nyes pa kha ma tho ba dang bcas pa nyid du sgrub pa na | bcom ldan 'das kyīs | khyim bdag nye bar 'khor la rmas pa | C) khyim bdag khyod kyīs dan ḍa ka'i dgon pa dang | ka ling ka'i dgon pa dang | ma tang ga'i dgon pa de dag jī zhig gīs stongs pa dang gtsang mar gyur | cī thos shes rmas pa dang | D) des ke'u ta ma drang srong rnam khros pas | de ltar gyur ces thos so zhes gsol to ||

yid nyes kha na ma tho cher ||
 de'is jī ltar grub par 'gyur || [20cd]

E) gal te 'dī ltar rtog ste | de la dga' ba myī ma yin ba de dag gīs de na gnas pa'i sems can rnam kha btag gī | drang srong rnam kyī yid

'khrugs pas dog pa nī ma yīn no zhe na | _{F)} de lta na las des lus dang
 ngag gī nyes pa rnam pas yid kyi nyes pa ches kha na ma tho ba
 chen po dang | bcas par 'grub par ji ltar 'gyur te _{G)} de'i yid 'khrugs
 pa tsam gyis sems chan de snyed 'chī bar 'grub bo | |

XXI

_{A)} gal te 'dī dag rnam par rīg pa tsam du zad na | gzhan gyī sems rīg
 pas | cī gzhan gyī sems shes sam | 'on te myi shes | na | _{B)} 'dīs ji
 zhig bya' | _{C)} gal te myi shes na nī | gzhan gyī sems rīg pa zhes
 kyang ji skad du bya | _{D)} ji ste shes na yang | |

gzhan sems rīg pa shes pa nī | |
 don bzhin ma yīn ji lta dper | |
 rang sems shes pa | [21abc]

_{E)} de yang ji ltar don ji lta ba bzhin du ma yīn zhe na | |

sangs rgyas kyī | |
 spyod yul ji bzhin ma shes phyir | | [21cd]

_{F)} ji ltar de brjod du myed pa'i bdag nyid du | sangs rgyas kyī spyod
 yul du gyur pa | de ltar des ma shes pa'i phyir | de gnyi ga' yang
 don ji lta ba bzhin ma yīn te | _{G)} log par snang ba'i phyir ro | | _{H)}
 gzung ba dang 'dzin pa'i rnam par rtog pa ma spangs pa'i phyir ro
 | |

XXII

_{A)} rnam par rīg pa tsam gyī rab du dbye ba rnam par nges pa | mtha'
 yas la gting myi dpogs shing zab pa'i |

rnam rīg tsam du grub pa 'dī | |
 bdag gīs bdag gī mthu 'dra bar | |
 byas kyī de'i rnam pa kun | |
 bsam yas | [22abcd]

_{B)} bdag 'dra bas rnam pa thams cad nī bsam bar myi nus te | rtog ge'
 yul ma yīn ba'i phyir ro | | _{C)} 'on te rnam pa thams chad du su'i
 spyod yul snyam ba la |

sangs rgyas spyod yul lo | | [22d]

zhes bya ba smos te | _D 'di ni sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnam kyī
 spyod yul te | shes bya thams chad kyī rnam pa thams chad la
 mkhyen pa thogs pa myi mnga' ba'i phyir ro | |

[Colophon:]

slob dpon dbyig gnyen gyis | nyi shu pa'i 'grel pa mdzad pa rdzogs
 s.ho | | |

| | rgya gar gyi mkhan po | 'dzi na mi tra dang | shi lin tra bo de
 dang | | zhu chen lo tsa pa | ban de ye shes sdes zhus te gtan la phab
 pa' | | |

Notes

II D: In *thams* <string hole> *cad na, da* of *cad* added below line.

II H: In *skra dang, dang* added below line.

III M: *ral gyi* is an error for *ral gri*.

III M: In *bsrungs ba yang de bzhin te |*, *yang* added below line.

IV C: erasure before *grub*, probably *'a rten* erased.

IV E: In *mtshungs pas sems can dmyal ba, can* added below line.

4c: What I read as *srungs* could have been intended as *srung ma*, but then the line is then unmetrical.

IV G: erasure before *grub bo | |*, probably *'a rten*

IV P: *byad bya? gya+zugs?*

5b: In *bar, ra* is added below in black ink

V C: In *so sor myong ngo, so* added below line.

V E: *der* is written over an erasure of 4 letters, perhaps in a different rougher hand

9c: *te* is not rubricated; is it meant as part of the verse?

X M: *chos thams cad la* has an erasure between *cad* and *la* of 3 letters;
 Tanjur text: *chos thams cad la chos la*

X M: In *yod pa de*, before *de* an *'a rten* is erased.

XI E: In *gang la yang, la* added below line.

XI G: *rdul phran* is added below the line, but the whole section from *'di ltar* to *'grub* seems to have been rewritten.

XII H: *du* added below line.

XIII A: In *sbyor ro, ro* is rewritten, probably over *ba*.

XIII C: In *de lta bas na, lta* added below line.

XIV A: *yang* added below line.

XIV B: In *grib ma bab par ji ltar 'gyur te, ji ltar* is added below line.

XIV K: *bsam pa*, written *bsam ma pa* with second *ma* lightly erased, but not completely.

XV D: *z'in pa* <binding hole> *dang* <one space> *z'in pa*

XV F: *gzhan yang* 'dug na added below line

XV F: The word *ji* is repeated over a line break

XV H: *myig gis myi sod* | is wrongly rubricated, since it is not the main citation of the verse here.

XVII E: In *rig pa 'byung ba bzhin te* there is an erasure before *bzhin*, but perhaps not the expected *de*?

XVII G: In *dran ba byung*, one space before *byung* in which probably an 'a *rten* was erased

17d: It looks like *du* might be cancelled by black ink, but it is probably just a smear

XVII O: In *ye shes mngon du gyur nas*, *de* which should (?) come after *ye shes* is omitted at folio break

XVIII F: In *ma log pa'i yang de lta na*, *yang* is added below the line.

XVIII F: 'dod pa 'dra bar ci'i phyir myi 'gyur |, written: 'dra bar ci' dod pa 'dra bar ci'i phyir myi 'gyur | with dots above the cancelled letters.

XIX E: *ka ta* <two letter erased space> 'i

20a: *pas*? first letter unclear

22b: ~~ma~~ *bsam yas*

Colophon: *zhu chen* <one space> *lo*

*

In quite a number of cases, P. tib. 797 has readings preferable to those in the *Tanjur* texts. I list the clearest cases here:

IV J: *dngos po la sems can dmyal ba'i srung ma* | PT 797: *sems can dmyal ba'i srung ma* = Skt.

IV P: *ji lta bur* | PT 797: *de lta bur* = Skt.

6c: *de bzhin 'gyur bar 'dug na go* |] PT 797: *de bzhin 'gyur ba 'ang 'dod na go* | = Skt.

VI D: *de'i las rnams kyis der* | PT 797: *de'i las rnams kyis* = Skt.

VI F: *no equivalent in Tanjurs* | PT 797: *yang* | = Skt. *api ca*.

VII A: *gzhan ma yin na* | PT 797: *gzhan na ma yin na* = Skt. *nānyatra*

VIII B: *sems can bzhin yod do* | |] PT 797: *sems can yod do* | | = Skt.

IX E: *bye brag tu gyur pa'i sa bon gang las byung* | PT 797: *bye brag tu gyur pa gang las 'byung* = Skt.

10a: *de ltar gang zag la bdag med par*] PT 797: *de ltar gang zag bdag med par*; *Tanjur text is unmetrical!*

10c: *bstan pa'i chos la bdag med par* | PT 797: *bstan pas chos la bdag med par*

X L: *sangs rgyas kyis yul* | PT 797: *sangs rgyas rnams kyis yul* = Skt. *buddhānām*

- X M: chos thams cad la chos la bdag med par] PT 797: chos thams
cad la bdag med par (la chos *erased*) = Skt.
- XI D: rnam par rig pa] PT 797: rnam par rig pa rnams = Skt.
- XI D: ji ltar] PT 797: dper na
- 12c: drug po dag kyang go gcig na ||] PT 797: drug po dag gi go
gcig na || = Skt.
- XII I: don gzhan rnams ma yin] PT 797: don gzhan ma yin = Skt.
- 13b: de 'dus yod pa de gang gis ||] PT 797: de 'dus yod pa de gang
gi || = Skt.
- 13d: de sbyor mi 'grub ma zer cig |] PT 797: de'i sbyor mi 'grub ma
zer chig | = Skt.
- XIII C: de bas] PT 797: de lta bas na
- 14c: grib dang sgrib par ji ltar 'gyur ||] PT 797: grib dang sgrib pa ji
ltar 'gyur || = Skt.
- XIV E: gang du 'ong ba'i phyogs la] PT 797: gang du 'ong ba'i phyir
= Skt.
- XIV I: *text as emended*: smras pa | ma yin no ||] PT 797: smras pa |
ma yin no || = Skt.
- XV B: *text as emended*: du ma'i nyes pa] PT 797: du ma'i nyes pa = Skt.
- XV C: *error in edition*: rtogs nas] read: rtog na sa [PT 797: rtogs na |
sa]
- XV J: de dag gcig tu] PT 797: de gcig tu = Skt.
- XVI B: snyam pa blo] PT 797: snyam ba'i blo
- XVI D: gang gi tshe yul 'di nyid ni] PT 797: gang gi tshe 'di ni
- XVII A: rnam par shes pa] PT 797: rnam par shes pas = Skt.
- XVII D: myong ba ni] PT 797: myong ba'i = Skt.
- XVII H: ma log pa'i tshe na yang] PT 797: ma log pa na yang
- XVIII B: sems can rnams kyis] PT 797: sems can rnams kyi = Skt.
- XIX C: 'byung po'i gdon phab par] PT 797: 'byung po'i gdon phab
pas
- XIX G: sems can gzhan gyi srog] PT 797: gzhan gyi srog = Skt. *pareṣāṃ*
- XIX G: *text as emended*: des skal ba] PT 797: des skal ba = Skt.
- XX B: bka' stsal pa] PT 797: rmas pa = Skt.
- XX E: drang srong rnams kyis] PT 797: drang srong rnams kyi = Skt.
ṛṣīṅāṃ
- XXII A: rnam par rig pa tsam gyis] PT 797: rnam par rig pa tsam gyi



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This major publication, the fruit of many years' work and engagement with key sources in the historical development of Tibetan medicine, is likely to remain a landmark in the study of Tibetan medical thought. It traces a number of issues and debates through the literature of key figures who have had long-term impact on Tibetan medical traditions, from the production of the most important medical textbook, the *Four Treatises* (*rgyud bzhi*), probably in the twelfth century, through early commentaries, such as the *Small Myriad* (*'bum chung*), and later works, notably those of the fifteenth century Jangpa Tashi Pelzang (*byang pa bkra shis dpal bzang*), the sixteenth century Kyempa Tsewang (*skyes pa tshe dbang*), and Zurkhawa Lodrö Gyelpo (*zur mkhar ba blo gros rgyal po*), as well as the seventeenth century Regent of Tibet, Desi Sangyé Gyatso (*sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho*). The most sustained attention is given to Zurkhawa and the Desi, who integrates much of Zurkhawa's material into his own famous works, yet who criticises and distinguishes himself from his predecessor. Gyatso's admiration for and engagement with the complexities of the arguments of these scholars comes through clearly in the pages of the book, and in particular, her sustained enthusiasm for Zurkhawa and his re-assessments of previous materials helps to bring alive the subject matter, which in some cases, is rather technical and abstruse.

The book starts with an exploration of the content and significance of the Desi's impressive project to illustrate his major medical commentary through the production of a series of medical paintings. There is a chapter which reviews milestones in the history of medicine in Tibet, and introduces the thinkers whose works the book will grapple with. Part II, entitled, "Bones of Contention", starts with a lengthy discussion of the various perspectives taken by the different commentators on the status of the *Four Treatises*, and whether – and in what sense – it is to be classified as "Buddha Word". The next chapter deals with differing understandings of the various bodily "channels" listed in the *Four Treatises*, including the tantric channels

used in Buddhist meditation and yoga practice. Then, the book tackles the issue of interpreting the *Four Treatises'* explanation of the position of the heart, which contradicts physical evidence, and a further Coda to the section considers various influences at play, including those of the political and cultural environment, in the scholars' various circumlocutions. Part III, "Roots of the Profession", adds two extremely interesting case studies. The chapter, "Women and Gender", deals with an area of studies in which Gyatso's previous contributions are well known. Here, a discussion of the medical literature brings out rather diverse attitudes on gender issues, even within the *Four Treatises* itself. Some of the commentators seek to move beyond simplistic stereotypical statements, Zurkharwa in particular, recognising that, "sexually associated personal style does not always line up with sexual identity" (p.341). A chapter on, "The Ethics of Being Human", covers rather more than medical ethics in a narrow sense, detailing the literature's advice on how to have a successful career as a physician. Some aspects, such as the teacher-student relationship, are essentially modelled on the norms within Tibetan Buddhism, but they are modified, with an ethos which is much more worldly than is found in comparable Buddhist teachings.

The particular issues elaborated on throughout the book all in some way relate to the theme which Gyatso is exploring, a theme which has two aspects. One is the increasing divergence and contrast between Tibetan Buddhist and medical approaches, as Tibetan medicine carved out its own autonomous systems of thought and professional specialisation. This story is complicated by the context of the Buddhist civilisation in which Tibetan medicine was placed, and the fact that it was supported by representatives of political rule defined by a Buddhist identity, which limited the extent or at least the open admission of medicine's conceptual independence, at the same time as promoting specialised medical institutions and learning. The second aspect is the development of a more "scientific" or empirical approach to medicine, coupled with an assumption – quite opposite to traditional approaches – that medical knowledge and practice could and should be improved upon, along with a willingness to rethink or discard parts of the traditional heritage which did not fit with the new understandings. While Gyatso recognises (p.4-5) that the intellectual developments she discusses in the book are not as straightforward as an opposition between "Buddhism" or "religion" on the one hand and "science" on the other, much of the thrust of the book is to merge the two aspects such that medical knowledge is shown to be progressing by shedding its restrictive Buddhist approaches. In particular, Gyatso argues for recognition of an emerging "medical mentality" (p.16 and elsewhere throughout the book) in

contrast to Buddhist thinking, a pragmatic approach to knowledge rooted in the empirical realities of everyday life. She implies that such a pragmatic approach is in fact inherent to the medical context and in some ways distinguishes medicine from religion from the outset, since it can be related to a focus on the physical treatment of disease and the necessity for the physician above all to keep patients alive and healthy. This means that the advancement of knowledge and medical techniques, or at least a common sense rationality in diagnosis and treatments, will pay obvious dividends for doctors. In this, they are unlike religious specialists, who can continue to thrive, whatever their impact on the ordinary everyday world, by emphasizing enlightenment or meditative goals inaccessible to empirical proof. She clearly has a valid point here, although perhaps the contrast she draws may be a little overstated. For instance, she contrasts the physician with the hermit, meditating in his cave (p.394), but most Tibetan Buddhist lamas are not hermits, or may only live as hermits for part of their careers. For much of the time, they may be actively serving their communities and have at least some involvements in helping people with their everyday life problems, even if the solutions they promote may be less empirically verifiable. And as Gyatso's chapter on ethics makes clear, the pragmatism of physicians does not only consist in empirical treatments, but involves other practical necessities not dissimilar from those faced by lamas, such as the need for careful and judicious handling of social and personal relationships, and the protection of one's public reputation. In one case discussed by Gyatso (p. 303-309), far from engendering a more empirical approach to medicine, a pragmatic orientation within the *Four Treatises*, taking on board the realities of Tibetan social and kinship structure, ignores the traditional understanding (and the *Four Treatises*' own explanation in its embryology chapter) of the female as well as male contribution to conception, to portray reproduction as though only the male contribution were important.

Overall, the discussion of a number of key Tibetan medical thinkers taking issue with understandings of the past, and moving analyses of the human condition forward, is persuasive. I am wondering, however, how far the developments consistently reflect a less "Buddhist" and a correspondingly more empirical or "scientific" approach. In some cases, it is possible that the critiques may at least to some extent have reflected Buddhist sectarian approaches. For example, in the debate over whether or not the *Four Treatises* represents Buddha Word, scepticism over accounts of it as a Treasure revelation (*gter ma*) may possibly have at least something to do with the New Tantra (*gsar ma*) affiliations of most of the medical commentators discussed. And the Desi's support of the Buddha Word thesis, conversely, may

possibly reflect on the Old Tantra (*rnying ma*) interests and associations of the Fifth Dalai Lama's circle, as much as the Desi's political role in a Buddhist State, which Gyatso emphasises in this context. In the debate over the tantric channels, Zurkhawa's apparently sarcastic dismissal of Tashi Pelzang's account (p. 258), which would imply that the two channels on either side of the central channel are on opposite sides in men and women (as described in many Old Tantra sources, and Tashi Pelzang has Old Tantra affiliations), might relate to Zurkhawa's own reliance on New Tantra sources, rather than representing part of a sustained argument designed to undermine Buddhist tantric accounts of the channels, on the grounds that there is no empirical evidence for them. By these few small points, I do not wish to detract from the impressive volume of data marshalled by Gyatso, and the intricacies of the arguments which she traces in detail, especially since it is these intricacies which give us a full picture, reminding us that matters are more complex than a simple move to more "scientific" approaches. There will be enough here to occupy scholars interested in the history of Tibetan medicine for a very long time, and Gyatso convincingly demonstrates increasing empiricism in the record. At the very least, the medical commentaries bear witness to an explicit acknowledgement of a problem where there is an apparent direct contradiction between a classical medical explanation – say, of the position of the heart, said to point in different directions in males and females, or of the existence of tantric channels – and the physical evidence. Yet often Gyatso's account makes it clear that that the commentarial responses, rather than positing an alternative more "scientifically" informed theory, or rejecting the classical analysis on empirical grounds, instead seek to explain away the discrepancy, and in practice, simply exclude these elements of the heritage from any meaningful place in medical practice. One possible exception to this may be the eighteenth century Lingmen Tashi from Eastern Tibet, who Gyatso informs us (p. 275) was clear in his rejection of these aspects of the heritage, at least for the medical context.

The unwillingness of most of the medical commentators to reject outright any key component of the *Four Treatises* or the inherited medical tradition is related by Gyatso to the need for caution in the context of Tibet's Buddhist civilisation. Gyatso describes considerable invective where one commentator is attacking a rival or a predecessor with whom they are taking issue. Yet, when the topic concerns an established Buddhist or medical doctrine, the indirectness and circumlocution of the arguments may be extreme. In fact, Gyatso tells us (e.g. p. 199) that in some cases, later thinkers have not understood the arguments correctly, and may even misinterpret them to imply the opposite of the intended point. Here, while lauding

Gyatso's exemplary determination to tease out the subtle meanings not obvious to all qualified Tibetan readers, I do find myself wondering whether she has always succeeded herself. Tibetan literature can often be ambiguous or difficult to understand, and in these instances, it would appear that many of the arguments are especially opaque. I would have appreciated the highlighting of points where/if the reading may still be uncertain. It could be that long familiarity with this literature has given Gyatso confidence. She also acknowledges Tibetan mentors and collaborators who have informed and guided her reading of the material, and such help would have been essential for her study. In bringing up possible uncertainties, I do not mean to cast doubt on Gyatso's analysis. I simply hope that future scholars of Tibetan medicine, in taking Gyatso's important work into account, will re-visit some of her key texts, to see if alternative or further significances can be found in the sometimes rather unclear or convoluted passages.

Unfortunately, continuing interrogation of the sources is hindered by the fact that the Tibetan of the passages concerned is almost never given in the book, not even for short citations, and in a few cases, not even for individual words under discussion, such as a discussion of the English word, "ramify" (p. 236, 239) without making it clear which Tibetan word it is translating. The notes generally refer only to the source texts, not all of which are readily obtainable for readers. It may be that the publisher insisted on the removal of the Tibetan in the notes in order to make the book more "accessible" to non-specialists, or to reduce the length and the cost of the book. But given that the passages discussed are not altogether straightforward or clear, the removal of the original evidence is unhelpful to scholarly readers wishing to consult the original and judge for themselves.

Generally, the prose of the book is measured, clear and engaging. However, very occasionally, the language used may over-simplify Tibetan cultural complexities. For instance, a rather dismissive tone is found in relation to religious perspectives, which seems surprising for a scholar specialised in Religious Studies, and especially one who herself has contributed important work on early revelatory (*qter ma*) traditions. The revelatory account of the origin of the *Four Treatises* is described as, "fiction" (p. 154), and she emphasises twice that its purpose was to avoid the difficulty of the inability to demonstrate a historical line of transmission prior to Yutok (p. 154; and 178, where she says this was "the entire reason" for "the Treasure theory"). It is of course possible that in this case, Yutok and his student were deliberately concealing their own role in the text's creation and fabricating a story with this clear agenda in mind, but this need not be the case, and we should perhaps be cautious in attributing mo-

tives when the actual history is uncertain. In the Tibetan context, a *gter ma* can be produced, transcribed, edited and polished, often with the involvement of several people, including the revealer, all of whom may be working in good faith, believing in the special status of the revealer and the revealed text. Perhaps the fact that several of the writers under discussion were ready to dismiss the revelatory status of the *Four Treatises* has influenced Gyatso's expression here. Another point at which Tibetan cultural mores seem at odds with the language of the discussion was when she accuses the Desi of "egregious... intellectual piracy" (271) in lifting a crucial section from Zurkhawa without attribution, implying the contribution to be his own. Of course, Gyatso is well aware of the differences between modern academic attitudes towards plagiarism, and Tibetan convention of repeating previous works within new commentaries, and it seems that this case may represent a particular example overstepping even Tibetan norms of writing, yet the language seems rather extreme in the context of the Tibetan cultural milieu.

Quibbles aside, the book is major contribution to the critical study of historical developments in Tibetan medicine. Of course, Gyatso concentrates exclusively on a number of key scholars, and their debates. It is hard to say how far her discussion of the developing "medical mentality", empiricism, and critical approach to established medical sources penetrated beyond the elite circles. It may be that – as Gyatso describes here – the particular orientation of the medical discipline in itself tended to engender a more pragmatic empirical approach. On the other hand, it is also quite likely that much Tibetan medicine in practice, often passed on in hereditary family lineages sometimes linked also to religious lineages, did not extricate itself to such an extent from Buddhism or from received wisdom.

