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Dominik Dell

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“Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā”: Structure and Textual Witnesses of the Golden Garland of the Karma bKa brgyud by the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi ’byung gnas (1699/1700–1774), and ’Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab (1718–1790)

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“In the area of historical writing, which was, as we have been told, a minor portion of his output, Si tu displayed the same qualities of curious scholarship that mark his work in medicine, grammar, and the arts.”¹

1. Introduction²

he Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi ’byung gnas, also known as Si tu Paṅ chen, was a true polymath. Not only is he known for his commentaries on Tibetan grammar, for his editing of the sDe ge bKa’ gyur, and for his interest in Sanskrit and translation of Sanskrit manuscripts, but he also made major contributions as a painter and as a practitioner of Tibetan medicine, and had an interest in astronomy/astrology, as well as in history. Furthermore, he travelled extensively, was an important monastic preceptor, and maintained a relationship with the house of sDe ge, which supported many of his projects. The Si tu incarnation lineage is traditionally considered the third highest within the Karma bKa’ brgyud lineage after that of the Karma pas and the Zhwa dmar pas.³

In this paper, we shall take a closer look at Si tu’s history of the Karma bKa’ brgyud lineage, which was completed by his student ’Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab after Si tu’s passing. It contains the life stories of important Karma bKa’ brgyud masters, starting from the First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193) until the period of the

¹ Sperling 2013, 9.

² I would like to thank Paul Partington for his English copyediting of this article.

³ Jackson 2009, 253.

Twelfth Karma pa, Byang chub rdo rje (1703–1732). 'Be lo's addendum (*Kha skong*) starts from Vajradhara and Tilopa (988–1069) and leads up to sGam po pa (1079–1153), thus filling the gap before the First Karma pa.⁴

Its Tibetan title reads *sGrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*.⁵ In short, it is often referred to as the *Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* ("Golden Garland of the Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud") or the *Karma bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* (henceforth abbreviated as KSP in this paper).⁶ It is also frequently referred to by its ornamental title *Nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba* ("Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā") or an abbreviation thereof.

The KSP has become the standard work for scholars in the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition who deal with the lives of their lineage's masters. Its language is considered easier to understand and its organization is more chronological than the earlier *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* by dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba (1504–1566), which is another standard historical Karma bKa' brgyud work.⁷

As part of the introduction, some information and references about the authors of the KSP are provided, the genre of *gser 'phreng* is discussed, and some research on the KSP itself is summarized. Section 2 presents the structure and content of the work, while section 3 provides an overview of the different editions and textual witnesses of the KSP. Section 4 concludes the paper. Sections 5 and 6 in the appendix provide the Tibetan text together with an English translation of all the paratext of 'Be lo's addendum and of the main text by Si tu and 'Be lo, respectively. In sections 7 and 8 of the appendix, a detailed outline of the two parts (i.e., mainly a table of the persons treated in this work) is presented together with references to different editions and to BDRC,⁸ where possible.

⁴ For a clear overview of the different parts and their authorship, see section 2.

⁵ For a translation and discussion of the full title, see section 6.1.

⁶ In the remainder of this article, I will use the acronym KSP to refer to the *Karma bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* in general. When referring to a specific edition of the KSP, a three-letter siglum will be used. Those sigla are defined in the bibliography. The first letter is always "S" and stands for the (first) author (Si tu), the middle position takes the letters "X" (xylograph) or "B" (modern book), respectively. The last position takes a number to distinguish the editions or textual witnesses of the respective type, e.g., "SX1," SB3," etc.

⁷ Rheingans 2017, 69. For an introduction into the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, see Dell 2021; for its author's life, see Bjerregaard and Dell 2022.

⁸ Buddhist Digital Resource Center (<https://www.bdrc.io/>).

1.1 The Authors

In this paper, I shall refrain from providing a summary of Si tu's life. Various authors have written about different aspects of it. To try another summary based on these publications would not provide much new insight but would still be a huge task, given the extent of the material to be screened. Since the focus of this paper is a different one, I shall just resort to providing some references to primary and secondary sources. In the case of 'Be lo the situation is quite the opposite. There is too little material available to provide much of a summary.

Tibetan Sources about the Lives of Si tu and 'Be lo

There are two main sources on the life of Si tu Paṅ chen: firstly, his autobiography and diaries called *Ta'i si tur 'bod pa karma bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi rang tshul drangs por brjod dri bral shel gyi me long*. This text is contained in the fourteenth and last volume of his collected works, and spreads over 371 folios.⁹ Lokesh Chandra published an edition of this text in 1968, which included a foreword by Gene Smith.¹⁰ According to Smith, the "first part covers the period from his birth to his twenty-fourth year (1723) and was written by himself [... It] can be considered an autobiography proper, for it was composed as a coherent work by Si tu."¹¹ It is followed by diary entries that Si tu had made for the remainder of his life and that were edited by his student 'Be lo Tshe dbang.¹²

Secondly, the KSP contains a life story of Si tu Paṅ chen that consists of ninety-five folios. It was written by Si tu's student 'Be lo Tshe dbang. According to Rémi Chaix "certain passages of the *Autobiography and Diaries* can in some cases be clarified by Si tu paṅ chen's biography in the *Zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba* [... It] is not only an extensive and illuminating summary, but the selection of facts made by 'Be lo also reveals, in some instances, which facts have been considered too inappropriate to be mentioned in the official 'Golden Rosary' of the Karma bKa' brgyud lineage."¹³

'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab (1718–1790)¹⁴ was a student of Si tu Paṅ chen's. I was unable to identify a separate substantial biography of him. Nevertheless, the sources about Si tu's life also contain some

⁹ Chos kyi 'byung gnas 1990, vol. 14.

¹⁰ Chos kyi 'byung gnas and Chandra 1968. The foreword by E. Gene Smith is easier to access via Smith's famous collection of essays; see Smith 2001, 87–98.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹² *Ibid.*, 93–94

¹³ Chaix 2013, 19. *Zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba* is the ornamental title of the KSP.

¹⁴ BDRC, P2872.

information on him. There is also a very brief summary of his life, of about one page, by a twentieth-century author.¹⁵ Apart from being the co-author of the KSP and the editor of Si tu's diaries, 'Be lo was also, as BDRC mentions, the author of several smaller texts such as commentaries on *sādhanas*. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang took pains to collect his writings and compile them into a book of 633 pages.¹⁶ The content was summarized as "collection of author's fragmented works; includes philosophical aspects of Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika doctrines, Mādhyamika and following Tibetan schools."¹⁷

Western Research about the Lives of Si tu and 'Be lo

There is no comprehensive translation of Si tu's diaries or the life story in the KSP, but there are many articles touching on different aspects of his life based on both or either of these sources. Gene Smith provides a general overview of Si tu's life based on his diaries in the foreword to the above-mentioned edition by Lokesh Chandra in 1968.¹⁸ In 2000 the journal *Lungta* dedicated an issue to Si tu with some articles.¹⁹ Another great step forward in shedding light on different aspects of Si tu's life and works was made when in 2013 a special issue of the *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* (JIATS 7) was issued about him based on a preceding symposium at the Rubin Museum in New York.²⁰ However, there are also a number of papers beyond those two issues.

Different scholars have analyzed and presented Si tu as a painter and reviver of the Karma Gardri (Tib. *karma sgar bris*) painting style,²¹ as a student, practitioner and teacher of Tibetan medicine,²² as a Sanskritist and collector and translator of Sanskrit manuscripts,²³ as a textual scholar,²⁴ as editor of the sDe ge bKa' 'gyur,²⁵ as the spiritual part in the chaplain-patron relationship (*mchod yon*) with the house of sDe

¹⁵ Blo gros don yod, 531–32.

¹⁶ Tshe dbang kun khyab 2013.

¹⁷ Catalog entry of the Stanford Libraries; accessed October 7, 2022: <https://search-works.stanford.edu/view/12753512>.

¹⁸ Smith 2001, 87–98. For a general one-page summary of Si tu's life, see also Rheingans 2021, 137–38.

¹⁹ Tsering 2000.

²⁰ *JIATS 7*; accessed October 8, 2022: <https://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/#>.

²¹ Jackson 2009; Debreczeny 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013; Tsering 2013.

²² Erhard 2000; Garrett 2013.

²³ Verhagen 1994, 2013.

²⁴ Schaeffer 2009, 2013.

²⁵ Harrison 1996; Verhagen 2010.

ge,²⁶ as a monk and monastic preceptor,²⁷ as an historian,²⁸ and as a traveller to Nepal²⁹ and China.³⁰

Similar to the sources on his life, the non-biographical parts of Situ's collected works have not been studied in complete depth and breadth either. Kurtis Schaeffer provides a brief overview of their content.³¹

To date, there seems to be no dedicated Western research on 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab's life and works.

1.2 The Genre of *gser 'phreng*

Tibetan historiography knows quite a number of genres. The more famous ones among them are *lo rgyus* (records, chronicles), *rgyal rabs* (royal genealogy, royal chronicle), and *chos 'byung* (history of Buddhism, religious history).³² The historiographic genre of *gser 'phreng* seems to be less prominent in academic literature and less studied by Western scholars.³³ The term is mostly translated as "golden garland" or "golden rosary." "Golden mālā" or "golden chain" should also be valid translations, although they are not usually found to denote this genre.³⁴ Gene Smith says about texts of the *gser phreng* genre:

Probably intended to explain a *bla brgyud gsol 'debs*, the reverential petition to the successive gurus in a transmission lineage of an esoteric teaching, such collections of hagiographic writing often enshrine some of the most cherished instructions (*man ngag*) of a tradition. These *gser 'phreng*, like biographies (*rnam thar*) of individual lamas,

²⁶ Chaix 2013.

²⁷ Ronnis 2009, 2013; Lin 2013.

²⁸ Sperling 2013.

²⁹ Decler 2000, Verhagen 2013.

³⁰ Sperling 2000.

³¹ Schaeffer 2013, 304–307.

³² For an overview of Tibetan historical genres and historiography, see the articles by Sørensen (2015) and van der Kuijp (1996), as well as the monograph by Vostrikov (1994). Vostrikov also characterizes some more historiographic genres, apart from the ones mentioned here. However, none of the authors mentions the *gser 'phreng* genre. To be precise, Vostrikov does mention a text called *Thang yig gser 'phreng*, which is a prose biography of Padmasambhava summarized from an earlier verse biography, which he treats under the heading of *thang yig* or *bka' thang* literature. Both verse and prose versions are indicated as treasure texts, but they do not qualify as representatives of the *gser 'phreng* genre in the usual sense (ibid., 35, 46–47).

³³ In 1968, Gene Smith stated: "The *gser 'phreng* is one of the least studied categories of Tibetan historical literature" (Smith 2001, 39). Even though some scholars have certainly worked with such texts since then, as a relative statement this should still hold true.

³⁴ In this paper, I will use the term "golden garland," as I find the Christian connotation of "rosary" unfitting in this context.

can also serve as some of our most reliable sources of historical data.³⁵

Hence, these collections are designed to present the life stories of the teachers that follow one another in a transmission lineage of a specific teaching. It is likely that the *gser 'phreng* genre initially formed within the different bKa' brgyud schools, especially the 'Brugs pa and sTag lung traditions with their elaborate guru worship rituals (*bla mchod*) and liberation stories (*rnam thar*).³⁶ Nevertheless, representatives of this genre are found in most bKa' brgyud schools and beyond (e.g., in the Sa skya and dGe lugs schools).³⁷ Smith mentions the example of a late fifteenth-century *gser 'phreng* of the 'Ba' ra branch of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud, which should be one of the older representatives.³⁸

Oftentimes, *gser 'phrengs* start with Vajradhara—who is considered the primordial Buddha (Skt. *ādibuddha*) in the bKa' brgyud schools—who transmitted tantric teachings to a human adept (usually Tilopa) and in this way started the transmission lineage. However, as Tiso and, before him, Hanson and Hanson pointed out, Vajradhara is not to be understood as a celestial Buddha descending to impart his teachings. Instead, his role is more of a mediator between the absolute and the relative. In guru yoga, the teacher meditated on is considered inseparable from Vajradhara, and the practitioner strives to reach the same state. In the same way, it is due to the realization of the adept, i.e., due to his state of mind of being inseparable from Vajradhara, that he can receive Vajradhara's teachings.³⁹

Practically, *gser 'phrengs* are often compiled from materials of other types of historical and hagiographical works such as *chos 'byung* or *rnam thar*. Therefore, the borders between the different genres are somewhat fluid.

1.3 The "Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā"

While many scholars have used Si tu's historical work and translated extracts and summarized passages here and there, there is not much research about the work in its entirety, with the noteworthy exception of a paper by Elliot Sperling. He tries to highlight the importance of the KSP with respect also to the general political situation it was written in.

[Si tu's] historical writing is particularly significant, for in delineating

³⁵ Smith 2001, 39.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Kun dga' dpal ldan 1970, Smith 2001, 39.

³⁹ Freely rendered from Tiso 1989, 113–21, and Hanson and Hanson 1985.

the place of the Karma bka' brgyud pa in the Inner Asian world, he described a significant aspect of the relations that powerful rulers beyond Tibet's borders entertained with important Tibetan Buddhist teachers and leaders. These relations were rooted in perceptions of power, political and esoteric. However, with the triumph of the Dge lugs pa sect its scholars created an historical tradition that let that story pass unmentioned. Si tu, writing in a time of turbulence and Dge lugs pa ascendancy, stood against this politically inspired historical amnesia and helped preserve a crucial element of our understanding of Tibet's past.⁴⁰

Sperling calls the KSP "a monumental work of Tibetan historical writing," and Si tu's part "a model of clear exposition, elegant language, and keen research."⁴¹ He also praises his work for the use of source materials and primary documents, and illustrates this with some examples.⁴² Furthermore, based on some extracts, he shows the Karma pas' important role in the relationship with the Yuan court, the Tangut State, and the Ming court, which remains otherwise mostly unmentioned in the "mainstream" historiographies.⁴³

'Be lo's part of the work is usually not praised as much. In the table of contents of their edition of the KSP, D. Gyaltzen and Kesang Legshay mark the life stories of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Karma pas as transcriptions of otherwise known hagiographies.⁴⁴ In the preface, they express their disappointment that the treatment of the Tenth Karma pa is cursory, and they point to another extant source whose inclusion they would have wished for. Moreover, they lament the extreme brevity of the life story of the important figure of Karma chags med despite the availability of more material (1613–1678).⁴⁵

In his foreword to Si tu's autobiography and diaries, Gene Smith says:

The editor of the diaries was a disciple of Si tu, Bai lo Tshe dbang kun khyab. Bai lo was relatively careless in his editing, and his knowledge of orthography leaves much to be desired. In at least two cases, he gives the element designation in the year headings incorrectly. Since he had only to copy the year designation from each diary after arranging them, we have no choice but to suppose that many of the other

⁴⁰ Sperling 2013, 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2–8.

⁴⁴ SX2, vol. 2, Contents. Of course, plagiarism was a concept largely foreign to the scholars at the time. Nevertheless, copying just one source, instead of evaluating and collating information from multiple sources where available, cannot be considered an indicator of scholarly excellency.

⁴⁵ SX2, vol. 2, Preface.

orthographical and grammatical mistakes should not be blamed on the copyists and block makers, but on Bai lo himself.⁴⁶

Of course, this does not refer to the KSP, but to a different work. Nevertheless, in both cases 'Be lo took over the tasks of completing and editing the unfinished part of the opus.

2. Structure and Content

2.1 Overview

The xylograph edition of the collected works of Si tu Paṅ chen comprises fourteen volumes.⁴⁷ Volumes 11 and 12 contain the *bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng* (SX1). Si tu Paṅ chen's disciple 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab completed the work in 1775, the year after Si tu's passing, and composed an addendum that precedes the main text.⁴⁸ In this way, 'Be lo actually authored a larger portion of the entire work than Si tu himself, though it is hard to discern whether he was able to draw mainly from the notes of his teacher or whether he actually put much of his own effort into this.⁴⁹ Due to different authorship, different parts and different volumes, the overall structure is somewhat complex and can be grasped best when prepared visually. Figure 1 shows the different parts along different dimensions, where the height of the blocks is proportional to the number of folios.

⁴⁶ Smith 2001, 94. Bai lo is a variant spelling of 'Be lo, which is short for Sanskrit Vairocana (Rheingans 2021, 138).

⁴⁷ Chos kyi 'byung gnas 1990.

⁴⁸ For a translation of 'Be lo's colophon that contains this information, see section 6.8 of the appendix.

⁴⁹ Rheingans 2021, 139.

Vol.	Author	Part	Content	Folios
11	'Be lo	<i>Kha skong</i>	Life stories from Vajradhara to sGam po pa (<i>incl. paratext by 'Be lo</i>)	47
	Si tu	Main text	Life stories from the First Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193) to rMa se rTogs ldan Blo gros rin chen (1386–1423) (<i>incl. introduction and epilogue by Si tu</i>)	256
			Life stories from Mi nyag rTogs ldan Grags pa rin chen to Sangs rgyas mnyan pa Grub thob bKra shis dpal 'byor	83
12	'Be lo		Life stories from Zha lu Lo chen Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527) to the Tenth Zhwa dmar pa, Chos grub rgya mtsho (1741–1792) (<i>incl. epilogue and colophon by 'Be lo</i>)	349

Figure 1: Structure of the *gser 'phreng* by *Si tu* and *'Be lo* (proportional)

2.2 Paratext

The full paratext, such as introductions and colophons of the different parts, is provided in sections 5 and 6 of the appendix, both in Tibetan and in English translation. Therefore, I shall refrain from quoting passages here. Still, an overview of its content and the conclusions that can be drawn from it shall be presented in this section. Having shown the arrangement of the final work in Figure 1, in this section I shall follow a more chronological sequence of composition.

Si tu's Introduction to the Main Text

The main text starts off with some introductory verses (five stanzas of four verse lines)⁵⁰ followed by a prose introduction⁵¹ by *Si tu* before it delves into the First Karma pa's life. The verses praise the garland of the precious bKa' brgyud for their accomplishment and as the source of the teaching and inspiration, and ask for their protection. This clearly complies with the feature of the *gser 'phreng* genre to stress the importance of the transmission lineage. Then *Si tu* lists types of people

⁵⁰ For the Tibetan text and an English translation, see section 6.2

⁵¹ For the Tibetan text and an English translation, see section 6.3.

with different mindset and concludes that they are all caught by stories, therefore, he will pass on these faultless liberation stories. In this way, he intends to use the stories as a skillful means to inspire different kinds of people for the dharma.

In his prose introduction, Si tu first mentions the “bKa brgyud of Mar pa and Mi la ras pa and, in particular, the bKa brgyud of the Karma pa” and then makes clear that he will focus on the “liberation stories of the lamas of the practice lineage Karma Kaṃtshang” in his opus. He points out that the sources of their lives are extensive, such as different *chos 'byungs* and *rnam thars*, and that they might be somewhat stained, but since they were composed at the request of authentic lamas that embody the essence of compassion, those stories also carry this compassion, and the stains are less important. This seems to be some kind of general author's excuse out of caution for the errors he might have propagated in recounting.

Si tu continues to say that Tilopa studied under the lamas of the four transmissions (*bka' babs bzhi*) and that he was a student of Vajradhara in terms of the short lineage. This part is interesting insofar as we see here the typical feature of *gser 'phreng* to trace the transmission lineage back to Vajradhara. Furthermore, we learn the teaching, the transmission of which this golden garland is actually concerned about—the so-called “four transmissions,” “four instructional lineages,” or “four currents.” The *bka' babs bzhi* are a “series of tantric instructions that the Indian *siddha* Tilopa received from various masters, codified, and then passed on” [and] that “later became foundational teachings for the Bka' brgyud sect.”⁵² However, the content of these four transmissions differs considerably in different Tibetan sources.⁵³ At this point, Si tu does not specify those four transmissions. Instead, he moves on to list the succession of teachers and students after Tilopa as being Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, and sGam po pa, and says that their life stories are known from elsewhere. This clearly shows that when Si tu composed his part of the main text, he wanted to skip those masters and start only with the First Karma pa, as he did. Hence, it must have been 'Be lo's own idea to fill in this gap with the composition of his addendum, which was not in accord with his teacher's original plan.

Next, Si tu praises the First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193), as the crown jewel of the lineage that is known as Karma Kaṃtshang and quotes a prophecy of the Dharma king Srong btsan sgam po that the Karma pa would appear as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara to bring benefit to beings. Then he raises the question of how the liberation stories of such a succession of great bodhisattvas can possibly

⁵² Buswell and Lopez 2014, 121.

⁵³ Smith 2001, 41.

be told by someone. But then he points to the beings in saṃsāra and asserts that what he will recount is in accordance with the liberation stories he heard. In this way, he elevates the Karma pas and the masters of the lineage again and, at the same time, puts himself in a humble position, implying that he only recounts the stories he had heard due to the needs of beings that are suffering, rather than out of his own realization. The kind of humbleness he thus shows is widespread among Tibetan authors. Following this, the actual life story of the First Karma pa starts.

Si tu's Epilogue

The part of the main text authored by Si tu ends after Mi nyag rTogs ldan Blo gros rin chen (1386–1423), a disciple of the Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415). From Si tu's introduction, it is reasonable to assume he envisaged the scope of this project as being to present the life stories of the transmission lineage from the First Karma pa up to his time. Obviously, he was not able to finish it before his demise. Nevertheless, he managed to write a short epilogue of two stanzas of four verse lines each.⁵⁴ In the first stanza, he states that the Buddha granted these innumerable doors of Dharma to the beings in saṃsāra and encourages the reader to engage in Dharma practice. In the second stanza, he wishes that due to this, the Karma bKa' brgyud may shine as an ornament of the Buddha's teachings. Si tu's epilogue obviously rounds off the whole text. Its existence, or at least the way it is written, gives ground to conjecture that when writing this, he did not expect the work to be continued by his disciple 'Be lo. This concludes the parts of the paratext written by Si tu. The paratext parts to be discussed in the following were written by 'Be lo.

'Be lo's continuation of the main text does not exhibit any introductory words. He directly jumps into the life stories of two further disciples of the Fifth Karma pa before he turns to the Sixth Karma pa.

'Be lo's Epilogue and Colophon

At the end of the main text, 'Be lo added an epilogue and a colophon relating to the work in its entirety with all parts including the *Kha skong*.⁵⁵ The epilogue consists of five stanzas of four verse lines each. In the first four stanzas, 'Be lo praises the opus, while in the last stanza, he praises his teacher Si tu and his blessing, through which he was able to complete the work. In this way, he basically says that all this was

⁵⁴ For the Tibetan text and an English translation, see section 6.4.

⁵⁵ For the Tibetan text and an English translation, see sections 6.7 and 6.8.

possible due to his teacher, rather than through himself. In turn, this means that by praising the opus, he actually praised his teacher, rather than himself, and thus kept the etiquette of humbleness.

The epilogue is directly followed by a colophon in prose. There he mentions that the composition of the work was encouraged by Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755) who was a teacher, student, and friend of Si tu's.⁵⁶ Then 'Be lo precisely explains which parts were written by Si tu and which by himself.⁵⁷ Here, it becomes obvious that the epilogue is meant as a parenthesis to the entire work including the addendum. 'Be lo mentions that the work was completed in 1775 (i.e., the year after Si tu's passing away) at dPal spung monastery (*Thub bstan chos 'khor gling*), which had been founded by Si tu in 1717.⁵⁸ Furthermore, he provides the name of the scribe as the attendant (*rim gro pa*) Karma legs bshad. Finally, 'Be lo adds some wishes or dedication that the Buddhist doctrine may spread and flourish and that all beings may attain the state of the precious bKa' brgyud masters.

Paratext of 'Be lo's Kha skong

'Be lo's addendum (containing the life stories from Vajradhara to sGam po pa) does not contain much paratext.⁵⁹ On the verso of the title page, there is one stanza displayed in different languages and scripts, which is an expression of worship to the Buddha. First, it is provided in Sanskrit using *lanydza* script, then again in Sanskrit but in Tibetan transliteration, and finally in Tibetan language and script. Afterward, the text directly jumps into the life story of Vajradhara.

At the end of the *Kha skong*, without clear separation from the life story of sGam po pa and his disciples, 'Be lo provides some sentences about what happened next in terms of spread of the Dharma related to the Dwags po bKa' brgud, and then in the final sentence turns to the Kam tshang bKa' brgud with examples of sub-lineages and says that they shall be explained in detail later. This is not a proper epilogue but still functions as some kind of transition or connector to the main text.

2.3 'Be lo's Addendum (*Kha skong*)

In this section, an overview of the content of the *Kha skong* shall be provided. The text starts from Vajradhara and contains an expression

⁵⁶ "In 1720, Situ and Kaḥ thog Tshe dbang nor bu first met. This event was the beginning of a fruitful friendship that would continue until Kaḥ thog's death" (Smith 2001, 91). For a short life story, see Garry 2007.

⁵⁷ Not to be repeated here; see section 2.1, Figure 1.

⁵⁸ BDRC: G36.

⁵⁹ For the Tibetan text and an English translation of the paratext, see section 2505.

of worship toward the bKa' brgyud masters and the history of the four transmissions (*bka' babs bzhi*), before it goes into the actual transmission lineage comprising Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar pa, Mi la ras pa and sGam po pa. The text also mentions the disciples of the masters just listed with more or less information included. In Table 1, the disciples are summarized in one entry per master, as there are usually just a few lines for each disciple. Apart from the outline, the table provides the number of folios for each section. Additionally, the ratio of each section relative to the *Kha skong* and to the entire work is indicated to provide and idea of its overall weight.

The table shows that the *Kha skong* makes up only a rather small share of the entire work. Also, in absolute numbers the life stories of the different masters are quite short and do not exceed a one-digit number of folios for each. This applies even more so for their disciples, whose life stories hardly go beyond a few lines, sometimes merely the name being mentioned.

Section	Title	Folios	% Kha skong	% Full
1	Liberation Story of Vajradhara	6.5	14.1%	0.9%
2	Expression of Worship (<i>mchod brjod</i>) toward the bKa' brgyud Masters	2	4.3%	0.3%
3	The History of the Four Transmissions (<i>bka' babs bzhi</i>)	12.5	27.2%	1.7%
4	Tilopa (988–1069)	1.5	3.3%	0.2%
5a	Nāropa (1012–1016–1100)	3	6.5%	0.4%
5b	Disciples of Nāropa	0.5	1.1%	0.1%
6a	Mar pa Lotsāwa Chos kyi blo gros (1002~1012–1097~1100)	5.5	12.0%	0.7%
6b	Disciples of Mar pa	1.5	3.3%	0.2%
7a	Mi la ras pa (1040–1123)	6	13.0%	0.8%
7b	Disciples of Mi la ras pa	1	2.2%	0.1%
8a	sGam po pa Dwags po lha rje bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153)	4.5	9.8%	0.6%
8b	Disciples of sGam po pa	0.5	1.1%	0.1%

Table 1: Short outline of 'Be lo's addendum

Table 6 in section 7 in the appendix is a more extended version of this. It contains all sub-sections and persons that could be identified. Furthermore, it indicates the page numbers of different textual witnesses and, in the case of persons, provides a reference to the BDRC database where available.

2.4 Main Text (*Si tu and 'Be lo*)

In this section, an overview of the content of the main text shall be provided. For the outline in Table 2, the life story of each Karma pa forms one entry, while the life stories of their respective students are summarized in another entry. Apart from the outline, the table provides the number of folios for each section. Additionally, the ratio of each section relative to the main text and to the entire work is indicated, to provide an idea about its overall weight.

The table shows that the length of the life stories of the different Karma pas differs quite a lot. The life stories of the Sixth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Karma pas in particular are treated much more briefly than one would expect from such a work. On the other hand, it is striking that some disciples' sections are much longer than the life story of the respective Karma pa they relate to. In some cases, this is due to a very extensive life story of just one disciple. The most extreme case is the life story of Si tu Paṅ chen himself, as we shall see in the next section.

Section	Title	Folios	% Main text	% Full
1a	First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa Chos kyi grags pa (1110–1193)	20	2.9%	2.7%
1b	Disciples of Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa	15.5	2.2%	2.1%
2a	Second Karma pa, Karma Pakši (1204–1206–1283)	42	6.1%	5.7%
2b	Disciples of Karma pa Karma Pakši	12.5	1.8%	1.7%
3a	Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339)	23.5	3.4%	3.2%
3b	Disciples of Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje	45	6.5%	6.1%
4a	Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383)	37	5.4%	5.0%
4b	Disciples of Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje	21	3.0%	2.9%
5a	Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415)	20	2.9%	2.7%
5b	Disciples of Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa	19.5	2.8%	2.6%
6a	Sixth Karma pa, mThong ba don ldan (1416–1453)	5	0.7%	0.7%
6b	Disciples of Karma pa mThong ba don ldan	2.5	0.4%	0.3%
7a	Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506)	31	4.5%	4.2%
7b	Disciples of Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho	47	6.8%	6.4%
8a	Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554)	25	3.6%	3.4%
8b	Disciples of Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje	45.5	6.6%	6.2%
9a	Ninth Karma pa, dBang phyug rdo rje (1556–1601~1603)	48	7.0%	6.5%
9b	Disciples of Karma pa dBang phyug rdo rje	41	5.9%	5.6%
10a	Tenth Karma pa, Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–1674)	6	0.9%	0.8%

10b	Disciples of Karma pa Chos dbyings rdo rje	6.5	0.9%	0.9%
11a	Eleventh Karma pa, Ye shes rdo rje (1675~1676~1702)	1	0.1%	0.1%
11b	Disciples of Karma pa Ye shes rdo rje	46	6.7%	6.3%
12a	Twelfth Karma pa, Byang chub rdo rje (1703~1732)	2.5	0.4%	0.3%
12b	Disciples of Karma pa Byang chub rdo rje	125	18.1%	17.0%

Table 2: Short outline of the main text

Table 7 in section 8 in the appendix is a more extended version of this. It contains sub-sections for all disciples that could be identified. Furthermore, it indicates the page numbers of different textual witnesses, and, for the persons, provides a reference to the BDRC database where available.

2.5 Top Stories

In this section, the separation of sections per Karma pa into just two subsections, namely, the respective Karma pa's life story and that of their disciples, is broken up. Instead, the life story of each individual is taken into account separately for this analysis. Table 3 lists all life stories that amount to at least twenty folios and orders them according to their length. Additionally, the reference to the BDRC database is provided. Different Karma pas dominate this ranking, although, not surprisingly, at the top we find Si tu's life story. 'Be lo wrote quite an extensive life story about his teacher, certainly based on Si tu's autobiography and diaries and his own memories.⁶⁰

Ranking	Title	BDRC	Folios
1	Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699~1700~1774)	P956	94.5
2	Ninth Karma pa, dBang phyug rdo rje (1556~1601~1603)	P889	48
3	Eighth Zhwa dmar pa, dPal chen Chos kyi don grub (1695~1732)	P955	46
4	Second Karma pa, Karma Pakši (1204~1206~1283)	P1487	42
5	Fifth Zhwa dmar pa, dKon mchog yan lag (1525~1583)	P1426	38
6	Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340~1383)	P1456	37
7	Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454~1506)	P821	32
8	Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507~1554)	P385	25
9	Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1284~1339)	P66	24.5
10	g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal ba (1284~1365)	P1454	23.5
11	Sixth Zhwa dmar pa, Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584~1630)	P1432	22
12	First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa Chos kyi grags pa (1110~1193)	P1400	20

⁶⁰ About Si tu's autobiography and diaries, see also section 1.1 and Smith 2001, 87–98.

13	Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415)	P1410	20
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Table 3: Top stories (at least 20 folios)

2.6 The Karma pas and Their Disciples

The other standard opus, next to the KSP, about the life of the first eight Karma pas and their disciples is the earlier *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga ston* ("Religious History: Feast of the Wise," abbreviated as CKG in this section) by the Second dPa' bo, gTsug lag phreng ba (1504–1566).⁶¹ Table 4 seeks to compare the length of the life stories of the Karma pas and their disciples between the KSP and the CKG. For this purpose, the number of folios of each section in the two works are provided. However, since the number of syllables per folio is quite different between the works, an estimation of the number of syllables was undertaken. On this basis, the ratio between the length in the KSP and the CKG is calculated.

It is evident, that for most Karma pas, the length of the life story in the KSP exceeds that in the CKG by more than a factor of two, the only exceptions being the Seventh Karma pa (about the same length) and the Eighth Karma pa (about half the length). The case is similar for the aggregated life stories of the Karma pas' respective disciples. In all cases, they are longer in the KSP—sometimes much longer. However, the table does not reveal the numbers for the single disciples. The coverage and length of the disciples' individual life stories could be quite diverse. To answer this, a more detailed analysis would be needed.

Section	Title	Folios KSP	Syllables KSP	Folios CKG	Syllables CKG	% KSP/CKG
1a	First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa Chos kyid grags pa (1110–1193)	20	18300	7.5	4861	376%
1b	Disciples of Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa	15.5	14183	3.5	2268	625%
2a	Second Karma pa, Karma Pakši (1204~1206–1283)	42	38430	18	11666	329%
2b	Disciples of Karma pa Karma Pakši	12.5	11438	2.5	1620	706%
3a	Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339)	23.5	21503	14.5	9397	229%
3b	Disciples of Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje	45	41175	2	1296	3177%
4a	Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383)	37	33855	8.5	5509	615%
4b	Disciples of Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje	21	19215	13.5	8749	220%
5a	Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415)	20	18300	14	9073	202%
5b	Disciples of Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa	19.5	17843	4.5	2916	612%

⁶¹ For an introduction into the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, see Dell 2021; for its author's life, see Bjerregaard and Dell 2022.

6a	Sixth Karma pa, mThong ba don ldan (1416–1453)	5	4575	2	1296	353%
6b	Disciples of Karma pa mThong ba don ldan	2.5	2288	0.5	324	706%
7a	Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506)	31	28365	44	28516	99%
7b	Disciples of Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho	47	43005	49.5	32080	134%
8a	Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554)	25	22875	66.5	43098	53%
8b	Disciples of Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje	45.5	41633	1	648	6424%

Table 4: Karma pas in KSP vs. CKG

3. Textual Witnesses

In this section the different textual witnesses and editions that I could identify shall be described. In order to identify them, I used different databases and catalogs—both online and in print. Among them are the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC),⁶² the Tibetan Book and Manuscript Catalog of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA),⁶³ the Library of Congress Catalog (LOCC),⁶⁴ WorldCat,⁶⁵ various university library catalogs, the catalog of the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP),⁶⁶ and the catalog of the Tucci collection.⁶⁷ In addition, general search engines, as well as online book stores and publisher’s websites (for the modern editions) have been consulted. Several block prints and modern book editions have been identified and will be presented in the following subsections.

3.1 Block Prints and Their Reprints

All textual witnesses described in this subsection are based on the dPal spungs printing blocks. Prints of those printing blocks seem to have spread to different libraries. However, they are mostly available to us via three different reprints, described in the following under the sigla SX1, SX2, and SX3, and through the efforts of BDRC to scan them and make them available.

SX1: Xylograph reprint by Sungrab Nyamso Khang

In 1990, Sungrab Nyamso Khang published the collected works of Si tu Paṅ chen in fourteen volumes. On each volume, the title on the title page reads *Ta’i si tu pa kun mkhyen chos kyi ’byung gnas bstan pa’i*

⁶² <https://www.tbrc.org/>.

⁶³ <https://tibetanlibrary.org/tibetan-book-and-manuscript-catalog/>.

⁶⁴ <https://catalog.loc.gov/>.

⁶⁵ <https://www.worldcat.org/>.

⁶⁶ <https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/>.

⁶⁷ De Rossi Filibeck 2003.

nyin byed kyi bka' 'bum—Collected Works of the Great Tai'i Si tu pa Kun mkhyen Chos kyi byun gnas Bstan pa'i nyin byed, where the part rendered here in Wylie is provided in Tibetan *dbu can* script. Additionally, the volume number is indicated both as Arabic numeral and as Tibetan letter. The KSP extends over volumes 11 (*da*) and 12 (*na*). The *verso* of each title page provides the names and addresses of the publishing and printing house. The subsequent folio shows a table of contents. For volume 11 it only has one entry, which is the title of the *Kha skong*. It is followed by the Tibetan numerals for 341, which is actually the number of folios of the first volume of the main text without the *Kha skong*. Additionally, the range 1–776 in Arabic numerals is given, which is in fact the number of pages of the entire first volume (*Kha skong* and main text together). After the first two folios, which were obviously added for the 1990 publication, the actual reprint of the xylograph starts. It first contains the *Kha skong* and is then followed by the first part of the main text (though not mentioned in the table of contents). The table of contents of volume 12 again has only one entry, referring to the final volume of the KSP (*pus ta ka phyi ma*). It is followed by the number of folios in Tibetan numerals (340) and the page range in Arabic numerals (1–701). The content of the volume is as indicated. In general, the folios of the block print appear quite unaltered with the exception that at the right-hand margin a pagination in Arabic numerals was added that restarts for each volume. BDRC provides a scan of the edition as well as a relatively granular outline of its content on their website (W26630).

SX2: Xylograph tracing by D. Gyaltsan & Kesang Legshay

In 1972, D. Gyaltsan & Kesang Legshay published an edition of the KSP in two volumes. The title page states *History of the Karma Bka-'brgyud-pa Sect—Being the Text of "Sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreñ ba."* It also mentions that it was "reproduced from a print of the Dpal-spungs edition belonging to Nam-mkha'-rdo-rje of Nang-chen." From the editor's preface, we learn that 'Be lo's *ska khong* is not contained, as it "was not available for reproduction," and that the main text originates from volumes 11 and 12 of the collected works of Si tu Paṅ chen (though within this reproduction they are referred to as volumes 1 and 2). Interestingly, the editors also explain that a direct reproduction from the block print was not possible, because of its poor quality. Therefore, "the task of tracing the original was assigned to monks of the Rgyud-smad Graw-tshang." This is remarkable insofar as such a process is likely to alter the original block print with respect to

spelling, especially if certain letters or syllables are hardly legible. Indeed, the editors admit that they found discrepancies between the original and the traced version and consequently added one page of errata to the first volume. The preface of volume 2 briefly comments on the content of this volume and laments about some shortcomings. Both volumes contain a table of content that was added for the publication. Its granularity is comparable to the BDRC outline of SX1, though there are some differences in the details. It is a useful tool to locate those life stories of the masters that exceed a few lines. It was compiled with some care, which can be discerned from the fact that the personal names in that table do not just appear in the way they are mentioned at the beginning of the respective paragraph, but are given with full title and name, and, in some cases, dates of birth and death were added (extracted from the text itself, and, in some few cases, marked explicitly from external sources).

Although this text appears the same as the block print, we must be wary of errors introduced in the process of tracing. Furthermore, Arabic numerals were added on the left-hand side of each page. BDRC provides a scan of the edition (W23435).

SX3: Xylograph reprint by dPal brtsegs

In 2015, the publishing house Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang issued a collection of liberation stories in 120 volumes consisting of block prints and manuscripts. It is called *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* (“History of Tibet, Collection of Liberation Stories”). Volumes 102 to 104 contain the KSP. BDRC (W4PD3075) holds the scans of volumes 91 to 120. In the outline on their webpage the volumes containing the KSP are indicated as volumes 12 (*na*) to 14 (*pha*), since they start counting with volume 91 as their first volume.

The cover as well as the title page of each volume contains the collection title and volume number in Arabic numerals. Moreover, it indicates that this text was compiled (*bsgrigs*) by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib ’jug khang and produced in print by the printing house mentioned above. The second folio contains a table of contents. These first two folios are in modern type setting. Then follows the reproduction of the block print, to which Arabic numerals were added on the right-hand margin. In total, the three volumes 102 to 104 contain the same pieces of text that are found in volumes 11 (*da*) and 12 (*na*) of Si tu’s collected works (see SX1). However, the different portions are reordered as indicated in the following table.

Vol. no.	Page no.	Content
102	1–512	Beginning of main text (vol. 11, fols. 1r–256r), i.e., Si tu's portion of the main text
103	1–171	Continuation of main text (vol. 11, fols. 257r–341r), i.e., the remainder of vol. 11 by 'Be lo (<i>verso</i> of last folio 341v missing; title on p. 1 is erroneously that of the <i>Kha skong</i>)
	173–265	<i>Kha skong</i> by 'Be lo (vol. 11, fols. 1r–47r), i.e., the beginning of vol. 11
	267–508	Continuation of main text (vol. 12, fols. 257r–121v.5), i.e., the beginning of vol. 12 (<i>pusta ka</i>)
104	1–460	Continuation of main text (vol. 12, fols. 121v.6–350r), i.e., the remainder of vol. 12 (<i>pusta ka</i>)

Table 5: Table of contents of SX3

The added table of contents in the three volumes preceding the block print reproduction exhibits errors. In volume 103 the first two texts are indicated as *Kha skong*, while this is only correct for the second one. In volume 104, the text is again indicated as *Kha skong*, which is incorrect. The outline on the BDRC webpage carried over these incorrect text titles. However, it adds another level of granularity indicating mainly where the liberation stories of the different Karma pas (and a few other masters) start, which seems to fit with the actual text.

SX4: Print held by the National Library of Mongolia

BDRC has a record of the collected works of Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas from the collection of the National Library of Mongolia in fourteen volumes (W4CZ302668). As of today, the BDRC database states that the scans are not yet available. However, it seems to be a print from the original dPal spungs printing blocks, rather than a modern reproduction of a print (such as SX1).

SX5: Extract compiled by E. Gene Smith

BDRC lists a work with title *Sgrub brgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba (khol phyung)* without a date (MW1KG9259). The access is restricted, but it mentions an English cover title *Karma bka' brgyud pa biographies*. Furthermore, the compiler of the work is indicated as 'Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal, which is the Tibetan name of E. Gene Smith. The outline

provided on the BDRC webpage shows that it contains only a part of the KSP (that is why it is called *khol phyug*—extract) and that a second text, a hagiography of Mar pa, was added after it. Cecile Ducher identifies the author of this second text as the Second dPa' bo, gTsug lag 'phreng ba (1504–1566). Hence, it does not originate from 'Be lo's *Kha skong*, which also contains a Mar pa hagiography. She further describes it as a block print in a bad state where “modern numbers were added during digitalization,” whose range she provides as 269 to 300.⁶⁸ It is not stated if the KSP part is also a block print or rather a manuscript, but it seems reasonable to assume that the pagination is continuous across both texts, which would yield 134 folios for the KSP extract. The outline on the BDRC webpage lists the chapters (i.e., names of masters) that are contained in the extract. They amount to a total of fifty-one, where the first is the Tenth Karma pa, Chos dbying rdo rje (1604–1674), and the last is Lo tsā ba bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482). Already, the birth and death dates of those two persons show that some re-ordering with respect to the Dpal spungs block print must have taken place. Indeed, the rest of the list confirms that the order was massively re-organized. It contains life stories of both volumes 11 and 12, but there seem to be no names that are before the Seventh Karma pa in the original xylograph.

*SX6: Microfiche of volume 11
held by University of Washington Libraries*

The University of Washington Libraries hold a microfiche of the xylograph of the first volume of the KSP (i.e., volume 11 of Si tu's collected works). It contains both the *Kha skong* and the main text. However, in WorldCat they are listed under two different entries (OCLC: 859369533 and 859369631).

3.2 Modern Book Editions

A number of different modern book editions of the KSP could be identified. It seems very likely that all of them are based on textual witnesses of the xylograph edition. Some of them exhibit a very granular table of contents which can be very useful to locate information about the lives of certain Karma bKa' brgyud masters.

SB1: Four-volume edition by Vajra Vidya Institute

In 2004 and 2005, two volumes with the title *The Golden Garland of the*

⁶⁸ Ducher 2017, 152.

Kagyü Biographies. Bka' brgyud gser phreng rnam thar, zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba were published by the Vajra Vidya Institute. The first volume contains 'Be lo's *Kha skong* and the beginning of the main text until just before the Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415). The second volume contains the continuation of the main text until just before the Tenth Karma pa, Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–1674). Volumes 3 and 4 were only published much later in 2014, where volume 3 contains the remainder of the KSP. Volume 4 contains a work by the twentieth-century author sTobs dga' g.yul rgyal (1940–1997), who compiled the life stories from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Karma pas. His work is meant as a continuation of Si tu's and 'Be lo's opus. It is usually referred to as *Bka' brgyud gser phreng gi rnam thar rab 'byams zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba'i kha skong*,⁶⁹ not to be confused with 'Be lo's *Kha skong*, which covers the period before the main text, rather than after.

Each of the four volumes starts with the same number of prefaces by the Dalai Lama, Ogyen Trinley Dorje, and Khenchen Thrangu Rinpoche. In the context of this paper, only the first three volumes are relevant. They exhibit a rather detailed table of contents, often mentioning persons to whom only some lines are dedicated. This was a useful source for compiling the comprehensive overview in sections 7 and 8 of this paper. Occasionally, colored pictures of Buddhist masters are added before the respective sections. The text is clearly formatted. New sections and parts that are in verse are easily recognized. All volumes are available for download on the BDRC webpage (W4CZ295072).⁷⁰ Additionally, BDRC provides an e-text version of the first two volumes produced via OCR (WA3JT13373).

SB2: Two-volume edition by Mi rigs dpe skrun khang

In 2013, the publishing house Mi rigs dpe skrun khang issued an edition of the KSP in two volumes with title *Bka' brgyud gser phreng*. Each of the volumes has a colored image of Mar pa on the front cover and again inside the book, followed by images of the authors Si tu and 'Be lo. Next, there is a two-page biography of Si tu Paṅ chen followed by a short preface (*gleng gzhi*) by the editor of the book, sKyo brag Dam chos zla ba (b. 20th cent.). The table of contents is quite detailed. Every

⁶⁹ sTobs dga' g.yul rgyal 1993. For a characterization of this text and its author, see Coura 2013, 21–25.

⁷⁰ In the BDRC's PDF file for volume 3, after the back cover of the book, there are mistakenly some pages of a book by the Eighth Karma pa from the same publishing house and year; see Mi bskyod rdo rje 2014, 484–98. On top of that, BDRC erroneously classifies volume 3 as volume 4 and vice versa. To be very precise, on the front book covers both are indicated as volume 3 in English, but additionally, as *smad cha/ka* and *smad cha/kha*, respectively (i.e., “last volume A and B”).

Karma pa marks a new chapter, while their students' life stories are then indicated as sections in the respective chapter. Paragraphs in verse are not set off by formatting, but section titles are inserted reflecting the level of detail from the table of contents. The contents of both volumes and their distribution between the volumes are almost as in the original xylograph; in particular, 'Be lo's *Kha skong* is included in volume 1. The difference is that the life story of Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527), which is at the beginning of volume 12 of the block print, just before the Eighth Karma pa, was moved to volume 1 in this book—presumably to have all disciples of the Seventh Karma pa in the same place and conclude this chapter.⁷¹ Both volumes are available via BDRC, though under restricted access (W1AC314).

SB3: One-volume edition by Yun nan mi rigs dpe skrun khang

In 1998, the publishing house Yun nan mi rigs dpe skrun khang issued an edition of the KSP in one volume. The title on the title page reads *Karma kam tshang gi brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam thar*. There is an additional title in Chinese letters. Inside the book the full title of the main text from the block print is also mentioned, together with the indication *stod cha*—"upper part." Usually, this indicates that there is also a *smad cha*—"lower part." I was not able to identify a volume 2 of this edition, and BCRC also wondered about the existence of another volume in their comments (W24686). Even without a volume 2 for this edition *stod cha* makes sense, since the content of this book corresponds to the content of the first volume of the original xylograph. However, the order is slightly different. The book puts the portion of the main text that is contained in volume 11 of the original block print first and then appends 'Be lo's *Kha skong* afterward. As for the main text, the table of contents defines a chapter for each of the Karma pas, except for the Sixth Karma pa, where there are two chapters (... *rnam thar* and ... *rnam thar gyi kha skong*, i.e., "liberation story" and addendum to the liberation story). There is also a division into sections under each chapter. However, while the other editions usually put the different disciples as sections, this edition divides the Karma pas' lives into five to nine different stages reflected by sections. The first section usually indicates the circumstances of the birth, and the last section indicates where the liberation stories of the disciples start. The sections in between vary to some extent. Hence, when working with the Karma pas' lives, this edition can be a useful tool to identify certain passages more quickly. The table of contents of the *Kha skong* exhibits similar granu-

⁷¹ The part in question that has been moved is SX1, vol. 12, 1v–2v.

larity to other editions and to what is provided in section 7 of this paper, though the hierarchical levels might differ slightly.

The table of contents is preceded by a preface (*sngon 'gro'i gtam*) by the editor Reb gong rDo rje mkhar (b. 1958) that spreads over three pages. As for the actual text, section titles are inserted into the text according to the table of contents, but passages in verse are not set off by formatting. The volume is available on BDRC under restricted access (W24686). The BDRC webpage also provides an outline of the book that reflects the table of contents within the book.

SB4: Si tu's collected works by Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang

In 2014, the publishing house Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang issued Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas' collected works as a modern book edition in fourteen volumes and one additional volume as a kind of catalog or overview. Volumes 11 (*da*) and 12 (*na*) contain the KSP, just like in the xylograph edition. However, in case of volume 11 the order of the text parts is flipped. The book starts with the portion of the main text contained in the xylograph volume 11 and then puts 'Be lo's Kha skong afterward. The table of contents is quite detailed and contains the names of many of the Karma pa's disciples as sections to the Karma pa chapter, similar to other modern editions (e.g., SB1 or SB2). As for the actual text, section titles are not inserted into the text according to the table of contents, but the names appearing at the beginning of the respective passages are set in bold face. Passages in verse are not set off by formatting. This edition of the collected works is available on BDRC under restricted access (W2PD17429).

SB5: Three-volume edition by Shri Diwakar Publications

In 2010 Shri Diwakar Publications published a three-volume edition with the Tibetan title *Sgrub brgud kar ma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba kha skong bcas bzhugs so* and English title *Garland of Omnipresent Wishfulfilling Crystal Gems: Extensive Biographies of the Practice Lineage of the Precious Karma Kamtshang*. The first two volumes contain the KSP, while the third volume is a work by the twentieth-century author sTobs dga' g.yul rgyal (1940–1997), who compiled the life stories from the thirteenth to the sixteenth Karma pa. It is also contained in SB1 and was already discussed in this context. The work is listed in the Library of Congress Catalog (LCCN: 2011320473).

3.3 Summary

I leave it to the reader to decide which editions to use, and, of course, it depends very much on the purpose to be served. Nevertheless, I would like to try a summary to provide some orientation. All prints and published reprints of prints from the wooden printing blocks should be equivalent, if no restoration of the printing blocks took place between the prints. Therefore, for most purposes, it should be sufficient to use one representative of this class. Since they are direct reprints, SX1 or SX3 can be good candidates to use. SX2 should be treated with more care, as the tracing through which it was reproduced can be a source of errors. However, used together with one of the direct reprints, it can help improve legibility.

As for the modern book editions, they are helpful at times. However, they can contain intended and unintended spelling changes compared to the original block print. Hence, their spelling should be treated with a critical mind. They can be very valuable for finding information quickly due to their sometimes very granular table of contents.

4. Conclusion

In this article about the “Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā,” an overview of the main sources on the lives of its authors Si tu Chos kyi ’byung gnas and ’Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab was provided, together with an introduction into the *gser ’phreng* genre and the opus itself. Its structure and content were presented, together with an analysis of the paratext. Finally, different textual witnesses and editions of this *Karma bka’ brgyud gser ’phreng* have been identified and described.

To date, it seems that not much of this opus has been translated, and only parts have been researched to a certain extent. Hence, there is much work left for future research. A next useful step could be to compile a bibliography of research and translations based on the “Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā.” There are a number of research papers on Si tu Paṅ chen’s life. However, the two very long sources about his life have not been analyzed—let alone translated—extensively.

As Elliot Sperling pointed out: “This is, as I have noted, essential history, produced by a scholar of wide reading and great learning.”⁷² I can only join in his words and hope that this paper helps to draw some, certainly deserved, attention to this important work and that, at the same time, I managed to provide some useful information to make it more accessible.

⁷² Sperling 2013, 9.

5. Appendix A: Paratext of 'Belo's Addendum (*Kha skong*)

This appendix provides all the paratext in Wylie transliteration and in English translation of 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab's addendum to the text covering the life stories of the masters that precede the Karma pas.

5.1 Title

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 1r (first text, start on p. 1)]

*kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam thar rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu
shel gyi phreng ba'i kha skong bzhugs so//*

Addendum to the Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā: All-Encompassing [Collection of] Liberation Stories of the Precious Chain of Transmission of the Karma Kaṃtshang

5.2 Expression of Worship (*mchod brjod*)

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 1v (p. 1)]

*/zab cing rgya che byang chub spyod mchog gi
/chu gter chen po'i bcud du 'khrungs pa'i sku/
/gser gyi ri ltar mtshan dpe 'bar ba can/
/bcom ldan thub pa'i dbang pos dge legs stsol/*

Profound and vast [one], [one whose] body was born

As the quintessence of the great ocean of supreme bodhisattva conduct,

One whose major and minor marks shine like a mountain of gold,
Blessed One, Lord of Sages, [please] bestow virtue and goodness [on us]!⁷³

5.3 Epilogue

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 47r, l. 4 (p. 93)]

*kaṃ tshang rang gi nang khul du'ang zur mang bka' brgyud dang gnas
mdo pa'i bka' brgyud sogs phyi nas 'chad 'gyur gyi chos brgyud rkang tshugs
pa 'ga' yang byung zhing dar rgyas su bzhugs so//*

Within the very Kaṃ tshang, similarly, some taking root of Dharma lineages such as the Zur mang bka' brgyud and the gNas mdo pa'i bka'

⁷³ After this short expression of worship, the text directly goes into the life story of Vajradhara (Tib. *rdo rje 'chang*).

brgyud, which shall be explained later, happened, and [they] remained while flourishing and spreading.⁷⁴

5.4 Dedication

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 47r, l. 5 (p. 93)]

//dar rgyas 'phel// gu ṅas zhus so//

[May the Dharma] flourish, spread and grow! Through merit(?), [may all be] granted(?)!⁷⁵

6. Appendix B: Paratext of Main Text (Si tu and 'Be lo)

This appendix provides all the paratext in Wylie transliteration and in English translation of the main text by Si tu Paṅ chen and 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyabs starting from the First Karma pa.

6.1 Title

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 1r (second text, start on p. 95)]

sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so//

“Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā:”⁷⁶ All-Encompassing [Collection of] Liberation Stories of the Precious Chain of Transmission of the Practice Lineage Karma Kaṃ tshang

6.2 Introductory Verses (Si tu)

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 1v (p. 96)]

/srid zhi'i dge legs kun gyi 'byung gnas gcig/
/ma lus rgyal ba kun 'dus kun gyi phul/

⁷⁴ 'Be lo's text ends with the life story of sGam po pa and his students. The last sentence functions as a bridge to the main text (by Si tu and 'Be lo) that follows. It is not a real epilogue but can also be considered part of the story that precedes it.

⁷⁵ This line of dedication is repeated with slight variation at the end of volumes 11 and 12.

⁷⁶ It seems the image conveyed here is that of a moonstone mālā, which is signified by two different terms: *nor bu zla ba* and *chu shel*. The first term can be analyzed as “gem-moons” or “moons [of] gems,” which means that the beads are made of moon-like gems. The second term can be analyzed as “water[-like] crystals,” which also fits as an image for the polished round crystal beads a moonstone mālā consists of. Furthermore, *chu shel* is given as a synonym for *zla ba nor bu* (reversed order of the first term)—“moonstone” (see Yísūn 1985, s.v. *zla ba nor bu* or Monlam 2016, s.v. *zla ba nor bu*). Note that the order of the ornamental title and the descriptive title is swapped in the English translation, as this is more natural in English style.

*/bka' brgyud rin chen phreng ba'i zhabs pad mchog/
/tshangs pa'i gnas su 'bral med rtag par mchod/*

The source of all the abundance of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa [is] one.
Constantly and without forgetting, offer to the pure abodes,
The supreme lotus feet of the garland [of] the precious bKa' brgyud
[masters],

[Who are] the gift of all the assemblage [of] the victorious ones with-
out exception.

*/gang zhig dran pas 'khor ba'i gdung sel zhing/
/bsam kun yongs su rdzogs mdzad grags dkar gyis/
/'khor yug rgyas 'gengs rgyal ba'i rnam par thar/
/yid bzhin nor bu'i tshogs la phyag bgyi'o/*

By recalling one of those [masters] the suffering of saṃsāra is dis-
pelled;

[I] prostrate to the assembly of wish-fulfilling jewels,
The liberation stories of the ones who fully vanquished the expanses
of saṃsāra

Through [their] bright fame [of] having completely perfected all aspi-
rations.

*/tshangs sogs cher snyems rnam kyis gtsug phud kyis/
/lan brgyar phyis pa khyod zhabs me long du/
/dge mtshan mi shar bya ba mi srid pas/
/gzugs mang po des deng 'dir skyong gyur cig/*

Through the first hair-cutting of renunciation of the ones who [had
exposed] spiritual pride towards [you] great pure ones and oth-
ers,

It is impossible for signs of virtue not to appear

In a mirror cleaned off one hundred times at your feet.

Therefore, may those many forms [of yours] protect [us] here and
now.

*/sgrub pa po rnam grub pa'i rjes su snyeg
/mkhas 'dod rnam ni mkhas la gcig tu 'dun/
/blun po rnam kyang grags pa la 'chel bas/
/gtam gyi sbyor bas thams cad 'drid byed kyang/*

Practitioners run after accomplishment,
Those with intellectual ambition are solely interested in learnedness,
The foolish are attached to fame,

Therefore, all [of them] are lured by the acquisition of stories.

*/rin chen rin thang med pa'i kha byang bzhin/
/bden gtam dag kyang glo bar chud dka' bas/
/thos pas don ldan nges par mi bslu ba'i/
/dam pa'i rnam thar shas tsam gleng bar bya/*

Nevertheless, it is difficult to even get to know of⁷⁷ faultless true stories
 Such as the subject of the invaluable precious [ones].
 Therefore, [I] will just pass on some liberation stories of the authentic [ones]
 Of which the meaning endowed [in them] will certainly not be deceptive by studying [them].

6.3 Prose Introduction (Si tu)

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 1v, l. 5 (p. 96)]

de la [fol. 2r] yul bsil ldan gyi ljongs 'dir bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa rin po che rma med pa ji snyed cig bzhugs pa'i dbus su nyin mor byed pa ltar gsal zhing rmad du byung ba ni mar mi'i bka' brgyud spyi dang/ khyad par karma'i bka' brgyud 'di yin zhing/

de dag la chos 'byung gi lo rgyus dang rnam thar gyi yi ge sogs rgyas shing gsal ba du ma dag mchis mod kyi/ 'dir dmigs pa med pa'i thugs rje'i bdag nyid dpal ldan bla ma dam pa'i bkas bskul bar mdzad pa bzhin du/ sgrub brgyud karma kam tshang gi bla ma rnams kyi rnam par thar pa sngar bsgrigs pa rnams rgyas par spel zhing/

bla ma phyi ma rnams kyi rnam par thar pas kha 'gengs pa bcas bgyid par spro'ol/

de'ang dpal tai lo pa chen pos bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma sogs bsten par mdzad kyang nye brgyud kyi dbang du byas nas rdo rje 'chang dngos kyis dpal tilli pa rjes su bzungs/

des mchog gi dngos grub chen po'i go 'phang brnyes nas nā ro dznyā na siddhi rjes su bzungs/

de ni bar dor mchog gi dngos grub brnyes par dam pa 'ga' zhig bzhed cing don du'ang [fol. 2v] gnas la/ des rje btsun lho brag pa chen po mar pa chos kyi blo gros rjes su bzungs/

des dbang phyug mi la ras pa rjes su bzungs/

des snyi ba chen po 'dzam gling grags pa rjes su bzungs te/

de rnams kyi rnam par thar pa ni gzhan du shes par bya la/ rje snyi ba chen po'i slob ma'i mchog khams pa mi gsum du grags pa las/ khams pa dbu se'am/ mtshan dngos dharma kirtti ste/ chos kyi rje dpal ldan karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa zhes yongs su grags pa bdag cag karma kam tshang zhes grags pa'i bka' brgyud rnams kyi gtsug gi nor bu'o/

de yang bskal bzang gi sangs rgyas drug pa seng ge sgra'i rnam 'phrul du pañ chen shākya shrī dang/ bla ma zhang gis kyang lung bstan cing/

chos rgyal srong btsan sgam pos ma 'ongs pa na thugs rje chen po'i sprul pa thod rgal ba re skabs su 'byung bas 'gro ba'i don rlabs po che byed ces lung

⁷⁷ Tib. *glo bar chud* = *blo bar chud*, lit. "to insert into [one's] mind," here "to get to know of."

*bstan pa bzhin 'jig rten dbang phyug spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul par yongs su
grags pas/ bskal bzang gi byang sems thams cad ni sngon bskal pa dpag tu
med pa nas byang chub brnyes shing spyan ras gzigs dang rang bzhin dbyer
med pa yin pa'i phyir/*

*de lta bu'i rnam par thar pa zab cing rgya che ba dag gi cha shas tsam yang
su zhig gis brjod par ga la nus/*

*'on kyang tshur mthong gi gdul bya rnams kyi ngor ji tsam zhig snang
ba'i cha shas tsam zhig rnam thar gyi yi ge tshor 'byung ba bzhin brjod na⁷⁸
sku 'khrungs pa'i yul ni mdo smad shar phyogs kyi sa'i cha tre shod gangs kyi
ra ba'i yul gyi bye brag ra stag ces sam/*

In this regard, the unblemished, precious teaching of the One Gone to Bliss⁷⁹ has manifested clearly in the valleys⁸⁰ of the Cool Land⁸¹ like the sun in the center of whatever there is. The [ones who have] marvelously arisen are the general bKa brgyud of Mar pa and Mi la ras pa and, in particular, the bKa brgyud of the Karma pa.

As for those, [their] histories of the emergence of the Dharma, writings of liberation stories, and so forth, are extensive, and although [their] clarity may be somewhat stained,⁸² just like [those writings] were composed at the request of glorious and authentic lamas, [who are] the essence of compassion that does not focus on these [stains], [I] shall propagate in extensive [form] the compilations previously [made] of the liberation stories of the lamas of the practice lineage Karma Kamtshang and [I] am happy to recount⁸³ the liberation stories of the former lamas.

With regard to that, although the great Tilopa studied under the

⁷⁸ What follows afterward within this same sentence is the beginning of the liberation story of the First Karma pa and remains untranslated here.

⁷⁹ Tib. *bde bar gshegs pa*, Skt. *sugata*, lit. "One Gone to Bliss," epithet of the Buddha.

⁸⁰ Tib. *ljongs 'dir*, lit. "in this country" or "in this valley." It is in singular, but from context, it is clear that it does not refer to a specific valley, but to Tibet in its entirety. The whole term *yul bsil ldan gyi ljongs* contains *yul* and *ljongs*, which both mean "country." It seems to be a poetic expression of which I tried to reflect the meaning by using "valleys" in the plural, referring to the entire country.

⁸¹ Epithet of Tibet.

⁸² Tib. *gsal ba du ma dag mchis*, lit. "there is impurity in [their] clarity."

⁸³ Tib. *kha 'gengs pa bcas bgyid par spro*, lit. "[I] am happy to act associated to filling the mouth with."

lamas of the four transmissions⁸⁴ and others, in terms of the short lineage, the true Vajradhara⁸⁵ accepted Tilopa [as a student].

Then, having attained the state of the great supreme accomplishment, [Tilopa] accepted Nāropā Jñānasiddhi [as a student].

[Nāropā] agreed with [the position of] some authentic [ones] to [only] attain the supreme accomplishment in the intermediate [state after death] and also stayed for the benefit [of all].

He accepted Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros, the great master from lHo brag, [as a student].

[Mar pa] accepted Mi la ras pa, the powerful lord [of the yogins,⁸⁶ as a student].

[Mi la ras pa] accepted sNyi ba chenpo 'Dzam gling grags pa⁸⁷ [as a student].

The liberation stories of those [just mentioned] will be known from elsewhere.⁸⁸ From among the famous three men from Kham, the supreme student of the master sGam po pa⁸⁹ [is] the bald Khampa⁹⁰ or by [his] true name Dharmakīrti,⁹¹ [this] glorious Dharma master, widely known as Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa [is] the crown jewel of our [lineage], the bKa' brgyud that are known as Karma Kaṃ tshang.

Furthermore, [he] was even prophesied by Śākyaśrībhadrā⁹² and Lama Zhang⁹³ as an emanation of Siṃha, the sixth buddha of the Fortunate Eon.

The Dharma king Srong btsan sgam po said: "Since [the Karma pa]

⁸⁴ Tib. *bka' babs bzhi*. "A series of tantric instructions that the Indian *siddha* Tilopa received from various masters, codified, and then passed on" [and] that "later became foundational teachings for the Bka' brgyud sect"; see Buswell and Lopez 2014, 121. The content of these four transmissions differs considerably in different Tibetan sources (see Smith 2001, 41).

⁸⁵ Tib. *rdo rje 'chang*. Vajradhara is said to have passed on the *mahāmudrā* teachings to Tilopa. He is also considered the primordial Buddha (Skt. *ādibuddha*) by the bKa' brgyud sect and the other *gsar ma* sects; see Buswell and Lopez 2014, 954.

⁸⁶ Tib. *dbang phyug*. In the translation, it is assumed that this is short for *rnal 'byor pa'i dbang phyug*, a common epithet of Mi la ras pa.

⁸⁷ A name of sGam po pa; see Martin 1983–2018.

⁸⁸ Obviously, when composing this Si tu Paṅ chen was not aware that his disciple 'Be lo would later write an addendum to his *gser 'phreng* containing the liberation stories of those masters.

⁸⁹ Again, sGam po pa is referred to by *snyi ba chen po*, where *snyi ba* is the name of his paternal family lineage (*gdungs rus*).

⁹⁰ Tib. *kham pa dbu se*, a reference to the First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa.

⁹¹ The ordination name of the First Karma pa is Śrī Dharmakīrti (Tib. *dpal chos kyi grags pa*); see Kersten 2018, 84.

⁹² Tib. *paṅ chen shākya shrī*. Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127–1225); see Gardner 2011.

⁹³ Also known as *zhang g.yu brag pa brtson 'grus grags pa* (1123–1193), see Martin 2008.

will appear in the future, each time passing through the highest emanation of the Great Compassionate One⁹⁴, a great wave of benefit for beings is created." According to this prophecy, [he] is widely known as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the Lord of the World. Hence, all bodhisattvas of the Fortunate Eon, through [their activities] in previous immeasurable eons, will attain enlightenment, and Avalokiteśvara and he himself will be inseparable.

Therefore, how could even just a part of the profound and extensive liberation stories of that kind possibly be told by someone?

Notwithstanding, regarding the disciples in saṃsāra⁹⁵, what [I] will recount [in the following is] in accordance with the syllables of the liberation stories [I] heard—[be they] only parts that emerge in whatever small number.

6.4 *Si tu Paṇ chen's Epilogue*

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 256r, l. 3 (p. 605)]

'dir smras pa

*'dren pa mnyam med bu ram shing pa yis/
/jig rten gsum gyi 'gro rnam chos kyi sgo/
/grangs med bdud rtsi'i dga' ston sbyin mdzad nas/
/thar dang thams cad mkhyen pa'i lam la sbyor/
/der brten zab dang g.yo ba med pa'i dpal/
/rin chen 'byung gnas las 'ongs gangs can gyi/
/dge legs kar brgyud yid bzhin dbang gi phreng/
/thub bstan gsal ba'i rgyan du 'bar gyur cig/*

[*Si tu Paṇ chen's*] Epilogue:⁹⁶

The Unequaled Guide, the Sugar-Caner / Śākya⁹⁷,
Gave the feast of nectar, the innumerable doors of the Dharma,
To the beings of the three worlds.
Now, engage in the path of liberation and omniscience!

Based on that, may the fortune of the Land of Snow—
That has come from the glorious Ratnasambhava who is excellent
and unwavering—,

⁹⁴ Epithet of Avalokiteśvara.

⁹⁵ Lit. "ones to be tamed who see this side."

⁹⁶ Tib. *'dir smras pa* indicates that the author would like to add some words of his own. Here rendered freely.

⁹⁷ Tib. *bu ram shing pa* means sugar-caner. It is a literal translation of śākya, the name of the Buddha's clan, and hence an epithet of the Buddha (see Duff 2009, *bu ram shing pa*).

The wish-fulfilling Karma bKa' brgyud,⁹⁸ the garland of the Lords [of Conquerors]⁹⁹
Shine as an ornament of the luminous teachings of the Buddha.¹⁰⁰

6.5 Dedication (End of Volume 11)

[SX1, vol. 11, fol. 341v, l. 6 (p. 776)]

gu nas lan gcig zhuis so/ maṅgalam//

Through merit(?), [may all be] granted(?) at once! [May it be] auspicious!¹⁰¹

6.6 Title of Volume 12

[SX1, vol. 12, fol. 1r (p. 1)]

sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba zhes bya ba'i pusta ka phyi ma'o//

Final Volume of the “Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā:” All-Encompassing [Collection of] Liberation Stories of the Precious Chain of Transmission of the Practice Lineage Karma Kaṃ tshang¹⁰²

6.7 'Be lo Tshe dbang's Epilogue

[SX1, vol. 12, fol. 349v, l. 7 (p. 698)]

'dir smras pa/

mthong na dga' bskyed pad dkar tshal la 'khu/

/myong bas bde thob bdud rtsi'i rgya mtshor mtshungs/

/thob rnam rnam dkar phun tshogs nor bu'i spun/

/dam pa rnam kyi rnam thar bsngags 'os byas/

/bdud rtsi nyid kyang gtan gyi'ang bde thob cig/

/dpag bsam nyid kyang mchog gi'ang [fol. 350r] 'bras ster zhing/

/zla ba nyid kyang nang gi'ang mun sel ba'i/

/bka' brgyud rnam thar rab 'byams 'di sgrub byas/

/btsun pas ma bcings mkhas pas ma dregs shing/

⁹⁸ Tib. *kar brgyud*. According to Yísün 1985, s.v. *kar brgyud*, short for *karma bka' brgyud*. Probably used here to fit the meter.

⁹⁹ Tib. *dbang gi phreng*, lit. “powerful garland” or “garland of powerful ones.” Here, I interpreted *dbang* as an abbreviation of *rgyal dbang*, a title often used for the Karma pas meaning “Lord of the Conquerors.”

¹⁰⁰ After this passage, 'Be lo Tshe dbang continues the work and jumps directly into the next life story without any further introduction to his part.

¹⁰¹ Other than this, the first volume (vol. 11) bears no final words. It ends with the liberation story of Sangs rgyas mnyan pa Grub thob bKra shis dpal 'byor.

¹⁰² The second volume (vol. 12) has no separate introduction. It starts directly with the liberation story of Zha lu Lo chen Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527).

/grub kyang ma 'chol thub bstan yongs kyi bshes/
 /sman kyang re min 'bar yang mi bsreg pa'i/
 /bka' brgyud nyin mor byed pa'i spun zlar rtogs/
 /de ltar bsngags 'os rnam thar yi ge'i gzugs/
 /gling bzhi'i 'jig rten rnams su rab 'khod pa/
 /kun tu lta phyir snang byed bdag po zung/
 /nyin dang mtshan du res mos nyul min nam/
 /rje yi zhal chab zogs ma¹⁰³'i zer/
 /kho bo'i snying la 'phos pa'i mtshos/
 /chu gter rnam bzhi rmig rjes chu'i/
 /gcung du bya byed bral bas bkod//

['Be lo Tshe dbangs] Epilogue¹⁰⁴

Created in a beautiful form, [this work] vies with the white lotus in the thicket.

[It] is like the bliss attained through tasting in the ocean of nectar. The abundance [of] virtuous attainments [is] the sibling of the jewel. [In this way,] the praiseworthy liberation stories of the authentic ones were composed.

Do also plant this ever-lasting bliss [of] this very nectar [yourself]! Granting even the supreme fruit [of] the wish-fulfilling [tree] itself and

Dispelling even the darkness inherent in the very night-time (*lit.* moon)

This all-encompassing [collection of] bKa' brgyud liberation stories was accomplished.

[It] is not restricted by piety, neither is [it] puffed up by learnedness, Nor crazed by accomplishment; [it] accords with the entirety of the Buddha's teachings.

Likewise, [it] is not some kind of medicine.

Blazing forth without incinerating, the bKa' brgyud are perceived as the sibling of the sun.

In that way, [this work is] praiseworthy. The lettering style [of] the liberation stories

Is labeled "supreme" in the worlds of the four continents.

¹⁰³ SX1: *zeg ma*, here emended to *zogs ma*.

¹⁰⁴ Tib. 'dir *smras pa* indicates that the author would like to add some words of his own. Here rendered freely.

In order to read [it] entirely, follow the ruler [who is] the sun.¹⁰⁵
Does [it/he] not wander about alternatingly day and night?

[Through] the ray of droplets [of] the master's spittle—
Through [this] lake, which was transferred into my heart—
The four seas were arranged effortlessly
In the little sibling of a hoof-print's puddle.

6.8 'Be lo Tshe dbang's Colophon

[SX1, vol. 12, fol. 350r, l. 3 (p. 699)]

zhes pa kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud rim byon gser gyi phreng ba slob ma'i tshogs dang bcas pa'i rnam thar mdo tshang zhig brtsam dgos zhes dpal rig pa 'dzin pa chen po tshe dbang nor bus bkas bskul te rje dus gsum mkhyen pa nas karma pa lnga pa de bzhin gshegs pa dang slob ma'i tshogs rnams las mi nyag rtogs ldan grags pa rin chen yan gyi rnam thar rnams/ rje bla ma nyid kyis ljags brtsams gnang grub cing/

de 'phros rma se rtogs ldan dang/ rje drug pa mthong ba don ldan nas 'jam mgon bstan pa'i nyin byed slob ma'i tshogs dang bcas pa yan gyi rnam thar dang bka' babs chen po bzhi dang dpal te lo pa dang nā ro mar mi dwags¹⁰⁶ gsum bcas kyi rnam thar dang bcas pa/ nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba zhes bya ba 'di yang/

rje de nyid kyis zhabs pad la reg pa'i rgyal khams pa karma tshe dbang kun khyab kyis rab byung bcu gsum pa'i yid srub ces pa shing mo lug lo'i cho 'phrul zla ba'i yar tshes bcu gsum nyin/ sa la spyod pa'i dga' ldan shar dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling gi gzim sbug yid dga' chos 'dzin gyi seng ge'i khri drung du rdzogs par sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni rim gro pa karma legs bshad kyis bgyis pa'i legs byas 'dis/

bla ma mchog gi thugs dgongs yongs su rdzogs pa dang/ rgyal bstan spyi dang nges don gyi bstan pa rin po che phyogs dus kun tu dar zhing rgyas la

¹⁰⁵ Tib. *snang byed*. This term literally means “that which illuminates” or “the illuminator” and is a poetical reference to one of four things: 1) sun (*nyi ma*), 2) eye (*mig*), 3) light rays (*'od zer pyi*), 4) fire (*me*); see Yísūn 1985, s.v. *snang byed*. The subsequent line supports the reading as “sun.” This is also true for the broader context; in the preceding stanza the bKa' brgyud are called the “sibling of the sun” (*nyin mor byed pa'i spun zla*). Taking this into account, the term “ruler” (*bdag po*), which is an apposition (here rendered as a relative clause) to the “sun” in the line at hand might well be a reference to the bKa' brgyud masters. In that sense, the verse line conveys this trivial meaning that one needs daylight or some other source of light to read, but also the more profound meaning that one should follow a spiritual master. Likewise, the subsequent line could have that double meaning that bKa' brgyud masters such as the Karma pa travel around day and night and that the sun rises and sets and through that creates day and night. Some ambiguity and allusion might well be intended and makes translation challenging.

¹⁰⁶ SX1: *dag*, emended to *dwags*.

yun ring du gnas pa dang bdag dang mtha' yas pa'i sems can thams cad bka' brgyud rin po che'i go 'phang myur du thob pa'i rgyur gyur cig/

[Be lo Tshe dbang's] Colophon

The glorious great knowledge-holder (*dpal rig pa 'dzin pa chen po*) Tshe dbang nor bu¹⁰⁷ encouraged [the composition of this work] by saying: "A complete collection [of] the liberation stories of the succession [of] the Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud, the golden garland, together with the assembly of students needs to be composed."

[Starting] from the master Dus gsum mkhyen pa,¹⁰⁸ the composition of the liberation stories before Mi nyag rTogs ldan Grags pa rin chen within [the section covering] the Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa, and the assembly of [his] students was accomplished by [my] venerable teacher himself.¹⁰⁹

The remainder after rMa se rTogs ldan¹¹⁰ and [starting] from the Sixth [Karma pa] mThong ba don ldan, the liberation stories before [the section covering] 'Jam mgon bStan pa'i nyin byed¹¹¹ and the assembly of [his] students, together with the liberation stories of the [holders of] the four transmissions,¹¹² of the glorious Tilopa and Nāropa, as well as of Mar pa, Mi la ras pa and sGam po pa, also known as the "Moonstone Water-Crystal Mālā," was completed by Tshe dbang kun khyab, the vagabond who touched the lotus feet of that very master.

[The time of completion was] in the daytime of the thirteenth day of the first month of the female wood-sheep year (1775) of the thirteenth sexagenary cycle, [while] the place [of completion was] near the Tuṣita¹¹³ lion-throne, in the interior of the [monastery] Thub bstan chos

¹⁰⁷ BDRC, P676: Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755) was a teacher of Si tu Paṅ chen. For a short life story, see Garry 2007. His life is also covered in the KSP (SX2, vol. 2, 664–672).

¹⁰⁸ BDRC, P1400: First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193). For a short life story, see Gardner 2009. For a PhD about his life, see Kersten 2018.

¹⁰⁹ I.e., the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas.

¹¹⁰ BDRC, P1008: Mi nyag rTogs ldan bLo gros rin chen (1386–1423).

¹¹¹ I.e., the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas. According to Duff 2009, s.v. *bstan pa'i nyin byed*, it means "Sun Illumining the Teaching" and is "part of the longer name karma bstan pa'i nyin byed gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba which is ordination name of Situ Rinpoche commonly known as si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas."

¹¹² See footnote 84.

¹¹³ Tib. *yid dga' chos 'dzin*, another name for *dga' ldan* (Tuṣita); see BDRC, T2351.

'khor gling¹¹⁴ [in] dPal spungs east of sPyod pa'i dga' ldan(?).¹¹⁵

Through the excellent work done by the scribe who wrote [it] down,¹¹⁶ the principal attendant Karma legs bshad, the intent of the supreme lama¹¹⁷ was completely perfected.¹¹⁸ [May] the Buddhist doctrine in general and the precious teaching of the definitive meaning disseminate into all times and directions and flourish.¹¹⁹

May [this] become the cause of quickly attaining the state of the precious bKa' brgyud [masters]¹²⁰ [for] all sentient beings beyond limits and [for] myself, who have [all] existed for a long time.

6.9 Dedication (End of Volume 12)

sarva maṅga lam// gu ṅas lan gcig zhus so//

May it all be auspicious! Through merit(?), [may all be] granted(?) at once!

7. Appendix C: Outline of 'Be lo's Addendum (*Kha skong*)

This appendix presents the outline of 'Be lo Tshe dbang's addendum. Its partition into sections and sub-sections is a combination of the table of contents of the textual witness SB1 and the outline provided by BDRC (W26630) for the textual witness SX1.¹²¹ The granularity tended to be a bit higher in SB1. As the original work does not explicitly provide an outline or a hierarchy of the sections and sub-sections, I added the numbering myself, and partly deviated from the rather flat and at times inconsistent hierarchy given in the two sources mentioned. For

¹¹⁴ Monastery founded by Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas in 1717 and associated with the Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud tradition; see BDRC, G36.

¹¹⁵ It is not clear which place sPyod pa'i dga' ldan refers to or what else it could mean. It is unlikely though that it refers to the famous dGa' ldan monastery, as this is far away in central Tibet.

¹¹⁶ In Tibetan the whole phrase preceding this (here already split into two English sentences) is adverbialized by nominalizing the verb and adding a *la don* particle (...*rdzog par*). However, to keep it legible in English, a new sentence is started here.

¹¹⁷ I.e., the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas.

¹¹⁸ The Tibetan sentence continues and is connected to what follows via *pa dang* indicating a temporal sequence. However, to keep the sentences legible in English, it is broken up here.

¹¹⁹ Again, in Tibetan the sentence continues and is connected to what follows via *la*, which here just acts as a loose clause connector ("and"). Therefore, it is easy to break it into two sentences in English. Nevertheless, the imperative marker *cig* ("may") at the end of the sentence refers to both clauses and therefore had to be repeated in both English sentences.

¹²⁰ Here *bka' brgyud rin po che* might refer to the bKa' brgyud masters described in this work, but it could also be a reference to the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas.

¹²¹ In the xylograph edition, the paragraphs about the different persons are usually separated via a sbrul shad ("snake stroke").

the first three sections the hierarchy was quite clear by the different topics. Afterward, the text deals with the life stories of the lineage. Here, I put the main lineage holders (Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, sGam po pa) as sections and their disciples as sub-sections, though this is arguable, as they were also disciples of one another. Obviously, there are several ways of slicing the cake. The relationship between teacher and disciple could more appropriately be represented in a tree, rather than a table. However, here the focus was more on providing the content of the work than to extract the relationships from it, hence the table.

Apart from the section titles in Tibetan and English translation, the table also provides references to the BDRC database for the persons mentioned, if they could be identified. The birth and death dates mentioned for some are mainly from there. It also indicates the page or folio numbers of SB1 and SX1. In order to save space, the notation in the table is highly abbreviated and adheres to the following conventions: "Volume" is abbreviated to "v." Page and folio are without any indication; in case of folios the number is followed by r for *recto* (front side) or v for *verso* (back side).

Some of the sub-sections or life stories are rather short. The latter often extend only to one or two sentences. Nevertheless, it appeared useful to me to list the names here. As an optical indication of brevity (apart from the page numbers given), titles of sections that are shorter than one folio were rendered in gray font color. Sections that are considered paratext are underlined.

Section	Title	BDRC	SB1	SX1
0	<u>Expression of worship</u> <i>mchod brjod</i>	N/A	v. 1, 3	v. 11, 1v (2)
1	The liberation story of the glorious great Vajradhara, the appearance of the inconceivable secret wisdom <i>dpal rdo rje 'chang chen po'i rnam thar ye shes gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i snang ba/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 3	v. 11, 2r (3)
1.1	Section 1—The inconceivable manifestations of the Bhagavan himself <i>gcig/ bcom ldan 'di nyid kyi rol ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i tshul</i>	N/A	v. 1, 3	v. 11, 2r (3)
1.2	Section 2—The enlightened activity of the <i>dharmakāya</i> <i>gnyis/ chos sku'i mdzad 'phrin gyi tshul</i>	N/A	v. 1, 3	v. 11, 3r (5)
1.3	Section 3—The enlightened activity of the <i>sambhogakāya</i> <i>gsam/ longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku'i mdzad 'phrin gyi tshul</i>	N/A	v. 1, 7	v. 11, 3v (6)
1.4	Section 4—The enlightened activity of the <i>nirmāṇakāya</i> <i>bzhi/ sprul pa'i sku'i mdzad 'phrin gyi tshul</i>	N/A	v. 1, 8	v. 11, 4v (8)

1.5	Section 5—Entering the enlightened activity <i>lngal phrin las la 'jug pa'i tshul</i>	N/A	v. 1, 11	v. 11, 8r (15)
2	Expression of worship toward the garland of ornaments of highest accomplishment—the exceedingly brilliant liberation stories of the precious bKa' brgyud <i>bka' brgyud rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab gsal mchog tu grub pa rgyan gyi phreng ba las mchod brjod</i>	N/A	v. 1, 18	v. 11, 8v (16)
3	The history of the four transmissions <i>bka' babs bzhi'i lo rgyus/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 26	v. 11, 10v (20)
3.1	The first transmission: the oral instruction [lineage] of the Great Seal (<i>mahāmudrā</i>) <i>bka' babs dang po/ phyag rgya chen po'i gdams ngag</i>	N/A	v. 1, 26	v. 11, 10v (20)
3.1.1	The great Ācārya, the Brahmin Rāhulaśrībhadrā <i>slob dpon chen po bram ze sgra gcan 'dzin/</i>	P3374	v. 1, 26	v. 11, 10v (20)
3.1.2	Ācārya Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250 CE) <i>slob dpon klu sgrub/</i>	P4954	v. 1, 28	v. 11, 11v (22)
3.1.3	Ācārya Śāvarīpa <i>slob dpon sha bā ri/</i>	P3277	v. 1, 31	v. 11, 12v (24)
3.1.4	Ācārya Lūyīpa <i>slob dpon lū yi pa/</i>	P8891	v. 1, 32	v. 11, 13r (25)
3.1.5	Prabhu Maitrīpa/ Advayavajra (c. 1007–1085) <i>mnga' bdaḡ mai tri pa/</i>	P44	v. 1, 33	v. 11, 13v (26)
3.1.6	Ācārya Āryadeva (b. 3rd cent.) <i>slob dpon aṅya de ba/</i>	P7401	v. 1, 34	v. 11, 14r (27)
3.1.7	Ācārya Aśvaghōṣa (c. 80–150 CE) <i>slob dpon rta dbyangs/</i>	P7612	v. 1, 34	v. 11, 14r (27)
3.1.8	The glorious Candrakīrti (c. 600–650) <i>dpal ldan zla ba grags pa/</i>	P5931, P5782	v. 1, 35	v. 11, 14r (27)
3.2	The second transmission: the transmission of Inner Heat (<i>caṅḍālī</i>) <i>bka' babs gnyis pa/gtum mo'i bka' babs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 36	v. 11, 14v (28)
3.2.1	Ācārya Virūpa <i>slob dpon bi rū pa/</i>	P3293	v. 1, 36	v. 11, 14v (28)
3.2.2	Kṛṣṇācārya/ Kāṅha(?) who appeared in Oḍḍiyāna <i>o rgyan du byung ba'i nag po bi rū pa/</i>	P3299	v. 1, 37	v. 11, 15v (30)
3.2.3	Ḍombi Heruka <i>ḍombi he ru ka/</i>	P3292	v. 1, 38	v. 11, 15v (30)
3.3	The third transmission: the transmission of Clear Light (<i>prabhāsvara</i>) <i>bka' babs gsun pa/od gsal gyi bka' babs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 40	v. 11, 16v (32)

3.3.1	Ācārya Viṇapa <i>slob dpon bī ṅa pa/</i>	P9849	v. 1, 40	v. 11, 16v (32)
3.3.2	Vilavavajra <i>bi la sya badzra/</i>	P0RK10 36	v. 1, 40	v. 11, 16v (32)
3.3.3	Vajraghaṅṅa <i>rdo rje dril bu pa/</i>	P8895, P0AT03 77	v. 1, 40	v. 11, 17r (33)
3.3.4	Ācārya Lavapa/ Kambalapāda <i>slob dpon la ba pa/</i>	P7752	v. 1, 42	v. 11, 17r (33)
3.3.5	Siddha Jālandharapāda <i>grub thob dza landha ri pa/</i>	P4CZ10 551	v. 1, 43	v. 11, 18r (35)
3.3.6	Kṛṣṇācārya/ Kāṅha <i>nag po spyod pa/</i>	P3299	v. 1, 46	v. 11, 19r (37)
3.3.7	Ācārya Guhyapa (=Guhyabodhi?) <i>slob dpon grags pa bzang po'am gu hya pa/</i>	P8LS15 672	v. 1, 50	v. 11, 21r (41)
3.3.8	Vijayapāda <i>rnam rgyal zhabs/</i>	P0RK46 5	v. 1, 50	v. 11, 21r (41)
3.4	The fourth transmission: the transmission of Sexual Union (<i>karmamudrā</i>) <i>bka' babs bzhi pa/ las kyi phyag rgya'i bka' babs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 50	v. 11, 21r (41)
3.4.1	Indrabhūti, the King of Oḍḍiyāna <i>o rgyan gyi rgyal po indra bhū ti/</i>	P2CN5 74	v. 1, 50	v. 11, 21r (41)
3.4.2	The great Ācārya Padmavajra <i>slob dpon padma badzra chen po/</i>	P4CZ10 536	v. 1, 52	v. 11, 21v (42)
3.4.3	Anangavajra <i>yan lag med pa'i rdo rje/</i>	P4CZ10 555	v. 1, 52	v. 11, 21v (42)
3.4.4	Ācārya Saroruhavajra/ Padmavajra <i>slob dpon mtsho skyes/</i>	P8335	v. 1, 52	v. 11, 22r (43)
3.4.5	Ācārya Kukurīpa <i>slob dpon ku ku ri pa/</i>	P4CZ15 182	v. 1, 54	v. 11, 22v (44)
4	The story of Ācārya Tilopa (988–1069) <i>slob dpon tai lo pa'i lo rgyus/</i>	P4024	v. 1, 57	v. 11, 23v (45)
5	The story of Ārya Nāropa (1012–1016–1100) <i>jo bo nā ro ta pa'i lo rgyus/</i>	P3085	v. 1, 63	v. 11, 24v (48)
5.1	Ācārya Śāntipa/ Ratnākaraśānti (970–1045) <i>slob dpon shānti pa/</i>	P00EGS 1016642	v. 1, 70	v. 11, 27v (54)
6	The story of Mar pa Lotsāwa Chos kyi blo gros (1002~1012–1097~1100) from lHo brag <i>lho brag mar pa lo tsā chos kyi blo gros kyi lo rgyus/</i>	P2636	v. 1, 73	v. 11, 28r (55)
6.1	His son Dar ma mDo sde <i>sras dar ma mdo sde/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 86	v. 11, 33v (66)

6.2	rNgog Chos sku rdo rje (1023–1090) <i>rngog chos sku rdo rjel</i>	P0RK12 89	v. 1, 87	v. 11, 34r (67)
6.3	Mes ston Tshon po (b. 11th cent.) <i>mes ston tshon po/</i>	P2CN5	v. 1, 88	v. 11, 34r (67)
6.4	mTshur ston dBang nge (b. 11th cent.) <i>mtshur ston dbang nge/</i>	P3074	v. 1, 88	v. 11, 34v (68)
6.5	The seven sons of Mar pa <i>mar pa'i sku la 'khrungs pa'i sras bdun/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 89	v. 11, 34v (68)
7	The story of the Venerable Mi la ras pa (1040–1123) <i>rje btsun mi la ras pa'i lo rgyus/</i>	P1853	v. 1, 93	v. 11, 35r (69)
7.1	Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa (1085–1161) <i>ras chung rdo rje grags pa/</i>	P4278	v. 1, 107	v. 11, 41r (81)
8	sGam po pa Dwags po lha rje bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153) <i>rje zla 'od gzhon nu/</i>	P1844	v. 1, 113	v. 11, 42r (83)
8.1	sGom po Tshul khrims snying po (1116–1169) <i>sgom po tshul khrims snying po/</i>	P1845	v. 1, 122	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.2	Ba' rom pa Dar ma dbang phyug (1127–1194~1200) <i>'ba' rom pa dar ma dbang phyug</i>	P1856	v. 1, 123	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.3	Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193) <i>rje karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa/</i>	P1400	v. 1, 123	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4	Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170) <i>dpal phag mo gru pa/</i>	P127	v. 1, 123	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.1	sMar pa Grub thob Shes rab ye shes (1135–1203) <i>'gro mgon smar pa/</i>	P1GS56 176	v. 1, 123	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.2	'Yel pa Ye shes brtsegs pa (1134–1194) <i>'gro mgon yel pa/</i>	P5132	v. 1, 123	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.3	'Bri gung sKyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217) <i>skyu ra rin po che/</i>	P16	v. 1, 123	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.4	sTag lung thang pa bKra shis dpal (1142–1209~1210) <i>stag lung thang pa/</i>	P2649	v. 1, 124	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.5	Zwa ra skal ldan Ye shes seng ge (1168–1207) <i>za ra ba skal ldan ye shes seng ge/</i>	P4329	v. 1, 124	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.6	Gyer sgom Tshul khrims seng ge (1144–1204) <i>gyer sgom chen po/</i>	P00AG 02484	v. 1, 124	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.7	rGyal tsha Rin chen mgon (1118–1195) <i>rgyal tsha rin mgon/</i>	P1508	v. 1, 124	v. 11, 46r (92)
8.4.8	Grub thob Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1188) <i>grub thob gling ras/</i>	P910	v. 1, 124	v. 11, 47r (93)

Table 6: Outline of 'Be lo's addendum

8. Appendix D: Outline of the Main Text (Si tu and 'Be lo)

This appendix presents the outline of the main text started by Si tu Paṅ chen and completed by 'Be lo Tshe dbang. Its partition into sections and sub-sections is a combination of the table of contents of the textual witness SB1, the outline provided by BDRC (W26630) for the textual witness SX1, and the table of contents inserted into the block print edition SX2.¹²² For the first xylograph volume (vol. 11) the granularity is clearly highest in SB1. For the second volume (vol. 12), all three lists exhibit similar granularity with occasional small differences. The outlines in SX1 and SX2 are almost flat, while SB1 tries to provide different levels of hierarchy, where disciples of the Karm pa are often sub-sections, but if the life story of a disciple extends to a significant number of pages, it is usually taken as a new section. Sometimes, this seemed a bit arbitrary to me. Therefore, I put the different Karma pas on the highest level as sections and their students as subsections irrespective of how long their life story is. Sometimes, there are sub-subsections if it was obvious that it is about a disciple's disciple. Obviously, there are several ways of slicing the cake. The relationship between teacher and disciple could more appropriately be represented in a tree, rather than a table and even that can become somewhat unclear in case of multiple teachers. However, here the focus was more on providing the content of the work than to extract the relationships from it, hence my arrangement of the table.

Apart from the section titles in Tibetan and English translation, the table also provides references to the BDRC database for the persons mentioned, if they could be identified. The birth and death dates mentioned for some are mainly from there. In fewer cases, SX1 and SX2 also indicated dates in their tables that usually coincided with the ones found on BDRC. The table presented here also indicates the page or folio numbers of SB1, SX1 and SX2. In order to save space, the notation in the table is highly abbreviated and adheres to the following conventions: "Volume" is abbreviated to "v." Page and folio are without any indication; in case of folios the number is followed by *r* for *recto* (front side) or *v* for *verso* (back side).

Some of the sub-sections or life stories are rather short. The latter often only extend to one or two sentences. Nevertheless, it appeared useful to me to list the names here. As an optical indication of brevity (apart from the page numbers given), titles of sections that are shorter than one folio were rendered in gray font color. To quickly identify

¹²² In the xylograph edition, the paragraphs about the different persons are separated via a *sbrul shad* ("snake stroke"), no matter if that person is just treated in one line or in dozens of folios.

extensive life stories, sections that amount to at least twenty folios are set into bold face. Sections that are considered paratext are underlined.

For each section, the title is provided in English and in Tibetan (Wylie). The Tibetan part is in most cases a copy of the table of contents entry in SB1, which in turn is usually how the name is given in the text itself (SX1 and SX2 list the names often in a more “normalized” or complete form which signifies some effort to identify the person). In the “English translation,” the name is rather given in the form that is found in BDRC, if identified, which at times can differ significantly, especially in case of multiple variant names. Furthermore, some capitalization of root letters was applied, and the birth and death dates added where available.

Section	Title	BDRC	SB1	SX1	SX2
0	<u>Introduction</u> <i>ched brjod</i>	N/A	v. 1, 129	v. 11, 1v (96)	v. 1, 1v (2)
1	First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa Chos kyi grags pa (1110–1193) <i>karma pa sku phreng dang po/ dus gsum mkhyen pa/ chos kyi grags pa/</i>	P1400	v. 1, 131	v. 11, 2v (98)	v. 1, 2v (4)
1.1	List of disciples of Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa <i>karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 171	v. 11, 22v (138)	v. 1, 22v (44)
1.2	Dwags po 'Dul 'dzin (1134–1218) <i>dwags po 'dul 'dzin/</i>	P1850	v. 1, 173	v. 11, 23r (139)	v. 1, 23r (45)
1.3	La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub (b. 12th cent.) <i>lho la yag pa/</i>	P7589	v. 1, 173	v. 11, 23r (139)	v. 1, 23r (45)
1.4	Grub thob Gling ras Padma rdo rje (1128–1188) <i>grub thob gling ras pa/</i>	P910	v. 1, 173	v. 11, 23v (140)	v. 1, 23v (46)
1.5	Grub thob Man lung Gu ru (b. 1239) ? <i>grub chen man lung pa/</i>	P5291	v. 1, 175	v. 11, 24r (141)	v. 1, 24r (47)
1.6	Kaḥ thog pa Dam pa bde gshegs (1122–1192) <i>rgyal ba kaḥ thog pa/</i>	P1314	v. 1, 176	v. 11, 24r (141)	v. 1, 24r (47)
1.7	Nam mkha' 'od (1133–1199) <i>nam mkha' 'od/</i>	P6777	v. 1, 176	v. 11, 24r (141)	v. 1, 24r (47)
1.8	Chos rje sGang pa Rin chen 'od zer (1175–1249–1259) <i>chos rje gya ba gangs par grags pa/</i>	P1AG 4	v. 1, 179	v. 11, 25v (144)	v. 1, 25v (50)
1.8.1	His student bSam gling pa (1189–1260) <i>de'i slob ma bsam gling rin po che/</i>	P4206	v. 1, 179	v. 11, 25v (144)	v. 1, 25v (50)
1.9	Sangs rgyas rGya sgom (b. 12th cent.) ? <i>rgya sgom ye shes 'od/</i>	P4326	v. 1, 180	v. 11, 26r (145)	v. 1, 26r (51)
1.10	sMon lam 'Od zer (b. 13th cent.) ? <i>smon lam 'od/</i>	P00K G0380 8	v. 1, 180	v. 11, 26r (145)	v. 1, 26r (51)

1.11	mTha' mi Tshul khrims 'od <i>mtha' mi tshul khrims 'od/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 180	v. 11, 26r (145)	v. 1, 26r (51)
1.12	lHa nang pa Sangs rgyas rin chen (1164–1224) ? <i>lde chung sangs rgyas rin chen/</i>	P15	v. 1, 180	v. 11, 26r (145)	v. 1, 26r (51)
1.13	'Ba' tsha sTag del ba <i>'ba' tsha stag del ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 180	v. 11, 26r (145)	v. 1, 26r (51)
1.14	dBra sgom Chos brtson <i>dbra sgom chos brtson/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 181	v. 11, 26v (146)	v. 1, 26v (52)
1.15	gTsang po pa dKon mchog seng ge (d. 1218) <i>gtsang pa bkra shis sam gtsang po ba dkon mchog seng ge/</i>	P1AG 59	v. 1, 181	v. 11, 26v (146)	v. 1, 26v (52)
1.16	lHa rje Me mchod pa/ <i>lha rje me mchod pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 181	v. 11, 26v (146)	v. 1, 26v (52)
1.17	Rong po kham sGsum grags <i>rong po khams gsum grags/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 182	v. 11, 26v (146)	v. 1, 26v (52)
1.18	sGang lo tsā ba <i>sgang lo tsā ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 182	v. 11, 27r (147)	v. 1, 27r (53)
1.19	rMa bya Ras pa <i>rma bya ras pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 182	v. 11, 27r (147)	v. 1, 27r (53)
1.20	dGe bshes Na bun pa <i>dge bshes na bun pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 182	v. 11, 27r (147)	v. 1, 27r (53)
1.21	Khams pa dBang rdor <i>khams pa dbang rdor/</i>	P8LS1 3820	v. 1, 182	v. 11, 27r (147)	v. 1, 27r (53)
1.22	Gru gu ras pa 'Gro mgon ras chen (b. 12th) <i>rje 'gro mgon ras chen/</i>	P3CN 20851	v. 1, 185	v. 11, 27r (147)	v. 1, 27r (53)
1.23	sPom brag pa bSod nams rdo rje (1170–1249) <i>rin po che spom brag pa/</i>	P2438	v. 1, 207	v. 11, 34v (162)	v. 1, 34v (68)
2	Second Karma pa, Karma Pakṣi (1204–1206–1283) <i>karma pa sku phreng gnyis pa karma pakshi/</i>	P1487	v. 1, 217	v. 11, 38r (169)	v. 1, 38r (75)
2.1	List of disciples of the great Siddha Karma Pakṣi <i>grub thob chen po karma pa'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 307	v. 11, 80r (253)	v. 1, 80r (159)
2.2	rGyal po Mo gor gan <i>rgyal po mo gor gan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80r (253)	v. 1, 80r (159)
2.3	rNal 'byor Ye shes dbang phyug <i>rnal 'byor ye shes dbang phyug/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80r (253)	v. 1, 80r (159)
2.4	dBon por gTogs pa'i nye gnas Rin chen dpal <i>dbon por gtogs pa'i nye gnas rin chen dpal/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80r (253)	v. 1, 80r (159)
2.5	Zhwa dkar Thugs rje ye shes <i>zhwa dkar thugs rje ye shes/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.6	Chos rje Zhwa dmar Thugs rje nyi ma <i>chos rje zhwa dmar thugs rje nyi ma/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)

2.7	Chos rje Zhwa ser Thugs rje rgyal mtshan/ <i>chos rje zhwa ser thugs rje rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.8	rTogs ldan G.yag mgo ba <i>rtogs ldan g.yag mgo ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 308	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.9	rTogs ldan sTag mgo ba <i>rtogs ldan stag mgo ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.10	rTogs ldan gZig mgo ba <i>rtogs ldan gzig mgo ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.11	gNam mtsho Ras pa Sangs rgyas nyi ma <i>gnam mtsho ras pa sangs rgyas nyi ma/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.12	Tre bo Pho bong Ras pa <i>tre bo pho bong ras pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.13	Mi nyag Ati Yon tan grags <i>mi nyag a ti yon tan grags/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.14	mDog Śākya Byang chub <i>mdog shākya byang chub/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.15	A mye (grandfather) gNam thog pa Yab sras <i>a mye gnam thog pa yab sras/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.16	gNyan ras dGe 'dun 'bum <i>gnyan ras dge 'dun 'bum/</i>	P8LS1 5044	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.17	dBon po (nephew) bSod nams dpal <i>dbon po bsod nams dpal/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 309	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.18	'Jam dbyangs Blo gros seng ge <i>'jam dbyangs blo gros seng ge/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 310	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.19	dBon Rin po che <i>dbon rin po che/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 310	v. 11, 80v (254)	v. 1, 80v (160)
2.20	A dbang Ye shes dBang phyug <i>a dbang ye shes dbang phyug/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 310	v. 11, 81r (255)	v. 1, 81r (161)
2.21	Tshad ma Paṇḍita <i>tshad ma paṇḍita/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 310	v. 11, 81r (255)	v. 1, 81r (161)
2.22	Kheng Ye shes rgyal mtshan <i>kheng ye shes rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 310	v. 11, 81r (255)	v. 1, 81r (161)
2.23	rMa bya Byang chub brtson 'grus (d. 1185) <i>rma bya ras pa byang chub brtson 'grus/</i>	P1982	v. 1, 310	v. 11, 81r (255)	v. 1, 81r (161)
2.24	Lo sgom Zhig po ? <i>lo sgom/</i>	P8LS1 4071	v. 1, 311	v. 11, 81r (255)	v. 1, 81r (161)
2.25	bKra shis Grags pa (1200–1282) <i>bkra shis grags pa/</i>	P2169	v. 1, 311	v. 11, 81r (255)	v. 1, 81r (161)
2.26	O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1229~1230–1309) <i>grub thob o rgyan pa/</i>	P1448	v. 1, 315	v. 11, 81v (256)	v. 1, 81v (162)

2.26.1	List of disciples of O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal <i>grub chen o rgyan pa'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 340	v. 11, 92v (278)	v. 1, 92v (184)
3	Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339) <i>karma pa sku phreng gsum pa rang byung rdo rje/</i>	P66	v. 1, 345	v. 11, 92v (278)	v. 1, 92v (184)
3.1	List of disciples of Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje <i>karma pa gsum pa rang byung rdo rje'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 402	v. 11, 116r (325)	v. 1, 116r (231)
3.2	First Zhwa dmar pa, Grags pa seng ge (1283–1349) <i>zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa grags pa seng ge/</i>	P70	v. 1, 403	v. 11, 117r (327)	v. 1, 117r (233)
3.2.1	List of disciples of Zhwa dmar pa Grags pa seng ge <i>rje grags pa seng ge'i slob ma'i tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 439	v. 11, 132v (358)	v. 1, 132v (264)
3.3	rTogs ldan bSam gtan rin chen <i>rtogs ldan bsam gtan rin chen/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 439	v. 11, 133r (359)	v. 1, 133r (265)
3.4	mKhas grub Dar ma rgyal mtshan (b. 14th cent.) <i>rgyal ba ri khrod dar ma rgyal mtshan/</i>	P61	v. 1, 439	v. 11, 133r (359)	v. 1, 133r (265)
3.4.1	Bla ma bSod nams 'bum/ <i>bla ma bsod nams 'bum/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 443	v. 11, 134v (362)	v. 1, 134v (268)
3.5	rTogs ldan mGon po rgyal mtshan <i>rtogs ldan mgon po rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 443	v. 11, 134v (362)	v. 1, 134v (268)
3.6	khu yor rtogs ldan <i>khu yor rtogs ldan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 443	v. 11, 134v (362)	v. 1, 134v (268)
3.7	Shwa sgom gyi sprul pa rTogs ldan Khrag skyugs <i>shwa sgom gyi sprul pa rtogs ldan khrag skyugs/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 443	v. 11, 134v (362)	v. 1, 134v (268)
3.8	rTogs ldan Kre bo <i>rtogs ldan kre bo/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 443	v. 11, 134v (362)	v. 1, 134v (268)
3.9	Hor rTogs ldan <i>hor rtogs ldan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 443	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.10	rDza ras Byang chub rin chen <i>rdza ras byang chub rin chen/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.11	rDza ras gcig <i>rdza ras gcig/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.12	rTogs ldan Ye rgyal ba <i>rtogs ldan ye rgyal ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.13	lHa gzher rTogs ldan dBang phyug bzang po <i>lha gzher rtogs ldan dbang phyug bzang po/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.14	rTogs ldan mGon po ye shes <i>rtogs ldan mgon po ye shes/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.15	rTogs ldan Ye shes rgyal mtshan ? <i>nye gnas rngad mda' ba ye shes rgyal mtshan/</i>	P1480	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)

3.16	sTag zhig Tshul khrim s rGyal mtshan <i>stag zhig tshul khrim s rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.17	Nags mgo Rin 'byung ba <i>nags mgo rin 'byung ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 444	v. 11, 135r (363)	v. 1, 135r (269)
3.18	mKhas pa Shes rab rin chen <i>mkhas pa shes rab rin chen/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.19	Klong chen Rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308–1364) <i>rdzogs chen pa tshul blo/</i>	P1583	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.20	lDong ston Gzhon nu 'bum <i>ldong ston gzhon nu 'bum/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.21	Ninth 'Bri gung gDan rabs, rDo rje rin chen (1278–1314) ? <i>snyan snga rdor rin pa/</i>	P2225	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.22	Zha lu ba Chen po ? <i>zha lu ba che ba dharmal/</i>	P0RK1 314	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.23	sLob dpon Kun dga' 'od zer (b. 13th cent.) ? <i>rdza bar ba kun dga' 'od zer/</i>	P1587	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.24	mKhan chen Gro mo ba <i>mkhan chen gro mo ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 445	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.25	Bla ma Shes rab don grub <i>bla ma shes rab don grub/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 446	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.26	rGyal sras Kun dga' byams pa <i>rgyal sras kun dga' byams pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 446	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.27	sTon pa Kun dga' rgyal po (b. 13th cent.) ? <i>go shri kun dga' rgyal po/</i>	P2140	v. 1, 446	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.28	Tshal pa sMon lam rdo rje (1284–1347) <i>tshal pa'i drung chen smon lam rdo rje/</i>	P9825	v. 1, 446	v. 11, 135v (364)	v. 1, 135v (270)
3.29	rGya ston Kun dga' brtson 'grus (14th cent.) <i>rgya ston kun dga' brtson 'grus/</i>	P0RK1 101	v. 1, 447	v. 11, 136r (365)	v. 1, 136r (271)
3.30	Ne ring Rin po che Śākya mgon po/ <i>ne ring rin po che shākya mgon po/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 447	v. 11, 136r (365)	v. 1, 136r (271)
3.31	g.Yag sde Lo tsā ba bSod nams seng ge (b. 13th cent.) ? <i>g.yag sde paṅ chen/</i>	P2138	v. 1, 447	v. 11, 136r (365)	v. 1, 136r (271)
3.32	g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal ba (1284–1365) <i>rgyal ba g.yung ston dpal/</i>	P1454	v. 1, 453	v. 11, 137v (368)	v. 1, 137v (274)
4	Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383) <i>karma pa sku phreng bzhi pa rol pa'i rdo rje/</i>	P1456	v. 1, 503	v. 11, 161r (415)	v. 1, 161r (321)
4.1	List of disciples of Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje <i>karma pa rol pa'i rdo rje'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 578	v. 11, 198r (489)	v. 1, 198r (395)
4.2	Gu'i gung pa Rin chen dpal <i>gu'i gung pa rin chen dpal/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 579	v. 11, 198r (489)	v. 1, 198r (395)

4.3	mKhan chen mGo blon po <i>mkhan chen mgo blon po/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 580	v. 11, 198v (490)	v. 1, 198v (396)
4.4	mTshur phu Kun spangs pa <i>mtshur phu rin po che kun spangs pa kun dga' blo gros/</i>	P1482	v. 1, 580	v. 11, 198v (490)	v. 1, 198v (396)
4.5	Karma dKon mchog gzhon nu (b. 14th cent.) <i>mkhas pa chen po karma dkon gzhon/</i>	P1481	v. 1, 580	v. 11, 198v (490)	v. 1, 198v (396)
4.6	rTogs ldan Byang rgyal ba/ <i>rtogs ldan byang rgyal ba/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 580	v. 11, 199r (491)	v. 1, 199r (397)
4.7	'Be byams chos pa/ <i>'be byams chos pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 581	v. 11, 199r (491)	v. 1, 199r (397)
4.8	Second Gangs dkar bla ma, Rin chen bzang po (1317–1383) <i>rma se ston pa/</i>	P1824	v. 1, 581	v. 11, 199r (491)	v. 1, 199r (397)
4.9	rGya ston Chos kyi bzang po (15th cent.) <i>rgya ston chos kyi bzang po/</i>	P4CZ3 55839	v. 1, 581	v. 11, 199r (491)	v. 1, 199r (397)
4.10	Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419) <i>rje btsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa/</i>	P64	v. 1, 581	v. 11, 199r (491)	v. 1, 199r (397)
4.11	Second Zhwa dmar pa, mKha' spyod dbang po (1350–1405) <i>zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa gnyis pa mkha' spyod dbang po/</i>	P1413	v. 1, 581	v. 11, 199v (492)	v. 1, 199v (398)
4.11.1	List of disciples of Zhwa dmar pa, mKha' spyod dbang po <i>dpal mkha' spyod dbang po'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 1, 624	v. 11, 218r (529)	v. 1, 218r (435)
4.12	rDza dgon Kun spang pa <i>rdza dgon kun spang pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 624	v. 11, 218r (529)	v. 1, 218r (435)
4.13	bKa' bzhi pa Rin chen dpal (b. 14th cent.) <i>bka' bzhi pa rin chen dpal/</i>	P1414	v. 1, 624	v. 11, 218r (529)	v. 1, 218r (435)
4.14	Ri mi 'bab pa bSod nams rin chen (1362–1453) <i>chos rje ri mi 'babs pa/</i>	P4280	v. 1, 624	v. 11, 218r (529)	v. 1, 218r (435)
4.15	'Gor nyag rTogs ldan <i>'gor nyag rtogs ldan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 625	v. 11, 218v (530)	v. 1, 218v (436)
4.16	Sri dkar Sang she (b. 14th cent.) <i>sri dkar sangs she/</i>	P4189	v. 1, 625	v. 11, 218v (530)	v. 1, 218v (436)
4.17	lHa gzigs Rin chen rgyal mtshan (b. 14th cent.) <i>lha gzigs pa/</i>	P4151	v. 1, 625	v. 11, 218v (530)	v. 1, 218v (436)
4.18	'Khrul zhig bSod nams 'bum <i>'khrul zhig bsod nams 'bum/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 625	v. 11, 218v (530)	v. 1, 218v (436)
4.19	Bla ma Chos bzang pa <i>bla ma chos bzang pa/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 625	v. 11, 218v (530)	v. 1, 218v (436)
4.20	dGe slong dpon Grags pa rgyal mtshan <i>dge slong dpon grags pa rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 626	v. 11, 219r (531)	v. 1, 219r (437)

4.21	Bla ma Rin bzang dkar po <i>bla ma rin bzang dkar po/</i>	Not found	v. 1, 626	v. 11, 219r (531)	v. 1, 219r (437)
5	Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415) <i>karma pa sku phreng lnga pa de bzhin gshegs pa/</i>	P1410	v. 2, 3	v. 11, 219r (531)	v. 1, 219r (437)
5.1	List of disciples of Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa <i>karma pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 2, 44	v. 11, 239r (571)	v. 1, 239r (477)
5.2	Go shri Blo gros rgyal mtshan (b. 14th cent.) <i>go'i shri blo gros rgyal mtshan/</i>	P1415	v. 2, 45	v. 11, 239r (571)	v. 1, 239r (477)
5.3	Go shri Don grub 'od zer (b. 14–15th cent.) <i>'jam dbyangs chen po don grub 'od zer/</i>	P1417	v. 2, 45	v. 11, 239v (572)	v. 1, 239v (478)
5.4	The abbots of mTshur phu <i>dpal ldan mtshur phu'i gdan rabs</i>	N/A	v. 2, 47	v. 11, 240v (574)	v. 1, 240v (480)
5.5	Go'i shri Chos kyi rgyal mtshan <i>go'i shri chos kyi rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 48	v. 11, 240v (574)	v. 1, 240v (480)
5.6	Go shri Śākya bzang po (b. 15th cent.) <i>go shri shākya bzang po/</i>	P1418	v. 2, 50	v. 11, 241v (576)	v. 1, 241v (482)
5.7	Third Zhwa dmar pa, Chos dpal ye shes (1406–1452) <i>zhwa dmar sku phreng gsum pa chos dpal ye shes/</i>	P1010	v. 2, 50	v. 11, 241v (576)	v. 1, 241v (482)
5.8	nGom pa Bya bral ba Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan <i>ngom pa bya bral ba nam mkha' rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 72	v. 11, 251r (595)	v. 1, 251r (501)
5.9	First Si tu, Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1377–1448) ? <i>sgam po pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan/</i>	P3572	v. 2, 81	v. 11, 254v (602)	v. 1, 254v (508)
5.10	Mi nyag rTogs ldan Blo gros rin chen (1386–1423) <i>mi nyag rtogs ldan blo gros rin chen/</i>	P1008	v. 2, 81	v. 11, 255r (603)	v. 1, 255r (509)
5.10.1	His disciple rTogs ldan ya brgyad <i>rje 'di yi slob ma rtogs ldan ya brgyad/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 83	v. 11, 255v (604)	v. 1, 255v (510)
5.11	<u>Si tu Pan chen's Epilogue</u>	N/A	v. 2, 83	v. 11, 256r (605)	v. 1, 256r (511)
5.12	Mi nyag rTogs ldan Grags pa rin chen ¹²³ <i>mi nyag rtogs ldan grags pa rin chen/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 84	v. 11, 257r (607)	v. 1, 257r (512)
5.13	Sog dbon bKa' bzhi pa <i>sog dbon rin chen bzang po/</i>	P1398	v. 2, 89	v. 11, 257r (607)	v. 1, 257r (512)
6	Sixth Karma pa, mThong ba don ldan (1416–1453) <i>karma pa sku phreng drug pa mthong ba don ldan/</i>	P1006	v. 2, 95	v. 11, 258v (610)	v. 1, 258v (515)
6.1	List of disciples of Karma pa mThong ba don ldan <i>karma pa mthong ba don ldan gyi bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 2, 106	v. 11, 263v (620)	v. 1, 263v (525)

¹²³ Before this section the part authored by Si tu Pan chen ends. What follows is written by his disciple 'Be lo Tshe dbang.

6.2	First mTshur phu rGyal tshab, dPal 'byor don grub (1427–1489) <i>go shri dpal 'byor don grub/</i>	P1380	v. 2, 109	v. 11, 263v (620)	v. 1, 263v (525)
6.3	Ban sgar ba 'Jam dpal bzang po (b. 15th cent.) <i>kun mkhyen 'jam dpal bzang po/</i>	P467	v. 2, 113	v. 11, 264v (622)	v. 1, 264v (527)
7	Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506) <i>karma pa sku phreng bdun pa chos grags rgya mtsho/</i>	P821	v. 2, 123	v. 11, 266r (625)	v. 1, 266r (530)
7.1	List of disciples of Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho <i>karma pa chos grags rgya mtsho'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 2, 191	v. 11, 297r (687)	v. 1, 297r (592)
7.2	Second mTshur phu rGyal tshab, bKra shis nam rgyal (1490–1518) <i>go'i shri sprul sku/</i>	P1058 2	v. 2, 193	v. 11, 298r (689)	v. 1, 298r (594)
7.3	Fourth Zhwa dmar pa, Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524) <i>zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa bzhi pa chos kyi grags pa/</i>	P317	v. 2, 194	v. 11, 298r (689)	v. 1, 298r (594)
7.4	Abbots of Yang pa can	N/A	v. 2, 224	v. 11, 313r (719)	v. 1, 313r (624)
7.4.1	First abbot, mKhan chen Shes rab dpal (b. 15th cent.) <i>yangs pa can gyi mkhan rabs dang po shes rab dpal ldan/</i>	P4572	v. 2, 224	v. 11, 313r (719)	v. 1, 313r (624)
7.4.2	Second abbot, dGe 'dun bzang po (b. 15th cent.) <i>mkhan rabs gnyis pa slob dpon dge 'dun bzang po/</i>	P1062 0	v. 2, 225	v. 11, 313v (720)	v. 1, 313v (625)
7.4.3	Third abbot, Chos rje Khyam ka ba <i>mkhan rabs gsum pa chos rje khyam ka ba/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 226	v. 11, 313v (720)	v. 1, 313v (625)
7.4.4	Fourth abbot, drung pa legs spyad dpal bzang po <i>mkhan rabs bzhi pa drung pa legs spyad dpal bzang po/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 226	v. 11, 313v (720)	v. 1, 313v (625)
7.4.5	Fifth abbot, Chos rje Karma phun tshogs <i>mkhan rabs lnga pa chos rje karma phun tshogs/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 226	v. 11, 313v (720)	v. 1, 313v (625)
7.4.6	Sixth abbot, Ba le pa Sangs rgyas dpal bzang <i>mkhan rabs drug pa ba le pa sangs rgyas dpal bzang/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 227	v. 11, 314r (721)	v. 1, 314r (626)
7.4.7	Seventh abbot, Chos rje Do bo ri pa <i>mkhan rabs bdun pa chos rje do bo ri pa/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 228	v. 11, 314v (722)	v. 1, 314v (627)
7.4.8	Eighth abbot, Chos rje karma tshul khriims <i>mkhan rabs brgyad pa chos rje karma tshul khriims/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 228	v. 11, 314v (722)	v. 1, 314v (627)
7.4.9	Ninth abbot, Ma ñi ba dKon mchog bsam grub <i>mkhan rabs dgu pa ma ñi ba dkon mchog bsam grub/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 228	v. 11, 314v (722)	v. 1, 314v (627)
7.4.10	Tenth abbot, dBon go shri Karma chos rgyal <i>mkhan rabs bcu pa dbon go shri karma chos rgyal/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 229	v. 11, 315r (723)	v. 1, 315r (628)

7.4.11	Eleventh abbot, mKhan po Karma mkhyen brtse (b. 16th cent.) ? <i>mkhan rabs bcu gcig pa ba le rab 'byams pa karma mkhyen brtse/</i>	P7096	v. 2, 229	v. 11, 315r (723)	v. 1, 315r (628)
7.4.12	Twelfth abbot, mKhan po Karma 'jigs med (b. 17th cent.) ? <i>mkhan rabs bcu gnyis pa chos rgyal pho brang ba karma 'jigs med/</i>	P10354	v. 2, 230	v. 11, 315r (723)	v. 1, 315r (628)
7.4.13	Thirteenth abbot, Karma Tshul khriims phyi ma <i>mkhan rabs bcu gsum pa karma tshul khriims phyi ma/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 230	v. 11, 315v (724)	v. 1, 315v (629)
7.4.14	Fourteenth abbot, Bla ma sTag tshang pa Ngag dbang bkra shis <i>mkhan rabs bcu bzhi pa bla ma stag tshang pa ngag dbang bkra shis/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 231	v. 11, 315v (724)	v. 1, 315v (629)
7.4.15	Fifteenth abbot, Karma Nyi ma <i>mkhan rabs bco lnga pa karma nyi ma/</i>	P7097	v. 2, 231	v. 11, 316r (725)	v. 1, 316r (630)
7.4.16	Sixteenth abbot, Karma Thos pa rgya mtsho <i>mkhan rabs bcu drug pa karma thos pa rgya mtsho/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 232	v. 11, 316r (725)	v. 1, 316r (630)
7.4.17	Seventeenth abbot, Karma gNas brtan <i>mkhan rabs bcu bdun pa karma gnas brtan/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 232	v. 11, 316v (726)	v. 1, 316v (631)
7.4.18	Eighteenth abbot, Nya ri Bla ma Kun dga' bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan <i>mkhan rabs bco brgyad pa nya ri bla ma kun dga' bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 232	v. 11, 316v (726)	v. 1, 316v (631)
7.4.19	Nineteenth abbot, (Third) Karma phrin las (1631–1700?) ? <i>mkhan rabs bcu dgu pa chos rje karma phrin las gsum pa/</i>	P7098	v. 2, 233	v. 11, 316v (726)	v. 1, 316v (631)
7.4.20	Twentieth abbot, Go shrī Karma bsTan srung <i>mkhan rabs nyi shu pa go shrī karma bstan srung/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 234	v. 11, 317r (727)	v. 1, 317r (632)
7.4.21	Twenty-first abbot, Karma Rab 'byor <i>mkhan rabs nyer gcig pa karma rab 'byor/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 234	v. 11, 317r (727)	v. 1, 317r (632)
7.4.22	Twenty-second abbot, Karma bDe mchog <i>mkhan rabs nyer gnyis pa karma bde mchog/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 234	v. 11, 317r (727)	v. 1, 317r (632)
7.4.23	Twenty-third abbot, Ding ri ba Karma rNam grol mchog gi sde <i>mkhan rabs nyer gsum pa ding ri ba karma rnam grol mchog gi sde/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 234	v. 11, 317r (727)	v. 1, 317r (632)
7.4.24	Twenty-fourth abbot, Go shrī Karma Don grub snying po (b. 1664) <i>mkhan rabs nyer bzhi pa go shrī karma don grub snying po/</i>	P949	v. 2, 235	v. 11, 317v (728)	v. 1, 317v (633)
7.5	Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje (1439–1475) <i>zur mkhar ba mnyam nyid rdo rje/</i>	P3016	v. 2, 237	v. 11, 318r (729)	v. 1, 318r (634)
7.6	Third Si tu, bKra shis dpal 'byor (1498–1541) <i>si tu bkra shis dpal 'byor</i>	P3574	v. 2,	v. 11, 319r (731)	v. 1, 319r (636)

7.7	'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) <i>'gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal/</i>	P318	v. 2, 238	v. 11, 319r (731)	v. 1, 319r (636)
7.8	Khrims khang Lo tsā ba bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482) <i>lo chen bsod nams rgya mtsho'i sde/</i>	P208	v. 2, 239	v. 11, 319v (732)	v. 1, 319v (637)
7.9	Skyabs rje rTogs ldan 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho <i>skyabs rje rtogs ldan 'jam dpal rgya mtsho/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 240	v. 11, 320r (733)	v. 1, 320r (638)
7.10	First Tre ho, Chos kyi rgya mtsho (b. 15th cent., d. 1547) <i>tre ho chos kyi rgya mtsho/</i>	P5152, P8LS1 2489	v. 2, 242	v. 11, 320v (734)	v. 1, 320v (639)
7.11	Byams chen Chos rje sNa tshogs rang grol (b. 15th cent.) <i>byams chen chos rje sna tshogs rang grol/</i>	P1042 0	v. 2, 245	v. 11, 322r (737)	v. 1, 322r (642)
7.12	Bya 'Jam dbyangs bKra shis rnam rgyal (b. 15th cent.) <i>bya 'jam dbyangs bkra shis rnam rgyal/</i>	P1061 4	v. 2, 246	v. 11, 322v (738)	v. 1, 322v (643)
7.13	sKya se rTogs ldan (b. 15th cent.) <i>rje btsun skya se rtogs ldan/</i>	P1035 8	v. 2, 246	v. 11, 322v (738)	v. 1, 322v (643)
7.14	Ru pa bSam gtan rgya mtsho (b. 15th cent.) <i>bsam gtan rgya mtsho/</i>	P5093	v. 2, 247	v. 11, 323r (739)	v. 1, 323r (644)
7.15	Grub chen Chu 'phur ba <i>grub chen chu 'phur ba/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 248	v. 11, 323r (739)	v. 1, 323r (644)
7.16	gZhag Bla ma Kun dga' dpal ba <i>gzhag bla ma kun dga' dpal ba/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 248	v. 11, 323v (740)	v. 1, 323v (645)
7.17	Zur mang Bya btang Blo gros rgya mtsho (1479–1540) <i>zur mang bya btang blo gros rgya mtsho/</i>	P5564	v. 2, 249	v. 11, 323v (740)	v. 1, 323v (645)
7.18	rGya ston Bya bral Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (b. 16th cent.) <i>rgya ston bya bral nam mkha' rgyal mtshan/</i>	P1041 9	v. 2, 249	v. 11, 324r (741)	v. 1, 324r (646)
7.19	gSi dkar Kun spang pa <i>gsi dkar kun spang pa/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 249	v. 11, 324r (741)	v. 1, 324r (646)
7.20	Bla ma Grags rgyal ba <i>bla ma grags rgyal ba/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 250	v. 11, 324r (741)	v. 1, 324r (646)
7.21	gSer mdog Pañ chen Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) <i>pañḍi ta chen po shākya mchog ldan/</i>	P396	v. 2, 250	v. 11, 324r (741)	v. 1, 324r (646)
7.22	Mi nyag Rab 'byams pa mGon po dpal <i>mi nyag rab 'byams pa mgon po dpal/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 250	v. 11, 324v (742)	v. 1, 324v (647)
7.23	Ngo khro Rab 'byams pa dBang phyug dpal (15th cent.) <i>ngo khro rab 'byams pa dbang phyug dpal/</i>	P2GS1 083	v. 2, 252	v. 11, 325r (743)	v. 1, 325r (648)
7.24	sMyug la pañ chen (1458–1515) <i>rje smyug la pañ chen/</i>	P1694	v. 2, 252	v. 11, 325r (743)	v. 1, 325r (648)
7.25	Karma 'phrin las Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1456–1539) ¹²⁴ <i>rje karma phrin las phyogs las rnam rgyal/</i>	P815	v. 2, 253	v. 11, 325v (744)	v. 1, 325v (649)

¹²⁴ For a translation of this section, see Rheingans 2021, 155–64.

7.26	Dwags Rams pa Chos rgyal bstan pa (1449–1524) <i>rje dwags ram pa chos rgyal bstan pa/</i>	P822	v. 2, 259	v. 11, 328r (749)	v. 1, 328r (654)
7.27	gSung rab mang thos (b. 16th cent.) <i>chos rje gsung rab mang thos/</i>	P1042 5	v. 2, 260	v. 11, 328v (750)	v. 1, 328v (655)
7.28	rJe bKra shis 'od zer <i>rje bkra shis 'od zer/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 261	v. 11, 329r (751)	v. 1, 329r (656)
7.29	sDe bdun Rab 'byams pa dBang phyug rgyal mtshan <i>sde bdun rab 'byams pa dbang phyug rgyal mtshan/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 262	v. 11, 329v (752)	v. 1, 329v (657)
7.30	Dus zhabs pa Śākya dbang phyug <i>dus zhabs pa shākya dbang phyug/</i>	P5306	v. 2, 262	v. 11, 329v (752)	v. 1, 329v (657)
7.31	Chos rje Do bo ri pa <i>chos rje do bo ri pa/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 263	v. 11, 330r (753)	v. 1, 330r (658)
7.32	First dPa' bo, Chos dbang lhun grub (1440~1455~1503) <i>rje dpa' bo chos dbang lhun grub/</i>	P818	v. 2, 263	v. 11, 330r (753)	v. 1, 330r (658)
7.33	rJe Ri khrod ras chen 'Jam dbyangs lhun grub <i>rje ri khrod ras chen 'jam dbyangs lhun grub/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 280	v. 11, 337v (768)	v. 1, 337v (673)
7.34	Bla ma dPon yig pa lHun grub rgya mtsho <i>bla ma dpon yig pa lhun grub rgya mtsho/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 281	v. 11, 337v (768)	v. 1, 337v (673)
7.35	sGrub chen Śākya dhwa dza <i>sgrub chen shākya dhwa dza/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 281	v. 11, 337v (768)	v. 1, 337v (673)
7.36	mKhas grub Sangs rgyas blo gros (b. 15th cent.) ? <i>rje sangs blo ba/</i>	P5097	v. 2, 281	v. 11, 338v (769)	v. 1, 338v (674)
7.37	sGrub chen rGya gshongs pa <i>sgrub chen rgya gshongs pa/</i>	Not found	v. 2,	v. 11, 338v (769)	v. 1, 338v (674)
7.38	Bla ma sMon bzang ba <i>bla ma smon bzang ba/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 282	v. 11, 338v (769)	v. 1, 338v (674)
7.39	sGrub chen Chos dpal/ <i>sgrub chen chos dpal/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 282	v. 11, 338v (769)	v. 1, 338v (674)
7.40	sGrub chen Blo she pa <i>sgrub chen blo she pa/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 282	v. 11, 338v (769)	v. 1, 338v (674)
7.41	dGe slong Thabs ldan don ldan <i>dge slong thabs ldan don ldan/</i>	Not found	v. 2,	v. 11, 339r (770)	v. 1, 339r (675)
7.42	mKhan chen Śākya bzang po <i>mkhan chen shāka bzang po/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 283	v. 11, 339r (770)	v. 1, 339r (675)
7.43	Bla ma Cham dgon pa Grags pa dpal ldan <i>bla ma cham dgon pa grags pa dpal ldan/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 284	v. 11, 339v (771)	v. 1, 339v (676)
7.44	'Grus Khang pa bSod nams rgya mtsho (16th cent.) <i>'grus khang pa bsod nams rgya mtsho/</i>	P2GS1 122	v. 2, 284	v. 11, 339v (771)	v. 1, 339v (676)

7.45	Zur mkhar ba Blo gros rgyal po (b. 1509) ? <i>khres khang pa don grub rnam rgyal/</i>	P357	v. 2, 284	v. 11, 339v (771)	v. 1, 339v (676)
7.46	bSam gtan gling pa <i>bsam gtan gling pa/</i>	Not found	v. 2, 284	v. 11, 339v (771)	v. 1, 339v (676)
7.47	First Sangs rgyas mnyan pa, bKra shis dpal 'byor (1445~1457~1510~1525) <i>sangs rgyas mnyan pa grub thob bkra shis dpal 'byor/</i>	P1012	v. 2, 287	v. 11, 339v (771~776)	v. 1, 339v (676~681)
7.48	Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441~1527) <i>zha lu lo chen chos skyong bzang po/</i>	P856	v. 2, 293	v. 12, 1v (2)	v. 2, 1v (2)
8	Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554) <i>karma pa sku phreng brgyad pa mi bskyod rdo rje/</i>	P385	v. 2, 299	v. 12, 3r (5)	v. 2, 3r (5)
8.1	List of disciples of Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje <i>karma pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 2, 356	v. 12, 27v (55)	v. 2, 27v (54)
8.2	Second dPa' bo, gTsong lag 'phreng ba (1504–1566) ¹²⁵ <i>rje dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba/</i>	P319	v. 2, 357	v. 12, 28r (55)	v. 2, 28r (55)
8.3	Fifth Si tu, Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1560~1586~1632~1657) <i>si tu dpal mi 'khrugs chos kyi 'od zer ram chos kyi go cha/</i>	P3575	v. 2, 366	v. 12, 32r (63)	v. 2, 32r (63)
8.4	Third mTshur phu rGyal tshab, Grags pa dpal 'byor (1519~1549) <i>go shri grags pa dpal 'byor/</i>	P1441	v. 2, 367	v. 12, 32r (63)	v. 2, 32r (63)
8.5	dPal khang Lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (b. 15th~16th cent.) <i>alias Second Karma 'phrin las, Phyogs las rnam rgyal¹²⁶ dpal khang lo tsā ba ngag dbang chos kyi rgyal po'am karma phrin las/</i>	P1457	v. 2, 368	v. 12, 33r (65)	v. 2, 33r (65)
8.6	Nam mkha' bkra shis (b. 16th cent.) <i>sprul sku nam mkha' bkra shis/</i>	P1041 8	v. 2, 369	v. 12, 33r (65)	v. 2, 33r (65)
8.7	sGo smyon Karma srid bral (b. 16th cent.) <i>dwags po sgo pa zhal ngo karma srid bral/</i>	P1042 1	v. 2, 369	v. 12, 33r (65)	v. 2, 33r (65)
8.8	Fifth Zhwa dmar pa, dKon mchog yan lag (1525~1583) <i>zhwa dmar sku phreng lnga pa dkon mchog yan lag/</i>	P1426	v. 2, 373	v. 12, 33r (65)	v. 2, 33r (65)
8.9	Fourth mTshur phu rGyal tshab, Grags pa don grub (1550~1617) <i>go shri grags pa don grub/</i>	P5684	v. 2, 455	v. 12, 71r (141)	v. 2, 71r (141)
9	Ninth Karma pa, dBang phyug rdo rje (1556–	P889	v. 2, 463	v. 12, 73v (146)	v. 2, 73v (146)

¹²⁵ For a summary of his life based on this section (among other sources), see Bjerregaard and Dell 2022.

¹²⁶ For a clarification of this person in the context of other Karma 'phrin las', see Rheingans 2021, 21–29.

	1601~1603)¹²⁷ <i>karma pa sku phreng dgu pa dbang phyug rdo rje/</i>				
9.1	Third dPa' bo, Tsug lag rgya mtsho (1567~1568-1630~1633) <i>rje dpa' bo gtsug lag rgya mtsho/</i>	P1385	v. 2, 569	v. 12, 121v (242)	v. 2, 121v (242)
9.2	Fifth Si tu, Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1560~1586-1632~1657) <i>si tu chos kyi rgyal mtshan/</i>	P3575	v. 2, 581	v. 12, 127r (253)	v. 2, 127r (253)
9.3	Sixth Zhwa dmar pa, Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) <i>zhwa dmar sku phreng drug pa chos kyi dbang phyug/</i>	P1432	v. 2, 587	v. 12, 128r (255)	v. 2, 128r (255)
9.4	Karma Kun dga' rnam rgyal (1555-1628) <i>rje karma kun dga' rnam rgyal/</i>	P2GS228	v. 2, 634	v. 12, 150r (299)	v. 2, 150r (299)
9.5	Fifth mTshur phu rgyal tshab, Grags pa mchog dbyangs (1617-1658) <i>go shrī grags pa mchog dbyangs/</i>	P5085	v. 2, 637	v. 12, 151v (302)	v. 2, 151v (302)
9.6	drung yig blo gros nor ldan (b. 16-17th cent.) <i>drung yig pa blo gros nor ldan/</i>	P2026	v. 2, 654-660	v. 12, 158r (317)	v. 2, 158r (317)
10	Tenth Karma pa, Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604-1674) ¹²⁸ <i>karma pa sku phreng bcu pa chos dbyings rdo rje/</i>	P1382	v. 3, 1	v. 12, 161v (324)	v. 2, 161v (324)
10.1	Seventh Zhwa dmar pa, Ye shes snying po (1631-1694) <i>rje zhwa dmar bdun pa ye shes snying po/</i>	P1386	v. 3, 17	v. 12, 167v (336)	v. 2, 167v (336)
10.2	Fifth dPa' bo, 'Phrin las rgya mtsho (1649-1650-1699) <i>rje dpa' bo sku phreng lnga pa phrin las rgya mtsho/</i>	P942	v. 3, 21	v. 12, 169r (339)	v. 2, 169r (339)
10.3	Sixth Si tu, Chos rgyal mi pham 'phrin las rab brtan (1640-1658-1682) <i>si tu chos rgyal mi pham phrin las rab brtan /</i>	P946	v. 3, 22	v. 12, 169r (339)	v. 2, 169r (339)
10.4	Kha reg sPrul sku Karma bstan srung (b. 16th cent.) <i>kha reg sprul sku karma bstan srung/</i>	P1388	v. 3, 24	v. 12, 169v (340)	v. 2, 169v (340)
10.5	Khyab bdag Grub mchog dbang po (1563-1575-1618) <i>khyab bdag grub mchog dbang po/</i>	P10416	v. 3, 27	v. 12, 171r (343)	v. 2, 171r (343)
10.6	gNas mdo Karma chags med (1613-1678) <i>gnas mdo karma chags med/</i>	P649	v. 3, 29	v. 12, 171v (344)	v. 2, 171v (344)
10.7	Phag mo Zhabs drung Rin chen mchog dga' <i>phag mo zhabs drung rin chen mchog dga' /</i>	P5098	v. 3, 32	v. 12, 173r (347)	v. 2, 173r (347)
10.8	Zhwa sgom sKu skye sKal bzang snying po <i>zhwa sgom sku skye skal bzang snying po/</i>	P9504	v. 3, 32	v. 12, 173r (347)	v. 2, 173r (347)
10.9	Karma chos skyong (b. 17th cent.) <i>sprul sku karma chos skyong/</i>	P10341	v. 3, 32	v. 12, 173v (348)	v. 2, 173v (348)

¹²⁷ In the table of contents for this section, SX2 states: "Largely a transcription of the text of *Rgyal ba'i dbang po dbang phyug rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa phan bde'i gter chen* by Rgyal-tshab IV Grags-pa-don-grub."

¹²⁸ In the table of contents for this section, SX2 states: "Transcription of a verse hagiography written by Zhwa-dmar VII Ye-shes-snying-po."

10.10	Sa tham lHa btsun Karma rin chen (b. 17th cent.) <i>sa tham lha btsun karma rin chen/</i>	P2012	v. 3, 32	v. 12, 173v (348)	v. 2, 173v (348)
10.11	Fourth dPa' bo, gTsong lag kun tu bzang po (1633–1649) <i>thugs sras dam pa kun tu bzang po/</i>	P8383	v. 3, 34	v. 12, 174r (349)	v. 2, 174r (349)
11	Eleventh Karma pa, Ye shes rdo rje (1675~1676–1702) ¹²⁹ <i>karma pa sku phreng bcu gcig pa ye shes rdo rje</i>	P943	v. 3, 35	v. 12, 174r (349)	v. 2, 174r (349)
11.1	Eighth Zhwa dmar pa, dPal chen Chos kyi don grub (1695–1732) <i>zhwa dmar brgyad pa dpal chen chos kyi don grub/</i>	P955	v. 3, 39	v. 12, 176r (351)	v. 2, 176r (351)
12	Twelfth Karma pa, Byang chub rdo rje (1703–1732) <i>karma pa sku phreng bcu gnyis pa byang chub rdo rje/</i>	P838	v. 3, 143	v. 12, 221r (443)	v. 2, 221r (443)
12.1	List of disciples of Karma pa Byang chub rdo rje <i>karma pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i bu slob tshogs/</i>	N/A	v. 3, 151	v. 12, 223v (448)	v. 2, 223v (448)
12.2	Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699~1700–1774) <i>kun mkhyen t'ai si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas/</i>	P956	v. 3, 153	v. 12, 224r (449)	v. 2, 224r (449)
12.3	Third Tre ho, Karma bsTan 'dzin dar rgyas (1653–1730) <i>tre ho sprul sku karma bstan 'dzin dar rgyas/</i>	P944	v. 3, 365	v. 12, 318v (638)	v. 2, 318v (638)
12.4	Kah thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755) <i>dpal rig pa 'dzin pa chen po tshe dbang nor bu/</i>	P676	v. 3, 393	v. 12, 332v (664)	v. 2, 332v (664)
12.5	Sixth dPa' bo, gTsong lag don grub (1701–1718) <i>rje dpa' bo gtsug lag don grub/</i>	P823	v. 3, 402	v. 12, 336v (672)	v. 2, 336v (672)
12.6	Seventh dPa' bo, gTsong lag dga' ba (1718~1719–1781) <i>rje dpa' bo gtsug lag dga' ba'i dbang po/</i>	P841	v. 3, 404	v. 12, 337v (674)	v. 2, 337v (674)
12.7	Seventh mTshur phu rGyal tshab, dKon mchog 'od zer (1699–1765) <i>go shri rgyal tshab dkon mchog 'od zer/</i>	P957	v. 3, 409	v. 12, 339v (678)	v. 2, 339v (678)
12.8	Tenth Zhwa dmar pa, Chos grub rgya mtsho (1741~1742–1792) <i>zhwa dmar bcu pa rje chos grub rgya mtsho/</i>	P831	v. 3, 411	v. 12, 339v (678)	v. 2, 339v (678)
12.9	<u>'Be lo Tshe dbang's epilogue / colophon</u>	N/A	v. 3, 435–436	v. 12, 349v (698–699)	v. 2, 349v (698–699)

Table 7: Outline of the main text (Si tu and 'Be lo)

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¹²⁹ In the table of contents for this section, SX2 states: "Transcription of a laudatory verse work by Zhwa-dmar VIII Dpal-chen Chos-kyi-don-grub."

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“A Female Body is Fortunate” Comparing Kun tu bzang mo’s and gTsang smyon Heruka’s Songs*

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1. Introduction

Taking three short religious poems/songs (*mgur*) that the crazy yogi gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507) sang to his female partner and disciple Kun tu bzang mo (1464–1549) as a point of departure, this essay will offer a preliminary analysis and comparison of their respective songs.¹

Kun tu bzang mo’s songs are included in a 72-folio manuscript biography (*rnam thar*) which was compiled by her disciple mKhyen rab dbang phyug in 1551, two years after her passing.² The title of the work is *The Treasury of Profound Meaning, which is Meaningful to Behold: The Liberation Account of Kun tu bzang mo, the Great Mother of All the Victorious Ones of the Three Times without Exception* (*dus gsum rgyal ba ma lus pa bskyed pa’i yum chen kun tu bzang mo’i rnam par thar pa zab don gter mdzod mthong ba don ldan*, henceforth *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*). The biography is framed around twenty-six terse, four-line verses of homage to Kun tu bzang mo, each line containing nine syllables. These eulogies summarize her life chronologically and are followed by accounts in prose which detail the contents of the verses. Inserted between the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of homage are twenty-five songs attributed to Kun tu bzang mo. The songs are surrounded by narrative frames in prose, which provide context to the songs. The

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¹ For more on this type of songs, see, for example, Larsson & Quintman 2015; Larsson 2021. For a famous compilation of songs of the bka’ brgyud tradition in English translation, see Nālandā Translation Committee 1989.

² For information about Kun tu bzang mo, see Diemberger 2016, 286–293; Larsson 2016, 322–326; Sernesi 2021, 139–144. Thanks are due to Hildegard Diemberger who kindly informed me about the existence of this unique text and provided me with a digital copy of the text when I visited Cambridge in 2013.

songs constitute a major part of the biography, and – as Kurtis Schaeffer aptly pointed out in his presentation of Kun tu bzang mo’s biography and its relation to places at the IATS seminar in Bergen in 2016 – this part of the biography changes character and resembles a song collection – a *mgur ’bum* – more than a biography.³

gTsang smyon’s songs were issued as a separate 28-folio collection in 1508, the year after his passing. The name of the collection is *The Collected Songs of the Venerable Heruka from gTsang: The Wish-Fulfilling Jewel Showing the Path of The All-Knowing One* (*rje btsun gtsang pa he ru ka’i mgur ’bum rin po che dbang gi rgyal po thams cad mkhyen pa’i lam ston*, henceforth *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*).⁴ The song collection was compiled and printed by Kun tu bzang mo, rGod tshang ras pa (1482–1559) and some other close disciples of the crazy yogi, along with his biography and two other short texts.⁵ gTsang smyon’s songs are also included in two of the three extant gTsang smyon-biographies that his disciples put together after his passing: rGod tshang ras pa’s *The Heart of the Sun* (*Nyi ma’i snying po*), which was compiled and printed at the request of Kun tu bzang mo and other disciples of gTsang smyon;⁶ and lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal’s (1473–1557) *The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa* (*gTsang pa smyon pa’i rnam thar*).⁷ rGod tshang ras pa includes all the songs in his gTsang smyon biography, and apart from his odd spellings, he renders the songs like the song collection does, and in a similar order. lHa btsun, on the other hand, leaves out several songs, sometimes provides verses that are not found in the other texts, and divides one song into two separate songs.⁸ It is notable

³ “The Places of Kun tu bzang mo (1464–1549),” paper presented at the 14th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Bergen, June 2016.

⁴ For a translation of gTsang smyon’s song collection into Swedish, see Larsson 2018. For a presentation of gTsang smyon’s songs focusing on his songs with parting instructions (*’gro chos kyi mgur*), see Larsson 2021.

⁵ For more on these texts, see Ehrhard 2010, 154–158; Schuh 1981, 126–127; Sernesi 2011, 185–191; Sernesi 2021, 133–139; Larsson 2012, 42–47; Larsson 2016, 311–331; Larsson & Quintman 2015, 91–94.

⁶ *The Heart of the Sun* was compiled and printed in 1512 (or perhaps 1524). See bibliography for full title and publication details. It is mentioned in *The Heart of the Sun* (p. 284) that Kun tu bzang mo and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan asked rGod tshang ras pa to write the biography. For more on this text, see Larsson 2012, 47–49; Sernesi 2021, 144, 194–197; Smith 1969, 5–16; Smith 2001, 62–70.

⁷ *The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa* was compiled and printed 1543. See bibliography for full title and publication details. For more on the different gTsang smyon biographies, see DiValerio 2015b; Larsson 2012, 40–51; Sernesi 2021, 35–42.

⁸ For example, the three songs to Kun tu bzang mo that are presented below are not included in lHa btsun’s gTsang smyon biography. In the song to rDo rje snying po (*The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa*, 66, cf. *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 10a–10b; *The Heart of the Sun*, 94), he inserts the phrase: *bar du gnas med rkyen gyis stong gin gda’*, a phrase that fits nicely into the song but is missing in the other versions.

that lHa btsun was not involved in printing the song collection, so it is not surprising that his versions of the songs differ. The differences indicate that lHa btsun had access to other versions of the same songs or that he changed the songs to fit better into his version of the biography.

When comparing the twenty-five songs found in Kun tu bzang mo's biography with the more than twenty-seven songs⁹ in gTsang smyon's song collection, one notices many similarities, both regarding style and content. There are also some differences between their respective songs, and the present essay will investigate these similarities and differences. Moreover, it will explore whether the open environment of Kun tu bzang mo and gTsang smyon Heruka's yogic community allowed more leeway than other Buddhist groups at the time for female Buddhist practitioners.

Before comparing their songs and discussing these questions, let us have a look at the three songs that gTsang smyon sang to Kun tu bzang mo.

2. gTsang smyon's Songs to Kun tu bzang mo

Kun tu bzang mo met gTsang smyon for the first time when he was compiling the life story and song collection of Mi la ras pa (ca. 1040–1123). The meeting occurred at a place called Na zlum Shel phug in southern La stod when Kun tu bzang mo was in her mid-twenties and gTsang smyon in his late thirties.¹⁰ rGod tshang ras pa mentions that gTsang smyon was accompanied by a large following, and he specifically mentions that about one hundred female Buddhist practitioners were present at the time of their initial meeting, thus indicating that gTsang smyon had many female followers. One of these female dharma practitioners had a dream the night before Kun tu bzang mo's arrival. She dreamt of a woman adorned with bone ornaments and dressed in silk clothes, who guided many people and brought along many precious offerings. gTsang smyon interpreted the dream as

The second song in gTsang smyon's song collection, a song with instructions to his heart-son Rin chen dpal bzang po (*The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 2a; cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 58–59), is divided into two separate songs with different narrative frames in lHa btsun's biography of gTsang smyon. The first song is rendered on page 50.5–50.7 in *The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa*, and the second on page 51.1–51.4.

⁹ The collection includes more than thirty songs, but the number provided in the collection's colophon is twenty-seven, twenty-one plus six major songs (*ngur chen*). The reason for the discrepancy is that some of the songs in the collection are attributed to other people, and some related songs are counted as one.

¹⁰ Their meeting is depicted in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 21a; *The Heart of the Sun*, 137–140; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 16b–19b. For more information about Na zlum Shel phug, see Dawa 2016, 206–209.

follows: “The woman [in your dream] has the marks of a *ḍākinī* and the power to spread the essential doctrine. [A woman] that none of you will be able to match will come.”¹¹

Kun tu bzang mo immediately became a close and devoted disciple of gTsang smyon, and eventually also his consort.¹² In one of the above-mentioned twenty-six verses of praise to Kun tu bzang mo’s life, mKhyen rab dbang phyug summarizes their meeting in the following way:

When [you] met the face, and heard the voice of the King of
Blood Drinkers (gTsang smyon),
the clouds of [your] ordinary delusions dissolved into space,
and the sun of *mahāmudrā* realization naturally dawned.
[I] bow down to you who awoke [your] good karmic propensi-
ties!¹³

When the printing blocks of Mi la ras pa’s life story and song collection were completed, the blocks were brought to Grod phug in gNya’ nang, a place associated with Mi la ras pa.¹⁴ gTsang smyon continued his travels and went on to Glo bo smon thang (Mustang),¹⁵ while Kun tu bzang mo stayed in retreat in La phyi, an important hermitage not far from gNya’ nang. When gTsang smyon returned, he did a three-year retreat in La phyi. During that time Kun tu bzang mo requested instructions about how to practice meditation.¹⁶

Her first question concerned how to generate awareness. gTsang smyon replied with the following song:

If [you] want to bring forth awareness,
remember that the time of death is uncertain.

¹¹ *The Heart of the Sun*, 141: *bud med mkha’ ’gro ma’i mtshan dang ldan pa snying po’i bstan pa dpel (spel) nus pa khyed tshos ’gran du med pa cig yong ba yin gsungs/*. Cf. *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 17a; Larsson 2016, 325.

¹² This is stated, for example, in one of the verses of homage to Kun tu bzang mo: “For the sake of making the life story and songs of Mi la and so forth, as well as the teachings of the aural transmission, disseminate, flourish, and expand, you became the consort (*yum du bzhes/gzhes*) of the great man of gTsang (gTsang smyon).” *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 22a–22b: *khyad rang mi la’i rnam mgur sogs//snyan rgyud bstan pa dar rgyas spel ba’i phyir//gtsang chen yum du gzhes (bzhes)*.

¹³ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 17b: *khrag ’thung rgyal po’i zhal ’jal (mjäl) gsung thos tshel//tha mal ’khrul pa’i sprin tshogs dbyings su dengs//phyag chen rtogs pa’i nyi ma ngang gis shar//bzang po’i las ’phro sad pa de la ’dud//*.

¹⁴ Spelled Brod phug in *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 19b. A printing house was built in Grod phug for the purpose of storing blocks and printing texts belonging to the “school of gTsang smyon Heruka.” Kun tu bzang mo later renovated this printing house (*The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 43a; Sernesi 2021, 145–146).

¹⁵ Spelled Blo’o smon thang in *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 19b.

¹⁶ Cf. *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 21a; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 19b.

If [you] remember the unavailability of death,
diligence comes naturally.

If [you] are carried away by inattentiveness and laziness,
even the yellow robes become unwholesome.
If you create [your] own suffering,
[you] are instantly swept away into a fire.

If [you] want permanent happiness and well-being,
accomplish the two-fold benefit in this very life.
Recognize that to be deceived by the concerns of this life is the
enemy!

This is your father's heart-advice, always keep it in mind!
Keep it in mind at all times in this way, Sangmo!

Evam!¹⁷

In response Kun tu bzang mo asked him:¹⁸

Although the generation phase should be like a rainbow,
[I] experience it as something concrete and substantial.
Although meditation during the completion phase should be
like the sky,
[I] experience grasping and fixation on concreteness.
Please give [me] instructions that help [me] counteract this.

In response the lord (gTsang smyon) sang:¹⁹

¹⁷ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka, 21a–21b: dran pa'i lcag (G: lcags) 'debs (K: gsal 'debs) dgos na nam 'chi nges med bsgoms (G: sgoms)//nges par 'chi ba dran na brtson 'grus zhar (G: zhor) la yong//rnam g.yeng le los khyer na ser gzugs rang la sdig (G: bsdig)//rang sdug rang gis shom (G: bsham) na da lta me nang 'phyongs (mchongs; K: 'phyogs)//rtag tu bde skyid 'dod na (G: /) don gnyis tshe 'dir bsgrebs//tshe 'di'i bya bas slu bas dgra ru shes par gyis//a pha'i snying gtam yin no rgyun tu sems la zhog (K: chongs)//bzang mo'i sems la rtag tu de lta zhog//e bam//. Cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 159–160; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 19b. When rendering variant spellings in the Tibetan sources in the notes, “G” indicates rGod tshang ras pa's biography of gTsang smyon and “L” indicates lHa btsun's (i.e. *The Heart of the Sun* and *The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa*). “K” indicates *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*. Corrections are inserted within parentheses.*

¹⁸ According to *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, she sent the questions in a letter (*The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 19b).

¹⁹ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka, 21b: bskyed rim 'ja' tshon lta bur bsgoms lags kyang //phung po sdos (G: sdod) bcas (gdos bcas) gcig (K: shig) ka yong gin (G: zhing) gda' (G: brda')//rdzogs rims nam mkha' lta bur (G: lta bu) bsgoms lags kyang //dngos 'dzin a 'thas gcig (K: shig) ka yong gin (G: zhing) gda' (G: brda')//di la phan pa'i gdams ngag zhu zhus pa'i lan du/ rje'i zhal nas/. Cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 160; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 19b–20a.*

Namo guru!

In response to a question from a girl (*bu mo*), I would like to say the following:

The meditation deity is like a rainbow,
but if [you] do not understand that the meditator is the deity,
how could anything other than the concrete arise?

Appearances are empty form from the very beginning.
If you want them to arise as the pristine deity,
immediately crush the dualistic separation between appearances
and emptiness!
Then the deity will reveal its real face,
and when you see its real face,
there is nothing to meditate upon.

Moreover, by meditating on emptiness as being separate from
appearances [and from] the illusory body of the deity,
the perfection stage, which is like the sky, is mistaken.
Regardless of what types of appearances arise due to circum-
stances, stop rejecting and accepting,
and see your own face!

Let meditation and meditator,
as well as rejection and acceptance, merge together,
and do not intellectualize!

It is also not about not meditating.
Like the bliss of youth,
it is something that cannot be grasped by words.
Let the generation phase and the perfection phase be one.

Do not forget this, always keep it in mind!

Evam!²⁰

²⁰ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 21b: *na mo gu ru//bu mo'i zhus lan 'di skad lo//ja' tshon lta bu'i lha sgoms (G: bsgoms) yang (K: kyang)//sgom (K: bsgom) mkhan lha ru ma shes na//sdos bcas (gdos bcas) dag las ga la 'byung//snang ba ye nas stong gzugs de (G: te)//dag pa'i lha skur (G, K: lha ru) 'char dgos na//da ni snang stong gnyis 'dzin shig//de nas lha (G: lhas) sku'i rang zhal ston//rang zhal mthong na (G, K: nas) sgom don bral//nam mkha' lta bu'i rdzogs rim (G: rims) yang (K: kyang)//snang ba sgyu (G: rgyu) ma'i lha sku las//gud du stong pa bsgoms pas gol//rkyen gyis snang ba ci byung yang//dgag sgrub spongs la rang zhal ltos//sgom dang sgom mkhan dgag sgrub rnamsgcig tu dril (G: sgril) la blo yis thong//mi sgom pa yang ma yin na (G, K: te) //tshig gis reg par mi nus pa'i (K: pas) //gzhon nu'i bde ba lta bu yi//bskyed (G, K: skyed) rdzogs gcig tu mngon du byed (K: gcig tu byed pa 'di)//ma rjed yid la rgyun tu chongs (G: 'chongs) //e bam//. Cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 160; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo* 20a.*

Kun tu bzang mo then asked gTsang smyon about cause and effect and about how to practice. In response gTsang smyon gave her the following instruction:

[I] bow down to the venerable lamas!

The authentic condition of mind
is free from constructed limitations in its [very] origination.
The various manifestations of the subject-object dichotomy
appear, but they are empty by nature.

When [you] practice meditation,
remain undistracted in a state of non-activity.
When [you] apply [your practice] in post-meditation,
it is important to recognize that appearances are empty.

Although karma and result are empty by nature,
do not be deceived by the relative aspect of karma and result.
At all times and on all occasions, it is very important to abandon
unwholesome actions and to carry out wholesome actions.

It would be excellent if you were to practice like this.
Let this clarify how to practice!

Evam!²¹

These three songs exemplify the contents and structure of gTsang smyon's songs and also shed some light on the way in which he instructed his female partner and disciple. Let us now turn our attention to her songs.

3. Kun tu bzang mo's Songs

The Life of Kun tu bzang mo describes how she received, understood, practiced, and eventually mastered gTsang smyon's teachings. It is also said that gTsang smyon appointed her as his successor:

²¹ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 21b–22a: rje bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo//gnyug ma sems kyi rang bzhin (G, K: gnas lugs) 'di//gdod nas spros pa'i mtha' dang bral//gzung 'dzin sna tshogs snang ba 'di//snang zhing rang (K: rang rang) gi ngo bo stong//mnyam bzhag (G, K: gzhag) nyams su len pa nal//spros med (G, K: byar med) ngang la yengs med gces (G, K: ces)//rjes thob lam du 'khyer ba nal//snang stong dran pas 'dzin pa gces (G: ces; K: bces)//las 'bras ngo bo stong mod kyang //kun rdzob las 'bras slu ba (G: klu ba, K: bslu ba) med//dus dang rnam pa thams cad du//sdig spong dge ba sgrub pa gces (G: ces; K: bces)//'di rnam nyams su blangs na legs//'di la sgom pa'i gsal 'debs (G: bsal 'debs) gyis//e bam//. Cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 160–161; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 20a–20b.

“I am Mi la ras pa and you, lady, are called Kun tu bzang mo. [...] Since you will be appointed as regent of the father, your fortitude in benefiting the ordinary and extraordinary teachings and the beings must not be small!” In this way, the empire of the dharma of the Lord Heruka was excellently entrusted [to Kun tu bzang mo]. [She] was consecrated as regent, enthroned, graced, and honored.²²

Having received the position of gTsang smyon’s regent and heir, Kun tu bzang mo became a master in her own right. She attracted her own disciples and began expressing her insight through her own songs of realization. This new chapter in her life is marked in her biography with the following verses of homage:

For the sake of benefiting all the beings and the teachings,
[you] turned the wheel of the profound and vast dharma,
placing the superior as well as the inferior beings to be tamed in
the glory of prosperity and bliss.
[I] bow down to you who spread the enlightened activities at the
end of existence!²³

The first song of Kun tu bzang mo is described in her biography as having been composed around the time of gTsang smyon’s passing. While she was staying in a place called rGyab ri, the profound meaning of the many instructions she had received from gTsang smyon dawned upon her, and she began expressing her realization through songs.²⁴ Having bestowed empowerments and instructions to her disciples, she sang the following song with *mahāmudrā* instructions:

Namo Guru Dewa Ḍākīṇī Ye!

Within the state of uncontaminated bliss,
by means of [your] enlightened activities of limitless compassion,
[you] dispel the darkness of ignorance.
[I] bow down at your feet, dearest lama!

²² *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 22b: nga mi la ras pas/ nya ma khyod la/ ming kun tu bzang mo gyis gsung / [...] / a pa’i rgyal tshab tu bkos yod pas spyi dgos (sgos) kyi bstan pa dang / ‘gro phan la snying stobs ma chung zhig/ ces rje he ru ka’i chos kyi rgyal srid legs par btad de/ rgyal tshab tu dbang bskur zhing mnga’ gsol/ dbugs dbyung dang gzengs bstod mdzad pa yin no/.

²³ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 27a: bstan dang ‘gro la rnam kun phan slad du//zab dang rgya che’i chos ‘khor bskor nas kyang//mchog dman gdul bya phan bde’i dpal la bkod//phrin las srid mthar spel ba de la ‘dud//.

²⁴ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 27a

The realization of *mahāmudrā* is highly reputed.
 It depends upon the inseparability of appearance and emptiness.
 I cannot see where the meditator has gone.
 Although obtaining a human body with freedoms
 and opportunities is of value,
 a human body without dharma is of little use.
 Therefore, all [you] fortunate children (*bu skal ldan*),
 search for the holy sublime dharma!

The mind of the Buddha is highly reputed.
 It depends upon the ordinary mind.
 I cannot see where the longing has gone.
 Although relying upon an authentic lama is of value,
 a human body without dharma is of little use.
 Therefore, all [you] fortunate children,
 search for the holy sublime dharma!

The steadfast land of the innate nature is highly reputed.
 It depends upon uncontaminated bliss.
 I cannot see where the suffering has gone.
 Although the vastness of the land of birth is of value,
 a human body without dharma is of little use.
 Therefore, all [you] fortunate children,
 search for the holy sublime dharma!

Benefiting self and others is highly reputed.
 It depends upon emptiness and compassion.
 I cannot see where the lesser vehicle has gone.
 Although letting go of worldly activities is of value,
 a human body without dharma is of little use.
 Therefore, all [you] fortunate children,
 search for the holy sublime dharma!

The fruition of the three enlightened bodies is highly reputed.
 It depends upon the ordinary body, speech, and mind.
 I cannot see where all hopes and fears have gone.
 Although carrying out the sublime dharma is of value,
 a human body without dharma is of little use.
 Therefore, all [you] fortunate children,
 search for the holy sublime dharma!²⁵

²⁵ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 27b–28a: *na mo gu ru de wa da ki ni ye//zag med bde chen pa'i ngang nyid nas//tshad med thugs rje'i phrin las kyis//ma rig mun pa sel mdzad pa//dran chog (mchog?) bla ma'i zhabs la 'dud//phyag chen gyi rtogs pa sgra bo che//snang stong dbyer med kyi stengs na 'dug//bsgom mkhan (sgom mkhan) gar song ngas ma mthong//dal 'byor gyi mi lus thob rin chog//lar chos med kyi mi lus don re chung//bu bskal ldan (skal ldan) kun dam pa'i lha chos mtshal ('tshol)//sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa sgra bo*

Having heard the song, “the disciples became very devoted and filled with faith.”²⁶

During this time, Kun tu bzang mo heard that gTsang smyon had passed away.²⁷ She was devastated and greatly saddened: “it was like her heart had been torn out, and she could not sleep the whole night.”²⁸ The following day, gTsang smyon appeared to her in a vision and comforted her: “You should not be sad. Rejoice! The love of your father will never leave you. Uphold and benefit the teachings and the beings in whatever ways you can!” As soon as he had said this he disappeared like a rainbow.²⁹ After the vision, Kun tu bzang mo’s meditation practice progressed, and her spiritual development was augmented tremendously.³⁰ She participated in gTsang smyon’s elaborate funerary ceremonies in various places and was actively involved in printing his biography and song collection.³¹

Kun tu bzang mo was now one of the main heirs of gTsang smyon, authorized to continue his activities and uphold his lineage.³² She spent the rest of her long life practicing and propagating his teachings, instructing disciples, bestowing empowerments, inaugurating retreat centers, expressing her insight through songs, and doing other such things.

Before comparing Kun tu bzang mo’s songs with those of gTsang smyon and drawing some conclusions about them, I will provide yet

che//tha mal gyi shes pa'i steng na 'dug//yid smon gar song ngas ma mthong//mtshan ldan bla ma rten rin chog//lar chos med kyi mi lus don re chung//bu bskal ldan (skal ldan) kun dam pa'i lha chos mtshal ('tshol)//g.nyug ma'i (snyug ma'i) brtan yul sgra bo che//zag med bde chen gyi steng na 'dug//sdug bsnag gar song ngas ma mthong//skyes pa'i pha yul yangs rin chog//lar chos med kyi mi lus don re chung//bu bskal ldan (skal ldan) kun dam pa'i lha chos mtshal ('tshol)//rang gzhan gyi don gnyis sgra bo che//stong nyid snying rje'i steng na 'dug//theg dman gar song ngas ma mthong//'jig rten bya ba btang rin chog//lar chos med kyi mi lus don re chung//bu bskal ldan (skal ldan) kun dam pa'i lha chos mtshal ('tshol)//sku gsum gyi 'bras bu sgra bo che//lus ngag yid gsum gyi steng na 'dug//re dogs kun gar song ngas ma mthong//dam pa'i lha chos byas rin chog//lar chos med kyi mi lus don re chung//bu bskal ldan (skal ldan) kun dam pa'i lha chos 'tshal ('tshol)//.

²⁶ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 28a: *bu slob rnams shin du dad cing mos par gyur to//.*

²⁷ gTsang smyon passed away in Ras chung phug, a hermitage associated with Mi la ras pa's illustrious disciple Ras chung pa. Ras chung phug is situated three kilometers south of the famous Khra 'brug temple in the Yar lung valley, far from the Chu bar area where Kun tu bzang mo resided at the time. gTsang smyon's passing is described in Larsson 2012, 184–188; Schaeffer 2007, 218–221.

²⁸ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 28a: *thugs thon 'gro ba lta bu'i mtshan gang mnal ma byung.*

²⁹ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 28a: *skyid pa skyid pa khyed rang sems sdug po ma byed/ a pas rtse bas nam yang mi 'dor ro/ bstan 'gro la phan gang thogs gyis shig/ go pe gsung de ma thag 'ja' ltar yal song/.*

³⁰ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 28a.

³¹ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 28b.

³² It is important to bear in mind that Kun tu bzang mo was not the only heir of gTsang smyon.

another of her songs in full.

Kun tu bzang mo sang this song many years after gTsang smyon's passing,³³ while staying in Brag stod monastery for the winter. At that time, the nun Chos kyi dpal mo requested clarifying instructions about practice. In response, Kun tu bzang mo sang this song:

Guru Namó!

[I] bow down at [your] feet, King of Blood Drinkers (Tsangnyön),
compassionate dharma king,
who cares for every being!

Female meditator (*bsgom ma*) Chos kyi dpal mo,
[you] said that [you] needed instruction to clarify [your] practice.

In general,
the preliminaries that are needed for the holy dharma are:
freedoms and endowments, so hard to obtain;
impermanence, the remembrance of death;
trust in the teachings on cause and result;
keeping the shortcomings of cyclic existence in mind, and so
forth.

[However], without an understanding of the view, meditation,
conduct, and fruition,
[you] remain separated from the view and meditation of the ul-
timate meaning.

[When] the view of non-view arises,
look at the expanse of the sky, [that is] the view.
The view is devoid of center and peripheries.

Meditation is like the course of a river.
In a state of non-meditation,
meditation is uninterrupted and undistracted.

Conduct is without aim.
Like the conduct of a little child or a madman,
it is effortless and natural.

Fruition is a state without hope and fear.
Obtaining stability in this [state] is the fruition.

How wonderful it is [when] the view, meditation, conduct, and

³³ Very few dates are provided in Kun tu bzang mo's biography, but the life story and the songs are rendered chronologically. This song is the fifteenth of the twenty-five songs included in the biography.

fruition are spontaneously completed, regardless of what arises!
 The summit of meditation is without any fixation whatsoever.
 Remain within a state which is free from aims!

When this happens, it is perfect awakening.
 Nevertheless, if [you] experience dullness and agitation:
 At the time of dullness, rise like an elephant ascending from mud!
 At the time of agitation, descend, like a small bird descending into a valley!

Remain in the expanse of the non-dual sky!
 This completes the preliminaries and the main practice.
 Afterwards, perform vast aspirations!

[Your] female body is fortunate.
 In order to progress in your meditation, prolong [your] meditation!

May you obtain the auspiciousness of stability!

Evam!³⁴

3. Comparing the Songs

Although these few examples offer just a small glimpse into their respective oeuvres, they provide us with some material that can be used as a starting point for comparing Kun tu bzang mo's and gTsang smyon's songs. As might be expected, there are many similarities between them. After all they stemmed from the same tradition, and gTsang smyon was Kun tu bzang mo's teacher. Their songs resemble

³⁴ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 44b–45a: *gu ru na mol/chos kyi rgyal po thugs rje can//gro ba yongs la gzigs mdzad pa'i//khrag 'thung rgyal po'i zhabs la 'dud//bsgom ma chos kyi dpal mo yi//nyams len gsal 'debs dgos zhes pa//sngon 'gro dal 'byor rnyed dka' dang //mi rtag 'chi ba dran pa dang //rgyu 'bras chos la yid ches shing //khor ba'i nyes dmigs dran pa sogs//spyi la dgos pa'i dam chos yin//lta bsgom spyod 'bras mi shes na//mthar thug don la lta bsgom bral//lta med lta bar shar ba la//lta ba nam mkha'i dbyings la ltos//mtha' dbus bral ba lta ba yin//bsgom pa chu bo'i gzhung bzhin tu//bsgom med ngang la yengs med du//rgyun chad med pa bsgom pa yin//spyod pa bu chung smyon pa bzhin//'bad rtsol med par lhug pa tu//bza' btad med pa spyod pa yin//'bras bu re dogs med ngang nas//de la brtan thob 'bras bu yin//lta sgom (45a) spyod pa 'bra bu bzhi//gang shar lhun grub e ma 'tshar //bsgom rtse gang la'ang mi btod cing //bsgom yid btad med ngang la zhog//de ltar byung na rdzogs sangs rgyas//de yang bying rgod byung ba na//bying tshe glang po 'dam nas thon//rgod tshe byi'u klung su phob//gnyis med nam mkha'i dbying su zhog//di la sngon 'gro dngos gzhi tshang //rjes la smon lam rgya yis thob//bud med lus la skal ba bzang //drod pa skyed la bsgom yun bsrings//brtan pa thob pa'i bkra shis shog//e wam//. An almost identical, but ten lines shorter, song is rendered on folio 49b–50a in *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*.*

those of Mi la ras pa in many ways, both in terms of structure and contents. This is also logical; both were actively involved in disseminating Mi la ras pa's teachings, life story, and songs. They modeled their lifestyles on that of Mi la ras pa, meditated in the same caves, performed the same practices, promoted and followed the same wandering and ascetic lifestyle, and so forth. gTsang smyon was also seen as an emanation of Mi la ras pa and Kun tu bzang mo as an emanation of Mi la ras pa's female disciple Sa le 'od.³⁵

Their respective songs vary in length, from just a few lines to spanning several folios. They usually have seven or nine syllables per line. gTsang smyon's songs are more elaborate and varied in terms of syllables per line, and they have a more complex structure. He was an authority and expert in the field of *mgur* composition and had compiled and printed many works containing *mgur*. Moreover, he had composed his own songs and a small treatise – a catalogue (*dkar chags*) – about songs.³⁶ Kun tu bzang mo seems to have been aware of her limitations when it comes to the technicalities of *mgur* composition. At the end of one of her songs she remarks, "I do not know much about the scholarly, poetic, compositions of the learned."³⁷ In the same song, Kun tu bzang mo also states that her songs, though not as well-composed as those of her teacher, are profound in terms of their contents. "When sincerely practiced, and not left as mere words and phrases, these instructions are utterly profound," she sings.³⁸

As is customary in these types of songs, gTsang smyon's and Kun tu bzang mo's songs begin with a supplication to the lama. These initial verses of supplication usually begin with a few Sanskrit words, typically *namo guru* – "homage to the lama." These words have a vocative function, signaling the beginning of the song; the supplication invokes the previous lineage holders, especially one's own main teacher (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*), who represents, upholds, and transmits the profound teachings of the lineage to both the singer and the recipient/s of the song. gTsang smyon's initial supplications are usually shorter than Kun tu bzang mo's. Frequently he begins his songs

³⁵ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo* 22a. Sa le 'od was one of Mi la ras pa's foremost female disciples. Their meeting, several songs attributed to her, and the songs Mi la ras pa sang in response, are rendered in Mi la ras pa's collected songs. For an English translation, see Chang 1989, 408–420; Stagg 2017, 431–444. For Tibetan, see gTsang smyon, *The Life and Songs of Mi la ras pa*, 565–577.

³⁶ *A Catalogue of Songs (mGur gyi dkar chags)*. For a study and translation of this text, see Larsson & Quintman 2015.

³⁷ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo* 44a–44b: *mkhas mkhas sdebs sbyor mang po nga mi shes//*. This statement could, however, be an expression of her modesty rather than a declaration of facts.

³⁸ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo* 44a: *kha tsam tshig tsam nyid du ma lus par//snying nas nyams blangs gdams pa ci yang zab//*.

directly after *namo guru*. Sometimes he supplicates the lamas of the bka' brgyud tradition in general, and five of his songs begin with a supplication to his main teacher, Sha ra rab byams pa Sangs rgyas seng ge (1427–1470).³⁹ Kun tu bzang mo's initial supplications are normally addressed to gTsang smyon, and they typically are two, three, or four lines long. The following supplication from the beginning of one of Kun tu bzang mo's songs may serve as a characteristic example of such a supplication:

Namo Guru!

I bow down at the feet of the Lord, the King of the Blood-drinkers (gTsang smyon),
the Victorious Physician who dispels the diseases of the five poisons.
Bless me and others, the beings who are afflicted by the five poisons,
so that the five poisons dawn as wisdom!⁴⁰

In gTsang smyon's catalogue of songs, he details the history, structure, and function of *mgur*. Additionally, he explains how a song should be composed and performed, and also how it should be received by the listener/s.⁴¹ In this work, gTsang smyon stresses the importance of beginning the song with a supplication to one's lama. "If you don't offer supplications, you won't receive blessings," he writes.⁴² "The lama is the highest and most excellent being embodying all those who are praiseworthy," he continues.⁴³

Most of their songs ends with the Sanskrit syllables *evam*.⁴⁴ This Indo-Aryan word, meaning something like "this is how it is," marks the end of a song in a solemn manner.⁴⁵ According to Buddhist exegetes, the two syllables express the final goal in Buddhism, the

³⁹ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 5a, 17b, 18b, 19b, 23b. There is a *rnam thar* about Sha ra rab byams pa Sangs rgyas seng ge compiled by Zla ba rgyal mtshan. See bibliography for title and publication details.

⁴⁰ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 39a: *na mo gu ru/rje dug lnga'i nad sel sman pa'i rgyal/khrag 'thung rgyal po'i zhabs la 'dud//bdag sogs dug lngas gzir ba'i 'gro ba rnams//dug lnga ye shes su 'char bar byin rlobs//*.

⁴¹ *A Catalogue of Songs*. Translated and studied in Larsson & Quintman 2015.

⁴² *A Catalogue of Songs*, 4a: *gsol ba ma btab na byin brlabs mi 'byung*. Larsson & Quintman 2015, 117.

⁴³ *A Catalogue of Songs*, 5a: *bla ma mchod 'os kun 'dus pa'i bdag nyid rab dam pa lags so*. Larsson & Quintman, 2015, 119.

⁴⁴ The term is spelled *e waṃ* in *The Life of Kuntu Sangmo* and *e baṃ* in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*.

⁴⁵ Jäschke translates the term as "yes," "certainly," "to be sure." (Jäschke 1977 [1881], 607).

inseparability between wisdom/emptiness (*e*) and method/great bliss (*vam*).⁴⁶

Not only the structures of their respective songs are similar, but also the contents and message. Many of their songs focus on the cultivation of profound insight into the nature of the mind, and the term *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*) is often used for these types of practices.⁴⁷ The four thoughts that turn the mind [toward dharma] (*blo zlog rnam bzhi*) – the precious human body, impermanence, cause and effect, and the shortcomings of cyclic existence (*saṃsāra*) – also figure prominently in their songs. Moreover, they both point out that “self-clinging” (*bdag ’dzin*) and “subject-object dichotomy” (*gzung ’dzin*) give rise to *saṃsāra* and its sufferings. In one of his songs, gTsang smyon explains to his benefactor, the female ruler (*dpon mo*) bSod nams bzang mo, who has just lost her husband, that the only way to be free from *saṃsāra*’s suffering is to abandon its cause, self-clinging. “If you want to leave the battlefields of *saṃsāra*, defeat the armies of the enemy, self-clinging!” he sings.⁴⁸ In a similar but more elaborate manner, Kun tu bzang mo explains to her disciple sMin grol ras pa how to eliminate the five poisons – desire, anger, delusion, pride, and envy:

To overcome the enemy – the five poisons –
gather an army and armaments!
Urge the troops, the excellent remedial powers,
to engage in warfare with the strong effort
of remembering impermanence!
Take hold of the weapon, naturally free awareness, the heroic
awareness of death, penetrating your being!
And kill the enemy – the five poisons!

Moreover, if you worry that the corpse will rise behind you,
burn it in the fire of wisdom,
throw its solid bones into the water,
and let all its pulverized ashes be carried away by the wind!⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Cf. Zhang Yisun et al. 1985, 3141.

⁴⁷ In his catalogue of gTsang smyon’s songs, rGod tshang ras pa calls a sub-category of this type of songs “songs that introduce [the nature of the mind]” (*ngo sprod kyi mgur*). rGod tshang ras pa, *The Illuminating Sunlight Catalogue*; cf. Larsson 2021, 71. For more on *mahāmudrā*, see, for example, Roberts 2011.

⁴⁸ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 12b: *’khor ba’i g.yul ngo zlog par ’dod na//bdag ’dzin dgra bo* (L: *dgra’o*) *dmangs su phob cig* (L: *shig*)//. Cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 92–93; *The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa*, 87–89. See also Larsson 2021, 73.

⁴⁹ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 43a–43b: *dug lnga’i dgra bo ’dul ba la//dpung dang cha lag ’dzoms pa ’tshal//gnyen stobs bzang po’i dmag dpung la//mi rtag dran pa’i dmag las kyis//brtson ’grus drag pos dmag bkul zhing//’chi bas snying zug dpa’ bo yi//dran pa rang grol* (43b) *mtshon thogs nas//dug lnga’i dgra bo bsod ’tshal lo//da dung ro langgs rgyab dogs pas//ye shes me la bsreg pa yi//rus pa yeags med chu la pho//thal ba btad med rlung la*

In these examples, Kun tu bzang mo and gTsang smyon use the analogy of defeating and killing an enemy in a war. This violent analogy likely mirrors the violent and war-ridden times during which they lived. The real enemy is not to be found outside, according to the songs, but rather it is the self-clinging and the five poisons that this self-clinging gives rise to that need to be uprooted and completely wiped out, if we want to obtain lasting and permanent peace.

Another common theme in their songs is the promotion of a wandering ascetic lifestyle. They both exhort their followers to follow in the footsteps of their bka' brgyud forefather Mi la ras pa, and abandon the so-called eight worldly concerns (*'jig rten chos brgyad*) as peripatetic yogis. A Buddhist practitioner should neither strive to attain victory, fame, praise, and happiness, nor strive to avoid defeat, obscurity, blame, and suffering. The yogi should not care about such worldly and selfish concerns, but devote his or her time and energy to "benefiting the [Buddhist] teachings and the sentient beings," they sing.⁵⁰

In one of her songs Kun tu bzang mo instructs her disciple to let reflections on impermanence and the sufferings of cyclic existence contribute to letting go of the eight worldly concerns:

When, [you] remember death from the bottom of [your] heart,
the eight worldly concerns are carried away by the wind.

When [you] know where [you] will be reborn after death, the
eight worldly concerns are carried away by the wind.

When [you] reflect upon the suffering of cyclic existence, the
eight worldly concerns are carried away by the wind.⁵¹

In a somewhat similar vein, gTsang smyon encourages the above mentioned bSod nams bzang mo to renounce her kingdom and become a wandering yoginī. "See how that which has been constructed falls apart, abandon houses made of earth and stone, give up attachment to cities and farmland, and wander in remote mountains," he sings.⁵²

bkur/. This song resembles one of gTsang smyon's songs. For an English translation of the similar section, see Larsson 2021, 78–79.

⁵⁰ *bsTan pa dang sems can la phan pa*. This expression is repeated in both gTsang smyon's and Kun tu bzang mo's songs and life stories; see, for example, *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 5b, 18b, 27a, 43a; *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 25a.

⁵¹ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 43b: 'chi ba snying nas dran na chos brgyad rlung gis 'khyer/shi nas gar skye shes na chos brgyad rlung gis 'khyer//khor ba'i sduḡ bsngal bsams na chos brgyad rlung gis 'khyer//.

⁵² *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 12b: rtsigs nas 'jig pa mthong bas//sa mkhar pe'u'i (G: spe'u'i) las dang//grong yul zhen pa bor la (L: spongs la)//gnyan sa ri khrod 'grims cig (L: shig)//. Cf. *The Heart of the Sun*, 92–93; *The Life of gTsang pa smyon pa*, 87–89. See also Larsson 2021, 73.

Kun tu bzang mo's and gTsang smyon's songs are mainly directed toward two categories of recipients: yogi-disciples and patrons. Since the patrons generally also were disciples, these two categories are often blurred. Their songs are usually directed to one specific person, who is named in the narrative frame introducing the song or in the song itself. Only on a few occasions do they sing songs to a group of people. About fifteen percent of gTsang smyon's songs are directed toward females, while about thirty percent of Kun tu bzang mo's songs are sung to females. Their songs thus reveal that they had both male and female followers.

Besides the three songs to Kun tu bzang mo which were translated above, songs to many other yogi-disciples are included in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*. His earliest and closest disciple, Rin chen dpal bzang po, received five short songs, and Mon rdze rtogs ldan two songs, for example.⁵³ Moreover, he sang several songs to famous political leaders who were or became his patrons, both male and female. He sang songs to the king of Mang yul gung thang rNam rgyal sde (1422–1502) and to his sons, bSam grub sde (1459–1505) and Shes rab dpal bzang (n.d.).⁵⁴ Two songs directed to female leaders are also included in gTsang smyon's song collection, one to 'Dzam gling and mKha' 'gro bzang mo (i.e. mKha' 'gro rgyal mo), and one to the queen of rTen khebs (gTing khebs), the above mentioned, bSod nams bzang mo.⁵⁵ In one of the collection's last songs, gTsang smyon instructs the most powerful political leader at the time, Don yod rdo rje (1462–1512).⁵⁶

⁵³ The songs to Rin chen dpal bzang po are found in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 2a–3a, 20b–21a. The songs to Mon rdze rtogs ldan are found in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 13a–14b, 23b–24b.

⁵⁴ They are all called kings (*rgyal po*) in the song collection. The song to rNam rgyal sde is found in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 10b–11b. There are two songs addressed to bSam grub sde, *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 5a–9b; and one to Shes rab dpal bzang, *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 24b–25a. For an English translation of one of the songs to bSam grub sde, see Stearns 1985, 98–113.

⁵⁵ The song to lcam mo 'Dzam gling and mKha' 'gro bzang mo is rendered in *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 11b–12a. 'Dzam gling is better known as 'Dzam gling rgyal mo (see, for example, *The Heart of the Sun*, 88). She was the sister of the famous rDo rje phag mo incarnation Chos kyi sgron ma (1422–1455) and the daughter of king lHa dbang rgyal mtshan (1404–1464) (Diemberger 2007, 340, n. 18; Diemberger & Clemente 2013, 121). The title *lcam mo* usually means queen, but it could also mean sister. 'Dzam gling was not married, and she was half-sister to king rNam rgyal sde. Hildegard Diemberger identifies mKha' 'gro bzang mo as mKha' 'gro rgyal mo, daughter of king rNam rgyal sde and half-sister to Nor bu sde and bSam grub sde (Diemberger & Clemente 2013, 123; Diemberger 2016, 293). For the song to bSod nams bzang mo, see *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 12a–13a.

⁵⁶ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 26b–27a.

Most of Kun tu bzang mo's songs are directed toward male and female Buddhist practitioners who are unknown today, and only a few of whom were leaders. A notable exception is a song to the crazy yogi 'Brug pa kun legs (1455–1529).⁵⁷ Although he was not a political leader, he was certainly famous. A song to the female ruler (*bdag mo*) mKha' 'gro rgyal mo, who, as mentioned above, had previously received a song from gTsang smyon, is also included in her biography.⁵⁸ mKha' 'gro rgyal mo asked Kun tu bzang mo to give her a teaching about death. In response she sang:

The elevated status you have attained now is the result of previous accumulations.

However, if you do not act in a meaningful way now,
this fortunate situation will not remain, it will last for only an instant.⁵⁹

gTsang smyon and Kun tu bzang mo not only had different genders, but they also practiced Buddhism in disparate ways. gTsang smyon was a crazy yogi practicing “disciplined conduct” – *brtul bzhugs spyod pa* (Skr: *vratacaryā*) – while Kun tu bzang mo, though an upholder of the same tradition, practiced Buddhism in a less outrageous manner.⁶⁰ This is another difference between gTsang smyon and Kun tu bzang mo, and one that is reflected in their respective songs and biographies. gTsang smyon refers to himself as a “crazy yogi” (*rnal 'byor smyon pa*) in some of his songs,⁶¹ and his biography contains many episodes which describe his transgressive and sometimes outright shocking behavior. He also received his moniker, “The Madman from gTsang,” (gTsang pa smyon pa/gTsang smyon) due to his bizarre and seemingly crazy behavior.⁶² In contrast, although in one of her songs Kun tu bzang mo sings that one's conduct should be “effortless and natural like the conduct of a little child or a madman,”⁶³ she is never called crazy (*smyon ma*) by mKhyen rab dbang phyug. She does not refer to herself as crazy, and her behavior is not described as norm-breaking or transgressive.

⁵⁷ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 51a–51b.

⁵⁸ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 39b–41a.

⁵⁹ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 40a: *sngon bsags 'bras bu'i da lta mngon mtho thob//di 'dra'i dus su don yod ma mdzad nal//di nyid rgyun du mi gnas yud tsam yin//*.

⁶⁰ For more on disciplined conduct and the crazy yogis of Tibet, see DiValerio 2015a; Larsson 2012; Larsson 2019.

⁶¹ *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 5a, 8b, 9b, 15a, 15b.

⁶² For a detailed study of gTsang smyon's life, focusing on how he became a crazy yogi, see Larsson 2012.

⁶³ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 44b: *spyod pa bu chung smyon pa bzhin //bad rtsol med par lhug pa tu//bza' btad med pa spyod pa yin//*. The song is cited in full above.

3. Reflections and Conclusions

Rita Gross has noted that there are two radically different ideas about gender in Buddhism. One holds that gender is irrelevant because women and men can both discover the nature of the enlightened mind, “and that enlightened mind is not one iota different in women than it is in men.” The other is that it is more fortunate to be reborn as a man because of the privileges that go with a male birth.⁶⁴ Nancy Barnes claims that, doctrinally, Buddhism has been egalitarian from its beginnings: “the same teachings were given by the Buddha to his female and male disciples, the same spiritual path was opened to all, the same goal pointed out.”⁶⁵ But, as Barnes continues, when the monks’ and nuns’ orders were founded, “it was necessary to establish rules to regulate the daily lives of the ascetics; and in the heart of a religion which was free of any doctrines which fostered inequality a patriarchal structure arose.”⁶⁶ As described by Gross and Barnes, it thus appears that in Buddhism gender may not matter in theory, but it does matter in practice. Hanna Havnevik remarks that self-effacement is an integral part of the identity and self-presentation of Tibetan women and is “conditioned by misogynist views maintained by socio-cultural norms, indigenous as well as those transplanted to Tibet through Buddhist scriptures and monastic culture.”⁶⁷

In contrast to these rather gloomy descriptions of women in Buddhism and Tibetan culture, Kun tu bzang mo is portrayed in her songs and biography as an influential and self-confident woman with much authority, and the yogic community to which she belonged seems to have been quite egalitarian. On a few occasions, however, the fact that Kun tu bzang mo was a woman is visible in her songs. In the following excerpt from a song directed to a fully ordained monk, she appears to be in a dilemma. On one hand, she needs to sing a song to him since he has requested one from her, but on the other hand, she seems aware of the inappropriateness of the situation, a woman who is not fully ordained giving teachings to a fully ordained monk:

[You] Changsempa, a fully ordained śākya monk,
said that [you] needed a song which benefits the mind.
It is inappropriate that someone like me,
a woman (*skye dman*) with little learning,
should give advice to a learned meditator like you.
However, since your intention is pure,

⁶⁴ Gross 2005, 3331.

⁶⁵ Barnes 1987, 105.

⁶⁶ Barnes 1987, 106.

⁶⁷ Havnevik 1999, 47.

there might be some benefit [if I] give you detailed explanations with pure perception.⁶⁸

It is noteworthy that Kun tu bzang mo uses the term *skye dman*, literally “inferior birth,” when referring to herself in this song. *skye dman* is the common colloquial Tibetan word for woman, and although it does not necessarily have a derogatory meaning, it can be used in a derogatory sense.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, *dman* can also mean “modest” or “low,” and to take a low and modest position (*dman sa bzung*) is regarded as praiseworthy in Buddhism, and is something both gTsang smyon and Kun tu bzang mo encouraged their disciples to do.⁷⁰ To refer to herself as inferior and uneducated could thus convince the receivers of her song that she was the very opposite, namely superior and learned.

In one of the above-quoted songs, Kun tu bzang mo sings to her disciple, the nun Chos kyi dpal mo, “[your] female body is fortunate” (*bud med lus la skal pa bzang*).⁷¹ In this song Kun tu bzang mo displays an extraordinarily positive view of the female body, a view that contrasts with the way in which the female body is described in some other Buddhist scriptures and also by some other female Tibetan Buddhist practitioners. Se ra mkha’ ’gro (1892–1940), for instance, laments, “Even though there is no difference between men’s and women’s altruistic intention to become enlightened, in the perspective of disciples, my body is inferior.”⁷² On another occasion she asks a lama, “Because I am an inferior woman (*lus dman*), it is difficult for me to benefit beings in the world. Hence, if I abandon this body and try to attain a man’s body, I wonder if I will benefit beings?”⁷³ An older, even more dramatic example is found in O rgyan chos skyid’s (1675–1729) autobiography:

This female body is itself samsara – the round of existence.
May I attain a male body, and keep the vows,
May I never again be born in the body of a woman!⁷⁴

⁶⁸ *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 37a: *shākya dge slong byang sems pas//sems la phan pa’i mgur dgos gsungs//bdag ’dra skye dman thos chung gis//khyed thos sgom can la zhu mi rigs//gang na’ang thugs bsam dag pa yis//’on kyang cung zad phan pa’ang srid//dag snang ldan pa’i gzhig ’grel zhu//*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Jacoby 2014, 133.

⁷⁰ See, for example, *The Collected Songs of gTsang pa Heruka*, 18b; *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 46a.

⁷¹ This song is rendered twice in *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*. The second time, it is abbreviated and there are some different spellings, but the phrase saying that the female body is fortunate is included and is identical in both versions. Cf. *The Life of Kun tu bzang mo*, 44b–45a; 49b–50a.

⁷² Jacoby 2014, 131.

⁷³ Jacoby 2014, 147.

⁷⁴ Schaeffer 2004, 143.

As noted above, the songs of Kun tu bzang mo and gTsang smyon Heruka, as well as their living examples, provide us with a quite different and more positive depiction of the female body and of female Buddhist practitioners' potentials. It did not seem to matter much to them whether their disciples were male or female, ordained or lay. What did matter appears to have been their disciples' capacity to practice in the footsteps of the great bka' brgyud yogis of the past and to benefit the teachings and sentient beings. Although this requires effort, it is something men, women, monks, nuns, and laypeople all can do, according to their songs and biographies. When gTsang smyon authorized Kun tu bzang mo to be his successor, he demonstrated that a woman could attain the highest possible position in his lineage.⁷⁵ Kun tu bzang mo's life story and the songs contained therein document a successful, influential, and independent female religious leader who was authorized by her male teacher and had both male and female disciples and patrons. These rare Tibetan texts thus reveal that female Buddhist practitioners seem to have been remarkably equal to men in this particular yogic community, during this particular historical period, and in the geographical areas where they were active.

Kun tu bzang mo's own biography was not printed, however. Instead it was written down by her male disciple mKhyen rab dbang phyug. So, while gTsang smyon and several other male figures in his tradition had their own song collections and life stories preserved in printed form for coming generations, Kun tu bzang mo's biography was preserved only in handwritten manuscripts, and therefore was never widely disseminated. Likewise, Se ra mkha' 'gro's autobiography (*rang nam*) remained unpublished, circulating only in manuscript form until more than a half century after her death, when it was finally published.⁷⁶ Kurtis Schaeffer writes that O rgyan chos skyid, who lived almost two hundred years after Kun tu bzang mo, was scolded when she asked her teacher if he could write down her life story. "There is no reason to write a *Life* for you – a woman. You must be silent," her teacher said.⁷⁷ This negative attitude toward recording the life story of a female Buddhist practitioner was probably also prevalent in Kun tu bzang mo's lifetime, and perhaps mKhyen rab dbang

⁷⁵ It is noteworthy, however, that neither lHa btsun Rin chen nam rgyal nor rGod tshang ras pa mentions that Kun tu bzang mo became gTsang smyon's successor in their respective gTsang smyon-biographies. gTsang smyon probably had several formal successors, and Kun tu bzang mo appears to have been one of them. Both lHa btsun and rGod tshang ras pa were likely also authorized as successors by gTsang smyon.

⁷⁶ Jacoby 2014, 7.

⁷⁷ Schaeffer 2004, 54.

phyug did something controversial when he wrote down her biography and songs. If so, it would have been even more controversial to make a printed edition of her life story. Printing a text involved editors, scribes, and carvers; it was a time consuming and costly enterprise that required expensive materials, such as paper and wood. A printed version could easily be reproduced and copied, and therefore was more likely to be preserved for coming generations.⁷⁸ The fact that Kun tu bzang mo's biography still exists is therefore quite remarkable. If her biography, which contains her songs, would have been lost, Kun tu bzang mo would have been remembered as a rather insignificant woman. She would have been mentioned in passing in some printed works about male figures in gTsang smyon's tradition and in the colophons of printed works she financed, but beside that she would be forgotten. Thanks to mKhyen rab dbang phyug's manuscript about her, which was recently found in Tibet, and if mKhyen rab dbang phyug provides accurate information, we can now conclude that her importance for gTsang smyon's tradition and for his legacy overall was much larger than previous studies suggest.

Finally, it is noteworthy that some of the messages that gTsang smyon and Kun tu bzang mo convey in their songs and biographies resemble more recent developments in Buddhism. By including women and laity, and by emphasizing meditation practice and deemphasizing monasticism, they present Buddhism in a way that – at least to some extent – bears a resemblance to what is nowadays referred to as “Buddhist modernism.”⁷⁹ However, by emphasizing an ascetic wandering lifestyle and encouraging their followers to give up worldly life, their songs and biographies also resemble texts depicting the early Indian followers of Buddha Śākyamuni. In addition, they resemble later reform movements such as the so-called “forest tradition” in Theravada Buddhism. The message contained in their songs and biographies thus appears to be both modern and traditional at the same time.

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⁷⁸ For more on the history of printing and its importance in Tibet, see Diemberger et al. 2016.

⁷⁹ Cf. Larsson 2019, 1243.

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“May it Meet with a Karmically Destined Mahākāruṅika Yogin!”—Ratna Lingpa’s Renewal of the *Maṇi*-Pill Tradition in Fifteenth Century Tibet¹

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1. Introduction

Pills and other material compounds operating at the intersection of religion and medicine have been an integral part of the Buddhist tradition throughout its history.² This paper considers one of the most enduring and popular medico-Buddhist pill traditions in the history of Tibetan Buddhism—the *maṇi* pill—by examining a pivotal chapter in its storied history: the reception and revival of the *maṇi* pill in the fifteenth century by the influential Treasure revealer and scholar Ratna Lingpa (Ratna gling pa, 1403–1479).

The Tibetan *maṇi* pill is part of an ongoing Buddhist medico-ritual tradition whose roots lie in Indian Buddhist narrative and ritual literature that was translated into Tibetan between the eighth and twelfth

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² Salguero 2022.

centuries.³ The pill is best known today as produced under the auspices of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso, in Dharamsala, India, and from the *maṇi rimdu* festival performed in the highlands of Nepal, as lavishly documented by Richard Kohn.⁴ It is little known, however, that well before these two contemporary traditions were inaugurated in the seventeenth century, Ratna Lingpa was the principal revealer and propagator of the *maṇi*-pill tradition.⁵

Located at the interface between Tibetan medicinal and Buddhist ritual traditions that had already been intermingling for centuries, Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill revelation came embedded in a broader set of Buddhist narrative and ritual traditions and incorporated as ingredients the flesh of the bodhisattva of compassion Avalokiteśvara's emanations and other Buddhist "very special dead," along with substances more commonly used in Tibetan medicine.⁶ Key to the manufacture and public distribution of Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi* pill is an elaborate communal ritual consecration process practiced to this day. This ritual is part of Ratna Lingpa's broader Treasure revelation known as the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* (*Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa*), featuring a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara and a seven-syllable form of his mantra.⁷ Ratna Lingpa made a concerted effort throughout his lifetime to promote the *maṇi* pill's production, consecration, and consumption throughout Tibet as part of this ritual cycle.

The enduring popularity of Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill tradition surely derives in large part from the sustained care he devoted toward packaging and promoting it in this compelling and practicable ritual format. But its success is also in no small part attributable to the charisma, learning, and reputation of Ratna Lingpa himself, and, most crucially, how he leveraged these to form key relationships with the past. Ratna Lingpa is one of the most illustrious figures in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. The Nyingma tradition to which he belonged maintains that the *maṇi* pill is part of Tibet's larger ongoing revelatory

³ The Indian pedigree of the *maṇi* pill, only briefly touched on below, will be dealt with in greater detail in my forthcoming study.

⁴ For analysis of the *maṇi*-pill tradition of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, see Kloos (2010, 116–126). For the *maṇi rimdu* festival of Nepal, see Kohn 1985 and 2001.

⁵ This is evinced in Karma chags med's (1613–1678) fascinating text narrating the history and benefits of Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi* pill and the ritual tradition of which it partakes, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i maṇi bum sgrub dang ril bu'i lo rgyus dang phan yon* (2010, vol. 14, 451–496). This text, together with the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century transformations of the *maṇi*-pill tradition, will be treated in my future study.

⁶ I draw the phrase "very special dead" from Brown 1981, 69–85.

⁷ The Tibetan title of this Treasure cycle, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa*, suggests a connection with the *maṇḍala* of the Indian Buddhist *Guhyasamājantra*, but with the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as Mahākārunika occupying central position. This connection will be explored in my future study.

system—known as the Treasure tradition—which was set in motion by the eighth to ninth century Indian *yogin* Padmasambhava.⁸ The Nyingma tradition claims that during his stay in Tibet serving as tantric guru to the Tibetan imperial court, Padmasambhava concealed countless scriptures and sacra to be excavated over the ensuing centuries by future reincarnations of the royal entourage whom the Indian *yogin* prophesied would serve as Treasure discoverers emerging at specific times and places to reveal particular teachings and sacra when the time is most ripe for their dispensation and practice. Ratna Lingpa was one of the most prolific prophesied Treasure revealers in the history of Tibet. He is credited with excavating from Tibet's ancient temples and natural landscape twenty-five separate Treasure revelations, consisting of a wide range of liturgical manuals, contemplative instructions, historical narratives, and material sacra, many of which have been passed down to the present.

Ratna Lingpa was also a prolific scholar in his own right. He wrote numerous erudite compositions on topics in Buddhist history, philosophy, poetry, contemplation, ritual, art, and material culture. Perhaps most important among his scholarly activities was his work as an archivist and editor of tantric scriptures. Ratna Lingpa is renowned in the annals of Tibetan tradition as instrumental in compiling the Nyingma *tantras* into a coherent canonical collection—the *Collection of Old School Tantras* (*rNying ma rgyud 'bum*)—in the wake of their nearly complete exclusion from the *Kangyur* canonical collections compiled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁹

Despite the centrality of Ratna Lingpa in the history of Tibetan Buddhism and the identity of its Nyingma school to the present, there remains little research squarely focused on this figure's life, milieu, and broader influence. An ancillary goal of the present paper is to help fill this lacuna by presenting and analyzing Ratna Lingpa's diverse involvements with this influential medico-Buddhist pill tradition. But the broader aim of this paper is to contribute toward my ongoing study of the history of the *maṇi*-pill tradition in Tibet over its *longue durée*, from its origins in Indian Buddhist scriptures translated into Tibetan in the eighth century, up to the present period, by analyzing its most pivotal transformations. The present consideration fits into this larger project by assessing Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill revelations and related biographical vignettes in relation to the earlier *maṇi*-pill tradition of the Treasure revealer Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212–1270). In so doing, it attempts to illustrate how Ratna Lingpa renewed the *maṇi*-pill tradition of his predecessor by forming

⁸ For a traditional biography of this figure, see Tsogyal 1993.

⁹ Harrison 1994, van der Kuijp and Schaeffer 2009, and Almogi 2020.

key continuities with the past and making some subtle but important innovations.

I examine this dynamic interplay between tradition and novelty by first considering the *maṇi*-pill tradition initiated by Guru Chöwang, particularly in terms of the legacy of its propagation and the controversies it generated in the fourteenth century. I then attempt to account for Ratna Lingpa's involvement with the *maṇi*-pill tradition in narrative depictions of his visions, dreams, miracles, and revelation episodes featuring Guru Chöwang and the *maṇi* pill. Finally, I analyze how the legacy of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition found expression in Ratna Lingpa's revealed *maṇi*-pill writings themselves. I argue that Ratna Lingpa's revelation effectively rebranded Guru Chöwang's earlier revelation of the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* (*Thugs rje chen po yang rnying 'dus pa*) through a process of textual reuse, editing, recontextualization, and canonization, in tandem with the narrativization of related events that foreground his special relationship with Guru Chöwang and his earlier *maṇi*-pill tradition. I suggest, moreover, that Ratna Lingpa's editorial reuse of Guru Chöwang's writings/revelations was driven in some measure by the controversial reception of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition during the century and half or so that separated these two figures, but more fundamentally, by the recognition that the *maṇi*-pill tradition could prove crucial in creating bonds between Tibetans across time and space that would inform a sense of kindred Tibetan identity. In this, I propose that the *maṇi* pill was promoted by Ratna Lingpa, and Guru Chöwang before him, for its potential to function as a kind of kinship substance, relating *maṇi*-pill consumers as kindred offspring of Avalokiteśvara through a combination of ritual, narrative, pill production, commensality, and an enduring behavioral regimen adopted and adhered to through the acceptance and maintenance of tantric *samaya* commitments.

In closely comparing key passages in Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's Treasure texts and relating this comparison to their socio-religious contexts, I also aim to submit a case study for scrutiny according to the methodological observations made by Cantwell and Mayer. They have illustrated in their studies of Nyingma Vajakīlaya traditions, in particular, how the issue of continuity and/or innovation in Tibet's Treasure tradition is most fruitfully approached by combining the philological approach of comparing specific Treasure texts to their historical cognates with the socio-cultural approach of examining their wider contexts of production/revelation and reception.¹⁰ Building on Cantwell's and Mayer's observations, I seek to bring another, quite

¹⁰ Cantwell 2015a and 2020, Mayer 2015.

different example into view, one that can shed light on the history of a pill tradition that has constituted a core component of Tibetan Buddhist identity to the present. Finally, as a foundational part of my broader study of the *maṇi*-pill tradition over the course of its one-thousand year history, this study is an initial gesture toward following Barbara Gerke's lead in addressing Cathy Cantwell's call for scholars studying the connection between Buddhist ritual and Tibetan medicine to begin researching specific pill traditions and medicinal compounds in their socio-historical and ritual contexts.¹¹ Further toward this end, I provide in appendices Tibetan editions and English translations of several of the seminal literary sources of the *maṇi*-pill tradition that I discuss herein.

*2. Guru Chöwang's Maṇi Pill in the Career of Ratna Lingpa:
The Intertwined Lives of Two Mahākāruṇika Yogins from Lhodrak*

Ratna Lingpa was born in the region of Lhodrak (Lho brag), Southern Tibet, in a small village called Drushül (Gru shul).¹² Based in this region throughout his life, Ratna Lingpa traveled widely throughout Ü (dBus) and Tsang (gTsang) to become renowned throughout Tibet as one of the greatest Buddhist visionaries and teachers of his day. As mentioned above, he excavated twenty-five separate Treasure revelations that included a diversity of liturgical manuals, contemplative instructions, and sacra such as statues, relics, medicinal pills, and, most significantly for the present discussion, *brahmin flesh*. Ratna Lingpa was so prolific as a Treasure revealer that he alone is said to have excavated the Treasures intended for three different prophesied Treasure revealers. He consequently also became known by the names of Shikpo Lingpa (Zhig po gling pa) and Drodül Dorjé ('Gro 'dul gling pa).¹³ Many of his Treasures continue to be practiced to this day.

Ratna Lingpa's natal territory of Lhodrak had been a place of great importance for Buddhists since as early as the eleventh century, and perhaps since the time of the Tibetan empire in the seventh and eighth

¹¹ Cantwell 2015b, Gerke 2019.

¹² For brief biographies of Ratna Lingpa, see Dudjom 1991, 793–795, Leschly 2007b, and Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Taye 2011, 222–224.

¹³ Ratna Lingpa's epithet of Shikpo Lingpa (Zhig po gling pa) became a point of controversy after another later Treasure revealer assumed this prophesied name, calling himself Shikpo Lingpa Gargyi Wangchuk Tsel (Zhig po gling pa Gar gyi dbang phyug rtsal, 1524–1583); the sixteenth-century Shikpo Lingpa was posthumously accused by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1683) as having been a pretender to this prophesied identity. For more on this sixteenth-century figure and the controversy surrounding his identity as a Treasure revealer, see Gentry 2017, 56–75 and 384–408.

centuries.¹⁴ Most importantly for Ratna Lingpa, it was the birthplace and home of the famed thirteenth-century Treasure revealer Guru Chökyi Wangchuk, otherwise known as Guru Chöwang, who revealed numerous Treasures in the region and founded Layag Guru Temple (La yag gu ru lha khang) there in 1250.¹⁵ Growing up in such proximity to Guru Chöwang's home seems to have exerted a considerable influence on Ratna Lingpa. Ratna Lingpa is unequivocal in his autobiographical writings that he envisioned his own career as a Treasure revealer to be a continuation of Guru Chöwang's visionary revelations. As I will demonstrate below, integral to Ratna Lingpa's coming into his own as a Treasure revealer were dreams, visions, and miracles indicating that he was in fact the reincarnation, about a century removed, of Guru Chöwang's biological son Gyelsé Pema Wangchen (rGyal sras Padma dbang chen, 13th c.).

Perhaps nowhere is Guru Chöwang's influence more pronounced than in Ratna Lingpa's revelation and propagation of the brahmin-flesh *maṇi*-pill tradition associated with the propitiation of Avalokiteśvara and the recitation of his seven-syllable mantra *om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ*. As an important figure in systematizing the Nyingma Treasure tradition, Guru Chöwang is credited by Tibetan historians as the first Treasure revealer to have popularized the flesh-pill by embedding its production in a major ritual-contemplative practice system.¹⁶ This practice system is known as the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*.¹⁷ As its title suggests, the cycle centers on a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, known as the Great Compassionate One, or Mahākāruṇika, in Sanskrit. He is depicted as red in complexion, with one face and two arms, holding a crystal rosary in his right hand and a vase in his left, in sexual union with his consort and surrounded by a *maṇḍala* of other buddhas in sexual union. The *Quintessential Assembly* corpus includes a *tantra*, and a range of commentaries, narratives, contemplative practice instructions, and ritual manuals that embed the flesh in a larger framework of Buddhist history, theory, and practice.

¹⁴ Lhodrak is associated with the translator, and guru of Milarepa, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö (Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros, 1002/1012–1097/1100), the Treasure revealer Nyangrel Nyima Özer (Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192) and other important Buddhist figures; it is also the location of a temple said to have been built by Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po, 7th c.; cf. Sørensen 1994, 277–278). For more on the important people, pilgrimage sites, and temples associated with Lhodrak, see 'Jam dpal brtson 'grus 2010.

¹⁵ Layag Guru Temple is also known as bSam grub bde ba chen po. For short biographies of Guru Chöwang, see Dudjom 1991, 760–770, Leschly 2007a, and Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Taye 2011, 101–106. For more on his writings, revelations, and legacy, see Gyatso 1993 and 1994; and Phillips 2004.

¹⁶ Karma chags med 2010, 482.4–5.

¹⁷ Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug 1982.

With the revelation of this cycle, contemplative and ritual practices centering on this form of Avalokiteśvara became integral to the manufacture of the flesh into pills and their consecration.

The seven-times-born flesh that features in this practice system is presented as none other than the flesh of Avalokiteśvara. As this tradition has it, out of his boundless altruism for beings the bodhisattva of compassion emanated as a brahmin for seven consecutive lifetimes to render the bodily corpse of his seventh incarnation—imbued with the virtue and merit accrued to the consciousness-continuum over the course of these seven lifetimes—potent enough to benefit not just tantric Buddhist *yogins* involved in the esoteric practice of consuming transgressive substances, but the entire population of beings mired in the suffering of *samsāra*.¹⁸ Regardless of its putative intrinsic potency, however, the *Quintessential Assembly* presumes that rendering the flesh most efficacious requires an extensive consecration ceremony known as a “great accomplishment” rite (*sgrub chen*). The flesh-pill great accomplishment rite of this cycle is a collective liturgical practice in which participants mix the flesh with other ingredients, most of which feature also in Tibetan medicine, form the concoction into pills, and place them inside a vase, positioned at the center of a *maṅḍala*, which serves as the focal point for the performance of tantric visualization exercises, mantra recitations, and physical gestures and transactions. The rite culminates with an initiation in which the pills are distributed for consumption.

Vital to this consecration process is the collective recitation of Avalokiteśvara’s mantra. As I will show below, Guru Chöwang attracted both fame and infamy during his lifetime by revealing Treasures that newly add the seed-syllable *hrīḥ* to the six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara—*om maṇi padme hūm*—and promoting the collective recitation of this new mantra in the context of mass *maṇi*-pill consecration rituals. Given its focus on the bodhisattva of compassion and his mantra, this ritual came to be known as the “*maṇi*-pill accomplishment” (*maṇi ril sgrub*), “pill-vase accomplishment” (*ril bu bum sgrub*), or simply “vase accomplishment” (*bum sgrub*), after the vase containing the pills in the rite. It also came to be associated with the collective “one hundred million *maṇi* recitation session” (*maṇi dung phyur*) since mass intensive mantra recitation was invariably central to its consecration.¹⁹

Guru Chöwang’s revelation and propagation of the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* signaled a major turning point

¹⁸ See Appendix I for the seminal origin narrative according to Guru Chöwang’s tradition.

¹⁹ Karma chags med 2010, 451–496. For a detailed account of the *maṇi*-pill accomplishment rite, or *maṇi rimdu*, as it is performed in the highlands of Nepal, see Kohn 2001.

for the discourse and practice of the seven-times-born-flesh *maṇi* pill in Tibet. It seems that with the *Quintessential Assembly* Guru Chöwang was the first to successfully integrate the esoteric substance of seven-times-born brahmin flesh, which features in several important Indian Buddhist *tantras*, such as the *Hevajra*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and *Kālacakra*, among others, with a popular collective ritual practice centering on the bodhisattva of compassion Avalokiteśvara and his mantra.²⁰ Guru Chöwang claimed that eating his *maṇi* pills produced and consecrated in such contexts could cure illness, purify karma, ensure rebirth in a pure land, and even bring complete awakening. Such promises, along with the addition of the seed syllable *hrīḥ* to the end of the bodhisattva's famous six-syllable mantra as a means toward those goals, were integral facets of his *Quintessential Assembly* practice system.

To be clear, however, Guru Chöwang was not the first person to interpret the seven-born flesh of Indian Buddhist *tantras* to originate with advanced bodhisattvas and their altruistic commitment to benefit all beings through giving their own bodies. In this he was following an earlier interpretative current, voiced by among others the celebrated eleventh-century Indian Buddhist scholar Abhayākaragupta in his *Samputatantra* commentary, the *Āmnāyamañjarī*. There, the Indian scholar describes seven-timers as not just beings whose purity unwittingly propels them through seven successive human rebirths.²¹ More specifically, he states, they are bodhisattvas whose bodies become potent forces of beneficial activity through the stabilization and materialization of their bodhisattva vow and its attendant ethical conduct.

Neither was Guru Chöwang the first to bring seven-born flesh into a medical register, while nonetheless touting its potency to bring liberation through consumption. We find a medical emphasis already in the influential eleventh century *Kālacakratantra*-inspired commentary on the *Hevajratantra* called the *Hevajrapañḍārthaṭīkā*, attributed to the bodhisattva Vajragarbha and translated into Tibetan in the twelfth century. There, the flesh is figuratively glossed according to an "inner," "secret," or "definitive" meaning in keeping with Indian Āyurveda theory's conception of a seven-stage process of digestion and physiological formation, undergone by all humans, and more particularly, its most refined result, reproductive fluid, whose manipulation in the

²⁰ An argument to this effect will be presented in my extended study of this tradition. Suggesting such are Shes rab rgyal mtshan 1997, 391.6; and Karma chags med 2010, 451–496. For discussion of the Indian Buddhist tantric discourse of the seven-born-one (Skt. *saptajanma*, Tib. *skye ba bdun pa*; Skt. *saptāvarta*, Tib. *lan bdun pa*, 'khor bdun pa), see Snellgrove 2010, 71–73, 86–87; Gray 2007, 206–209, 367–369; and Gray 2005.

²¹ Abhayākaragupta 2015 (D1198), vol. 1, 886.5/6–887.3/4. For a Sanskrit edition and English translation of the *Samputatantra*, see Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2020a.

service of awakening is the purview of tantric subtle-body yoga.²² Along with providing a layering of literal and figurative senses, commentaries like Vajragarbha's extend the flesh's range of effects beyond the mundane goals of flight, longevity, healing, and so forth, to include the transcendent goal of complete awakening.²³

Where Guru Chöwang seems to have been innovative was in connecting the flesh and its complex of associations specifically to Avalokiteśvara, the patron bodhisattva of Tibet, and integrating it with a popular collective ritual practice centering on the manufacture and distribution of pills consecrated by his mantra. In this, Guru Chöwang's flesh-pill practice can be best understood in the context of his broader promotion of the cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet. Bradford Phillips has shown how Guru Chöwang was instrumental through his revelation and dissemination of the *Maṇi Kabum* (*Maṇi bKa' 'bum*) in popularizing the cult of Avalokiteśvara and the recitation of his mantra throughout all strata of thirteenth-century Tibetan society.²⁴ When viewed in light of these wider efforts, which Phillips highlights as "more evangelistic and sociopolitical in nature" than his predecessors, Guru Chöwang's Avalokiteśvara flesh cycle emerges as a way to quite literally materialize the bodhisattva from within the Tibetan landscape.²⁵ Propagation of the collective "great accomplishment" rite, culminating with the distribution and consumption of Avalokiteśvara's body, can then be seen in part as a way to induct as wide an audience as possible into a vision of Avalokiteśvara's intimate involvement with the Tibetan populace as Tibet's destined spiritual patron. In Guru Chöwang's revelation and distribution of Avalokiteśvara's body

²² Vajragarbha and Shendge 2004, 29–30, verses 23–36, 185–186, 232–233. The canonical Tibetan translation is Vajragarbha, *Kye'i rdo rje bsdus pa'i don gyi gya cher 'grel pa* (D1180), *Bstan 'gyur (dpe bsdur ma)* 1994–2008, vol. 1, 823–824, 973–974. The *Vajrapadaśārasaṃgrahapañjikā* attributed to Yaśobhadra (D1186), probably among other late *Hevajratāntra* commentaries, cites Vajragarbha's commentary to offer much the same interpretation. For details about this Āyurvedic theory, see Wuja-styk 1998, 5 and 320–327; and Maas 2008, 131, 135–136, and 142.

²³ Echoes of this range of interpretations are evident in the one of the earliest *Hevajratāntra* commentaries written in Tibetan, the *Ornament-Like Jewel* (*Rin chen rgyan 'dra*), attributed to the twelfth-century Tibetan scholar Ngok Shedang Dorjé (rNgog Zhe sdang rdo rje 1976, 153.7–154.6; 218.1–219.7); and in the Tibetan contemplative and healing tradition of *Pacifying* (*Zhi byed*) associated with the eleventh to twelfth-century Indian figure Padampa Sangyé (Thugs sras kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 73.7–78.1). See Gentry (2022) for more details on these connections. For an insightful analysis of the range of gustatory, medicinal, and alchemical valences associated with the consumption of human bodily substances in Tibetan religion, see Garrett 2010.

²⁴ Phillips 2004, 343–346.

²⁵ Phillips 2004, 344.

throughout Tibet, the bodhisattva's salvific grace could now be felt by Tibetans of all walks of life.

It is also worth mentioning that the Treasure tradition of revealing Avalokiteśvara's emanated brahmin flesh also stands out as a particularly visceral instance of what Matthew Kapstein has described as the shift among Tibetans from the twelfth century on toward finding India, the sacred source of Tibet's Buddhist traditions, within Tibet and Tibetans.²⁶ With Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill practice, the Indian Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion Avalokiteśvara could be found not only within the past lives and mindstreams of Tibet's ecclesiastical elite, as made known through their writings. He could also be discovered throughout the Tibetan landscape as well, such that his body, formed into pills, could be directly sensed on the tongues and in the mouths and stomachs of all Tibetans. This tendency toward translocating the Indic to Tibet could also help explain why Avalokiteśvara's flesh had to come in the form of the quintessentially Indian figure of the brahmin, and no one else.

That Avalokiteśvara's flesh had to be sourced from a human being born no fewer than seven consecutive generations as a brahmin forms another more specific link to India. Ronald Davidson has convincingly argued that the Buddhist cult of the seven generations of buddhas (*sangs rgyas rabs bdun*), with Śākyamuni as the present seventh and Maitreya the future eighth, resulted from the Buddhist assimilation of Sanskrit legal and ritual codes well represented in pan-Indian *Dharmaśāstra* literature, where seven successive generations was taken to be the standard for brahmanical claims of authority and purity. As Davidson outlines, "the *Dharma-śāstras* align the idea of seven generations with three basic concerns: ancestral descent, purity of lineage, and inheritance."²⁷ The Buddhist assimilation of this set of kinship connections into the seven buddhas cult finds expression in the *Prātimokṣa* and the importance placed on it and its communal recitation in ensuring the pure lineal succession of the buddhas, the teaching, and the community. Drawing attention to the kinship resonances of this connection, Davidson states, "The Vinaya in general, and the *Prātimokṣa* in particular, thus belongs to the family of the buddhas, to the monks and nuns who constitute the sons and daughters (*śākyaputra, śākyaduhitā*) of Śākyamuni."²⁸ He goes on to suggest that their important kinship associations helped the seven generations of buddhas serve as an important thread linking Buddhist monastic ritual practice with the Mahāyāna cult of *dhāraṇī* spells. Davidson states in summation that the

²⁶ Kapstein 2003, 774–776.

²⁷ Davidson 2015, 134.

²⁸ Davidson 2015, 137.

seven buddhas “were the ancestors, the progenitors of the ancestral *Prātimokṣa* that survived when the buddhas themselves did not,” and as “[c]entral to the early articulation of the *dhāraṇī* procedure (*dhāraṇī-naya*), the seven buddhas formed a bridge from the early ideology of Śākyamuni’s predecessors through the *Prātimokṣa* revelations in the Vinaya, into the Mahāyāna scriptures and the *dhāraṇī* pronouncements.”²⁹

The figure of the brahmin as an important bridge to India and Buddhism-inflected Indian kinship conceptions might also reflect how Avalokiteśvara had already been domesticated in Tibet before Guru Chöwang’s time. The advent of the *maṇi*-pill tradition in the thirteenth century came in the wake of the popularization of a Buddhist ethnogenealogical account of the origin of the Tibetan people from the union of a monkey emanated by Avalokiteśvara and a rock-ogress emanated by Tārā.³⁰ A particularly elaborate version of this narrative is found in the *History of Buddhism* attributed to Nyangrel Nyima Özer (Nyang ral Nyi ma ’od zer, 1124–1192), the renowned Treasure revealer, scholar, and fellow Lhodrak native whom Guru Chöwang overtly emulated in his efforts to promote the cult of Avalokiteśvara.³¹ Another crucial aspect of the domestication and popularization of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet—by Guru Chöwang, Nyangrel before him, and others active in this movement—was to cast as a further emanation of Avalokiteśvara the Tibetan emperor Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po, c. 617–649/650), who is credited with first unifying the territory of Tibet, expanding its borders to form the Tibetan empire (circa 650–850), and introducing writing, Buddhism, law, standard units of measure, and other key facets of governance into the new imperium.³²

That the *maṇi* pill was developed in the context of this rich set of associations between Avalokiteśvara, the paternal line of Tibetan ethnic identity, and Tibet’s imperial legacy strongly suggests that the pill, through its collective ritual consecration with Avalokiteśvara’s mantra

²⁹ Davidson 2015, 158. For English translation and discussion of the seven buddhas literature and cult in India and Tibet, see Krug 2019; Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2020b, 2021; and Nourse 2021.

³⁰ Langelaar 227–228, unpublished dissertation. Some renditions narrate the monkey as only instigated by Avalokiteśvara and do not equate the rock-ogress with Tārā. For discussion of the origin and history of this ethnogenealogy, see Sørensen 1994, 581–583.

³¹ *Chos ’byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi’i bcud* (Nyang ral chos ’byung) 1988, 140–156. For another rendition of this account, see Sørensen 1994, 125–133. For more on the relationship between Guru Chöwang and Nyangrel Nyima Özer, see Phillips 2004 and Hirshberg 2016, 2017.

³² Sørensen 1994, Phillips 2004. For more on the life, legend, and legacy of emperor Songtsen Gampo and his association with Avalokiteśvara, see Kapstein 2000, 51–65, 141–162.

and the commensality of Avalokiteśvara's flesh that followed it, was intended to produce or enhance a strong sense of kindred spirit—or, in the words of Marshall Sahlins, a “mutuality of being”—premised on shared belonging to the special people, place, history, and physical body of the bodhisattva of compassion himself.³³ Combined with the multitextured Indian Buddhist tantric discourse of the seven-times-born brahmin and the unmistakable link with India and Indian kinship notions it provided, Guru Chöwang's Avalokiteśvara *maṇi*-pill tradition brought together a particularly compelling configuration of symbolic and material associations that would ensure its wide appeal in the decades and centuries to follow.

From the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century, Guru Chöwang's flesh-pill production and consecration rite spread to become widely practiced not only in Lhodrak, but across all of Tibet. After Guru Chöwang's passing in 1270, the dissemination of this tradition was taken up by his son Gyelsé Pema Wangchen, and later, by Pang Khenchen Özer Lama (sPang/sPung mkhan chen 'Od zer bla ma, 1295–1376), among others.³⁴ But despite concerted efforts to promote Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition, and the sense of collective belonging it surely fostered among Tibetans of the period, by Ratna Lingpa's time in the early fifteenth century its credibility was under attack. In the fourteenth century, polemical writings sharply critical of Guru Chöwang and his *maṇi*-pill tradition were composed and circulated throughout Tibet. Since Ratna Lingpa's involvements with the brahmin-flesh *maṇi* pill can be best understood in light to these critiques, allow us to briefly review these writings before turning to consider Ratna Lingpa's own involvement with the *maṇi*-pill tradition.

a. The Critical Reception of Guru Chöwang's Maṇi-Pill Tradition

Formal literary criticisms of Guru Chöwang and his *maṇi*-pill tradition began to surface shortly after his passing. These were part of a broader current of polemical writing that targeted the general authenticity of the Nyingma school's revered scriptures and sacra.³⁵ The centuries-

³³ Sahlins 2013, 2.

³⁴ See in particular sPung mkhan chen 'Od zer bla ma's biography, '*Gran pa'i zla thams cad dang bral ba khams gsum chos kyi rgyal po spung mkhan chen 'od zer bla ma'i rnam thar 'gro blo'i mun sel* (ff 170a.3–171b.6), composed primarily by bSod nams dbang phyug during 'Od zer bla ma's later years based on notes from interviews with his main students and in consultation with 'Od zer bla ma himself.

³⁵ Karmay 1980; Karmay 1988, 121–33; Mayer 1996, 1–63, 1997; Kapstein 2000, 120–137; Raudsepp 2009; Gentry 2017, 171–290.

long process of translating scriptures and compiling them into the canonical *Kangyur* (*bKa' 'gyur*) and *Tengyur* (*bsTan 'gyur*) collections culminated in the fourteenth century with the exclusion of most of the scriptures belonging to the Nyingma school under suspicion of apocryphal authorship. Such suspicions were nothing new. Tibetans had been voicing them since the beginning of the later dissemination period (*phyi dar*) in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. But it was Butön Rinchen Drup (Bu ton Rin chen grub, 1290–1364), the fourteenth-century abbot of Shalu (Zhwa lu) Monastery, who, integrally involved in the formation of the translated scriptural canon, famously “left aside with impartiality” the vast majority of Nyingma *tantras* when codifying his influential canonical catalogues.³⁶

It is perhaps little wonder, then, that a polemical writing attributed to Butön that attacks the authenticity of Guru Chöwang's seven-times-born flesh tradition began to circulate after Guru Chöwang's time. This polemic, generically titled *Refutation of False Dharma* (*Chos log sun 'byin*), includes a strident critique of Guru Chöwang and his seven-time-flesh practice within a broader polemic against the Nyingma Treasure tradition as a whole.³⁷ Another anti-Nyingma polemic surfaced in all likelihood prior to this Butön-attributed critique that targets very briefly and in passing the general authenticity of Guru Chöwang's revelations. This text, known similarly as *Refutation of False Mantra* (*sNgags log sun 'byin*), is attributed to the renowned thirteenth-century translator Chak Lotsāwa Chöjé Pel (Chag lotsāwa Chos rje dpal, 1197–1264).³⁸ The critical remarks voiced in these two writings find inflection in a writing about the seven-born brahmin flesh accomplishment rite composed by the illustrious Jonang scholar Dölpopa Sherap Gyeltsen (Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1292–1361) between the years of 1344 and 1348.³⁹

While the Dölpopa-attributed text seems to have been genuinely authored by him, the polemics attributed to Chak *lotsāwa* and Butön are likely forgeries.⁴⁰ The composition and circulation of counterfeit polemical treatises forged to appear like the writings of particularly famous translators or scholars was not unheard of in Tibet. Such forgeries seem to have been written to lend an air of authority to their criticisms and thereby heighten their intended impact of defaming a rival school, faction, or figure. Whoever composed them, the themes broached in the Chak *lotsāwa*-attributed polemic are developed further in the Butön-attributed polemic. The Chak *lotsāwa*-attributed polemic

³⁶ Bu ston 1988, 266: ...*btang snyoms su bzhag gol*.

³⁷ *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* 1979, 25.5–36.3; *gter ma'i le'u*: 26.2–31.6.

³⁸ *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* 1979, 2–18.2.

³⁹ Shes rab rgyal mtshan. 199? and 2001, *Bram ze sha'am skye bdun ril sgrub thabs*.

⁴⁰ Kapstein 2000, 253–254n35; Raudsepp 2009, 209 and 296n70.

attacks only briefly the general authenticity of Guru Chöwang's revelations.⁴¹ But in so doing it cites his alleged contraction of leprosy as a factor that challenges his viability as a genuine Treasure revealer.

The Butön-attributed critique picks up on this theme of Guru Chöwang's alleged leprosy to deliver a full-scale assault on his *maṇi*-pill tradition and its brahmin flesh. These remarks occupy the majority of a short chapter devoted to attacking the general authenticity of the Nyingma school's Treasure tradition. The critiques directed specifically against Guru Chöwang's tradition take issue with the addition of a seventh syllable to the more standard six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara. They also reject the authenticity of the tradition's revealed flesh, citing the depravity of their consuming Guru Chöwang's own leprosy-ridden corpse-flesh under the pretense of it being the pure flesh of a genuine seven-times born, as stipulated in the *Hevajratantra*. Finally, the polemic relates this impropriety around flesh to more general morally licentious conduct unbefitting a proper Buddhist community.⁴² The diatribe ends with the particularly lurid rhetorical flourish of chalking up the transmission and spread of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition to the circulation of the severed body parts of executed criminals.⁴³ This polemic's emphasis on the *maṇi*-pill tradition, coupled with its attribution to Butön and other details in the body of the text, suggest a fourteenth century date of composition. But despite the uncertainties about its authorship and date, the circulation of this critique illustrates that its author perceived Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition as a popular practice during his time and interpreted its popularity to be a threat to Buddhist decorum.

Unlike the other two polemicists, Dölpopa appears to have been a proponent of the *maṇi*-pill tradition. He therefore reserves his most critical remarks not for Guru Chöwang himself, but for his followers and how they practiced the *maṇi*-pill tradition after his passing.⁴⁴ Dölpopa's qualms have mostly to do with the way practitioners of the tradition in his day recited and understood Avalokiteśvara's mantra during the accomplishment practice. He specifically calls out their habit of setting the mantra recitation to melody and stubbornly insisting that it is ineffective unless the seventh syllable *hrīḥ* is added.

⁴¹ For English translation and analysis of this short passage, see Martin 2001, 114; Docteur 2005, 321 and Hirshberg 2017.

⁴² *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* 1979, *gter ma'i le'u*: 26.2–31.6. Raudsepp (2009, 288) also identifies a certain Gru gu dbang phyug mentioned therein (*sNgags log sun 'byin gyi skor* 1979, 10.5) as Gu ru chos dbang, but this is more likely Gru gu yang dbang, who is credited with having revealed Hayagrīva and other fierce deity cycles. For more about this figure, see Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Taye 2011, 186–187; and Jamgön Kongtrül 2012, 233–234.

⁴³ *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* 1979,

⁴⁴ Shes rab rgyal mtshan 199?, 389.4–390.5, 391.6–393.3; and 2011, 351–352, 353–354.

Dölpopa's call for orthopraxy in mantra recitation, while perhaps not surprising in and of itself, is remarkable for the connections it makes between sound and efficacy, on the one hand, and personal and collective effects, on the other. Not only does he blame the unfortunate lengthening of the Sanskrit mantra's phonemes from setting it to melody for its deleterious impact on producing individual "accomplished ones." He also cites the incorrect recitation of mantra as the cause of the collective environmental degradation, epidemics, and military strife that were running rampant in Tibet during his lifetime. Simply put, for Dölpopa incorrect mantra recitation, resulting from setting it to melody, blunts a mantra's efficacy and hastens the decline of the person, the Dharma, the environment, and the society.

When discussing the addition of a seventh syllable to the six-syllable mantra, Dölpopa states that this change first emerged with Guru Chöwang's revelations and appears to accept the innovation, in and of itself. His qualms are rather with how practitioners of Guru Chöwang's tradition insisted that the six-syllable mantra would be ineffective and disparaged others for not following suite and adding *hrīḥ*. Dölpopa counters that strictly speaking the addition of *hrīḥ* is irrelevant to the efficacy of Avalokiteśvara's mantra. He enlists as support the virtues of the six-syllable formula as extolled in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra*, adding that it is also the preferred form of the mantra in the tradition of Nyangrel Nyima Özer. Nyangrel, we might recall, was the renowned twelfth-century Treasure revealer and fellow Lhodrak native after whom Guru Chöwang patterned his revelatory career and promulgation of the cult of Avalokiteśvara.⁴⁵ Thus, although Dölpopa seems to have embraced the seven-born brahmin flesh of the Treasure tradition and its ritual accomplishment, he clearly could not countenance the legacy of Guru Chöwang's Great Compassionate One practice. So scathing are his remarks, in fact, that Dölpopa gives the distinct impression that he wrote his short text in large part to make his disapproval known and thereby help rectify what he perceived to be the excesses of this tradition as it was practiced in his day. Dölpopa's criticisms are also later echoed in abbreviated form by one of his main students, Nyawön Kunga Pelzangpo (Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal bzang po, 1285–1379).⁴⁶

The circulation of Dölpopa's composition and the two other polemical writings introduced above, taken as a whole, demonstrates how

⁴⁵ The Tibetan translation of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra* is *Za ma tog bkod pa, bKa' 'gyur (āpe bsdur ma)* 2006–2009, vol. 51, 529–640. For a study and complete English translation of this *sūtra*, see Studholme 2002 and Roberts and Yeshe 2013, respectively. For more on the relationship between Guru Chöwang and Nyangrel Nyima Özer, see Phillips 2004 and Hirshberg 2016, 2017.

⁴⁶ Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal 2010, 190.

deeply uncomfortable some sectors of Tibetan society were with the popularity of Guru Chöwang's Treasures. The Butön-attributed polemic and Dölpopa's critical remarks are particularly pointed in their attacks. Together they question the legitimacy of Guru Chöwang's flesh practice, the efficacy of his seven-syllable version of Avalokiteśvara's mantra, and the viability of the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One's* transmission and legacy after Guru Chöwang's passing. In this, these writings give clear expression to a sense of fear and righteous indignation that Guru Chöwang's practice had introduced into Tibetan society dangerous improprieties around human flesh, through the contraction of leprosy, the unseemly circulation of dismembered limbs, or presenting polluted and inauthentic flesh as pure and authentic. Hand in hand with this, they imply, came unwelcome changes to the six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara or its style of recitation, leading to moral licentiousness, personal degradation, environmental decay, social upheaval, and martial unrest.

The prevalence of such detractors and the nature of their polemics may help explain why Ratna Lingpa felt compelled to revive the tradition in the fifteenth century. It stands to reason that in the wake of these scathing criticisms Ratna Lingpa would have deemed it high time to reveal and propagate the seven-born *maṇi*-pill tradition anew, such that the warm breath of the *ḍākinīs* could be felt by his contemporaries and prevented from dissipating for posterity. And indeed, Karma Chakmé, narrating the history of the *maṇi* pill until his time in the middle of the seventeenth century, claims that Guru Chöwang's tradition was then on the verge of extinction and the *maṇi*-pill tradition could have disappeared forever had Ratna Lingpa not revived it with his own revelations.⁴⁷

But there were also other developments in the century preceding Ratna Lingpa's lifetime that influenced his reception of the *maṇi*-pill tradition. The fourteenth century was perhaps the most prolific period for Treasure revelation in the history of Tibet. Several fourteenth-century Treasure revealers—such as Orgyen Lingpa (O rgyan gling pa, b. 1323), Sangyé Lingpa (Sangs rgyas gling pa, 1340–1396), and Rigdzin Gödem (Rig 'dzin rgod ldem, 1337–1409), to name only a few—unearthed brahmin-flesh pills and associated rites as part of their revelations. In 1352, moreover, fifty years before Ratna Lingpa was born in 1403, Orgyen Lingpa revealed the *Pema Kathang* biography of Padmasambhava.⁴⁸ It includes origin and transmission histories of the flesh that influenced how the *maṇi*-pill tradition was received thereafter. In the interest of space, however, and to discern how Guru

⁴⁷ Karma chags med 2010, 483.

⁴⁸ *chu 'brug*. U rgyan gling pa 1985, 726.

Chöwang's tradition in particular influenced Ratna Lingpa, these and other aspects of the *maṇi*-pill tradition must be set aside for now.⁴⁹ Let us turn instead to a consideration of how Ratna Lingpa received Guru Chöwang's tradition through an investigation of what his autobiographical and biographical corpus narrates about his involvement with Guru Chöwang and the legacy of his brahmin-flesh *maṇi* pill.

b. Becoming a Mahākāruṇika Yogin:

Ratna Lingpa's Visionary Inheritance of Guru Chöwang's Maṇi Pill

Ratna Lingpa embarked on his career as a Treasure revealer in 1429, when at twenty-seven years old he first received Treasure "guides" (*kha byang*) in dreams and visions.⁵⁰ He kept these visionary directives secret and only began to act on them three years later in the water-rat year of 1432. This resulted in his very first Treasure revelation, an event that initiated a steady stream of revelations over the ensuing years. The flesh of seven-times-born brahmins, together with liturgical and narrative writings relating the flesh to Avalokiteśvara, figured prominently among many of his revelations. This section presents the most significant of these revelations through analyzing the episodes narrating them in Ratna Lingpa's extensive autobiographical and biographical corpus.

When reviewing these vignettes, it becomes abundantly clear that Guru Chöwang and his *maṇi*-pill tradition crucially figure throughout. What is more, the relevant narrative episodes illustrate that discovering the flesh and its literature, and through it, forming a vital link to Guru Chöwang, were fundamental for Ratna Lingpa in coming into his own as a Treasure revealer. The aim of delving into these narrative episodes is to help contextualize Ratna Lingpa's flesh-centered revelatory writings, particularly with respect to their links with Guru Chöwang's earlier *maṇi*-pill tradition, as a prelude to assessing the revelatory writings themselves.

Revealing Seven-Born Brahmin Flesh and the Samyema Liturgy

According to Ratna Lingpa's autobiographical accounts, his first revelation of seven-timer flesh came in the wood-tiger year of 1434, when at thirty-two years old he excavated the corpse flesh of a seven-times-born brahmin known by the name of Stainless (*Dri med*), along with other sacra, from the throne of the Vairocana statue at Khoting temple

⁴⁹ For a presentation of the *Pema Kathang* flesh narrative and analysis of its literary sources and influence on the subsequent *maṇi*-pill tradition see Gentry 2022.

⁵⁰ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *Gu ru gter ston rat+na gling pa'i rnam thar tshigs su bcad pa rin po che'i phreng ba 'od 'bar ba*, 692.5.

(mKho mthing lha khang).⁵¹ On this occasion, he also recovered from one of the temple's pillars a narrative detailing the origin and history (*lo rgyus*) of the seven-times-born brahmin flesh. But this initial revelation at Khoting temple was by no means Ratna Lingpa's first encounter with the substance. As a native of Lhodrak, Ratna Lingpa would have likely grown up well-aware of Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly maṇi*-pill tradition. Moreover, he narrates in his autobiography that he formally received this and Guru Chöwang's other revelations while studying and practicing under the tutelage of Guru Vajra and Samten Lhundrup (bSam gtan lhun grub).⁵² Ratna Lingpa had also already performed a seven-times-born flesh consecration rite when he was still thirty, two years prior to the Khoting revelation.

Nonetheless, his revelation of the flesh of the brahmin Stainless was significant for Ratna Lingpa in forging a connection with Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill legacy. It was the flesh of the brahmin Stainless, along with historical narratives construing this figure as a seven-born emanation of Avalokiteśvara, that Guru Chöwang had revealed over two centuries before to form the core substance in his *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* pill manufacturing and consecration rites. Moreover, the historiographical tradition vigorously promoted by Guru Chöwang and Nyangrel Nyima Özer before him, among others, depicts Khoting temple as a significant site for having been built by the emperor Songtsen Gampo in the seventh century as part of his efforts to pin down the demoness of the Tibetan landscape to make Tibet amenable to the establishment of Buddhism.⁵³ This connection is all the more significant when recalling that the same historiographical tradition apotheosizes the Tibetan emperor Songtsen Gampo by depicting him as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. This makes the brahmin Stainless of Ratna Lingpa's and Guru Chöwang's flesh revelations another vital iteration, continuous with the seventh-century Songtsen Gampo, instantiating Avalokiteśvara's special ongoing relationship with Tibet and Tibetans, particularly the place and people of Lhodrak.

Ratna Lingpa went on to excavate thirteen brahmin-flesh pills at Drango Kharthap (Brag sgo mkhar thabs);⁵⁴ a bone from the chest of

⁵¹ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 109.6–113.2.

⁵² Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *Gu ru gter ston rat+na'i gling pa'i rnam thar tshigs su bcad pa rin po che'i phreng ba 'od 'bar ba zhes bya ba 'gro ba ma lus pa'i re ba bskangs nas bde ba la 'god pa*, 696.3–5. Alternatively, the biographical commentary on Ratna Lingpa's verse autobiography mentions only one figure, Guruwa Drung Shenyenpa (Gu ru ba drung bshes gnyen pa, Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 128.2–3).

⁵³ Sørensen 1994, 277–278.

⁵⁴ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 129.3–131.5.

the brahmin Prahasti at Geri Drakmar (dGe ri brag dmar);⁵⁵ and seventy-one brahmin-flesh pills at Samyé Utsé (bSam yas dbu rtse), among others.⁵⁶ The Samyé revelation was also particularly significant for Ratna Lingpa. This took place in the iron-bird year of 1441, when he was thirty-nine years old. He additionally excavated on that occasion another revelation from a different spot at the Samyé temple complex that contained a seven-born *sādhana* and a related history.⁵⁷ This seven-born *sādhana* practice, which would later come to be known as the *Samyema* (bSam yas ma), will be discussed in greater detail below.

Putting the Samyema to Practice in the Production of Pills

Ratna Lingpa was quick to implement the *Samyema* practice with the consecration of the Samyé brahmin flesh as focal point for an audience of over three thousand people. Ratna Lingpa himself narrates how shortly after its revelation he combined the flesh with other ingredients, consecrated it, and distributed it widely for consumption. Below is a translation of a select passage from this vignette.

The next morning, the pills were formed, combining into an immeasurable amount precisely thirty brahmin flesh pills, six pills of the *bodhicitta* from the master of Uḍḍiyāna and his consort, a full *zho* (*zho*) of *amṛta*, about ten pea-size pieces of Chöwang Rinpoche's flesh, and, moreover, the bones and ash remains (*gdung rus thal ba*) of the Blessed One, the bones of Dampa Sangyé, the bones of the Karmapas, the flesh of siddhas in their possession, and so forth.

About fifteen *dré* (*bre*) of seven-born was accomplished. An assembly of about one thousand people instituted a continuous session of unbroken speech. The day of the initiation, when one hundred million [recitations] had been completed, the lid of the vase containing the seven-born boiled over, a rainbow appeared, and a rain of flowers fell.

About three thousand people were conferred initiation and the pills were distributed among them. The pills were also later distributed throughout all the cardinal and intermediate directions, such that they spread everywhere—Lama Gyeltsen Pelwa (Bla ma rGyal mtshan dpal ba) from Tsawarong (Tsha ba rong pa) in

⁵⁵ Ratna gling pa, 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 133.5–139.4.

⁵⁶ Ratna gling pa, 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 139.4–144.4.

⁵⁷ Ratna gling pa, 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 146.5. The entire episode can be found in *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 144.4–148.3.

Kham and Chökyi Gyeltsen (Chos kyi rgyal mtshan) from upper Kham spread them throughout upper and lower Kham; Jamyang Pelzang ('Jam dbyangs dpal bzang) and others spread them throughout Nyang (Nyang), Gong (Gong), and Rel (Rel); and Lama Umdzé (Bla ma dbu mdzad) and others from Lapchi Chuwar (La phyi chu bar) spread them throughout the Tsang (gTsang) region. Whoever received a pill was established in the pure land of the Great Compassionate One. The majesty of benefiting beings was great, such that the intention of many Treasure revealers to be of benefit to beings was fulfilled by my own greatness.

Subsequently, also, the catalyst from the accomplishment at Mentsé (sMan rtse) and the activity of its accomplishment was present in many places. I myself brought with me about two-*dré* worth and distributed it throughout the regions of Ü (dBus), Yarlung (Yar lung), Lhodrak (Lho brag), Shar (Shar), Lup (Lub), and all of Lhomön (Lho mon), such as Nyel (dMyal), Loro (Lo ro), and so forth, thus fulfilling the intent of the precious one from Uḍḍiyāna (O rgyan rin po che). I also entrusted my own pill, which was free of *samaya* breach, to a few senior disciples and encouraged them to benefit beings. There are still a few pills of breach-less flesh remaining—these will benefit beings in the future and remain for a long time.⁵⁸

This vignette provides insight into several key aspects of the *maṇi* pill as Ratna Lingpa understood it. Firstly, the list of other ingredients provides a lineage of potent flesh and other bodily substances,

⁵⁸ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 142.6–144.3: *de'i nangs par ril bu sbyar te bram ze'i sha ril sum cu them pa/ o rgyan yab yum gyi byang sems ril bu drug/ a mR ta zhos gang / chos dbang rin po che'i sku sha sran tshad bcu tsam zhig/ gzhan yang bcom ldan 'das kyi gdung rus thal ba/ dam pa sangs rgyas kyi gdung rus/ karma pa'i gdung rus khong pa'i phyag na 'dug pa'i grub thob kyi gdung rus sha la sogs tshad med du sbyar te skye bdun bre bco lnga tsam zhig bsgrubs/ de tshogs pa stong tsho tsam zhig gis gsung mi 'chad kyi thun rgyun par btsugs tel/ dung phyur[emend. gyur] tshar ba'i dbang gi nyin/ skye bdun bum pa'i kha tshangs khrod na yar bzhu ru ru khol/ 'ja' tshon gyi gur phub/ me tog gi char babs/ mi stong phrag gsum tsam la dbang bskur ril bu bskyes/ rjes su phyogs mtshams thams cad du 'ang bkyes te khams tsha ba rong pa'i bla ma rgyal mtshan dpal ba dang / khams stod pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan la sogs kyis khams stod smad/ 'jam dbyangs dpal bzang la sogs kyis nyang gong ral gsum/ la phyi chu bar gyi bla ma dbu mdzad la sogs kyis gtsang phyogs mdo na thams cad du khyab de ril bu thob tshad thugs rje chen po'i zhing du bkod/ 'gro don gyi rnam che ste gter ston mi gcig gi 'gro don la kho bo che'am bsam pa grub/ rjes su 'ang sman rtser bsgrubs pa'i phabs dang / sgrub pa'i spyod rgyu yang mang du bzhugs/ bdag rang gyis kyang bre do tsam gdan drangs te dbus phyogs yar lung lho brag shar nub/ dmyal dang lo ro la sogs lho mon thams cad la bkyes tel/ o rgyan rin po che'i thugs dgongs rdzogs par byas shing / gzhan yang sel med rang gi ril bu bu chen 'ga' la gtad/ 'gro don la bskul/ da rung sku sha sel med kyi ril bu 'ga' re bzhugs tel/ 'gro don phyis 'byung zhing / yun du gnas par 'gyur rol.*

stretching back to the relics of the Buddha, but also including the sexual fluids of the eighth- to ninth-century Indian tantrika Padmasambhava and his Tibetan consort Yeshé Tsogyel, the bones of the eleventh-century Indian siddha Padampa Sangyé (b. 11th c–d. 1117), the flesh of the thirteenth-century Treasure revealer Guru Chöwang, and the bones of the successive Karmapa incarnations, among other items. The biographical corpus of Padampa Sangyé explicitly presents this eleventh-century Indian master as a seven-times-born brahmin whose flesh was powerful enough to confer liberation through eating it after his demise.⁵⁹ Guru Chöwang's biographical corpus likewise presents him as a seven-times-born brahmin along similar lines. The Karmapas had by the fifteenth century come to be identified as incarnations of Avalokiteśvara. Moreover, a pill tradition that likely contains fragments of the bodily remains of the successive iterations of the Karmapa incarnation line had likely developed by this time.⁶⁰ Ratna Lingpa's inclusion in this mixture of the Karmapas' bones effectively interprets them too as seven-times-born-brahmins manifested by Avalokiteśvara. This set of associations—the construal of seven-times-born brahmins as successive incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, emanated for seven successive lifetimes to infuse their bodies with altruistic power—is the defining feature of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition. This set of associations clearly also provided the template for Ratna Lingpa's own *maṇi*-pill revelation.

Secondly, the details this episode provides about the ritual illustrate that the consecration of the pills was done primarily through collective mantra recitation. The rite let out only when one hundred million recitations was reached and corresponding sensory “signs of success” visibly manifested, such as the concoction boiling over, a rainbow forming, and a rain of flowers falling from the sky. Thirdly, measures were taken to distribute the pill as far and wide as possible, well beyond the thousands of people present at the concoction and consecration ceremony. This was done, Ratna Lingpa implies, with the assumption that whoever consumes one will be reborn in the pure land of the Great Compassionate One.

Finally, the series of actions assumes a particular vantage point on time. Taken as a whole, the series of events “fulfills the intent” of Padmasambhava, who putatively concealed the substance in the eighth century for the sake of future generations. At the same time, the flesh-pill consecration and distribution fulfill the intention of the “many Treasure revealers” prophesied to reveal and propagate the flesh over

⁵⁹ Thugs sras kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 73.7–74.5; Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012–2013, vol. 1, 664.1–6. For more on Padampa Sangyé's relationship with the seven-times-born flesh tradition see Gentry 2022.

⁶⁰ Shes rab rgyal mtshan 199?, 387.5; Gerke 2019.

the ensuing centuries. The continued potency of the flesh, moreover, is contingent upon its human caretakers not allowing breaches of “*samaya*,” or sacred bond, to intervene in its handling and consecration. Without incurring such breaches, Ratna Lingpa's pills will bring benefit to beings for a long time to come. In this, the flesh pills create bonds between past events, present practices, and future aspirations in an iterative and recursive loop of consecration, distribution, consecration, distribution, and so on.

Setting the Stage for Avalokiteśvara's Secret Assembly

Despite the great success of the proceedings dictated in the *Samyema* liturgy excavated from Samyé monastery, the very next year, in the water-dog year of 1442, when Ratna Lingpa was forty years old, he revealed from Namkechen (gNam skas can) in Lhodrak (Lho brag) another, larger set of ritual and contemplative practices that would displace the *Samyema* to become the central liturgical practice for his brahmin-flesh *maṇi* pill production and consecration. This was the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* (*Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa*). Much like Guru Chöwang's nearly identically titled Treasure cycle the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly* revelation includes a root *tantra*, initiation liturgies, ritual manuals, contemplative instructions, historical narratives, and other writings, alongside more brahmin flesh pills. That the Treasure was from Namkechen in Lhodrak would have also been highly significant for Ratna Lingpa in forming a link with Guru Chöwang. According to Guru Chöwang's autobiographical record, Namkechen was the site of his very first Treasure revelation.⁶¹

The *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* Treasure cycle was only the first of four *Assemblies* excavated from this site on the occasion, the others being the *Secret Assembly of Hayagrīva* (*rTa mgrin gsang ba 'dus pa*), the *Secret Assembly of the Profound Path* (*Zab lam gsang ba 'dus pa*), and the *Secret Assembly of Accomplishing Longevity* (*Tshe sgrub gsang ba 'dus pa*). It is clear throughout his writings, however, that the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, centering, like Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly*, on the form of the bodhisattva of compassion Avalokiteśvara known as Mahākāruṇika (literally, “he who has great compassion”), was singularly important for him among all his Treasure revelations for its potential to benefit beings in this degenerate age. He illustrates the importance of this Avalokiteśvara cycle for his life and religious career by narrating the revelation as presaged by a series of private dream visitations and visionary encounters,

⁶¹ Gu ru chos dbang 1979, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 114.5–144.3.

interwoven with collective ritual performances and miraculous events. The thread running through these narrative vignettes is Ratna Lingpa's gradual coming to terms with his own identity as the rightful revealer and propagator of this important contemplative and ritual cycle.

The sequence of events leading to this revelation was set in motion by the performance of a "Dharma-medicine accomplishment" rite, in conjunction with the great accomplishment rite for *Accomplishing the Awakened Mind* (*thugs sgrub*) held at Poser Monastery (sPo gser dgon pa) in Lhodrak.⁶² In the wake of this ritual, he initiated a multi-day seven-times-born-flesh practice session (*skye bdun sgrub pa*) with a group of over one hundred practitioners.⁶³ As Ratna Lingpa reports it, just before dawn on the third day of the practice session, he had a vision that Avalokiteśvara appeared above the *maṇḍala* wearing white silk garments and holding a stainless crystal vase to confer initiation, in order, upon all the rows of the group.⁶⁴ As Avalokiteśvara did so, he could be heard saying the following lines:

Emaho!

If the essence of self-existing wisdom
that dwells within oneself is realized,
it will manifest in reality.

Through this supreme method,
the utmost of substances,
some will attain liberation in this lifetime.
The fruition of the complete initiation will ripen at this time.

Everyone will be free from the lower realms,
go beyond regression in three lifetimes,
and be liberated in seven lifetimes.

May you attain the four initiations in full—
in awakened body, speech, mind, qualities, activities, and so
on.

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

⁶² Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 209.2.

⁶³ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 654.2.

⁶⁴ Ratna gling pa, 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 654.2–3.

*buddha sarvasiddhi hūm*⁶⁵

As Ratna Lingpa narrates, “After having said this, he entrusted the vase to me, and I had the slight perception that that very deity dissolved into the seven-born vase.”⁶⁶

Avalokiteśvara's short teaching is remarkable for the insights it offers into the nature of the seven-born flesh and the range of effects we can expect from eating this “utmost of substances.” The first verse, by promising that realization “will manifest in reality,” clearly implies that the flesh's potency stems from the transformation of adepts' bodies through their advanced cognition of indwelling gnosis. So powerful is this mind-body transformation that consuming their charged flesh can bring liberation in this lifetime for some rare individuals, and postmortem freedom from the lower realms and rapid advancement toward awakening for all.⁶⁷ “Seven lifetimes” is given here as the maximum duration before consumers reach awakening. This implies the circularity that eating the flesh of one born seven times as a special human will eventually transform the minds and bodies of consumers too into seven-born ones. At the culmination of their next seven lifetimes, their bodies can theoretically likewise serve the same liberative function, setting in motion the birth of the next generation of seven-born-ones, *ad infinitum*.

Songs of the Great Compassionate One's Lineage and Maṇḍala

Ratna Lingpa's culminating vision of Avalokiteśvara's dissolution into the pills prompted him to circumambulate the *maṇḍala* and sing a song describing the cosmology, Buddhology, and lineage of the seven-born accomplishment rite that he would soon reveal from Namkechen,

⁶⁵ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 654.2–6: *le ma ho/ rang byung ye shes snying po can/ /rang la gnas pa de rtogs na/ /yang dag nyid du mngon 'gyur rol/ /thabs mchog rdzas kyi dam pa 'dis/ /'ga' zhiḡ grol ba tshes 'dir thob/ /dbang rdzogs 'bras bu dus 'dir smin/ /thams cad ngan song gnas las grol/ /skye ba gsum gyis phyir mi ldog/ /skye ba bdun gyis rnam grol lo/ /sku gsum thugs yon phrin las sogs/ /dbang bzhi rdzogs par thob par shog/ / om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ: buddha sarva siddhi hūm:.* This episode and song are also related in Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 209.2–210.2.

⁶⁶ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 654.6: *bum pa bdag la gtad nas/ lha de nyid skye bdun bum par thim pa'i thim pa'i snang ba cung zhiḡ byung ngo/.*

⁶⁷ For more on the notion of “liberation through tasting” (*myong grol*) and liberation through other potent sensory encounters, see Gayley 2007, and Gentry 2017 and 2019.

Lhodrak.⁶⁸ As the song describes it: Great Bliss (bDe chen), with Amitābha surrounded by the many buddhas of the ten directions, is the *dharmakāya* pure land. Potalaka, with Mahākāruṅika surrounded by the bodhisattvas of the families in union with their consorts, is the *sambhogakāya* pure land. Ngarap Pelri (rNga rab dpal ri), where Padmasambhava is surrounded by many *vidyādhara*s and *ḍākinīs*, is the *nirmāṇakāya* pure land. Flight through Invisible Space (Mi mngon mkha' spyod), where the only mother Tsogyel (Ma cig mTsho rgyal) is surrounded by a group of *ḍākinīs* embodying the families, is the naturally pristine pure land (*rang bzhin dag pa'i zhing khams*). Pemo Köpa (Padmo bkod pa), where Chökyi Wangchuk (Chos kyi dbang phyug) is surrounded by a group of karmically destined ones in their final rebirth, is the pure aspiration pure land. The natural pure land (*rang bzhin zhing khams*), where the Omniscient Drimé Özer (Kun mkhyen Dri med 'od zer, 1308–1364), better known as Longchenpa, is surrounded by a retinue of fortunate beings, is the pure land of actualized realization. The sun and moon on Ratna Lingpa's own crown, where his root lama sits surrounded by the Oral Lineage's Ocean of Conquerors (*bka' brgyud rgyal ba rgya mtsho*⁶⁹), is the pure land of pure self-appearance. Their present location, a supreme place, where the Treasure revealer Ratna Lingpa is accompanied by many devout men and women, is the pure land of those with the requisite residual karma. Ratna Lingpa punctuates each verse of this poetic evocation with the seven-syllable mantra *om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ*.⁷⁰

Immediately thereafter, while continuing with the seven-times-born flesh accomplishment rite, Ratna Lingpa sang the following song for use during the practice sessions. This song, which describes in summary the *maṇḍala* of the liturgy that Ratna Lingpa would soon reveal, came to be known as the *Exhortation to Chant the Maṇi* (*Maṇi 'dzab bskur ma*). To give a glimpse into the ritual and aesthetic sensibility of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* great-completion ceremonies, I provide a complete translation of this song.

⁶⁸ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 654.6–655.1.

⁶⁹ The "Oral Lineage's Ocean of Conquerors" (*bka' brgyud rgyal ba rgya mtsho*) is likely a reference to the *maṇḍala* of Jinasāgara (*rgyal ba rgya mtsho*), another tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, red in complexion, popular among the Kagyüpa, "those of the oral lineage" (*bka' brgyud pa*). The connection between the iconography, practice, and transmission history of Mahākāruṅika of the *maṇi*-pill tradition and Jinasāgara will be analyzed in my future study. Here, the fact that Ratna Lingpa construes it on his own crown, surrounding his root guru, just before revealing his *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, certainly suggests that Jinasāgara served as direct inspiration.

⁷⁰ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 654.6–656.5.

Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

At the navel in the center of the *maṇḍala*
sits the *yidam* Mahākāruṇika.
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

To the right side of Mahākāruṇika
sits the supreme son, holding a gem.
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

To the left side of Mahākāruṇika
sits the daughter, holding a *vidyāmantra*.
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

In front of Mahākāruṇika
sits the great mother Secret Gnosis (gSang ba ye shes).
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

Behind Mahākāruṇika
sits the *yidam* Maheśvara / Wangchen in union with consort
(dBang chen yab yum).
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

Surrounding Mahākāruṇika
sit the five families of *bhagavān jinas*.
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

On the crown of Mahākāruṇika
sits Amitābha, sovereign of the families.
We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

At the six locations of Mahākāruṅika
 sit the six *bhagavān nirmāṇakāya munis*.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

In the body of Mahākāruṅika
 sit the 1,002 buddhas.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

The world of the environment is the celestial palace,
 the beings who inhabit it are Mahākāruṅika.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

To the right sits an ocean of *dākas*.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

To the left sits an ocean of *dākinīs*.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

In front sits an ocean of *yidams*.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

Behind sit Dharma protectors and guardians.
 We supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

Sound is the awakened speech of Mahākāruṅika—
 we supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

Thoughts are the awakened mind of Mahākāruṅika—

we supplicate you. Grant your blessings!
 We chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

The elderly should do the *yidam* (or, “commit”).
 The youth should voice disillusionment.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

This was spoken by Ratna Lingpa,
 the *yogin* of Mahākāruṇika.
 Let us chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

Through the blessings of chanting the seven syllables
 may *saṃsāra* be churned from the depths for the six classes
 of beings!
 Let us chant the seven syllables in recitation melody.
*Oṃ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ*⁷¹

⁷¹ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *Yig bdun maṇi'i gter mdzod thar par 'jug pa'i gru bo bka' yi 'bum*, 656.5–659.5: /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH dkyil 'khor dbus kyi lte ba la/ /yi dam thugs rje chen po bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i g.yas phyogs na/ /sras mchog nor bu 'dzin pa bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i g.yon phyogs na/ /sras mo riglemend. rigs/ sngags 'dzin ma bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i mdun phyogs na/ /yum chen gsang ba ye shes bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i sku rgyab na/ /yi dam dbang chen yab yum bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i sku 'khor du/ /bcom ldan rgyal ba rigs lnga bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i dbu gtsug na/ /rigs bdag snang ba mtha' yas bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i gnas drug du/ /bcom ldan sprul sku thub drug bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i sku lus la/ /sangs rgyas stong dang rtsa gnyis bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH snod kyi 'jig rten gzhal yas khang / bcud kyi sems can thugs rje che/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH g.yas na dpa' bo rgya mtsho bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH g.yon na dpa' mo rgya mtsho bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH mdun na yi dam lha tshogs bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH rgyab na chos skyong srung ma bzhugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH snang tshad thugs rje chen po'i sku/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH sgra grags thugs rje chen po'i gsung / /gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / /oM maNi padme hUM hrIH dran rtog thugs rje chen po'i thugs/ /gsol ba 'debs so byin

The details of this song, depicting in shorthand what would become the *maṇḍala* of the *maṇi*-pill liturgy, foreshadows its revelation in the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*.

***The Revelation of the Secret Assembly of
the Great Compassionate One***

In the immediate wake of singing about the revelation to come, the sequence of a Dharma-medicine great accomplishment rite, followed by visionary experiences, dreams, and miraculous events, played out once again as a portent for the revelation of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. This next time, however, the narrative sequence effectively interrelates the process by which Ratna Lingpa came to understand himself as a reincarnation of Guru Chöwang's son Pema Wangchen with Ratna Lingpa's sense of mission to reveal and promulgate anew the brahmin-flesh *maṇi*-pill ritual tradition initiated by Guru Chöwang. A complete translation of this episode is as follows:

He (i.e., Ratna Lingpa) then went back to Samten Ling in Lechung
(Sle chung bsam gtan gling)
and instituted a great accomplishment rite of *Accomplishing the
Awakened Mind* (*thugs sgrub*), along with a "medicine accomplish-
ment" (*smān sgrub*).

One night during that time he had a dream of a glorious mantra
protector, who told him,

"Once the practice of the medicine *samaya* substance (*dam rdzas
smān*) and such is done,
practice at a place called Chöding monastery (Chos sdings dgon
pa)
an accomplishment practice of Avalokiteśvara together with the
seven-born.

Whoever's stomach the seven-born falls in
will be reborn in the pure land of Sukhāvātī (*bde ba can*)."

He then went to Lhadro monastery (Lha bro dgon pa),
whereupon he opened at once all the statues (*sku rten*)
from his own Treasure revelations,

*gyis rlobs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / loM maNi padme hUM hrIH rgan pa
rnams kyis yi dan mdzod/ gzhon pa rnams kyis kha skyo mdzod/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun
pa bgrang / loM maNi padme hUM hrIH thugs rje chen po'i rnal 'byor pa/ rat+na gling
pas de skad lo/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge bdun pa bgrang / loM maNi padme hUM hrIH yig
bdun 'dren pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ /'gro drug 'khor ba dong nas sprugs/ /'dzab dbyangs yi ge
bdun pa bgrang/ loM maNi padme hUM hrIH.*

along with the statues from the Treasure revelations of Guru Chöwang.

In particular, he took his own Guru Padmasambhava [Treasure statue] to his crown and said:

“Grant your blessings that today a clear sign is revealed about whether or not I am the rebirth of Pema Wangchen.”

Just as he supplicated with these words of truth, three crystal pellet relics (*ring bsrel*) emerged from the statue receptacle and fell rolling onto the lap of the cross-legged supreme emanation [Ratna Lingpa]—everyone assembled there saw what happened.

Then a visionary experience blazed forth for him: in the sky, on the surface of a rainbow-like giant lotus, was Guru [Padmasambhava] at the center, [Guru] Chöwang on the right lotus petal, holding a mirror and a seven-syllable wheel,

and Vajrayoginī, orange, on the left lotus petal, with a knife and skull, gracefully dancing on two wheels—he saw them there for a while before they vanished.

Subsequently, based on the urging of his students, and the urging of [the non-human Treasure protector] Genyen Khari (dGe bsnyen mkha ri) and his two servants, who showed him the map to the Treasure site and cajoled him to swiftly reveal a profound Treasure there, he knew that the auspicious circumstances were aligned for the time of revelation.

He thus disregarded the difficulties posed by the vicious *nāga*-demon Treasure protector, toxic wind, and the like, redoubled his compassionate resolve to benefit others,

and performed a public Treasure revelation to inspire confidence in disciples.⁷²

The “public Treasure revelation” referred to here is the excavation of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* and more brahmin flesh, along with the other three *Assemblies* and a range of additional sacra.

Several features about this episode are remarkable for understanding the combined role of seven-born brahmin flesh and Avalokiteśvara in the life of Ratna Lingpa. Broadly speaking, the episode causally links the great accomplishment medicine rite with a dream visitation from a Dharma protector, Ratna Lingpa’s mandate to take up the accomplishment practice of Avalokiteśvara with the seven-born flesh-pills, his coming to terms with his identity as the reincarnation of Guru Chöwang’s son Pema Wangchen, and his revelation of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, which would provide a slightly revised ritual structure and liturgy through which to reimagine Guru Chöwang’s *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* and propagate the *maṇi*-pill tradition anew. The episode is punctuated by the miracle of relics falling onto Ratna Lingpa’s lap from a revealed Treasure statue of Padmasambhava, followed by a visionary encounter with Padmasambhava, Guru Chöwang, and Vajrayoginī. This served as evidence signifying to Ratna Lingpa himself and all others present that he was indeed the reincarnation of Guru Chöwang’s son, and therefore the rightful revealer of the *Secret Assembly* from

⁷² Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 213.4–215.2: /slar yang sle chung bsam gtan gling du phebs/ /thugs sgrub sman sgrub sbrags pa'i sgrub chen btsugs/ /de dus nub gcig dpal ldan sngags srung gzigs/ /dam rdzas sman sogs sgrub pa mthar phyin nas/ /chos sdings dgon pa bya bar spyan ras gzigs/ /sgrub pa dang ni skye bdun sbrags nas bsgrubs/ /skye bdun ril bu gang gi ltor song ba/ /bde ba can gyi zhing du skye bar gsungs/ /de nas lha bro dgon par phebs pa'i dus/ /rang gi gter nas byon pa'i sku rten dang/ /gu ru chos dbang nyid kyi gter ma yi/ /sku rten thams cad dus gcig zhal phyé zhing/ /khyad par khong gi pad+ma gu ru nyid/ /spyi bor blangs nas tshig tu 'di skad ces/ /pad+ma dbang chen sku skye bdag yin min/ /mngon rtags gsal bar de ring byin gyis rlobs/ /dmod bor gsol ba btab pa'i mod nyid la/ /sku rten de las ring bsrel gsum byon te/ /sprul sku mchog gi sku pang dkyil krung khar/ /'dril zhing babs pa der 'tshogs kun kyis mthong/ /de tshe thugs nyams 'bar zhing nam mkha' la/ /'ja' tshon lta bu'i pad sdong chen po'i khar/ /lta bar gu ru g.yas phyogs pad 'dab la/ /chos dbang me long yig bdun 'khor lo bsnams/ /g.yon gyi pad+ma'i 'dab ma'i steng du nil/ /rdo rje rnal 'byor dmar ser gri thod can/ /'khor gnyis 'gying bag gar stabs bsgyur ba'i tshul/ /lyun ring gzigs shing de rjes mi snang gyur/ /de nas slob ma rnams kyi zhu ngo dang/ /dge bsnyen mkha' ri dpon g.yog gsum gyis kyang/ /gter gnas sa mig bstan cing zab mo'i gter/ /myur du thon zhes snyan bskul phul ba yis/ /'don pa'i dus dang rten 'brel 'grig dgongs nas/ /gter srung klu bdud gdug pa che ba dang/ /rdzi dug la sogs dka' tshogs khyad bsad nas/ /gzhan la phan phyir thugs bskyed lhur blangs te/ /gdul bya yid ches bskyed phyir khrom gter mdzad/. See also the details in Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 148.3–156.6.

Namkechen, Guru Chöwang's first Treasure site.⁷³ Taken as a whole, this sequence of events clearly illustrates that the seven-born brahmin-flesh accomplishment rite featuring Avalokiteśvara was one of the major focal points of Ratna Lingpa's identity and activities as a Treasure revealer.

Ongoing Flesh Revelations: Patterns and Governing Logic

Ratna Lingpa's fascination with Guru Chöwang and his *maṇi*-pill tradition did not end with his revelation of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. Later that year, shortly after this pivotal revelation, Ratna Lingpa further strengthened his combined biological and incarnational ties with Guru Chöwang by traveling to Layak Guru temple, the old seat of his predecessor. There, Ratna Lingpa communicated with him in a dream vision and excavated a series of Treasures that had been previously concealed on site by Guru Chöwang himself. Predictably, more brahmin flesh featured prominently among the revelations.⁷⁴

Immediately in the wake of this excavation, as Ratna Lingpa reports it, he followed a directive given to him previously in a vision by Genyen Khari, the chief non-human protector of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* Treasure cycle, to excavate more Treasure from the Wentsa (dBen rtsa) temple close-by that was also affiliated with Guru Chöwang. There, Ratna Lingpa excavated, among other items, ten pills, "three times the size of a pea," of corpse flesh from the brahmin called He who Wears Conch Earrings (Dung gi rna can) that Padmasambhava's consort Mandharāvā found in the land of Zahor.⁷⁵

⁷³ That Ratna Lingpa recognized himself as the reincarnation of this and other figures during the process of his revelations, and was not recognized by others as a child, is also suggested by the fact that the "past lives" (*'das pa'i rnam thar*) section of his biography was culled exclusively from his own Treasure revelations, and that he does not reference his recognition by others in his verse autobiography. For the relevant section of his biography, see Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 23.6–24.1: *khyung chen brag dang gung thang bsam yas kyi/ gter ma skyes rabs lung bstan dag dang ni/ lang gros zhus la sogs nas gsungs pa kun/ lphyogs su bsdoms pas skye rabs go rim ni/*.

⁷⁴ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 221.2–222.1.

⁷⁵ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 222.1–223.4. C.f., 223.3: *za hor yul du lha lcam man dha ras/ lrunyed pa'i bram ze dung gi rna cha can/ zhes pa'i spur sha ril bu bcu them pa*. The details here of the flesh's origin likely reflect knowledge of O rgyan gling pa's *Pad ma bka' thang*. For presentation and analysis of the *Pad ma bka' thang* flesh narrative in light of its literary sources and influence on the subsequent *maṇi*-pill tradition see Gentry 2022.

Ratna Lingpa offers some details about how he distributed the pills and used them as the centerpiece for *maṇi*-pill accomplishment rites:

A pill devoid of breach was each given as *siddhi* to Lama Repawa (Bla ma Ras pa ba), Lama Tsāripa (Bla ma Tsā ri pa), and Lopbön Gyeltsen Drakpa (Slob dpon rGyal mtshan grags pa). The rest was distributed to the main students throughout the directions. Many sessions of *maṇi* accomplishment were instituted based on the pills, establishing the beings of the degenerate age in the pure land of the Great Compassionate One.⁷⁶

Here and throughout Ratna Lingpa's biographical corpus, the *maṇi*-consecrated pill of brahmin flesh is consistently presented in terms of a pure land orientation. Whoever eats it, we are promised, will travel to a pure land after death and advance rapidly toward awakening in no more than seven lifetimes, even as others with the requisite conditions in place can achieve awakening immediately upon consuming the pill. The precise postmortem destination, however, is inconsistently described throughout the literature as either Amitābha's pure land of Sukhāvati, or Mahāsukha—a distinction I will discuss below—or Avalokiteśvara's pure land of Potalaka. This fundamental ambiguity over where we can expect to live our next life upon eating the pill can perhaps be chalked up to the notion that these are understood as *dharmakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* levels of the same pure land, as presented in Ratna Lingpa's song above. Nonetheless, having inherited this inconsistency from Guru Chöwang, Ratna Lingpa utilized it to nudge the identity of the pure land into a slightly new direction. This change of course will be analyzed below when comparing the textual revelations of Guru Chöwang and Ratna Lingpa.

Ratna Lingpa's final discovery of brahmin flesh, as he reports it, came shortly thereafter at Tramodrak (Khra mo brag).⁷⁷ He discovered it inside a small relic box (*ga'u*) that he excavated there from Karkong Puk (dKar kong phugs). The contents of the relic box also included Dharma medicine, and the red and white sexual fluids of Padmasambhava and Yeshé Tsogyel. This combination of substances served as the basis for a variation on the seven-born *maṇi*-pill theme. Ratna Lingpa describes its importance as follows:

⁷⁶ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 165.5–166.1: *bla ma ras pa ba/ bla ma tsA ri pa/ gzhong kha pa/ slob dpon rgyal mtshan grags pa rnam la/ ril bu sel med re dngos grub tu gnang ngo / /gzhan phyogs phyogs kyi bu chen rnam la yang bkyes/ ril bu la brten nas ma Ni sgrub pa'i thun kha mang du btsugs nas snyigs ma'i 'gro na rnam thugs rje chen po'i zhing du bkod/.*

⁷⁷ For the entire episode, see Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 170.5–178.5.

My main students and I established many accomplishment venues (*sgrub khang*) for the brahmin-flesh pills, *amṛta*, and white and red *bodhicitta*, such that the benefit for beings was accomplished everywhere throughout the center and peripheries, and [the tradition] spread and flourished. These will later serve as heritage for ensuring that the teaching does not disappear.⁷⁸

The collective ethos of this concoction is readily apparent. Not only is it to be distributed as far and wide as possible. Its distribution, we are told, will also serve to ensure the longevity of the Buddhadharmā, wherever it happens to reach.

Significant here also is the inclusion of the reproductive fluids of Padmasambhava and Yeshé Tsogyel, along with *amṛta*, elsewhere described as “Dharma medicine” (*chos sman*), which presumably refers to the *pañcāmṛta* (Tib. *bdud rtsi lnga*), or “five ambrosias,” which figure as sacrament in tantric ritual contexts. The possible relationships between these ingredients and their implications for the profile and function of the *maṇi* pill will be discussed briefly in the conclusion of this essay.⁷⁹ For now, perhaps it suffices to observe that in tantric Buddhist contexts the five *amṛta* are typically listed as the five ingredients of feces, urine, blood, semen, and marrow.⁸⁰ But what, precisely, injunctions in tantric texts to eat these substances might mean, whether they are to be taken literally, figuratively, or rather connote the realization of nondual wisdom, has been argued in the scholarly study of Buddhist Tantra.⁸¹ In this instance, *amṛta* would seem to clearly refer to a material ingredient of the pill concoction.

Other episodes featuring seven-born flesh and its accomplishment abound in Ratna Lingpa's biographical corpus. Judging by their frequency, it is evident that intensive communal *sādhana* practices centering on brahmin-flesh *maṇi* pills and Avalokiteśvara was a major occupation for Ratna Lingpa throughout most of his adult life. As presented in the vignettes above, his typical pattern was to stage a “great accomplishment” rite drawn from the *Secret Assembly of the Great*

⁷⁸ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 2, *gTer 'byung chen mo*, 178.2–178.4: */bram ze'i sha ril/ a mR ta byang sems dkar dmar rnam dang bu chen rnam kyis sgrub khang du ma btsugs te phyogs mtshams mtha' dbus thams cad du 'gro don dpag med grub cing dar rgyas su 'gyur to/ rjes su bstan pa mi nub pa'i btsas su 'gyur rol.*

⁷⁹ For further discussion of the relationship between the five *amṛtas* or ambrosias and the seven-times-born flesh, see Gentry 2022.

⁸⁰ Wedemeyer 2013, 106. In Indian Buddhist tantric settings, these typically feature together with the *pañcamāṃsa* (Tib. *sha lnga*), or “five fleshes,” which includes human flesh, elephant flesh, horse flesh, dog flesh, and cow flesh.

⁸¹ Wedemeyer 2013.

Compassionate One, in conjunction with seven-born flesh-pill production and consecration delineated by the completion of one hundred million seven-syllable *maṇi* recitations among the ritualists. These were lavish and elaborate ceremonies, requiring considerable resources and time, thus prompting their occasional adaptation to the slightly truncated form of the “offering accomplishment” (*sgrub mchod*). Beginning on the first day of the fourth lunar month of the wood-ox year of 1445, when Ratna Lingpa was forty-three years old, until his death at seventy-four in 1478, he annually staged the offering accomplishment of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*.⁸² Additionally, he reports having staged complete one-hundred million seven-syllable recitation sessions (*yi ge bdun pa dung phyur*) thirteen times throughout his lifetime.⁸³ These rites, and many others besides, featured the production, consecration, and distribution of *maṇi* pills.

As illustrated in these details and in the episodes above, the pills attracted popular appeal. Ratna Lingpa records numbers of recipients for his consecrated *maṇi* pills in figures upwards of thirteen thousand on one occasion and a few thousand on several others.⁸⁴ He and his associates and acolytes, as Ratna Lingpa records, also took great measures to carry bushels of pills on their journeys throughout Tibet and the Himalayas to distribute to everyone they met with the promise that eating just one ensures rebirth in the pure land of Amitābha or Avalokiteśvara.

Guru Chöwang and his *maṇi*-pill tradition was Ratna Lingpa's primary inspiration in his popularization of this tradition. The key episodes presented above hopefully suffice to illustrate how intimately interwoven Ratna Lingpa's identity as a Treasure revealer was with the legacy of Guru Chöwang's seven-born-flesh *maṇi*-pill tradition. Strikingly, in addition to all of Ratna Lingpa's explicit references to Guru Chöwang's legacy, Ratna Lingpa's revelations occurred at many of the same locations where Guru Chöwang had also revealed brahmin flesh and associated rites. Notably, as mentioned above, Namkechen Lhodrak, where Ratna Lingpa revealed his *Secret Assembly* cycle, was the site of Guru Chöwang's first Treasure revelation. But perhaps more striking still are associations centering on Samyé temple complex. Guru Chöwang had also revealed at Samyé brahmin flesh and a brief *sādhana* centering on it. Moreover, as I will demonstrate below, Guru

⁸² Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 226.2–3.

⁸³ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 429.2–4.

⁸⁴ For the figure of thirteen thousand, see Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 1, *sPrul pa'i sku ratna gling pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho'i sprin phung mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*, 197.

Chöwang's *sādhana* from Samyé was likely a source for the passage detailing the flesh's treatment in his *Quintessential Assembly tantra* revealed at Pelphukring, in Kharchu, Lhodrak (Lho brag mkhar chu dpal gyi phug rings). Perhaps it is not surprising that Ratna Lingpa's *Samyema sādhana*, named after its place of revelation, is a commentary precisely on this seven-born flesh-pill rite from Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly tantra*, newly cast in the voice of Padmasambhava. More importantly, as I will also discuss below, Guru Chöwang's flesh-rite from the *Quintessential Assembly tantra* also formed the basis for the flesh's analogous treatment in Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, revealed a year after Ratna Lingpa's revelation of the *Samyema*. Tracing through this literature the complex filiations of influence between Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's diverse treatments of the seven-born flesh, particularly when viewed against the backdrop of Ratna Lingpa's biographical corpus, sheds considerable light on the delicate balance between tradition and innovation at work in the formation of Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill tradition. We turn now to an analysis of this seminal *maṇi*-pill literature.

3. *The Literature of the Great Compassionate One's Secret Assembly*

To recount the general features of Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* cycle, it centers on a form of Avalokiteśvara known as Mahākāruṇika, which literally means, "he who has great compassion." Mahākāruṇika appears in the cycle's basic *tantra*, history, liturgical descriptions, and initiation cards (*tsak li*) as bright red in complexion, adorned with jewel ornaments, with one face and two arms, holding in his right hand a rosary and a lotus at the level of his heart, and in his left hand the lotus's stem and a vase filled with ambrosia on his lap. He is depicted, moreover, in union with his consort Secret Gnosis, or Sangyema (gSang ye ma), short for She who is Endowed with the Glow of Secret Gnosis (gSang ba ye shes mdangs ldan ma). She is pictured as bright red in complexion, youthful, adorned with jewelry, embracing Mahākāruṇika with a lotus and a knife in her right hand and a long-life vase in her left held at the level of his ears, smiling, with flowing hair. The couple is surrounded in a *maṇḍala* by several other buddhas in sexual union that resemble them. And several other details, such as buddha Amitābha above their heads and buddhas filling their bodies, also figure according to the description in Ratna Lingpa's song reviewed above. Also as presented above, collective "great accomplishment" rites featuring this configuration of Mahākāruṇika and his *maṇḍala*, and the uninterrupted recitation of his seven-syllable mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ hrīḥ*, was Ratna Lingpa's preferred venue for concocting and consecrating brahmin-flesh *maṇi* pills. We have also seen

how Ratna Lingpa staged communal one hundred million seven-syllable *maṇi* mantra recitation rites (*maṇi dung phyur*) as an integral facet of his *maṇi*-pill great accomplishment practices, delineating the length of these rites in terms of the number of days it takes to chant the requisite number of mantras.

In these and several other respects, Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* is patterned closely after Guru Chöwang's earlier *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. Not only does Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly* feature the seven-syllable form of Avalokiteśvara's mantra developed by Guru Chöwang in the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. It also shares the same basic iconographic features and preserves the former's brahmin-flesh *maṇi*-pill focus, incorporating mostly all the same ingredients. Perhaps the most striking similarity is that the foundational *tantra* of Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* (*Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud*) has as its tenth chapter a nearly verbatim version of the instruction about the manufacture and consecration of brahmin-flesh pills that we find embedded in chapter six of the foundational *tantra* of Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, entitled the *Secret Tantra of Supreme Wisdom-Awareness* (*Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*).⁸⁵ Despite all these similarities, when closely comparing Ratna Lingpa's cycle with that of his predecessor Guru Chöwang, several subtle but significant shifts come to the surface. An examination of these variations in light of the criticisms that Guru Chöwang's cycle faced in the fourteenth century point toward a concerted attempt on the part of Ratna Lingpa to revise and repackage Guru Chöwang's tradition for a new audience.

a. Narrative and Iconographic Shifts

One of the most striking differences is the narrative framework of their respective origin stories. These can be observed not only in the opening chapter of their foundational *tantras*, but also in their historical surveys, which are presented as revelations that surfaced together with their respective *tantras*.⁸⁶ Starting with the location (*gnas*) of the *tantra*, Guru

⁸⁵ See Appendix V for a comparative edition and translation.

⁸⁶ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, *Thugs rje chen po'i bstan pa bka' babs kyi lo rgyus*, 1–26, and *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, 27–76; Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, *Thugs rje chen po'i bstan pa bka' babs kyi lo rgyus chen mo*, pdf. 5–29, and *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs snying 'dus pa rig pa ye shes mchog gi rgyud*, pdf. 43–86; Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa las: lo rgyus yid bzhin nor bu*, 7–22, and *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud*, 23–78; Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 12, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa las: lo rgyus yid bzhin nor bu*, 253–266, and *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud*,

Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly tantra* and history locate the original teaching of this *tantra* in buddha Amitābha's western pure land of Blissful (Tib. bDe ba can, Skt. Sukhāvati).⁸⁷ In Ratna Lingpa's revealed *tantra* of the *Secret Assembly*, however, the name of Amitābha's western pure land shifts to Great Bliss Lotus Array (Tib. bDe chen padmo'i bkod pa, Skt. *Mahāsukhapadmavyūhā), whereas in its history this is shortened to Great Bliss (Tib. bDe ba chen po).⁸⁸ The Tibetan term supplied for Sukhāvati in Guru Chöwang's cycle is the standard *bde ba can*, "endowed with bliss," or "blissful," which is homophonous in several Tibetan dialects with *bde ba chen*, or "great bliss," that we find in Ratna Lingpa's cycle. Georgios Halkias has drawn attention to a conflation between "blissful" and "great bliss" in Tibetan pure land-related literature, tracing its origin to the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century writings of Drikung Kyopa Jikden Sumgön ('Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon, 1143–1217).⁸⁹ Halkias astutely speculates that this shift could have originated from the Chinese translation of Sukhāvati as "supreme bliss" (Chin. *ji le* 極樂); a simple scribal error of *chen*, "great," for *can*, "endowed," due to their being homonyms in several Tibetan dialects, which then came to be reproduced in later texts; or from a conscious effort to connect the pure land of Blissful with the tantric emphasis on the use of physical pleasure to reach the soteriological goal of awakening, which is often set apart from mundane bliss through its designation as "great bliss," or *mahāsukha*. The case at hand points specifically to the third of Halkias's proposals—an intentional shift to better relate the pure land with a more sensual tantric ethos.

That the shift from "blissful" to "great bliss" was intentional and not the result of an accidental scribal error is suggested by the consistency of this variation across the extant versions of Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's respective revelations. More indicative still of a conscious transformation is a corresponding intensification of sexual language and imagery typical of tantric Buddhism in Ratna Lingpa's cycle as compared to Guru Chöwang's earlier revelation. The tantric character of the teaching itself (*bstan pa*), which comes labeled as a *tantra* (*rgyud*), already explicitly signals a tantric setting. But when considering the teacher of the *tantra* (*ston pa*), for instance, in Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly tantra* we find a relatively simple depiction of Amitābha (here, sNang ba mtha' yas) that broadly

205–251; Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i lo rgyus yid bzhiin nor bu*, 11–25, and *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud*, 27–73.

⁸⁷ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 6.2–3 and 28.3; Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 9.1–2 and 44.4–5.

⁸⁸ Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, 8.4 and 24.4; 2013, vol. 12, 254.4 and 206.4; 2014a, vol. 5, 12.4 and 28.3–4.

⁸⁹ Halkias 2013, 148–149.

resonates with what is familiar to us from Mahāyāna accounts—he is depicted as seated alone, within a swirling effulgence of limitless light, in the meditative absorption of “taming beings.”⁹⁰ In Ratna Lingpa’s *Secret Assembly*, however, Amitābha (here, ‘Od dpag med) is seated on a sun and moon seat, at the center of a thousand-petal lotus, situated on a throne, in union with a consort named Sangchen Pema Wangchukma (gSang chen padma dbang phyug ma, lit., “Great Secret Lotus Lady”).⁹¹

The retinue, or audience (*’khor*) for the teaching reflects still further changes. According to Guru Chöwang’s *Quintessential Assembly tantra*, Amitābha emanates his retinue from his own body, speech, and mind by emanating the five buddha families of the Great Compassionate One out of a five-color light radiating from his awakened body; six further forms of the Great Compassionate One from six light rays of his awakened speech; and the Great Compassionate One Avalokiteśvara, in union with his consort, together with their offspring, and the 1,002 buddhas of this Fortunate Eon, from the infinite light rays of his awakened mind. Then, the *tantra* narrates, out of the crown of Amitābha’s head emerges a red form of the Great Compassionate One of immutable family, who is empowered to serve as leader of the world; from his throat issues Padmasambhava, who is empowered to uphold the lotus family; from his heart is emanated Hayagrīva, here called the Glorious Supreme Horse (dPal rta mchog), who subjugates all of appearance and existence; from the tip of his nose is emanated Vajradharma (rDo rje chos), who is set up as the requester of the teaching; and from his navel is emanated the mother Pāṇḍaravāsīnī Lady of the Dance (Gos dkar mo gar gyi dbang mo), who encapsulates as many retinue members of the lotus class as there are grains of sand.⁹² Also mentioned in this *tantra*’s opening narrative frame are countless further emanations of those emanations and that they all playfully dally in the delights of the five sense pleasures, like reality merging with reality. The chapters of the *tantra* unfold as the buddha Amitābha’s replies to a series of questions posed by this entourage, led by their designated spokesman Vajradharma. In marked contrast to the florid details of the *tantra* itself, the history revealed as part of Guru Chöwang’s cycle dials back on the tantric imagery by simply saying of the entourage in Sukhāvātī that “aside from appearance of brother and sister bodhisattvas, there is not even the name of man and woman.”⁹³

⁹⁰ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 28.3; Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 44.5.

⁹¹ Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, 25.3; 2013, vol. 12, 207.2; 2014a, vol. 5, 29.2.

⁹² Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 29.1–302; Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 44.6–45.6.

⁹³ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 7.3; Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 10.2: *byang sems lcam dral cha lugs las: skyes pa bud med ming yang med*:

Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly tantra* presents a different but overlapping set of images for the emergence and identity of the *tantra*'s audience.⁹⁴ After relating that Amitābha in union with his consort are surrounded by infinite bodhisattvas of the lotus family, it goes on to relate how Amitābha emanated from his forehead Mañjuḥṣa, as the *vidyādhara* of awakened body; from "the lotus of his tongue" Avalokiteśvara, as the *vidyādhara* of awakened speech; and from his heart Vajrapāṇi, as the *vidyādhara* of awakened mind. It then narrates how the sixteen bodhisattvas, the 1,002 buddhas, the six sages, the five buddha families, and the *maṇḍala* of fierce deities, such as lotus *heruka* and others were also present. The time when the *tantra* was taught, moreover, is related, true to many Buddhist *tantras*, as the time beyond time, "at the culmination of the permanent continuum," or, as the history revealed with this cycle relates, "the time of enjoying the essence of self-arisen wisdom beyond beginning and end."⁹⁵ The narrative frame of Guru Chōwang's revelation includes no such details about time. Ratna Lingpa's *tantra* unfolds as Amitābha's replies to a series of questions posed by Avalokiteśvara himself, who serves here as the spokesperson for the audience, instead of Vajradharma. The history revealed with this cycle relates additional details about the audience of the *tantra* that subtly differentiate it from Guru Chōwang's cycle. According to this history, for instance, the audience in Great Bliss is populated not just with women serving as consorts, but with a broader range of other women characters, such as goddesses, wrathful ladies, and *dākinīs*.⁹⁶

As evinced by this cursory review of the opening narrative frame of their main *tantras*, the details of the location, teacher, retinue, teaching, and time—the five excellences that constitute a Buddhist scripture's opening narrative framing—are all coordinated to paint a resolutely tantric pedagogical setting. Already in Guru Chōwang's *Quintessential Assembly* we find tantric sexual imagery introduced into the description of Sukhāvātī that distinguishes it markedly from its mainstream Mahāyāna corollary, even as it retains the same name. In the *Quintessential Assembly*, Avalokiteśvara appears in sexual union with a consort and there are "brother and sister" bodhisattvas present, whereas the Mahāyāna pure land of Blissful is famously populated by only men, regardless of their sex in previous lifetimes. The shift in Ratna Lingpa's cycle to the pure land of Great Bliss Lotus Array develops this theme

⁹⁴ Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, 25.3–26.2; 2013, vol. 12, 207.3–208.2; 2014a, vol. 5, 29.3–30.3.

⁹⁵ Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, 26.1–2 and 9.2; 2013, vol. 12, 208.2 and 255.2–3; 2014a, vol. 5, 30.2–3 and 13.2.

⁹⁶ Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, 8.5–9.2; 2013, vol. 12, 255.1–2; 2014a, vol. 5, 29.3–30.3.

further to present the location as a resolutely esoteric dimension of the Mahāyāna Blissful, where even the buddha Amitābha resides not alone, but in sexual union with a consort. Ratna Lingpa's *tantra* also introduces a more diverse cast of female characters and other details, about time, for instance, that more vividly evoke a tantric set of images. Instead of modeling itself after the renunciatory ideal of male monastic celibacy, or even equivocating in this regard, as in Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly*, Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly* unabashedly proclaims the tantric ideal of the accomplished *yogin* and *yoginī* as its governing ethos.

Iconographical shifts follow along similar lines. Ratna Lingpa's revelation depicts the Great Compassionate One as identical to what we find in Guru Chöwang's revelation, except for one glaring difference: in Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly* the Great Compassionate One holds in his right hand a lotus, in addition to the rosary, and in his left hand the lotus's stem, in addition to the vase of ambrosia.⁹⁷ The addition of the lotus to both the name of the pure land and to the iconography is apropos of the lotus-family emphasis of the cycle as a whole. But when coupled with the sexual connotations of "great bliss" and "lotus array," and the inclusion of more female characters in the entourage, we get the distinct sense that Ratna Lingpa's revisions point toward a heightened sensualizing of the pure land. In sum, although the move toward the tantricization of Sukhāvātī is already noticeable in Guru Chöwang's inclusion of Avalokiteśvara's sexual union and other details that play no part in the Mahāyāna Sukhāvātī, Ratna Lingpa accentuates this shift further by renaming the pure land and revising the images and iconography in subtle but clearly recognizable ways.

b. The Literary Sources of the Early *Maṇi*-Pill Tradition

Comparative assessment of the passages in Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's respective writings and revelations that explicitly discuss the seven-born-flesh *maṇi* pill reveals a similarly nuanced interplay of continuity and innovation. The appendices provide preliminary draft editions and English translations of some of the most significance texts and passages. But to better assess these appendices, a comparative review of the relevant seven-born *maṇi*-pill literature is in order, starting with Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly*.

⁹⁷ This feature appears throughout the cycle. See the appendices for details.

Flesh in Guru Chöwang's Quintessential Assembly

As mentioned above already, the short *Explanation of the Accomplishment of Seven-born Flesh*, in Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly tantra*, was a foundational text for the early *maṇi*-pill tradition. The *Explanation* is embedded deep in the *tantra's* sixth chapter, titled a *Collection of Rites for Taming Beings*, where it appears as the sixth among the chapter's seven rites.⁹⁸ Interestingly, this section also appears twice as a stand-alone text elsewhere in the versions of Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly* revelation I consulted. In one instance, the stand-alone version is explicitly presented in its colophon as "extracted" (*bkol ba*) from the larger *tantra*. Its title is given as an *Explanation of the Means of Accomplishment of Seven-born Flesh Pills for Guiding Beings in this Age of Strife*, from the *Secret Tantra of the Great Compassionate One's Quintessential Assembly*.⁹⁹

The status of the second stand-alone instance of this text is more ambiguous. This version is framed not as an extract from the *tantra*, but as an independent composition.¹⁰⁰ It includes a colophon that reads:

Requested of lord Guru Chöwang
by the persistent Khampa.
May it benefit transmigrators!
I dedicate it to all beings without exception!¹⁰¹

Given the details of this colophon and dedication, which is quite distinct from what we find in Treasure colophons, it is tempting to construe it as an authorial colophon. Complicating this observation some, however, is that the text opens with *ḍākinī* script and is marked throughout, including in this colophon, with Treasure punctuation (*gter tsheg*) typical of revelations and not original compositions.

⁹⁸ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, *sKye bdun shas bsgrub bshad*, 59.3–61.1, in 'Gro ba 'dul ba las tshogs kyi le'u ste drug pa'o, 52.2–70.3, in *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*; Guru chos dbang date unknown, pdf 71.7–73.5, in *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs(sic!) snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*. The seven rites are listed at the beginning of chapter six (52.4) as follows: 1) *ganācakra*, 2) protection, 3) accomplishing longevity, 4) constructing the three-fold receptacles, 5) consecration, 6) accomplishing the flesh of the seven-born, and 7) stages of the path.

⁹⁹ Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 516–519, *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs (sic!) snying 'dus pa'i gsang rgyud las rtsod dus skye bo drangs pa'i phyir: skye bdun sha ril bsgrub thabs bshad*.

¹⁰⁰ Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 459–462, *Thugs rje chen po yongs snying 'dus pa'i skye bdun bsgrub thabs*.

¹⁰¹ Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 461.7–462.1: 'gro mgon gu ru chos dbang la: thugs rus can kyi khams pas[lemend. pa'i] zhus: 'gro ba rnam la phan gyur gcig: sems can ma lus la bsngo:

Whatever the case, we can surmise from the details of these two stand-alone versions that this passage, which comes in the *tantra* embedded in chapter six, enjoyed a life of its own probably already during the lifetime of Guru Chöwang. More importantly, the variations between the colophons of the two stand-alone versions raise the important question of whether what we find in the *tantra's* sixth chapter might have in fact originated as a writing composed by Guru Chöwang that found its way into the revealed *tantra* later, only to be extracted from the *tantra* and presented on its own once again, but then as an extract from a revealed *tantra* source-text. The Treasure punctuation and *dākinī*-script opening of the version with an authorial colophon would then have to be explained as the result of a *post-facto* scribal intervention made with knowledge of the *tantra* and its attribution as a Treasure revelation.

Complicating this picture further, we find yet another version of the seven-born-flesh accomplishment rite with considerable variations within a larger commentary on the *Collection of Rites* called the *Source of All Aims*.¹⁰² This text, according to Guru Chöwang's autobiographical record, was revealed from the Aryapalo temple at Samyé only after the *Quintessential Assembly* was revealed at Pelgyi Pukring, in Kharchu, Lhodrak.¹⁰³ Moreover, the passage in question makes reference to the *Quintessential Assembly* by directly mentioning as the framework for the practice the *tantra* and "means of attainment" that had been "concealed at Kharchu, Lhodrak." The colophon of the *Source of All Aims* provides a revealing vantage point onto its redaction and compilation:

This came from inside the leather box (*bse sgrom*) revealed from Aryapalo temple at Samyé (bSam yas arya pa lo'i gling) by the Treasure revealer from Lhodrak, Chökyi Wangchuk (Lho brag Chos kyi dbang phyug). The yellow scroll was copyedited three times. Later it was arranged in the *Collection of Rites* of the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* Dharma cycle that had been brought forth as Treasure from Pelgyi Pukring, in Kharchu, Lhodrak (Lho brag mkhar chu dpal gyi phug rings).¹⁰⁴

By this account, the *Collection of Rites* that makes up the sixth chapter of the *Quintessential Assembly tantra* was retroactively edited based on

¹⁰² Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 382.1–385.1, in *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs dgos pa kun 'byung*, 381–402.

¹⁰³ Gu ru chos dbang 1979, 174.7.

¹⁰⁴ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 402: *lho brag gter ston chos kyi dbang phyug gis: bsam yas arya pa lo'i gling nas: bse sgrom ston pa'i nang nas byon pa'o: shog ser la lan gsum zhu thug byas: de rjes lho brag mkhar chu dpal gyi[emend. gyis] phug rings nas thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i chos skor gter nas gdan drangs pa'i las tshogs su bsgrigs pa lags par gda'o:*

this subsequent revelation from Samyé. This would seem to mean that the *Source of All Aims* was in some part the source text for the sixth chapter of the *Quintessential Assembly tantra*. The reference to the *Quintessential Assembly tantra* and means of accomplishment in the text itself also suggest as much. Moreover, this version is terser than the other Guru Chöwang-related witnesses and comparison reveals that although it broadly parallels the others in terms of structure and content, and shares with them many lines and terms verbatim, there are enough distinctions to construe it as a separate but deeply intertextual writing. Unfortunately, thus far I have only been able to locate a single version of this text. Appendix II presents an edition and translation of this lone witness.

Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly* cycle also includes a word-by-word commentary on the brief means of accomplishment. This commentary is embedded in another text devoted to elaborating on the seven-fold *Collection of Rites* that constitutes the fundamental *tantra's* sixth chapter.¹⁰⁵ In this, it presents itself as a commentary specifically on the version we find in the *Quintessential Assembly tantra*. Its glosses, however, reflect some of the terminology unique to the *Source of All Aims* version. This suggests that the brief *Source of All Aims* version of the seven-born accomplishment served as a source text for the seven-part commentary as well. Apropos of the thematic number seven, the commentary on accomplishing the flesh of the seven-born divides the passage from the fundamental *tantra* into seven sections: 1) assessing the seven-born, 2) the method of concocting pills, 3) the actual method of accomplishment, 4) receiving *siddhis*, 5) acting for the benefit of others, 6) requisite commitments, and 7) the virtuous benefit. In citing the *tantra*, moreover, the commentary provides another witness to the source text, even as its commentarial glosses are drawn in part from the *Source of All Aims* later revealed separately at Samyé. This combination might have sprung from an attempt to bridge these different treatments toward better contextualizing the seven-born accomplishment rite within the *Quintessential Assembly* cycle. Appendices III and IV present a Tibetan edition and English translation of this commentary.

Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly* importantly also includes a short but fascinating history of the flesh of the brahmin Stainless Essence (Drimé Nyingspo, Dri med snying po), or Stainless, who was introduced earlier.¹⁰⁶ This figure is purportedly the Indian brahmin, or

¹⁰⁵ Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 189.3–196.5, in *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun pa*, 157–196; Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 326–331.7, in *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun*, pdf. 299.1–334.1.

¹⁰⁶ Gu ru chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 455–457, *Drang srong dri med snying po'i lo rgyus*.

r̥ṣi emanation of Avalokiteśvara whose corpse served as an important material source for the seven-born brahmin-flesh *maṇi* pill in Tibet, once it was dismembered in India, and the Indian Buddhist adept and progenitor of the Treasure tradition Padmasambhava brought a piece to Tibet and ritually accomplished and concealed it in multiple locations there. Appendix I provides the Tibetan of the sole witness of this short text that I have been able to locate, along with an English translation.

Tradition and Innovation in Ratna Lingpa's Secret Assembly

The picture that can be gleaned from perusing Ratna Lingpa's seven-born literature is no less complex. As mentioned already above, Ratna Lingpa's Treasure revelation, the *tantra* of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, has as its tenth chapter what appears to be a revision of the seven-born flesh-pill accomplishment text that appears thrice (or four or five times, when we include the *Source of All Aims* and the seven-part commentary) in Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly* and its fundamental *tantra*. Ratna Lingpa's version is found in his revealed *tantra* under the title *Chapter 10: Accomplishment of the Supreme Seven-Born*.¹⁰⁷ The many variations between Ratna Lingpa's and Guru Chöwang's versions are readily discernible in the comparative edition and translation of these texts provided in Appendix V. For reasons addressed above, this edition does not include Guru Chöwang's *Source of All Aims* version, which is presented separately in Appendix II. The most significant differences reflected in Appendix V, aside from their titles and colophons, can be summarized as follows:

- 1) **Framing:** Owing to their different bibliographical locations, Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's versions vary significantly in terms of their framing. The framing of Guru Chöwang's passage differs slightly from witness to witness. But whether embedded in chapter six of the *Quintessential Assembly tantra*, an extract from the *tantra*, or an independent composition, all witnesses share the unceremonious opening: "I will now explain the accomplishment of seven-born flesh." In the stand-alone witnesses, a few characters of *ḍākinī* script precede this line, and in one of these we find the additional phrase "for the sake of leading beings in the age of strife, from the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*." Ratna Lingpa's version, on the other hand, as the entire tenth

¹⁰⁷ Ratna gling pa 1977–1979, vol. 6, 69.5–6; Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 12, 244.1; Ratna gling pa, 2014a, vol. 5, 66.3–4: *skye bdun mchog gi sgrub pa'i le'u ste bcu pa'o*:

chapter of the *Secret Assembly tantra*, is in all witnesses cast within the dialogical context of buddha Amitābha's reply to his entourage's question:

Teach us, the entourage,
a method for effortlessly attaining awakening
through eating an amazing supreme substance.

- 2) **Assessment Procedure and Criteria:** Guru Chöwang's text is explicit in its opening lines about the need for an "assessment" (*brtag pa*) process to determine who qualifies as a seven-born, whereas Ratna Lingpa leaves this term out and weaves the criteria into the opening verses. Both Guru Chöwang and Ratna Lingpa boil down the criteria of a seven-born—a topic that receives elaborate treatment in Indian Buddhist *tantras*—to the recollection of seven successive lives as a person "endowed with the Dharma" (*chos ldan*). Ratna Lingpa's text adds to this formulation the detail of having the "leisures and opportunities" (*dal 'byor*) that define for Buddhists the "precious human birth" required as a precondition for practicing the Dharma. One version of Guru Chöwang's text, moreover, includes the additional intriguing details about how a seven-born can be identified by gathering the local children in the public market, reflecting their faces in a mirror, and investigating which children's faces cast seven reflections.
- 3) **Ingredients:** Guru Chöwang's text includes the ambiguous substance of "medicine" (*sman*) as an ingredient in the pill concoction. Ratna Lingpa's version replaces medicine with wheat flour as a suitable alternative to rice flour for mixing the ingredients into pills. Both versions include *amṛta*—sometimes called "Dharma medicine"—as a separate substance, leaving it open as to what precisely Guru Chöwang's "medicine" might otherwise refer to. Moreover, the liquid used to knead the dry concoction into pills is in Guru Chöwang's text the "queen's golden breast milk" (*btsun mo gser kyi nu zho*). This is probably an epithet for the medicinal substance *thar nu*.¹⁰⁸ Ratna Lingpa's

¹⁰⁸ Dga' ba'i rdo rje (2002, 216–217) and Karma chos 'phel (1993, 205–207) both list "golden snake milk" (*gser sbrul 'o ma*) and "dripping breast milk" (*nu zho 'dzag*) or "queen with dripping breast milk" (*nu zho 'dzag pa'i btsun mo*) among the alternative names for *thar nu*. Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1971, 149) lists "milk dripping queen" (*'o 'dzag btsun mo*) among its list of epithets. According to Dga' ba'i rdo rje (2002, 216), *thar nu* is the plant known in Latin as *Euphorbia nemato-cypha*. According to Karma chos 'phel (1993, 205), it is known in Latin as *Euphorbia kozlowii*

version names *thar nu* directly, instead of its more obscure epithet, and adds that it should be combined with the urine of a fully ordained monk, a detail missing from Guru Chöwang's treatment. Other than these distinctions, the ingredients are identical.

- 4) **Ritual Accomplishment Procedure:** Guru Chöwang's text is explicit that the vase containing the flesh pills should go in the middle of the *maṇḍala* of the Great Compassionate One. Ratna Lingpa mentions the *maṇḍala* but refrains from specifying. Further along these lines, Guru Chöwang's version frames the contemplative procedure to be observed in the ritual as "the observation of the meditation on the Great Compassionate One" and is explicit that each pill should be visualized as the "complete form of the Great Compassionate One." Ratna Lingpa's version leaves out these details, preferring instead to state more openly that "each pill" should be visualized as the "deity," without directly specifying which one. However, Ratna Lingpa's version adds a line stipulating meditation on the radiation and absorption of light rays, a detail missing from Guru Chöwang's version. Guru Chöwang's version specifies that at least five *yogins* should hold the *dhāraṇī* cord during the ceremony, even as it is careful to add that the more holders there are the better. Ratna Lingpa's version, however, leaves out the minimum number of five and only advocates the more-the-merrier sentiment. Differences are noticeable with the mantra as well. Guru Chöwang's version calls the main mantra to be recited during the accomplishment the "quintessence" (*yang snying*), whereas Ratna Lingpa's version calls it the "king of *vidyās*" (*rig pa'i rgyal po*). More significantly, Guru Chöwang's "quintessence mantra" is Avalokiteśvara's seven-syllable mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ hrīḥ* with the addition of *arapacamita hr̥daya svāhā*. Ratna Lingpa's version reduces this down to the seven-syllable mantra alone.
- 5) **Signs of Success:** Guru Chöwang's version of this passage includes "seeing auspicious signs and portents," in addition to the emergence of light, smoke, sound, and fragrant scent, as indications that the pills have been successfully consecrated. Ratna Lingpa's version, for its part, replaces "auspicious signs

prok. Both are species of the genus *Euphoria* commonly called "spurge" in English, after its use as a purgative, and identifiable by its poisonous milky white or yellow sap.

and portents" with "auspicious dreams." Moreover, Guru Chöwang's version states that *siddhis* should be received once such signs emerge, whereas Ratna Lingpa's version omits this line.

- 6) **Initiation and Benefits:** Both versions mention that a culminating initiation should be performed. But while Guru Chöwang's version specifies in one line that this should happen by means of the pill vase, Ratna Lingpa's version offers three additional lines, which are absent from Guru Chöwang's version. These lines stipulate that during the initiation three pills should be given, administered with a dilute of urine, and pill consumers should generate the image of the deity and imagine while eating the pills that the deity as pill indivisibly dissolves into the deity as consumer. Both versions conclude this section with a simple three-line verse articulating the benefit of eating a *maṇi* pill. This short verse came to be the most widely cited passage from these source materials by practitioners of the *maṇi*-pill tradition over the centuries. Ratna Lingpa's version reads as follows:

Whoever's stomach a pill should fall in
will never part from Avalokiteśvara,
no matter the lifetime or birthplace.

- 7) **Commitments:** Both versions prescribe commitments, or *samaya*, to subsequently observe based on having received the culminating initiation, but the details differ. In Guru Chöwang's version we are told to observe the training of the Great Compassionate One, that is, to act for the welfare of others, putting their needs above our own—then, it promises, contact with the supreme substance will suffice. Ratna Lingpa's version, on the other hand, includes the line about altruism, but alternatively adds the recitation of the seven-syllables and the generic "observation of *samaya*," without naming the Great Compassionate One. Moreover, Ratna Lingpa's version replaces the line about the supreme substance with the promise that observing the commitments will enable initiates to stir up *saṃsāra* from the dregs on behalf of all beings.

As discussed in some detail above, the year before Ratna Lingpa revealed the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* tantra from Namkechen, Lhodrak in 1442, he excavated a brahmin-flesh means of

accomplishment text (*sgrub thabs, sādhana*) from Samyé temple.¹⁰⁹ This liturgy, otherwise known as the *Samyema*, presents itself as a commentary on Guru Chöwang's earlier writing/revelation/edition. But it also departs considerably from the structure of the seven-section commentary of the *Quintessential Assembly* and introduces subtle changes in imagery and terminology that would only find full expression in Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly tantra* revealed a year later. Structurally, for instance, rather than follow the seven-fold division of Guru Chöwang's commentary, the *Samyema* practice text is ordered according to four divisions: 1) assessment, 2) accomplishment, 3) initiation, and 4) bringing benefit to others. The subtle but significant changes the *Samyema* reflects in imagery and terminology can be observed in the Tibetan edition and English translation of this text presented in Appendices VI and VII. These changes foreshadow the text of the *Secret Assembly tantra*, even as the *Samyema* presents itself as a commentary on Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly*, cast in the authorial voice of Padmasambhava. Most significant are shifts in the accomplishment and initiation sections. The accomplishment procedure, for example, which starts with the ingredients and process for producing the pills, foreshadows the *tantra* by listing the urine of a virtuous monk as the ideal liquid for kneading the pills. But the most significant shift away from Guru Chöwang's treatment here is the expansion of iconographic details of the liturgy, specifically the addition of the lotus and its stem as items held in the hands of the Great Compassionate One, as well as description of his consort and her full name: She who is Endowed with the Glow of Secret Gnosis (gSang ba ye shes mdangs ldan ma). Furthermore, among the signs of ritual success listed here is auspicious dreams, just as we see in the *Secret Assembly tantra*. The initiation section, moreover, includes the optional expansion of the ceremony to three repetitions—a detail missing from Guru Chöwang's version—and additionally foreshadows the *Secret Assembly* by stipulating that each pill be administered together with a urine wash.

Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* also includes its own commentarial ritual manual titled the *Wish-fulfilling Gem: A Liturgy for Accomplishing the Seven-Born*.¹¹⁰ Not only does this liturgical commentary, whose colophon presents it as the "aim" or "meaning" of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One tantra*, gloss the seven-born accomplishment rite practice instruction according to how it appears in the *Secret Assembly tantra's* tenth chapter. It

¹⁰⁹ Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 11, 173–179, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa las skye bdun sgrub pa*; Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, 413–419, *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa las: skye bdun gyi sgrub thabs bsam yas ma*.

¹¹⁰ Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 11, 163–172, and Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, 403–411, *sKye bdun sgrub pa'i cho ga yid bzhin nor bu*.

also provides additional structural details and procedural guidelines for the practical implementation of this chapter in the broader context of the *Secret Assembly* cycle. In this, its structure differs markedly from both Guru Chöwang's seven-part commentary and Ratna Lingpa's *Samyema*. Appendices VIII and IX below, which present a Tibetan edition and English translation of this brief work, enables detailed comparison. Roughly speaking, however, the *Wish-fulfilling Gem* departs from its precedents by organizing the *Secret Assembly*'s tenth chapter according to the standard tripartite division of preliminary, main part, and conclusion. Within this rubric, it demarcates several subdivisions. Preliminary, for instance, includes the three subsections of location, assessment of the substance, and concocting the pills; the main part, the procedure of accomplishment, is further divided into the preparations of demarcating the practice boundary and other preliminaries, preparing the vase, and the sequence of observations for the practice itself; while the conclusion includes the initiation, and a teaching on the virtues and fruits that can be expected from the performance.

The *Wish-fulfilling Gem*, in addition to citing the tenth chapter of the *Secret Assembly* tantra, also mentions at key junctures the *Secret Assembly* "liturgy" (*las byang*), "accomplishment practice framework" (*sgrub khog*), "miniature icon cards" (*tša ka li*), and a mantra recitation guideline, specifying how these texts should figure in the seven-born accomplishment rite to structure it, provide its liturgical and iconographic content, and guide the proper recitation of its mantras, respectively.¹¹¹ The liturgy and practice framework are surely the *Lotus Garland* liturgy and the *Essence of the Master from Uḍḍiyāna's Awakened Mind* accomplishment practice framework, respectively, two texts that we also find among the main revelations of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*.¹¹² The liturgy details the contemplative visualizations and accompanying verses and mantras for chanting during the main sessions of the great accomplishment. Whereas the framework is a more elaborate writing that outlines in detail the structure and logistical specifications of the great accomplishment rite, filled in with additional liturgical verses for chanting during the performance. The mantra recitation guideline is referenced with the title the *Intent of Recitation*.¹¹³ This short text prescribes how each of the mantras that figure in the liturgy should be recited and the contemplative visualizations that

¹¹¹ For the miniature icons cards, see Ratna gling pa 2014b.

¹¹² The liturgy is Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 12, 161–194; and Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, 229–263, *Las byang pad+ma'i phreng ba*. The ritual practice framework is Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 11, 97–162; and Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, 165–228, *sGrub khog o rgyan chen po'i thugs bcud*.

¹¹³ Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, 285–288, *Thugs rje chen po'i 'dzab dgongs gnad kyi gzer thig*.

should accompany each recitation session. In the interest of space, presentation of these texts in appendices and analysis of how they fit with the root-text passages and commentaries discussed above will have to await another paper. But in sum, by cueing practitioners to utilize these texts, the *Wish-fulfilling Gem* liturgical commentary effectively integrates the seven-born-flesh pill practice within the broader *Secret Assembly* cycle. In framing them within a broader liturgical context, moreover, it also renders the terse instructions of the *tantra's* tenth chapter more easily practicable, and thus more emendable for teaching, performance, and transmission in new settings.

Unlike the *Secret Assembly tantra's* tenth chapter, which is framed as a teaching given by Amitābha to Avalokiteśvara and his entourage, the *Samyema*, *Wish-fulfilling Gem*, liturgy, practice framework, and recitation guideline are all cast in the voice of Padmasambhava. This voicing marks these as Treasure revelations that were putatively excavated at Samyé in 1441, in the case of the *Samyema*, and at Namkechen in 1442, along with the rest of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* cycle, in the case of the others. The colophon of the practice framework, however, alternatively states that Ratna Lingpa only copied the yellow scrolls to redact this text in the “year of the dragon” (*brug lo*), which would have been the year 1448 at the earliest, around six years after its initial revelation, although the years of 1460 or 1472 cannot be ruled out entirely.¹¹⁴ The temporal distance separating the revelation and redaction of the *Samyema*, the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One tantra* and associated texts, and the practice framework text gives the impression that revealing and/or drafting these texts, and compiling them into a coherent practice tradition was a sustained effort on the part of Ratna Lingpa, one that occupied his energies for a good portion of his adult life. The survey above of the narrative episodes in Ratna Lingpa's biographical corpus detailing his involvement with the seven-born brahmin flesh provides ample confirmation that Ratna Lingpa's formation of his own *maṇi*-pill vase-practice tradition indeed involved a concerted endeavor that spanned several years.

An important detail that further suggests Ratna Lingpa's sustained involvement in curating this tradition is that the *tantra* also appears under the slightly revised title of the *Secret Tantra of the Great Compassionate One* in the Tsamdrak (mTshams brag) edition of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma School* collections.¹¹⁵ There, however, the *tantra* is stripped of its Treasure punctuation (*gter tsheg*), colophonic attribution, and any other information marking it as a Treasure revelation,

¹¹⁴ Ratna gling pa 2013, vol. 11, 162; Ratna gling pa 2014a, vol. 5, 228.

¹¹⁵ *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* 1982, vol. 32, 376.7–378.4, in *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba'i rgyud*, 343.7–384.4.

aside from a few terms in chapter colophons and the opening title section that gives the language of Uḍḍiyāna as a source language. These crucial elisions of its Treasure markings nonetheless leave intact a section of the colophon stating that “Padmasambhava translated it himself based on an Indian text (*rgya dpe*) in the *ḍākinīs*’ symbolic language.”¹¹⁶ This alteration to the colophon might indicate a deliberate effort to obfuscate the *tantra*’s putative origin in Ratna Lingpa’s revelation the *Secret Tantra of the Great Compassionate One*. This suggestion becomes more compelling when recalling that Ratna Lingpa is credited with having been instrumental in the compilation of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma School* canon, in response to the rejection of most Nyingma *tantras* from inclusion in the *Translated Word* or *Kangyur* canon during the fourteenth century.

Intriguingly, Guru Chöwang’s *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One tantra* is also included in the Tsamdrak edition of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma School* under the title of the *Secret Tantra of Supreme Wisdom Awareness, the Quintessential Assembly of all Great Compassionate Ones*¹¹⁷ This *tantra* too has been shorn of its Treasure punctuation. However, it retains its Treasure colophon, stating, “This was translated and catalogued by the master of Uḍḍiyāna Padmasambhava himself at Khoting temple (‘Kho mthing). Ithi. May it meet with a fortunate emanation of the Great Compassionate One! In a brown leather box under the Pel Pukring *maṇḍala*, a tham! Seal! Seal! Seal! Revealed from Treasure by the Treasure revealer Chöwang.”¹¹⁸ Clearly there was not the same imperative to elide from this *tantra* its putative origin in the revelation of Guru Chöwang. Why this was the case remains a mystery.

Intertextual Bonds across Generations: A Synoptic Analysis of the Literature of the Early Maṇi-Pill Tradition

When we pan out to consider these textual developments and their relationships together, a complex but discernible pattern begins to emerge. Starting with Guru Chöwang, it is not entirely clear from our evidence whether his short seven-born flesh accomplishment emerged

¹¹⁶ *Rnying ma rgyud ’bum* 1982, vol. 32, 384.4: /gsang ba’i rgyud ’di u rgyan chen pos / mkha’ ’gro dha ka’i rgya dpe las sgra rang ’gyur du mdzad do/.

¹¹⁷ *Rnying ma rgyud ’bum* 1982, vol. 32, *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying ’dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, 205.1–243.1.

¹¹⁸ *Rnying ma rgyud ’bum* 1982, vol. 32, 242.6–243.1: o rgyan gyi mkhan po pad+ma ’byung gnas kyis lho brag ’kho mthing lha khang du sgra rang ’gyur du bsgyur te dkar[emend. kar] chag la phab pa/ IthI skal ldan thugs rje chen po’i sprul pa dngos cig dang phrad par shog cig /dpal gyi phug rings[emend. rengs] dal ’og bse smug por a thaM rgya rgya rgya gter ston chos dbang gis gter nas gdan drangs pa’o//.

first as an original composition, a revelation, or a combination of both—the product of editorial activity based on revelation. If it originated as a stand-alone composition, as one colophon suggests, it would have been newly construed as a revelation through its insertion in the sixth chapter of the *Quintessential Assembly tantra*, where it received commentarial attention in conjunction with the *Collection of Rites* as a whole, only to be excerpted once again, as another colophon records, to circulate independently. However, it is perhaps more likely based on the evidence considered above that it originated as part of the *Source of All Aims* revelation excavated from Samyé, and then served as a source text for editing and arranging the *Collection of Rites* that constitutes the *Quintessential Assembly tantra's* chapter six. In this case, both stand-alone versions would be later excerpts from this chapter, regardless of their different colophons.

Whatever its origin, it is clear that this seminal passage briefly detailing the nature and treatment of seven-born flesh circulated independently, probably as early as Guru Chöwang's own lifetime, and that its independent circulation was the result of a combination of revelation, editorial work, and/or authorship, likely on the part of Guru Chöwang himself, done in tandem with his literary efforts to redact his *Quintessential Assembly* revelations into formats most suited for performance and transmission. Most importantly, it would seem that Guru Chöwang's short passage constitutes in germinal form the basic textual source of Tibet's *maṇi*-pill tradition.

As for Ratna Lingpa, it is abundantly evident that a major impetus behind his Avalokiteśvara cycle was to reinvigorate the brahmin-flesh *maṇi*-pill tradition initiated by Guru Chöwang. He did so not only by narrating dreams, visions, and miracles demonstrating his close past-life connections with Guru Chöwang. He also excavated Treasures from several of Guru Chöwang's past Treasure sites, in which the teachings revealed share striking textual resonances that reflect the spatial symmetry of Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's shared revelatory activity there. Most important for Ratna Lingpa in this regard were the locations of Samyé and Namkechen, key sites for his revelation of both brahmin flesh and associated rites.

The *Samyema*, revealed at Samyé by Ratna Lingpa a year before the *Secret Assembly tantra* was revealed at Namkechen, presents itself as a commentary on the seven-times brahmin-flesh passage of Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly tantra*. Nonetheless, however, it also partially shifts the tradition to prefigure the tenth chapter of Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly tantra* that would only surface the next year by incorporating key terms and images unique to the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One avant la lettre*. The *Samyema* means of accomplishment thus provides a pivotal vantage point midway in the

process of this crucial passage's transformation from Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly* to Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly*.

Notwithstanding several uncertainties that remain, a series of transformations, spanning the lifetimes of Guru Chöwang and Ratna Lingpa, nonetheless starts to come into view. To summarize the trajectory of this process:

- 1) The seminal passage on the seven-born flesh accomplishment in chapter six of the *Quintessential Assembly tantra* emerged as the product of Guru Chöwang's combined revelatory, editorial, and perhaps also authorial activity, as he revised and collated the *tantra's* sixth chapter in consultation with the *Source of All Aims* revelation.
- 2) Guru Chöwang excerpted the practice from the sixth chapter of the *tantra* to constitute its own stand-alone text.
- 3) Ratna Lingpa made efforts to reimagine Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition by:
 - a. revealing the *Samyema* commentary on Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly* seven-born accomplishment rite from Samyé, where Guru Chöwang himself had earlier revealed his own *Source of All Aims*; and by
 - b. subtly shifting the language and imagery of this commentary to prefigure his own analogous revelation of the *Secret Assembly tantra* a year later.
- 4) Ratna Lingpa presented a lightly revised version of the Guru Chöwang accomplishment practice, whose nascent formation is already evident in the *Samyema*, by rebranding it as the tenth chapter of his newly revealed *tantra* of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*, sourced in a conversation between Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara in an esoteric rendition of the pure land of Blissful called Great Bliss Lotus Array.
- 5) Ratna Lingpa's revelation reflects a revision of the language, imagery, and iconography of its source to accord with and accentuate further the pronounced tantric ethos of the rite.
- 6) Ratna Lingpa recontextualized it with several other revealed texts, cast in the authoritative voice of

Padmasambhava, such as a commentary, liturgy, iconographic cards, broader ritual framework, and mantra recitation guidelines, rendering it more easily practicable and transmittable.

- 7) Finally, given Ratna Lingpa's putative role in the compilation of what became the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma School*, it is tempting to surmise that Ratna Lingpa himself could have had some role in presenting this *tantra* not as his own Treasure revelation, but as a work transmitted from India and translated into Tibetan by the Indian master Padmasambhava himself. However, without the confirmation of Ratna Lingpa's catalogue to his own collection, which has been lost in the intervening centuries, this suggestion remains only a tantalizing conjecture.

4. Concluding Remarks

This consideration of Ratna Lingpa's fifteenth-century revelation and propagation of the Avalokiteśvara-focused seven-times-born-flesh *maṇi*-pill tradition has traced its origin to the life and legacy of the thirteenth-century Treasure revealer Guru Chökyi Wangchuk. Doing so has called for an assessment of the features of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition in light of wider efforts to promote the cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet and the controversial reception of the pill in the fourteenth century, alongside a survey of Ratna Lingpa's personal involvement with Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition as narrated in his biographical corpus. This broader context has helped inform a comparative analysis of the overlapping *maṇi*-pill ritual oeuvres of these two Mahākāruṇika *yogins* from Lhodrak. The combination of cultural-historical and philological approaches in studying a range of polemical, narrative, and liturgical literature across the writings and revelations of two of the most illustrious Treasure revealers in Tibetan history has yielded several observations. Foremost among them is the picture it helps us paint of how and why Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill revelation came into being.

Based on the evidence presented here, Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One maṇi*-pill tradition came not only from Ratna Lingpa's unique visionary genius. Nor did it originate solely from his inheritance and careful editorial curatorship of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill-related texts. It was rather the product of a recursive and iterative process, in which ritual-contemplative practices centering on sacra triggered visions, dreams, and miracles, which led to the material excavation of flesh and bones of the Buddhist special dead,

along with Buddhist scriptures teaching ritual-contemplative practices centering on these sacra, whose implementation led in turn to further guiding visions, dreams, and miracles, and so on. This iterative loop of practices, visions, and revelations prompting more practices, visions, and revelations, and so on—in which textual redaction, transmission, pill manufacture, and collective ritual performance were equally important—is expressive of a recursive relationship with time, identity, and scriptural production that has implications for the process by which Guru Chöwang's and Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill writings were produced and received. For Ratna Lingpa in particular, this meant that revealing, redacting, editing, and contextualizing the components of the *maṇi*-pill tradition involved in equal measure visionary recollection and prophecy; scriptural citation, reuse, and revision; and the pragmatic mandate to make the practice viable and easily transmissible for the changing expectations of his contemporary peers, practitioners, and consumers. In this, the lines between scriptural revelation, curatorship, commentary, and authorship are blurred considerably, as are the boundaries between past, present, and future times and identities.¹¹⁹

In keeping with this recursive relationship between time and scriptural production, Ratna Lingpa's imperative to reinvigorate Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition, and the precise manner by which he did so, was also likely in no small measure influenced by the scathing criticisms it suffered throughout the fourteenth century. The polemical attacks in the *maṇi*-pill liturgy of Dölpopa Sherap Gyeltsen and the *Rejection of False Dharma* attributed to Butön Rinchen Drup, as presented above, give voice to a pronounced disquiet among Tibetan intellectuals active then about the flesh, the mantra, and the ritual of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition. The critique of Dölpopa in particular, who took issue with the *maṇi*-pill consecration practice tradition after Guru Chöwang's passing, and especially its style of mantra recitation, could have given Ratna Lingpa the added impetus to contextualize his newly revealed version of the *maṇi*-pill ritual with texts that offer clearer guidelines on how to recite the mantra and perform the liturgy for his and future generations.

None of this, however, addresses the more fundamental question of why the *maṇi* pill was so important for Ratna Lingpa, Guru Chöwang before him, and huge swathes of the Tibetan populace up to the present period; and why, for that matter, it was also an object of such vehement opposition for others. Key to understanding the *maṇi* pill's enduring importance in Tibet is inquiring into the broader material

¹¹⁹ For an excellent review of recent work in Buddhist Studies on intertextuality and textual reuse that analyzes cases for comparison, see Wallace 2016.

cultural context in which it has been practiced. How Ratna Lingpa went about his revival of Guru Chöwang's tradition—his blurring of boundaries between revelation, editorial curatorship, commentary, authorship, time, identity, etc.—offers clues into this material cultural context by raising the question of how the *mañi* pill has more broadly functioned in the formation and maintenance of bonds, across a range of different registers.

This returns us to an issue broached in the introduction of this paper: whether the *mañi* pill might function in Tibetan societies as a kind of kinship substance, whose shared consumption can reorder relationships according to an expanded sense of patrilineal descent and affinity. It was presented above how Ratna Lingpa's *mañi*-pill tradition, and Guru Chöwang's before it, aggregate through narratives, rituals, and material compounds a particular sense of Tibetan ethnic identity, landscape, and history featuring shared affinity with Avalokiteśvara as the original father and enduring protector of Tibet and its people. When we pause to consider further how the *mañi*-pill tradition also brings into play images and processes foregrounding procreation, reproduction, feeding, harvesting, cultivating, and other features of relatedness, the *mañi* pill emerges as a significant example of how notions of kinship might be broadened with recourse to models of relatedness that are not limited to the familiar dichotomy of either biological procreation or socio-cultural code. Suggesting itself in this regard are currents in anthropological kinship studies introduced by the likes of David Schneider, Roy Wagner, Marilyn Strathern, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, Janet Carsten, and Marshall Sahlins, among several others.¹²⁰ Though by no means homogenous in their aims and orientations, these scholars have shared a tendency to illustrate through specific case studies the co-constitution, porosity, or interanimation of material substance and code of conduct, nature and nurture/culture, biology and society and other structural pairs that have tended to be treated as mutually exclusive and distinct. How might the *mañi* pill contribute to this direction of research?

Among this group of thinkers, I have found Sahlin's concept of "mutuality of being" and Carsten's work on blood and relationality to be particularly promising inroads for consideration. Sahlins argues that only by defining kinship broadly as " 'mutuality of being': people who are intrinsic to one another's existence—thus 'mutual person(s),' 'life itself,' 'intersubjective belonging,' 'transbodily being,' and the like,"

¹²⁰ The break from classic kinship theory was perhaps most famously articulated in Schneider 1984; it is summarized well with reference to subsequent developments in Sahlins 2013. Good examples of some of the directions taken based on this basic critique are Wagner 1977, Strathern 1988, Carsten 2000 and 2004, Sarah Franklin and Susan McKinnon 2001, and Viveiros de Castro 2009.

can we account for the “variety of ethnographically documented ways that kinship is locally constituted, whether by procreation, social construction, or some combination of these.”¹²¹ Moreover, long before Sahlin's 2013 publication, Janet Carsten called for researchers to abandon preconceptions about what constitutes kinship to instead ask the question: “how do the people we study define and construct their notions of relatedness and what values and meanings do they give them?”¹²² Carsten has since brought this question to bear on the issue of what constitutes kinship substance through a series of studies of blood and relationality. Carsten's work on blood has analyzed how it functions by way of conversion, transformation, and flow to form bonds between seemingly disparate discursive and physical elements, connecting, often in unpredictable and uncontainable ways, features of nature, culture, and society in hybrid networks of materiality and meaning.¹²³ She contends that functioning in a similar way are ghosts, money, and other such items whose intensive transaction, mercurial materiality, and heavily-laden metaphorical character cause them to gather associations as they flow through and connect a wide range of discursive and material domains.

Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi* pill also forms, expresses, or embodies relatedness, across space and time, on several different levels—materially, ritually, socially, and spiritually. Materially, it is significant that the *maṇi* pill and its main active ingredient—the flesh of a seven-times-born one—is consistently construed as a “*samaya* substance” (*dam rdzas*), a term than can be rendered as “oath,” “commitment,” or even “bond” substance. For the *maṇi*-pill tradition this means a few things. Most simply, it signals that the pill is first received and consumed together with oaths in the context of the tantric initiation performed at the culmination of the consecration ritual. The *samaya* oath incumbent upon those who receive and consume a *maṇi* pill is, in its most basic formulation, to observe the “training in Avalokiteśvara” by constantly reciting his seven-syllable mantra and benefiting beings by putting their welfare above one's own. While maintaining this oath would be no small feat, it is a far cry from the strict injunction to secrecy that more typically marks the reception and observation of tantric *samayas*.

However, a key implication of construing the *maṇi* pill as a *samaya* substance is that in eating it initiates are ingesting the embodiment of the *jñāna*, or wisdom, of Avalokiteśvara (along with all other buddhas and bodhisattvas). Jacob Dalton brilliantly outlines in his recent study of the early history of tantric Buddhist ritual manuals how *samaya*

¹²¹ Sahlins 2013, 2.

¹²² Carsten 1995, 236.

¹²³ Carsten 2001, 2011, 2013, 2019.

came to signal in Mahāyoga contexts a drop of seminal fluid—the “sacramental *bodhicitta*”—a metaphor for and a material embodiment of the “awakened mind” of all buddhas.¹²⁴ As “the culmination of sexual yoga in the context of both *sādhana* and initiation,” Dalton illustrates, it “embodied and instilled in its recipient an experience of awakening.”¹²⁵ Dalton explains further how imbibing the supreme *samaya* of *bodhicitta* occurs foremost at the finale of the secret initiation, when initiates consume the sexual fluids of the guru and consort in union, and imagine that it descends through their body to enter the lotus at the heart, thereby signaling union with the buddhas’ awakened wisdom.¹²⁶

A similar dynamic is observable in the *maṇi*-pill liturgies presented in the appendices below. The ritual process, imagery, and governing ethos of the *maṇi*-pill ritual directly mimics the secret initiation of Mahāyoga as described by Dalton. And as witnessed in the narrative vignettes from Ratna Lingpa’s biographical corpus and the summaries of his and Guru Chöwang’s Treasure texts presented above, the pill can also include as ingredients the red and white sexual fluids, or *bodhicitta*, of past gurus such as Padmasambhava and his consorts, either separately, or as part of the “Dharma medicine” of the five-fold *amṛta*. Furthermore, in likewise promising that some can expect awakening immediately upon consuming it, the *maṇi* pill has been foundational for the conception of “liberation through tasting” (*myong grol*), an important facet of a broader stream of theory and practice in Tibet that proposes immediate awakening, at the apex of a range of other, more provisional medical and postmortem effects, through only sensory contact with particularly potent sensory objects.¹²⁷ Several of the texts in the appendices describe the *maṇi* pill of the seven-born flesh, sometimes alongside other techniques, as capable of granting the awakening of “buddhahood without practicing” (*ma bsgrubs sangs rgyas*), a variation on the expression “buddhahood without meditation” (*ma bsgoms sangs rgyas*) that more typically describes liberation through the senses practices.¹²⁸ In this and other ways the production and consumption of the *maṇi* pill can be seen as an adaptation and extension of the secret initiation into the public sphere of the Tibetan populace.

¹²⁴ Dalton 2023, 163. For more on the tantric notion of *bodhicitta* as seminal fluid, see also Dalton 2004.

¹²⁵ Dalton 2023, 163.

¹²⁶ Dalton 2023, 163–164.

¹²⁷ For more on liberation through the senses practices in Tibetan Buddhism, see Gayley 2007, and Gentry 2017 and 2019.

¹²⁸ For more on the promise of “buddhahood without meditation” and its connection with liberation through the senses, see Gentry 2017 and 2019.

Further in this vein, *maṇi*-pill rituals register a fundamental anatomical ambiguity that might also have implications for the pill's extension into broader contexts of usage. It can be witnessed in the *maṇi*-pill ritual texts included in the appendices that in addition to requiring initiates to imagine that the substance forever resides in the *heart* in the form of Mahākāruṇika and consort, as reflected in the Mahāyoga rituals featuring the *bodhicitta* drop studied by Dalton, *maṇi*-pill ritual texts also include the promise that whoever's *stomach* the pill touches will attain awakening, never part from Mahākāruṇika, or be reborn in his pure land. This shift from heart to stomach, and with it, from an imaginary location to a physiological one, might also have something to do with the extension of the *maṇi* pill's bond forming capacities beyond the strictly esoteric framework of the secret initiation, and into the more public physiological domains of medicine and alchemy.¹²⁹

It might sound counterintuitive to speak of bond formation in a Buddhist context. It is, after all, the severance of the bonds of attachment that tie us to continuous uncontrolled rebirth in *saṃsāra* that stands out as the final goal of Buddhist practice. It has been well observed, however, that tantric Buddhist practice ideally transforms such bonds not by rejecting them, but by the formation of new bonds, bonds that closely mimic kinship ties and reproductive processes with the aim of recoding them with alternative awakened values.¹³⁰ In this, tantric practice aims to purify and transform such bonds, with the ultimate aim of gaining control over the process of death, rebirth, and re-death.¹³¹

It is helpful to recall in this connection that the term *tantra* (*rgyud*) itself means thread, continuity, and lineage, on both the spiritual and biological levels. Moreover, the tantric path begins with finding a guru, patterned after and referred to as a spiritual parent, whose initiation signals death to the initiate's previous identity and rebirth into a new family line of human gurus and awakened beings. The ritual mechanics of tantric initiation and the daily *sādhana* practice it permits are often patterned directly after the process of death, conception, gestation, and birth, replete with sexual and reproductive language and imagery. The secret initiation introduced above, second in what became a standard set of four initiations, in which the initiate consumes the sexual fluids of the parent guru and consort, is crucial to this process and its recoding of reproductive and associated kinship ties.

¹²⁹ I thank Jake Dalton for sharing this astute observation with me.

¹³⁰ Mills 2003, 124–126, 140.

¹³¹ For traditional Tibetan presentations of how this dynamic is intended to function, see Jigme Lingpa, Patrul Rinpoche, Getse Mahapandita and Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2006, and Shechen Gyaltap IV and Kunkyen Tenpe Nyima 2012.

But when we trace back further the material constituency of the pill through conceiving of its relational, bond-forming capacities, another logic more connected with standard Mahāyāna thought and practice surfaces. It is the mind-body continuum of the seven-times-born bodhisattva—the *maṇi* pill's primary active ingredient—that serves as its most foundational bond. This bond is what enables bodily flesh to transform into a powerfully efficacious substance through the sustained practice of ethical conduct, in conjunction with the realization of indwelling wisdom, over the course of seven successive lives. Moreover, that this could only occur over the course of seven consecutive lifetimes, and no fewer, recalls pan-Indian *Dharmaśāstra* kinship and legal conceptions linking ancestral descent, purity of lineage, and inheritance that had been assimilated to Indian Buddhist contexts through the seven buddhas cult to form an important bridge between Vinaya and *dhāraṇī* literature and ritual.¹³²

When we trace this bond back further still, moreover, it was the original oath of Avalokiteśvara in particular, binding him to forever serve all beings, even with the gift of his emanated body, that served as an important source of seven-born flesh for Ratna Lingpa and Guru Chöwang before him. The bodhisattva's altruistic vow set in motion the possibility for other would-be seven-born ones. Judging by the *samaya* incumbent upon its initiate-consumers, receiving and consuming the *maṇi* pill is clearly intended to produce a similar resolve, one that can only be as transformative as Avalokiteśvara's when it has likewise transmuted the body into a materialization of pure altruism. Here a gradualist Mahāyāna paradigm figures, but only awkwardly so, as the overall tantric framing also emphasizes Avalokiteśvara's radical and sudden transformational capacity, thus theoretically at least extending this possibility to consumers.

Moreover, the purity of ethically transformed flesh, indicated most conspicuously by the name of its paradigmatic exemplar, Avalokiteśvara's emanated brahmin called Stainless, or Stainless Essence, further illustrates that in the case at hand its formation into pills, consecration, and consumption are a close continuation of the Mahāyāna ethos of the bodhisattva. This theme of the flesh's purity is dominant even as the discourse of the seven-timer's flesh is sourced from the transgressive and antinomian injunctions of the *tantras*, and transgressive tantric valences continue to figure throughout. From a general Mahāyāna perspective, however, bodhisattvas, as buddhas in training, are called upon to perfect their physical bodies through the practice of ethical conduct, while the culmination of their training in generosity is marked by the ability to sacrifice their bodies to serve as sustenance

¹³² Davidson 2015.

and medicine for those in need.¹³³ In a similar vein, the perfected bodies of buddhas and bodhisattvas serve after their demise as relics for the faithful, not only to commemorate them after their passing as exemplars of awakened activity and to help cultivate others toward that same end, but also to transmit transformational blessings through their ongoing presence in reliquary shrines.¹³⁴

Temporally, preserving the continuity of ethical and contemplative training over the course of seven successive lifetimes, and recalling these past lifetimes with confidence, is another related iteration of the concept of bond and relationality that features in the *maṇi*-pill tradition. For Ratna Lingpa in particular, important in this regard was establishing an incarnational and kinship bond with Guru Chöwang by understanding himself as a reincarnation of his son Pema Wangchen. Recall how in Ratna Lingpa's narration of his revelation of the *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* he publicly authenticated his identity as the reincarnation of Guru Chöwang's son Pema Wangchen on the eve of this revelation through a display of miracles in which relics were produced from a statue of Padmasambhava. Publicly demonstrating this important link with Guru Chöwang, and by means of nothing other than the miraculous manifestation of bodily relics, was evidently what secured for him the authority to reveal this Treasure cycle and redact it as a close continuation of Guru Chöwang's previous *maṇi*-pill ritual. It also enabled everyone connected with the pill, either through manufacture, consecration, distribution, or consumption, to connect through it to the golden age of the Tibetan empire, beginning with Songtsen Gampo *cum* Avalokiteśvara's foundation of the Tibetan empire and initial patronage of Buddhism, up to when Padmasambhava brought the flesh to Tibet, hid it throughout the landscape, and prophesied which members of the imperial court would reveal which Treasure caches, where, and when.

Ratna Lingpa and Guru Chöwang's incarnational kinship bond was no doubt prefigured by their regional territorial bond as fellow natives of Lhodrak. Ratna Lingpa likely grew up steeped in the Lhodrak Treasure-revealing culture of Guru Chöwang, who, for his part, had been inspired by another fellow Lhodrak Treasure-revealing native before him, Nyangrel Nyima Özer.¹³⁵ That Lhodrak was home to three generations of the most influential Treasure revealers in Tibetan history permits us to speak of this region as one of the most important cultural

¹³³ For more on the bodhisattva's bodily transformation through Buddhist training and the associated narrative traditions of giving the perfected body to bring benefit to beings, see Mroczek 2007 and Ohnuma 2007, respectively.

¹³⁴ Martin 1992, 1994; Trainor 1997; Germano and Trainor 2004.

¹³⁵ For Guru Chöwang's relationship with Nyangrel, see Phillips 2004 and Hirshberg 2016, 2017.

zones for the Treasure tradition as a whole—a veritable Treasure-culture heartland. Moreover, in addition to Lhodrak serving as the site of concealment and revelation of the flesh and its associated texts, some of the botanical ingredients used in the pill, such as *thar nu* and *rtag ngu*, were likely harvestable locally in Lhodrak, just as they are today.¹³⁶ Pill manufacture, like pill revelation, thus deepened relationships between the landscape, Treasure revealers, ritual experts, and wider public of the Lhodrak region. And yet, despite the centrality of Lhodrak in these developments, the relationships formed there between place, person, and pill were also clearly transposable across regions, as the popularity of the *maṇi* pill of Lhodrak spread throughout all of Tibet, despite its detractors.

As outlined above, Ratna Lingpa's incarnational and regional ties to Guru Chöwang and Lhodrak went hand in hand with the formation of close textual and ritual bonds to Guru Chöwang's earlier *maṇi*-pill tradition. Ratna Lingpa was compelled to rejuvenate Guru Chöwang's tradition for new audiences through excavating a revelation of his own. Yet, to strike the appropriate balance between timeliness and tradition—to in effect form new bonds without breaching old ones—Ratna Lingpa's revelation reused, revised, and recontextualized Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition through a process that involved a combination of visions, revelations, editorial work, authorship, pill manufacture, and contemplative and ritual practice.

The collective practice of the *maṇi*-pill tradition was crucial for forming another bond: the socio-religious bond connecting Avalokiteśvara, as the patron bodhisattva of Tibet, to Tibetans as a people, and through the bodhisattva's flesh, to one another as well. Despite its critics, in the century preceding Ratna Lingpa's revelation, the *maṇi* pill was by all indications a very popular ritual tradition with an overwhelmingly collective dimension. Its wide appeal can be attributed in part to the pill's function as a body-speech-mind amalgam—a composite of potent bodily flesh, mantra, and contemplative mastery—worked into and through the body by means of repeated collective ritual performances culminating with consumption. Simply put, in eating the *maṇi* pill, consumers are personally incorporating the material concentrate of Avalokiteśvara's altruistic salvific and healing power, a composite of his body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities. And they are doing it together! Distributing the pill widely to all sectors of Tibetan society enables consumers from all walks of life to join in Avalokiteśvara's being and his collective identity with Tibet and Tibetans, just as it defines for Tibetans proper ethical comportment with respect to one another. As witnessed in the Dölpopa critique in particular, this

¹³⁶ Karma chos 'phel 1993, 205–207, 406–411.

collective sense of bond in Tibet links the fortunes of Tibet and its people with the appropriateness, legitimacy, or ethical value of their collective practices. With the welfare of the Tibetan people hanging in the balance, promoting the consumption and assimilation of Avalokiteśvara's body—a body of compassion, replete with beneficial power, and prepared with knowledge—can be seen as a way to promote the social and religious bonds necessary to secure and maintain the public good. What better way to ensure the collective benefit of beings in this degenerate age than to have them embody and train in the ideal of Avalokiteśvara's impartial and boundless compassion, a course of conduct inaugurated by sharing in his flesh?

Finally, it should not be overlooked that eating the pill promises postmortem effects above all—its consumption forms a future-life bond with a pure land, ensuring immediate rebirth in either Sukhāvati or Potalaka. From the springboard of the pure land, beings can then be assured of reaching the ultimate goal of complete awakening, characterized by stainless and immutable “great bliss.” This future-oriented pure-land ethos has implications for the *maṇi* pill's ostensive medicinal profile. As a pill that incorporates substance such as *thar nu*, *rtag ngu*, and other materials in common use in Tibetan medicine, alongside the charged flesh of the special dead, the *maṇi* pill could, we might imagine, be oriented also toward ameliorating physical conditions in this lifetime, and not just preparing for the next. And indeed, in the earlier tradition of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition, particularly in the pill-rituals staged by one its main propagators in the fourteenth century, Pang Khenchen Özer Lama, the *maṇi* pill is sometimes used explicitly for healing and other this-worldly aims, although other-worldly and ultimate soteriological aims are often mentioned in tandem.¹³⁷ This pure-land orientation also has implications for the *maṇi* pill's seemingly contradictory promise to grant awakening instantly upon eating it. What point are its potential postmortem effects if it is supposed to deliver awakening right here and now? Fundamental to the *maṇi* pill is its encapsulation of these tensions between the pragmatic and the soteriological, the this-worldly and the other-worldly, sudden awakening and gradual awakening, and more.

This examination of the *maṇi*-pill tradition has amply illustrated that *maṇi* pills indeed do function much like blood as a kind of fluid kinship substance, flowing, both materially and discursively, across the porous membranes between body and mind, nature and nurture, individual and society, this world and the next, the mundane and the ultimate to bring about conversions and transformations across these

¹³⁷ In addition to this figure's biography, mentioned briefly above, see also Özer Lama's *Ril bu thab bzang*, in Ratna gling pa. 2014a, vol. 3, 625–630.

and other domains. This blurring of boundaries between what counts as material substance, on the one hand, and socio-cultural code, on the other, has ramifications not only for what constitutes kinship. It also raises questions about the strict demarcation between the material and the socio-cultural in other domains, such as Tibetan medicine, for instance, and Buddhist ritual, among others. It also brings into focus the function of *maṇi* pills to galvanize and embody a particular cultural formation of Tibetan identity, one premised on the mutual interrelationship between Tibetan ethnicity, landscape, history, geopolitical integrity, and the bodhisattva of compassion Avalokiteśvara and his pure land, in this world and the next. The cultural force of encapsulating this cluster of ideas, materials, and practices into a single pill might go a long way toward explaining why Ratna Lingpa revived the *maṇi*-pill tradition in the fifteenth century and it continues to thrive to this day.

Appendices

Literary Sources for the Study of the *Maṇi*-Pill Tradition in Tibet

The following nine appendices present Tibetan editions and English translations of six texts, in multiple versions, that have served as foundational literary sources of the *maṇi*-pill tradition in Tibet. Appendices I-IV are drawn exclusively from Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. Appendices I and II each present Tibetan and English together, whereas Appendix III is the Tibetan edition and Appendix IV its English translation. Appendix V is a comparative edition of multiple versions of the text discussed above that appears with several variations in both Guru Chöwang's *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* and Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. Appendices VI and VII are a Tibetan edition and English translation, respectively, of a text found only in Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*. It cites nearly in its entirety the text presented in Appendix V, sometimes according to Guru Chöwang's version and sometimes according to Ratna Lingpa's version. To register this variant intertextuality in the Tibetan edition of Appendix VI, the words and phrases found only in Guru Chöwang's version are underlined and the words and phrases found only in Ratna Lingpa's version are in bold typeface. Appendices VIII and IX are a Tibetan edition and English translation, respectively, of a text found only in Ratna Lingpa's *Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* which cites the texts in Appendix V, but with much greater fidelity to Ratna Lingpa's version. Each Tibetan edition is preceded by a list of the versions consulted and their designated sigla. Variant

readings are recorded negatively, that is, only readings not selected for inclusion in the corresponding edition are noted, unless the variation is significant enough to warrant special mention. The symbols + and – are used to signal when a given reading constitutes an “addition” to (+) or a “subtraction” from (–) what appears in the corresponding edition.

Appendix I

The History of the Sage Stainless Essence
Drang srong dri med snying po'i lo rgyus
 Tibetan Text and English Translation

Edition: *Drang srong dri med snying po'i lo rgyus* (Gu ru chos dbang, date unknown, *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*, pdf. 455–457).

thugs rje chen po la phyag 'tshal lo:

Homage to the Great Compassionate One!

drang srong dri med snying po 'di:
 thugs rje chen po'i yang sprul yin:
 bram ze skye bdun nges par brgyud:
 skye ba tha ma lnga brgya thub:

This sage Stainless Essence
 is a re-emanation of the Great Compassionate One.
 He has surely passed consecutively through seven lifetimes as a brahmin.
 In his final birth he lived for 500 [years].

de bar rig pa'i gnas lnga 'byongs:
 bal yul yang bur sku 'das pas:
 spur ni dum bu lngar bgos te:

During that time, he mastered the five fields of knowledge.
 When he passed away in Yangbu, in the land of Nepal.
 his corpse was divided into five pieces.

bi ma la mi tras phyag g.yas khyer:
 rgya gar yul du slar log go:

Vimalamitra carried away his right arm

and returned to the land of India.

phyag g.yon ha shang tsan hes khyer:
rgya nag yul du 'gro don 'phel:

Heshang Tsenhe (Chin. Jianhe?) carried away his left arm
and multiplied the benefit of beings in the land of China.

rkang g.yas mnga' bdag phyag tu phul:

His right leg was offered to the sovereign.

rkang g.yon nam snang thugs kar sbas:

His left leg was hidden in the heart of the Vairocana [statue].

rgal tshigs nang rol bcas pa la:
u rgyan bsgrubs te de nyid du:
'gro don rgya chen de tshe 'grub:

With the spine, and the internal organs,
the master of Uddiyāna performed accomplishment,
and right there and then, vast benefit for beings was brought about.

dbu dang thugs la lo gcig bsgrub:
ril bu'i gter kha bcu gsum sbas:
'di ni thugs kyi ril bu ste:
phyi rabs las can don du sbas:

With the head and heart, he performed accomplishment for one year.
He hid thirteen Treasure caches of pills.
This, the pill of his heart,
was hidden for the sake of the karmically destined in future genera-
tions.

'di nyid las can rnyed pa'i tshe:
man ngag bzhin du lo gcig gam:
zla ba gsum du bsgrub ste gso:
de nas 'gro don ci 'phel bya:
the tshom can la mi byon no:

When the karmically destined discover this
they should revive it by performing accomplishment with it
for one year or three months, according to the pith instructions.

Then they should multiply it as much as possible for the benefit of beings.

It will not come into the possession of doubters.

ril bu su yi ltor reg pa:
thams cad 'phos te byang chub thob:

Everyone whose stomach the pill touches
will transfer and attain awakening.

bkra shis:

Auspicious!

e ma ho:
bram ze dri med sha ril de:
su zhig sprod cing tshangs de nyid:
smon lam tha ma'i grub thob yin:

Emaho!

Whoever gives and fills others with
the pill of the brahmin Stainless's flesh
is a siddha who has [fulfilled] their final resolve.

thugs rje chen po'i dkyil 'khor du:
'di bsgrub thugs rjes bsnyen bsgrub pa:
bdag gzhan 'gro don rgya chen 'grub:
phyi ma bde ba can du skye:

Those who accomplish this, performing the *mantra* approach with
compassion

in the *maṇḍala* of the Great Compassionate One,
will bring about vast benefit for themselves and others.
They will be reborn in Sukhāvati in their future lives.

'di yi ya mtshan rtags mchog ni:
zos thog bshal na sdig sgrib chung:
nan tan byed na lan gsum btang:
lan gsum gyis yang ma dag na:
zla gcig thugs rje chen po bsgrub:
de ni nges par buddha brnyen:

The supreme sign of its wonder

is that if [your bowels are] purged upon eating it, negative deeds and obscurations diminish.

If you [must] persist, administer it three times.

If you are still not purified even after three times, practice the Great Compassionate One for a month.

With this you will surely attain buddhahood.

sa ma ya gu hye:

samaya guhye

gu ru chos dbang gi khyad chos:
las ldan khams pa la gnang ba e ma ho:

This is a special Dharma of Guru Chöwang given to the karmically destined Khampa. Emaho!

bdag rgyal sing ge'i khyad chos ithi: bkra shis:

This was a special Dharma of I, king Siṃha.¹³⁸ ithi. Auspicious!

gnyis zhus so

Copied twice.

Appendix II

The Source of All Aims:

The Collection of Rites

from the Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One

(or Pith Instructions: The Source of All Aims)

Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs dgos pa kun 'byung
Tibetan Text and English Translation

Edition: *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs dgos pa kun 'byung* (Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug, *Thugs chen yang snying 'dus pa'i chos skor*, 381–402, Paro Bhutan: Kyichu Temple, 1982, 1 v., 382.1–385.1)

¹³⁸ King Siṃha, otherwise known as Siṃha Śrī, was construed by Guru Chöwang to be one of his previous incarnations as a king of Zahor (Hirshberg 2017, 68 and 73).

thugs rje chen po phyag 'tshal lo:

Homage to the Great Compassionate One!

man ngag dgos pa kun 'byung las:
 bram ze skye bdun la sogs te:
 chos ldan skye bdun sha dag la:
 bla med byang chub bsgrub pa spyad:

From *Pith Instructions: The Source of All Aims*,
 the seven-born brahmin and so forth, are as follows:
 partaking of the flesh of one born seven times with the Dharma
 accomplishes unexcelled awakening.

de yang chos ldan skye bdun des:
 mi yi skye ba bdun po dran:
 thugs rje'i dbang gis¹³⁹ nga yin smra:
 de yi sha blangs legs par skams:

As for that, those born seven times with the Dharma
 should recall seven lifetimes as human,
 and acknowledge, "I am by the power of compassion."
 Take their flesh and dry it well.

skye bdun sha chen sran tshad la:
 gzang drug gla rtsi a mR ta:
 sman dang 'bras phyed phul dang sbyar:
 grub thob sha chen rtag tu ngu:

With a pea-size chunk of great seven-born flesh,
 mix in a hand-full each of the six excellent substances,¹⁴⁰ musk, *amṛta*,

¹³⁹ emend. gi

¹⁴⁰ The six excellent substances are 1) nutmeg/mace/jasmine, 2) bamboo pith/manna/silica, 3) saffron, 4) cloves, 5) large cardamon, and 6) small cardamon (*dzA ti snying hi bzang po/ cu gang glo ba'i bzang po/ gur gum mchin pa'i bzang po/ li shi srog rtsa'i bzang po/ smug(=sug) smel mkhal ma'i bzang po/ ka lo la mtsher pa'i bzang po bcas drug/*). Interestingly, four of the six—nutmeg, saffron, large cardamon, and small cardamon—are phonetic renderings of the Sanskrit terms *jāṭī*, *kuṅkuma*, *sūkṣmailā*, and *kākoli*, respectively; whereas of the two remaining substances, bamboo pith and cloves, the former, *cu gang* in Tibetan, is likely a phonetic rendering of the Chinese *zhú shēng* (竹筴, Tib. *cu gang*), as the Sanskrit is *vaṅśa rocanā*; and the latter, *li shi* in Tibetan, seems like a phonetic rendering from Chinese, but the Chinese for cloves is typically *dīng xiāng* (丁香). The Sanskrit for *li shi* is *lavaṅga*, leaving no clear and obvious corollary. As for the grouping of *bzang po drug*, or *bzang drug*,

medicine, and rice flour.

[Include also] the great flesh of a siddha and *rtag tu ngu*.¹⁴¹

de rnams legs sbyar ril bu yang :
 sran tshad bye snyed bum par blug:
 yang snying 'dus pa'i dal dbus bzhag:
 gzungts thag lnga'i ji snyed gdags:

Mix these together, then form pills,
 the size of a pea, as many as there are grains of sand, and put them in
 a vase.

Place it at the center of the *Quintessential Assembly maṇḍala*.

Fasten to it as many as five *dhāraṇī* cords.

ji srid bzungts 'dzin mang na mchog:
 rang khang gsum rim dbub la bzhag:
 dkyil 'khor sgrub mchod gzhung bzhin bya:

The more who hold the *dhāraṇī* cord the better.

Erect a three-tier structure for its own enclosure and place it inside.

Perform *maṇḍala* accomplishment service according to the liturgy.

de nas ril bu'i dgos sgrub kyang :
 yang snying 'dus pa'i rgyud bzhin bya:
 lar ba rtsa ba'i bsgrub thabs ni:
 lho brag mkhar chur bsdams/sbas pa yis:
 rgyud dang sgrub thabs bzhin shes so:

Then, for the essential accomplishment of the pills,
 perform it according to the *tantra* of the *Quintessential Assembly*.
 Generally, the foundational means of accomplishment

it only appears twice, as *bzang drug*, in translated Tibetan canonical literature (of the sDe dge canon): once in the *Kangyur*, in the *tantra* D458; and once in the *Tengyur*, in the very short medical text D3043. This could suggest a Tibetan or Chinese provenance for this grouping.

¹⁴¹ Dga' ba'i rdo rje (2002, 279–280) lists *rtag tu ngu* and *rtag ngu* as alternative names for 'od ldan, and identifies it as *Saxifraga egregia*, or *Saxifragaceae*. Karma chos 'phel (1993, 406–411) also identifies *rtag ngu* as another name for 'od ldan, but alternatively identifies it as *Drosera peltata* Smith var. *Inuata* (Buch.-Ham) C.B. Clarke): ming gzhan/ bdud rtsi 'od ldan dang / rtag tu ngu / 'od ldan rgyal po/ bcud ldan rgyal po sogs zer/. Karma chos 'phel states there are five kinds, all of which grow in Lho brag. It mostly grows in places with grassy meadows and high humidity, such as Lho brag mkhar chu, Kong po'i sa khul, sMan gling, sPo yul, and other such places. It is also used in *bcud len*, even by Ratna gling pa himself. *Drosera* is more commonly called “shield sundew” or “pale sundew.”

is according to the *tantra* and means of accomplishment
that was concealed at Kharchu, Lhodrak.

de ltar ril bu bsgrub tshar nas:
'gro ba gzhan don byed pa'i tshe:
gdul bya'i snod ni sbyangs bdag gces:
de gang zhe na gong bzhin du:

Once the accomplishment of the pills is done,
when acting for the welfare of other beings,
purify the disciple-vessels and cherish them more than oneself.
If you wonder how, do as before:

dkyil 'khor sgrub rdzas legs bshams te:
zhag bdun nyer gcig kha gso te:
gdul bya rnams la khros kyang bya:
tshogs kyi 'khor lo dus drug bskor:

Arrange well the *maṇḍala* and accomplishment substances,
and restore [the practice] for seven or twenty-one days.
Bathe the disciples.
Turn the wheel of communal feast during the six times.

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ:
yig bdun bzlas pa rgyun mi bchad:
skabs su skye bdun sngags kyi¹⁴² gso:
arapacamita hṛdaya svāhā:

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ—
recite these seven-syllables without interruption.
On occasion restore the seven-born with the mantra
arapacamita hṛdaya svāhā

sngags re bzlas bzhin ril bu rnams:
thugs rje chen po zhi tsher bsam:

While reciting each mantra,
vividly imagine that the pills are the Great Compassionate One.

sgrub tshar bum dbang 'dis skur te:
om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ:
padma tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ āḥ:

¹⁴² emend. kyi

When the accomplishment is finished, confer the vase initiation with this:

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ
padma tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ āḥ

de nas ril bu ltor gtor tshe:
gdul bya'i snying dbus zla ba'i steng:
ril bu thugs rje dngos byon bzhugs:
bsam zhing dam tshig bsrung ba ni:

Then, when dispensing the pills, imagine that the pills are actually the Great Compassionate One, who enters and abides at the center of disciples' hearts on a moon disk. Thinking such, the commitment to be observed is as follows:

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ:
de nyid bzlas brjod rgyun mi bcad:
bdag bas gzhan gces 'gro ba'i don
thugs rje chen po'i bslab pa bsrungs:

Reciting without interruption that very om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ, and cherishing others more than oneself for the benefit of beings is the training of the Great Compassionate One to be observed.

ril bu su yi ltor song tshad:
spyen ras gzigs dang 'bral mi srid:
'phags pa'i sprul dngos dang 'phrad par shog:

Everyone in whose stomach a pill falls will never part from Avalokiteśvara. May it meet with an actual emanation of the Noble One.

syam: myam: yyam:
rgya rgya rgya:

[General colophon of *Source of All Aims* (pdf 402): lho brag gter ston chos kyi dbang phyug gis: bsam yas arya pa lo'i gling nas: bse sgrom ston pa'i nang nas byon pa'i: shog ser la lan gsum zhu thug byas: de rjes lho brag mkhar chu dpal gyis phug rings nas thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i chos skor gter nas gdan drangs pa'i las tshogs su bsgrigs pa lags par gda'o: dge'o:]

[This came from inside the leather box (*bse sgrom*) revealed from Aryapalo temple at Samyé (bSam yas aya pa lo'i gling) by the Treasure revealer from Lhodrak, Chökyi Wangchuk (Lho brag Chos kyi dbang phyug). The yellow scroll was copyedited three times. Later it was arranged in the *Collection of Rites* of the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* Dharma cycle that had been brought forth as Treasure from Pelgyi Pukring, in Kharchu, Lhodrak (Lho brag mkhar chu dpal gyi phug rings). Virtue!]

Appendix III

sKye bdun sha bsgrub,
in *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun pa*
Tibetan Edition

Sigla Editions

- P *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun pa* (Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug, *Thugs chen yang snying 'dus pa'i chos skor*, Paro Bhutan: Kyichu Temple, 1982, 189.3–196.5)
- A *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun* (Guru Chos dbang, *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*, date unknown, BDR # W8LS16401, pdf. 326–331.7)

om maṇi pad me hūm hrīḥ

thugs rje chen po yang¹⁴³ snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs:

skye bdun sha bsgrub pa'i¹⁴⁴ rim¹⁴⁵ pa la bdun te:

[1] dang po skye bdun brtags pa dang :

[2] ril bu sbyar thabs dang :

[3] bsgrub pa'i thabs dngos dang :

¹⁴³ yongs A

¹⁴⁴ kyi P

¹⁴⁵ rims P

[4] dngos grub blang¹⁴⁶ ba dang :

[5] gzhan don¹⁴⁷ bya ba dang :

[6] dgos kyi dam tshig dang :

[7] dgos ched yon tan dang bcas pa'o:

[1] dang po skye bdun¹⁴⁸ brtags pa'i rims pa ni:

rgyud las:

brtags pa skye bdun gang yin des:
mi yi skye ba¹⁴⁹ bdun po dran:

zhes¹⁵⁰ pas:

'dir ni chos ldan skye ba bdun pa dgos ste: chos ldan skye ba bdun pa
yin phan chad¹⁵¹ thugs rje'i¹⁵² dbang gis¹⁵³ nga ni skye ba bdun pa'o:
nga'i sha la sems can gang¹⁵⁴ sus longs spyod¹⁵⁵ tshad sangs rgya¹⁵⁶
bar 'gyur ro: zhes lung yang ston pas:

de'i ro blangs te¹⁵⁷ sha rnam legs par bskam:

khyad par du snying dang klad pa med du mi rung¹⁵⁸ ngo¹⁵⁹:

[2] gnyis pa ril bu sbyar thabs ni:

rgyud las:

¹⁴⁶ blangs A

¹⁴⁷ + du P

¹⁴⁸ + la A

¹⁴⁹ – ba P

¹⁵⁰ ces A

¹⁵¹ + : A

¹⁵² + chen po'I A

¹⁵³ gi A, P

¹⁵⁴ + gis A

¹⁵⁵ spyad P

¹⁵⁶ rgyal P, sangs rgya A

¹⁵⁷ + : A

¹⁵⁸ rungs A

¹⁵⁹ – ngo A

skye bdun sha ni¹⁶⁰ sran tshad la¹⁶¹:

zhes¹⁶² pas:

snying dang klad pa yin na sran tshad¹⁶³: byin po bya'i¹⁶⁴ sgong gang
ni phabs¹⁶⁵ kyi tshul: phrod kyi skyobs¹⁶⁶ sbyor du¹⁶⁷ bzang¹⁶⁸ po¹⁶⁹
drug: gla rtsi: a mR ta: grub thob sha chen sngo rtag tu ngu: 'bras kyi
phye de rnams phul gang tshad du sbyar ro¹⁷⁰:

rgyud las kyang :

rgyal rigs bu chung¹⁷¹ bya rgod sha:¹⁷²
yod par gyur na skyobs su btang :¹⁷³

ces pa ni:

mkha' spyod bsgrub na rgyal rigs skye ba bdun pa'i sha dang :¹⁷⁴
bya rgod mgo snying 'byar ba'i thabs rgyud gzhan nas gsal:¹⁷⁵

'dir bla med byang chub bsgrub pa la yod na'ang skyobs yin: med
na'ang ched du btsal¹⁷⁶ mi dgos pa'i tshig go:

yang rgyud las:

sbyor thabs des¹⁷⁷ 'dres rdzogs par sbyar¹⁷⁸:

¹⁶⁰ ril A

¹⁶¹ las A

¹⁶² ces A

¹⁶³ - : P

¹⁶⁴ byil A, bye P

¹⁶⁵ phab A

¹⁶⁶ - skyobs A

¹⁶⁷ + btang A

¹⁶⁸ bzangs A

¹⁶⁹ - po A

¹⁷⁰ - ro A

¹⁷¹ + kyang P

¹⁷² + dang : bya rgod mgo snying sbyor ba'i thabs rgyud gzhan na gsal: P

¹⁷³ missing this line P

¹⁷⁴ missing this line P

¹⁷⁵ displaced above, see note 30 P

¹⁷⁶ rtsal P

¹⁷⁷ de'i A

¹⁷⁸ sbyangs P

zhes¹⁷⁹ pa ni: skye bdun ril¹⁸⁰ sran tshad re dang : sman dang : 'bras
 phye phul gang sbyar ba de bzhin no:¹⁸¹ sha thams cad la¹⁸² des 'dres
 bas: de ltar bsres nas sbru ba'i chu ni:

dge 'dun mgo nas¹⁸³ mtshal chu¹⁸⁴ legs g.yu¹⁸⁵ thon pa la bskos te:
 bdu¹⁸⁶ ba'i khu bas sbrus te¹⁸⁷: ril bu sran ma¹⁸⁸ 'bring po tsam re¹⁸⁹
 grangs bye ma¹⁹⁰ snyed¹⁹¹ sogs¹⁹² grangs med du byas¹⁹³ la bskam ste:
 bum pa bzang po bkang ste: dar dmar pos bkab ste:¹⁹⁴ dkyil 'khor dbus
 su bkod¹⁹⁵: dar khang gsum rim su dbub¹⁹⁶:

[3] gsum pa bsgrub pa'i thabs dngos la drug ste:

[3.1] rnal 'byor pa du¹⁹⁷ bsgrub pa dang :

[3.2] bsgom bya'i ting 'dzin dang :

[3.3] bzlas pa'i snying po dang :

[3.4] ril bu grub pa'i brtags dang :

[3.5] snod¹⁹⁸ sbyong tshe'i snying po gdags pa dang :

[3.6] snod dag pa'i rtags so:

[3.1] dang po rnal 'byor pa du¹⁹⁹ bsgrub pa ni:

179 ces A

180 tshil A

181 – no: P

182 – la P

183 na P

184 mtshal chu P

185 g.yul P

186 brdung P

187 la P

188 tshad P

189 + re P

190 ma A

191 + tsam P

192 tshogs P

193 sbyar P

194 - bkang ste: dar dmar pos bkab ste: P

195 dgod P

196 dbug go P

197 emend. dus A, P

198 gnod P

199 emend. rnal 'byor dus A, P

rgyud las:

rnal 'byor lnga yis²⁰⁰ gzungs thag bzung :
ji srid bzungs²⁰¹ 'dzin mang na mchog:

ces pas:

dkiyl 'khor²⁰² gyi phyogs bzhir gzungs²⁰³ thag bzhi la gsung mi chad²⁰⁴
re re gzugs²⁰⁵: slob dpon gyis²⁰⁶ gzungs thag bzung²⁰⁷ te lngas bya
ba'am: ji srid du gzungs²⁰⁸ 'dzin mang na shis pa ste: bsgrub mched
rnams bzhi bzhis thun kha re re²⁰⁹ bzlas²¹⁰ ste: pad ma gsung²¹¹ bsgrub
pa yin phyir bzlas pa la 'bas par bya'o:

[3.2] bsgom bya'i ting nge 'dzin ni:

rgyud las:

thugs rje cher bsgom²¹² dmigs pa ni:
ril bu re re dag la yang :
thugs rje chen po'i sku²¹³ rdzogs bsam:

zhes pas:

spyir yang snying 'dus pa'i bsnyen khog nas phyung ba:²¹⁴ 'di dag las
tshogs bsgyur ba yin pas: sgrub²¹⁵ pa po du yod rnams rang rang thugs
rje chen por bsgom la thugs ka'i²¹⁶ 'od zer yar 'phros: bde bar²¹⁷ gshegs

²⁰⁰ emend. yi A, P

²⁰¹ emend. gzung A, P

²⁰² dal A

²⁰³ bzung P

²⁰⁴ 'chad P

²⁰⁵ gzug A, gzugs P

²⁰⁶ emend. gyis A, P

²⁰⁷ emend. bzungs A, P

²⁰⁸ bzung P

²⁰⁹ – re P

²¹⁰ bzung P

²¹¹ gsang A

²¹² sgom P

²¹³ skur P

²¹⁴ – ba in phyung ba A, pyir yongs snying bsgrub pa'i bsnyen sgrub chen mo'i bsgrub
khog nas phyung ba: P

²¹⁵ bsgrub P

²¹⁶ kha'i P

²¹⁷ – bar P

pa²¹⁸ mchod: mar 'phros 'gro drug gi las sgrub sbyangs te: tshur 'dus²¹⁹
ril bu'i tshogs la thim²²⁰ pas: ril bu bye snyed re re la yang: thugs rje
chen po re re bsam par bya'o:

[3.3] bzlas pa'i snying po ni:

rgyud las:

yang²²¹ snying 'di bzlas bsgrub par bya:
om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ:
arapacamita²²² hr̥daya svāhā:

zhes²²³ bzlas shing bsgrub po:

[3.4] grub pa'i rtags ni:

ril bu'i bum pa las 'od byung da dang : yang na bsgrub gnas
su²²⁴ 'ja' 'od 'bar ba dang : ril bu la du ba dang sgra snyan pa dang :²²⁵
dri zhim pa yang 'byung ngo:

rgyud las kyang :

'od dang du ba sgra dang dri:

ces pas:

lha dang lha mo'i gzugs mthong ba'am²²⁶: lhas²²⁷ char gyi rgyun 'bebs
pa'am: bum pa'i 'bru kha 'bus te skye ba dang : me tog gi char pa
dang : 'jig rten²²⁸ dge ba'i ltas²²⁹ bkra shis pa dang de²³⁰ gang mthong
yang rung ngo:²³¹

²¹⁸ – pa P

²¹⁹ – 'dus P

²²⁰ thims P

²²¹ yongs P

²²² arapacamiti P

²²³ ces: P

²²⁴ – su P

²²⁵ – pa dang : A

²²⁶ ba A

²²⁷ lha yi A

²²⁸ – 'jig rten P

²²⁹ las P

²³⁰ de dag P, dang de A

²³¹ dge ba'i las bkra shis pa de dag gang byung kyang rung: gang mthong kyang rung
ngo : P

[3.5] de nas²³² gdul bya'i snod²³³ sbyong²³⁴ phyir tshe'i snying po gdags pa ni:

rgyud las:

om āḥ hūm svāhā:
 mūm lām mām pyām tām
 padma tathāgata mahāpañca
 om āyujñāna mahāpunye tiṣṭha om:

'di ni thun bzhir yang²³⁵ snying dang sbrel te brgya stong tsam re²³⁶ bzlas pas:

[3.6 snod dag pa'i rtags]

lus ngag gi²³⁷ sgrib pa zad rtags su zhen rtog dang bral: rmi lam du lus la bshal byung ba²³⁸ dang : rnag zag pa: khrag 'thon²³⁹ pa dang :²⁴⁰ skyugs pa dang :²⁴¹ nyi ma shar ba la sogs pa²⁴² dang : bud med kyi tshogs kyi bsnyen bkur byed pa dang : lo tog 'bru²⁴³ bcud²⁴⁴ btsas ma²⁴⁵ la sogs pa²⁴⁶ 'byung ngo :

[4] bzhi pa dngos grub blangs pa²⁴⁷ ni:

zhag grangs dang sgrub²⁴⁸ pa tshar ba'i tho rangs khar tshogs dang dngos grub kyi rdzas sna tshogs dang : chang dang bdud rtsi a mR ta dang : sha'i²⁴⁹ ril bu zhad gcig kyang sbyar te: dngos grub bskul ba'i²⁵⁰ tshig gzhung ltar sbyar ba'am: 'on te bdud rtsi'i a mR ta de nyid ngo

²³² de nas P, des A

²³³ gnod P

²³⁴ sbyangs P

²³⁵ yongs A

²³⁶ du P

²³⁷ gis A

²³⁸ byas pa P

²³⁹ thon A

²⁴⁰ khrag 'thon pa: P

²⁴¹ : P

²⁴² – la sogs pa P

²⁴³ 'bras P

²⁴⁴ – bcus P

²⁴⁵ btsa' ba P

²⁴⁶ – pa P

²⁴⁷ bslang ba'i gnad A

²⁴⁸ bsgrub A

²⁴⁹ sha la A

²⁵⁰ – ba'i P

bo bde gshegs kun kyi rang bzhin la rnam pa bdud rtsir dkar mer gyis²⁵¹ bsam ste:

kāya siddhi om̐:
vākka siddhi āḥ:
citta siddhi hūm̐:
padma²⁵² siddhi phala hoḥ:

ces²⁵³ brjod la btung bas lus phyi gzhal yas la²⁵⁴: nang don snying rnam thugs rje chen po'i lha tshogs su bsam mo:

[5] snga pa gzhan don du dbang bya ba'i rim²⁵⁵ pa ni:

rgyud las:

de nas gzhan don spyod pa'i tshe:
gdul bya sbyang²⁵⁶ phyir khru kyang bya:
zhag bdun kha gso rjes gnang²⁵⁷ sbyin:
ril bu'i²⁵⁸ bum dbang 'dis bskur ro:

ces²⁵⁹ pas sngon la dbang gi bum pas dbang bskur zhing khru nas phyung ste:²⁶⁰ gdul bya dag pa gser snod lta bur byas la: de rjes bcud mchog seng ge'i 'o ma lta bu'i ril bu'i bum dbang²⁶¹ bskur ba ni²⁶²:

om̐ maṇi padme hūm̐ hrīḥ:
padma tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ āḥ:

ces²⁶³ pas bum pa²⁶⁴ spyi bor bzhag pas: lus gzhal yas khang du snying pad+ma²⁶⁵ 'dab²⁶⁶ drug pa'i lte bar: zla ba'i steng du ril bu thugs rje

²⁵¹ gyi A

²⁵² ? A

²⁵³ zhes P

²⁵⁴ khang A

²⁵⁵ rims P

²⁵⁶ sbyangs P

²⁵⁷ gnong A

²⁵⁸ bu A

²⁵⁹ zhes P

²⁶⁰ sngon la dbang bskur nas khru nas dbyungs te: A

²⁶¹ + spyi bor A

²⁶² + 'di skad do: A

²⁶³ zhes P

²⁶⁴ – bum pa P

²⁶⁵ pad ma A

²⁶⁶ 'dab ma A

chen por gsal ba de la: gzhal yas khang sgo gdangs par²⁶⁷ gsal ba'i nang
na mar mid pa byang chub lam la byon te: snying dbus su lhag gis
byon nas: byang chub snying po ma thob bar du mi 'bral bar²⁶⁸ yun gyi
lhar bzhugs par bsam la²⁶⁹ ril bu re re²⁷⁰ mid do:

[6] drug pa dam tshig bsrung ba ni:

rgyud las:

bdag las gzhan gces 'gro ba'i don
thugs rje chen po'i bslab pa bsrung²⁷¹:

ces²⁷² pas:²⁷³ de ltar dbang rdzogs ril bu ltor song phan chod: mi 'di:²⁷⁴
zhes bya ba thugs rje chen por 'gyur ba yin pas: rgyal dmangs²⁷⁵ rgyal
sar phyung²⁷⁶ ba²⁷⁷ dang 'dra ba yin pas: rgyal sa bzung nas rgyal
srid²⁷⁸ rgyal khirms skyong ba dang mtshungs par²⁷⁹ thugs rje chen
po'i bslab pa'i dam tshig bdag bas²⁸⁰ gzhan gces kyi sems bskyed dang
ldan pas: phyir²⁸¹ 'gro don ci nus la 'bas pa dang : nang du thugs rje
chen po'i sgoms²⁸² rab rgyun²⁸³: 'bring thun bzhi: tha²⁸⁴ ma nyin re mts-
han re la bskyed rdzogs lan²⁸⁵ re bsgom²⁸⁶ zhing snying po gang 'grub
mi gcod²⁸⁷ par bzlas so:

[7] bdun pa dgos ched yon tan thob²⁸⁸ tshul ni:

rgyud las:

-
- 267 pa A
268 – bar P
269 – la A
270 – re P
271 bsrungs P
272 – pas P
273 zhes P
274 – 'di: P
275 rgyal dmangs P, rmangs A
276 phungs A
277 pa A
278 – rgyal srid A
279 pas: A
280 pas P
281 phyir P, spyir A
282 bsgoms P
283 + pa P
284 mtha' P
285 len P
286 bsgoms P
287 chags A
288 'byung A

ril bu su yi²⁸⁹ ltor song na:
 tshe rabs gang dang gar skyes tshad²⁹⁰:
 spyen ras gzigs dang 'bral mi srid:
 rdzas mchog reg chog²⁹¹ ngo mtshar che:

ces²⁹² pas: de kho na bzhin du²⁹³ bsgrubs pas: ngo mtshar mchog 'grub
 pa'o:

yang²⁹⁴ snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs:

skye bdun byang chub btsan thabs su bsgrub pa'i rims pa'o:²⁹⁵

:gu ru dharma shwa ri'i khyad chos:²⁹⁶

sa mi pa ta:²⁹⁷

ithi:²⁹⁸

Appendix IV

The Seven-Stage Seven-Born Flesh Accomplishment
 from the *Collection of Rites*
 in the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*
 Translation

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

[From] the *Collection of Rites*, the stages of accomplishing the flesh of the seven-born are seven-fold:

1. Assessing the Seven-Born
2. The Method of Concocting Pills

²⁸⁹ su'i P

²⁹⁰ kyang A

²⁹¹ mchog P

²⁹² zhes P

²⁹³ – du P

²⁹⁴ yongs A

²⁹⁵ + rdzogs so: ithi: guhya: A

²⁹⁶ gu ru rin po che chos kyi dbang phyug gis khyad chos: A

²⁹⁷ missing P

²⁹⁸ missing P

3. The Actual Method of Accomplishment
4. Receiving Siddhis
5. Acting for the Benefit of Others
6. Requisite Commitments
7. The Virtuous Benefit

1. The Stage of Assessing the Seven-Born

The *tantra* states:

The assessment is that those who are seven-born should recall seven lifetimes as human.

Here, it must be someone with seven births endowed with the Dharma. And once it is determined to be someone with seven births endowed with the Dharma, they also have to prophecy as follows: "Through the force of my compassion I have taken seven births. All beings who enjoy my flesh will reach buddhahood."

Thus, take the corpse of such a person and dry the flesh well. It is specifically the heart and the brain that are indispensable.

2. The Method of Concocting Pills

The *tantra* states:

With a pea-size chunk of seven-born flesh

If it is the heart or brain it can be pea-size; [but for] the whole [corpse] it should be a full chicken-egg in size—this is the proper way of the catalyst (*phabs*). As a protective conjunction for health, a hand-full each of the six excellent substances, musk, ambrosia, the flesh of a siddha, *rtaḡ tu ngu*, and rice flour should be mixed in.

The *tantra* also states:

If you have the flesh of a young boy of royal caste and a vulture, include them in as support.

The method of combining the flesh of a seven-born of royal caste and the head and heart of a vulture to accomplish flight appears in another *tantra*.

Here, the lines mean that to attain unexcelled awakening these can serve as support if you have them, but need not be specially sought after if you do not have them.

The *tantra* further states:

Mix them completely together through the method of combining.

This means that for each pea-size seven-born pill, a hand-full each of medicine and rice flour should likewise be combined. These are to be mixed with all the flesh. Then, once these have been mixed together in that way, the liquid for kneading it is as follows:

It is to be kneaded with the liquid of the perspiration from the head of a monk—appointed for his ability to produce a fine turquoise-like [perspiration]—boiled and reduced.

Innumerable pills, as many as there are grains of sand, and so forth, should be formed, each the size of a medium-size pea. Dry them, fill a vase with them, cover the vase with red silk, place it in the middle of the *maṇḍala*, and erect a three-tier silk enclosure [above it.]

3. The Actual Method of Accomplishment

- 3.1 How Many *Yogins* Should Practice
- 3.2 The Meditative Absorption to be Cultivated
- 3.3 The Essence [Mantra] for Recitation
- 3.4 The Signs that the Pills have been Accomplished
- 3.5 The Essence [Mantra] to be Appended when Purifying the Vessel
- 3.6 The Signs that the Vessel has been Purified

3.1 How Many *Yogins* Should Practice

The *tantra* states:

Five *yogins* should hold the *dhāraṇī* cord.
[But] the more holding the *dhāraṇī* cord the better.

Without interrupting recitation, four *dhāraṇī* cords are to be held in the four quarters of the *maṇḍala*. With the master holding the *dhāraṇī* cord, this makes five. But it is also more auspicious the more who hold the *dhāraṇī* cord. But a group of at least four practice siblings should recite

during each session. As this is the accomplishment of lotus speech, they should strive in recitation.

3.2 The Meditative Absorption to be Cultivated

The *tantra* states:

The visualization for meditating on the Great Compassionate One is as follows:

For each and every pill
imagine the complete body of the Great Compassionate One.

Generally, the extracts from the mantra approach framework of the *Quintessential Assembly* govern the *Collection of Rites*. Thus, all the practitioners present should meditate on themselves as the Great Compassionate One, imagine that from their chests at the level of their heart light-rays radiate upward, making offerings to the bliss-gone ones, and light-rays radiate downward, purifying the karma and obscurations of the six classes of beings. Then, they should imagine that when the light-rays are absorbed back they dissolve into the collection of pills, such that each and every one of the pills, as many as there are grains of sand, is also the Great Compassionate One.

3.3 The Essence [Mantra] for Recitation

The *tantra* states:

Perform the accomplishment reciting this mantra:

oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ hrīḥ
arapacamita hṛdaya svāhā:

Practice while reciting it.

3.4 The Signs of Accomplishment

Light will come forth from the pill-vase. Or rainbow-light will blaze forth in the practice venue. Or smoke, melodious sound, and fragrant scent will emerge with the pill.

The *tantra* also states:

Light, smoke, sound, and fragrant scent.

You might also see the form of a god and goddess. The gods might send down a shower of rain. The grain in the vase might bloom and grow. Or you might see a rain of flowers or some other auspicious portent of virtue in the world.

3.5 The Essence [Mantra] to be Appended when Purifying the Vessel

It is stated in the *tantra*:

om̐ āḥ hūm̐ svāhā
 mūm̐ lām̐ mām̐ pyām̐ tām̐
 padma tathāgata mahāpañca
 om̐ āyujñāna mahāpuṇye tiṣṭha om̐

Add this to the essence [mantra] and recite it one hundred thousand times in each of the four sessions.

[3.6 The Signs that the Vessel has been Purified]

As signs that obscurations of body and speech are exhausted, you will be free of fixating thoughts. In dreams, your body will be washed, sweat will pour out, blood will come out, you will vomit, a sun will rise, and so forth, you will be revered by a group of women, and crops, grains, harvests, and so forth will appear.

4. Receiving *Siddhis*

At the brink of dawn, after the accomplishment and its requisite number of days is finished, combine only a single flesh pill with various *gaṇacakra* and *siddhi* substances, beer, and ambrosia-*amṛta* and mix it together according to the liturgical verses for requesting *siddhi*. Or vividly imagine that that very ambrosia-*amṛta* mixture is the nature of all *sugatas* in essence, and the ambrosia in form. Then say:

kāya siddhi om̐
 vākka siddhi āḥ
 citta siddhi hūm̐
 padma siddhi phala hoḥ

Then drink it imagining that through doing so the outside of your body becomes a celestial palace and your internal organs and heart become the divine assembly of the Great Compassionate One.

5. The Stage of Conferring Empowerment for the Benefit of Others

The *tantra* states:

Then, when acting on behalf of others,
 bath disciples to purify them,
 restore [the practice] for seven days, give them the permission
 blessing,
 then confer [initiation] with this initiation pill-vase.

After having first been conferred initiation with the initiation vase, bathed, and brought out, the disciples have been purified, like a golden vessel. Thereafter they can be conferred the pill-vase initiation, which is like the supreme contents, the milk of a lioness, as follows:

om̐ maṇi padme hūm̐ hrīḥ
 padma tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ āḥ

Once this is said, the vase is to be placed on your head, and you are to imagine the following while swallowing each pill: Visualize that the body is a celestial mansion, and at the heart inside is a six-petal lotus with a moon disk at its center and a pill atop the moon in the form of the Great Compassionate One. As you swallow [the pill] down inside the visualized open entrance to the celestial palace, it traverses the path to awakening. And once it has clearly arrived at the center of the heart, imagine that [the pill qua the Great Compassionate One] will remain there as the deity, inseparable from you, for as long as it takes to reach the platform of awakening.

6. Observing Commitments

The *tantra* states:

Observe the training of the Great Compassionate One,
 of cherishing others more than yourself for the benefit of beings.

Once the initiation is complete and the pill has entered the stomach, the person, whoever it is, becomes the Great Compassionate One. This is like a commoner who accedes to the throne—having claimed the throne, they must uphold the royal law of the state. The commitment for the training in the Great Compassionate One is to have the altruistic mindset of cherishing others more than oneself, and, with it, externally

strive as much as possible for the welfare of beings, and internally cultivate the meditation of the Great Compassionate One—at best, continually; second best, for four sessions [a day]; and at least, to meditate on generation and completion [stages] once in the daytime and once in the evening—and recite the essence [mantra] as much as possible.

7. How the Virtuous Benefit is Attained

The *tantra* states:

Whoever's stomach a pill should fall in,
will, no matter the lifetime or birthplace,
never be separate from Avalokiteśvara.
Such is the great marvel of the supreme substance with which
contact will suffice.

Thus, by practicing it precisely like this, the supreme wonder will be attained.

[From] the *Collection of Rites of the Quintessential Assembly*, [this was] the *Stages of Accomplishing the Seven-Born for Abrupt Awakening*, a special teaching of Guru Dharmesvara.

samipata

ithi

Appendix V

The Seven-Born Accomplishment Rite in
the *Tantra of the Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* and
the *Tantra of the Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*
Comparative Edition and Translation

Sigla	Editions
S-RL-d	<i>Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud</i> (Ratna gling pa, <i>Ratna gling pa'i gter chos</i> , Darjeeling: Taklung Tsetrul Pema Wangyal, 1977–1979, 19 v., vol. 6, 67.4–69.6)
S-RL-l	<i>Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud</i> (Ratna gling pa, <i>gTer chos/ Ratna gling pa</i> , Lha ldan: Ratna gling pa'i dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang, 2013, 27 v., vol. 12, 242.3–244.2)

- S-RL-s *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud* (Ratna gling pa, *gTer chos*, *gSer rta snubs zur dgon*: sNga 'gyur rnying ma dpal bla med gsang chen gnubs zur dgon, 2014, 21 v., vol. 5, 64.5–66.4)
- S-NGB-tb *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud* (*rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, mTshams brag dgon pa'i bris ma, 1982, 46 v., vol. 32, 376.7–378.4)
- S-NGB-pt *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud* (sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum phyogs bsgrigs, 59 v., vol. 44, 422.3–423.6)
- Y-CW-p *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, Gu ru Chos dbang (Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug, *Thugs chen yang snying 'dus pa'i chos skor*, Paro, Bhutan: Kyichu Temple, 1982, 1 v., 59.3–61.1)
- Y-CW-a1 *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs(sic!) snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, Gu ru chos dbang (Guru Chos dbang, *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*, BDRC # W8LS16401, pdf 71.7–73.5)
- Y-CW-a2 *Thugs rje chen po yongs snying 'dus pa'i skye bdun bsgrub thabs*, 'Gro mgon Gu ru Chos dbang (Guru Chos dbang, *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*, BDRC # W8LS16401, pdf 459–462)
- Y-CW-a3 *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs snying 'dus pa'i gsang rgyud las rtsod dus skye bo drangs pa'i phyir: skye bdun sha ril bsgrub thabs bshad*, (Guru Chos dbang, *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*, BDRC # W8LS16401, pdf 516–519)
- Y-NGB-tb *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, gTer ston Chos dbang (*rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, mTshams brag dgon pa'i bris ma, 46 v., vol. 32, 229.2–230.5)
- Y-NGB-pt *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, gTer ston Chos dbang (sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum phyogs bsgrigs, 59 v., vol. 44, 287.2–288.3)

de nas bcom ldan rigs bdag la:

Y] missing line

'dus pa'i 'khor gyis²⁹⁹ yang zhus pa:

Y] missing line

Then, the assembled entourage once again asked
the Blessed One, the Sovereign Lord:

²⁹⁹ gyi S-RL-d, S-NGB-pt

rtsol med ngo mtshar mchog gi rdzas: Y] missing line
 zos pas sangs rgyas 'thob³⁰⁰ pa'i thabs: Y] missing line
 bdag bdag 'khor la bka' stsol cig: Y] missing line

“Teach us, the entourage,
 a method for effortlessly attaining awakening
 through eating an amazing supreme substance.”

bcom ldan 'das kyis³⁰¹ bka' bstsal³⁰² ba: Y] missing line

The blessed one replied:

ngo mtshar de nyid sgrub pa la³⁰³: Y] missing line
 byang chub sems ldan rnal 'byor gyis: Y] missing line
 'gro don 'khor ba dong sprug thabs: Y] missing line
 dal 'byor chos ldan mi lus ni: Y] missing line
 bdun ni brtsegs mar blangs³⁰⁴ pa yi³⁰⁵: Y] missing line
 nges par yid ches ldan³⁰⁶ pa yi³⁰⁷: Y] missing line

“To accomplish that very marvel,
 a method for a *yogin* with *bodhicitta*
 to stir up *samsāra* from the dregs for the sake of beings
 is the human body of one with leisures, opportunities, and the
 Dharma,
 who is resolutely confident
 of having assumed such a body for seven successive lifetimes.

Y-CW-a2] five characters of ḍākinī script

Y-CW-a3] four characters of ḍākinī script

Y-CW-a3] thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs
 snying 'dus pa'i gsang rgyud
 las rtsod dus skye bo drangs pa'i phyir:

³⁰⁰ thob S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-NGB-tb

³⁰¹ kyi S-RL-d

³⁰² stsal S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-NGB-pt

³⁰³ na S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-RL-s

³⁰⁴ blang S-RL-l

³⁰⁵ yis S-RL-d, S-RL-s

³⁰⁶ bden S-NGB-pt

³⁰⁷ de'i S-RL-d, S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

For the sake of leading beings in the age of strife,
from the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Com-*
passionate One,

Y all versions begin body]

de nas skye bdun sha³⁰⁸ bsgrub³⁰⁹ bshad:³¹⁰

I will now explain the accomplishment of seven-
born flesh.

de nyid rtag³¹¹ bsgrub 'gro don bya:

One should bring benefit to beings by regularly ac-
complishing exactly this.

brtags³¹² pa skye bdun gang yin des^{313,314}
mi yi skye ba bdun po³¹⁵ dran:³¹⁶
de yang chos ldan skye³¹⁷ bdun³¹⁸ pa'i³¹⁹:

The assessment is that those who are seven-born
should recall seven lifetimes as human.
Their seven lifetimes should also have been en-
dowed with the Dharma.

ro blangs³²⁰ sha rnams legs par³²¹ bskams³²²:

³⁰⁸ sha'i Y-CW-a2

³⁰⁹ bsgrub pa Y-CW-a2

³¹⁰ skye bdun sha ril bsgrub thabs bshad: Y-CW-a2

³¹¹ rtag Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt; rtags Y-CW-a3; brtags Y-CW-a2

³¹² rtag Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³¹³ des Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1, Y-NGB-tb; de Y-CW-a2; te T-CW-a3

³¹⁴ brtags pa 'du tshogs khrom gseb tu: yul chos ma phog khye'u bsogs: drang srong tshe nus gdong kun byugs: de la dur lung? bstan byas te: dung long? nang du byad bdun 'char: Y-CW-a3. Conjectural translation: "The assessment is to bring together the children who have not been impacted by the Dharma locally into the middle of the public market, rub *drang srong tshe nu* all over their faces, and show them a mirror—seven faces will appear in the mirror [if they are seven-born]."

³¹⁵ pa Y-CW-p

³¹⁶ mi yi skye bdun nges par dran: Y-CW-a3

³¹⁷ bdun Y-CW-a3

³¹⁸ bdun Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-NGB-tb; ba Y-CW-p; ldan Y-CW-a3

³¹⁹ pa'i Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb; yi Y-CW-p

³²⁰ langs S-RL-d; blang Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³²¹ – par Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³²² bskam S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-RL-s; skams te Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a3; bskam te Y-CW-a2, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt; skam te Y-CW-a1

grub thob³²³ gnas chen dge ba'i sar³²⁴:

Take the corpse [of such a person] and dry it well.
At a virtuous place where *siddhas* dwelled,

khang sar³²⁵ dkar zhal³²⁶ gru bzhi'i³²⁷ nang:

Y] thugs rje chen po'i dal
dbus su^{328,329}:

dkiyl 'khor³³⁰ bum pa chas ldan³³¹ nang :
skye bdun sha skam³³² sran tshad la:
bzang drug gla rtsi a mR ta:³³³

Inside a new house with white walls and four corners,
[Y: at the center of a *maṅḍala* of the Great Compassionate One]
inside a *maṅḍala* and in a vase with accoutrements,
with a pea-size chunk of dry seven-born flesh,
mix in a hand-full each of the six excellent substances, musk, ambrosia,

grub thob sha chen rtag du ngu:³³⁴
gro'am³³⁵ 'bras³³⁶ phye phul gang sbyar³³⁷:
rgyal rigs bu chung bya rgod sha:³³⁸
yod na skyobs³³⁹ su sbyar³⁴⁰ byas te:

Y] yod par gyur na
skyobs su btang^{341,342}:

³²³ pa'i S-RL-l

³²⁴ dge gnas su Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-CW-a2, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³²⁵ gsar S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt, Y-NGB-pt; par Y-CW-a2

³²⁶ gsal Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³²⁷ bzhi Y-CW-a1; brtsegs pa'i Y-CW-a3

³²⁸ bzhengs pa'i Y-CW-a3

³²⁹ + yi dam gang yin dal dbus su: Y-CW-a3

³³⁰ rin chen Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³³¹ bzang po'i Y-CW-a3

³³² rnams S-RL-d; ni Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt; ril Y-CW-a3

³³³ missing line Y-CW-a3

³³⁴ missing line Y-CW-a3

³³⁵ sman dang Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³³⁶ ri Y-CW-a3

³³⁷ la S-RL-l; byar Y-NGB-pt

³³⁸ missing line Y-CW-a3

³³⁹ skyabs S-NGB-pt

³⁴⁰ sbyor S-RL-d, S-RL-l

³⁴¹ gtong Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁴² missing line Y-CW-a3

Y] sbyor thabs
des³⁴³ 'dres³⁴⁴ rdzogs par
sbyar^{345,346}

the flesh of a siddha, *rtaḡ tu ngu*,
and wheat or rice flour.

If you have the flesh of a young boy of royal caste and a vulture,
mix them in as support.

Y] Mix them completely together
through the method of combining.

dge slong dri chu thar³⁴⁷ nu³⁴⁸ sbyar: Y] btsun mo gser gyi nu
zhos sbrus^{349,350}
ril bu³⁵¹ sran tshad³⁵² grangs³⁵³ med sbyar: Y] ril bu bye snyed
grangs med grub³⁵⁴
mchod bstod tshogs 'khor dpag med bya³⁵⁵: Y] tshogs³⁵⁶ mchod³⁵⁷ du
mas³⁵⁸ lha rnams mchod:

Mix in the urine of a monk and *thar nu*.³⁵⁹
Mix this together into innumerable pea-size pills.

³⁴³ de Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2

³⁴⁴ rjes Y-CW-a2, 'dre Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁴⁵ bya Y-CW-a2

³⁴⁶ des 'dres sha rnams rdzogs par sbyar: Y-CW-a3

³⁴⁷ mthar S-NGB-pt

³⁴⁸ Bu S-RL-l

³⁴⁹ sbru Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁵⁰ missing line Y-CW-a3

³⁵¹ lu S-NGB-tb

³⁵² bye rnyed Y-CW-a2

³⁵³ drang S-NGB-pt

³⁵⁴ ril bu bye rnyed grangs med grub: Y-CW-a2; ril bu grangs med ji snyed grub: Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt; ril bu grangs med ji snyed sgrubs: Y-CW-a1; ril bu sran tshad bye snyad grub: kha rgyan gzungs thag spyi dang mthun: Y-CW-a3

³⁵⁵ byas S-RL-l

³⁵⁶ tshog Y-NGB-pt

³⁵⁷ tshogs mchod Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2; mchod tshogs Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a3

³⁵⁸ ma'i Y-CW-a2

³⁵⁹ Here, Y reads instead *btsun mo gser gyi nu zho*, "queen's golden breast milk." This is likely an epithet for *thar nu*. "Karma chos 'phel (1993, 205–207) gives "golden snake milk" (*gser sbrul 'o ma*) and "breast-milk dripping queen" (*nu zho 'dzag pa'i gtsun mo*) among the alternative names for *thar nu*. Whereas Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1972, 149) lists "milk dripping queen" among its list of epithets. According to Karma chos 'phel (1993, 205), *thar nu* is the plant known in Latin as *Euphorbia kozlowii* *prok.*, a species of the genus *Euphorbia* commonly called "spurge" in English, after its use as a purgative, and identifiable by its poisonous milky white or yellow sap.

Do immeasurable offerings, praises, and *gaṇacakras*.

	Y] rnal 'byor lnga yis ³⁶⁰ gzungs ³⁶¹ thag bzung ³⁶² :
ji srid gzungs ³⁶³ 'dzin mang na rab ³⁶⁴ :	
	Y] thugs rje cher bsgom ³⁶⁵ dmigs pa ni: ³⁶⁶
ril bu re la'ang lha re bskyed:	Y] ril bu re re dag la yang ³⁶⁷ :
'od zer 'phro 'du'i ting 'dzin gyis: ³⁶⁸	Y] thugs rje chen po'i ³⁶⁹ sku ³⁷⁰ rdzogs bsam: ³⁷¹
rig pa'i rgyal po 'di bzla'o ³⁷² :	Y] yang ³⁷³ snying 'di bzlas bsgrub par ³⁷⁴ bya:

[Y: Five *yogins* should hold the *dhāraṇī* cord.]

The more holding the *dhāraṇī* cord the better.

Generate the image of each pill as the deity.

With the meditative stabilization of radiating and absorbing light rays
recite this king of *vidyās*:

[Y: The visualization for
meditating on the Great
Compassionate One is as
follows:
For each and every pill
imagine the complete
body of the Great

³⁶⁰ lnga yis Y-NGB-tb; lnga'i Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a3

³⁶¹ gzung Y-CW-p

³⁶² gzungs Y-CW-p

³⁶³ gzung S-RL-d, S-RL-s, Y-CW-p

³⁶⁴ rabs S-RL-d; mchog Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁶⁵ bsgom Y-NGB-tb; sgom Y-CW-p; dgongs Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3

³⁶⁶ thugs rje chen po bsgom pa'i dmigs pa ni: Y-CW-a1

³⁶⁷ ni Y-CW-a1

³⁶⁸ missing this line S-RL-l

³⁶⁹ po Y-CW-a1

³⁷⁰ skur Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁷¹ inverts order of previous four lines: ril bu re re dag la yang; thugs rje chen po'i sku
rdzogs bsam: rnal 'byor lnga yi gzungs thag bzung: lo'am zla ba lnga gsum
brgya: Y-CW-a3

³⁷² bzlas so S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

³⁷³ yongs Y-CW-a1

³⁷⁴ par Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb; pa Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-p

Compassionate One.]

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ³⁷⁵

Y-CW-p adds] indeterminate ḍākinī script:

Y-CW-a1 adds] a ra pa tsa mi ta hriH da ya: indeterminate ḍākinī script:

Y-NGB-tb and Y-NGB-pt add] a ra pa tsa mi ta hri da ya svA hA

'od dang sgra dang du ba dang : Y] 'od dang du ba sgra dang dri^{376,377}
 dri bzang³⁷⁸ rmi lam bzang po yi³⁷⁹: Y] mtshan ltas³⁸⁰ bzang³⁸¹ mthong sngags 'di spel:³⁸²
 de ltar byung na sngags 'di spel: Y] missing line

If light, sound, smoke,
 fragrant scent, or an auspicious dream should occur,
 add this mantra:

[Y: [When there is] light, smoke, sound,
 or fragrant scent,
 or you see auspicious signs and portents,
 add this mantra.]

om aḥ hūm svāhā:
 mūm lām mām³⁸³ pyam³⁸⁴ tām³⁸⁵:

³⁷⁵ moves the longer mantras to append the seven-syllable mantra: om aḥ hūm svāhā: mūm lām mām pyam tām: sarva tathāgata mahāpañca: om āyujñāna mahāpunye tiṣṭha om. Adds line: gsung mi chad par rgyun par bzlas: Y-CW-a3

³⁷⁶ 'od dang du ba rnga sgra dang Y-CW-a1

³⁷⁷ different sequence: 'od dang du ba sgra dang dri: indeterminate ḍākinī script: a ra pa tsa mi ta hriH dA ya svA hA: Y-CW-a2

³⁷⁸ bzangs S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

³⁷⁹ sman rnams bzang po'i ltas S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

³⁸⁰ bltas Y-CW-p

³⁸¹ adds the hyper-metrical syllable, nas Y-CW-a2

³⁸² connects this line with additional instructions for the initiation: mtshan ltas bzang po byung ba'i tshe: gdul bya'i tshogs me tog thogs: bsgrub pa po la gsol 'di'i gdab: na mo thugs rje'i bdag po dgongs: bdag sogs 'khor ba'i sems can rnams: bla med byang chub thob bya'i phyir: thugs rjes bdun[emend. bdud?] rtsi'i dbang bskur zhu: thugs rje chen po spyen ras gzigs: yi dam du yang bzung bar bgyi'o: zhes brjod me tog 'bul bar bgyi'o: bla mas slob bus spyi gtsug tu: ril bu'i pho brang bzhag byas te: Y-CW-a3

³⁸³ mūm lām mām S-NGB-pt, Y-NGB-pt

³⁸⁴ pyam S-RL-l, S-NGB-pt, Y-NGB-pt; pya Y-NGB-tb

³⁸⁵ tām S-RL-l, Y-CW-a2, S-NGB-pt, Y-NGB-pt; ta S-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-tb

sarva tathāgata mahāpañca:
om̐ āyujñāna mahāpuṇye³⁸⁶ tiṣṭha³⁸⁷ om̐:

Y] de la rtags byung dngos grub
blangs^{388,389}

de nas gzhan don spyod pa'i phyir^{390,391}
gdul bya sbyang³⁹² phyir khruṣ kyang³⁹³ bya:³⁹⁴
zhag bdun³⁹⁵ kha gso rjes gnang³⁹⁶ sbyin^{397,398}

[Y: Once signs have emerged re-
ceive the siddhis.]

“Then, to act on behalf of others,
bath disciples to purify them,
restore [the practice] for seven days, then give them the permission
blessing.

de nas dbang bskur rim pa ni: Y] ril³⁹⁹ bu'i bum dbang 'dis⁴⁰⁰
bskur ro^{401,402}

“Then comes the procedure for conferring initiation:

om̐ maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ sarva⁴⁰³ tathāgata abhiṣiñca hrīḥ⁴⁰⁴ āḥ⁴⁰⁵

³⁸⁶ mahāpuna S-NGB-pt

³⁸⁷ titha S-NGB-pt

³⁸⁸ blang Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁸⁹ missing line Y-CW-a3

³⁹⁰ tshe Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

³⁹¹ de nas gzhan don byed pa'i tshe: Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a1; de nas ril bus gzhan don
spyod pa'i tshe: Y-CW-a2; missing line Y-CW-a3

³⁹² sbyong S-RL-s, Y-CW-a1; sbyangs S-RL-d, Y-CW-a2

³⁹³ yang S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

³⁹⁴ missing line Y-CW-a3

³⁹⁵ brgya S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

³⁹⁶ snang S-NGB-tb

³⁹⁷ bzhin S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

³⁹⁸ missing line Y-CW-a3

³⁹⁹ rim Y-NGB-tb

⁴⁰⁰ 'dir Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y, CW-p; 'dis Y-NGB-tb

⁴⁰¹ – ro Y-CW-a2

⁴⁰² missing line Y-CW-a3

⁴⁰³ padma Y-CW-a2

⁴⁰⁴ – hrīḥ Y-CW-a3; hri S-NGB-pt, Y-NGB-pt

⁴⁰⁵ a S-NGB-pt, Y-NGB-pt; + ces brjod slob bus spyi gtsug tu: 'phags pa bzhugs bsam
snying ka ru: hrīḥ las ye shes me 'bar bas: phyi nang sgrib sbyangs nyams 'bar
bsam: dar phyar dung 'bud rol mo bsgrags: tshogs kyi 'khor lo cher bskor zing: ril
bu zos na mi dge mtshams: dge spyad ril bu'i snying po rnam: bzlas brjod gtso
bor sus byed pa: mi dge bcu dang mtshams med lnga: sdiḡ sgrib kun byang nad
gdon zhi: ngan song gnas thar rgyal sras thob: Y-CW-a3

dbang dus ⁴⁰⁶ ril bu gsum yang sbyin:	Y missing line]
lha bskyed dri chu'i ⁴⁰⁷ chu bsdebs ⁴⁰⁸ gtong ⁴⁰⁹ :	Y missing line]
lha la lha thim dbyer med bsam ⁴¹⁰ :	Y missing line]

“During initiation also give three pills.
Generate [the image] of the deity, administer with a dilute of urine,
and imagine that deity dissolves into deity, indivisibly.

ril bu su yi ltor song⁴¹¹ ba⁴¹²:
tshe rabs⁴¹³ gang dang⁴¹⁴ gar skyes kyang⁴¹⁵:
spyan ras gzigs dang 'bral mi srid:

“Whoever's stomach a pill should fall in
will never part from Avalokiteśvara
no matter the lifetime or birthplace.

bdag bas ⁴¹⁶ gzhan gces 'gro don spyod ^{417,418}	
yig bdun ⁴¹⁹ bzlas shing dam tshig bsrung ⁴²⁰ :	Y] thugs rje chen po'i
	bslab pa bsrung ^{421,422}
thams cad 'khor ba dong nas sprug:	Y] rdzas mchog reg
	chog ⁴²³ ngo mtshar
	che ^{424,425}

⁴⁰⁶ 'dus S-NGB-tb

⁴⁰⁷ chus S-RL-d, S-RL-l, S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

⁴⁰⁸ sdebs S-RL-d, S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt; sdeb S-RL-l

⁴⁰⁹ stang S-RL-D; btang S-RL-l, S-NGB-tb

⁴¹⁰ par S-RL-l

⁴¹¹ reg Y-CW-a3

⁴¹² nas Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt; na Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2

⁴¹³ skye ba Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-Tb, Y-NGB-pt

⁴¹⁴ nas Y-CW-a3

⁴¹⁵ tshad Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-a3, Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

⁴¹⁶ las Y-CW-a2; pas S-RL-l, Y-NGB-tb, Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

⁴¹⁷ ba'i don Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-tb

⁴¹⁸ skye ba dran cing thos[emend. thob] pa 'dzin: yon tan bsngags pa'i tshad las 'das:

de phyir mchog gi rin chen po che: skye ba bdun pa'i sha ril yin: 'di la the tshom

skyes tshad ni: de yi byang chub rgyang thag bsrings: bskur btav gyur na mnar

med 'gro: de phyir mkhas pas spyod shes bya'o: rgyal ba kun gyis rab tu bsngags:

rdzas kyi rgyal po reg chog 'di: sbyar thabs gsang ba de kho na'o: Y-CW-a3

⁴¹⁹ brgya S-NGB-tb, S-NGB-pt

⁴²⁰ srung S-RL-l; bsrungs S-NGB-tb

⁴²¹ srung Y-NGB-tb, Y-NGB-pt

⁴²² missing line Y-CW-a3]

⁴²³ mchog Y-CW-p, Y-NGB-pt

⁴²⁴ che'o Y-CW-p

⁴²⁵ missing line Y-CW-a3

Act on behalf of beings, cherishing others more than yourself,
recite the seven syllables, and observe the samayas,
and you will stir up *samsāra* from the dregs for all."

ces bka' bstsal⁴²⁶ to:

Y missing line]

Thus did he say.

thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud las: skye bdun mchog gi
sgrub pa'i le'u ste bcu pa'o:

Y missing chapter colophon]

This was Chapter Ten: *The Accomplishment of the Supreme Seven-Born*,
from the *Tantra of the Secret Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*.

samaya:⁴²⁷

rgya rgya rgya:⁴²⁸

kha tham:⁴²⁹

Commitment!

Seal! Seal! Seal!

Silence!

Y-CW-a2 colophon]

'gro mgon gu ru chos dbang la:

thugs rus can gyi khams pas[emend. pa'i] zhus:

'gro ba rnam la phan gyur gcig:

sems can ma lus la bsngo:

Requested of lord Guru Chöwang
by the persistent Khampa.
May it benefit transmigrators!

⁴²⁶ stsal S-RL-d, S-RL-l

⁴²⁷ missing S-NGB-tb, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a3

⁴²⁸ relocates in colophon, see below S-NGB-tb, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-p] missing, Y-CW-a3]

⁴²⁹ missing S-NGB-tb, Y-CW-a1, Y-CW-a2, Y-CW-p, Y-CW-a3

I dedicate it to all beings without exception!

Y-CW-a3 colophon]

ces thugs rje chen po yong 'dus snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa
mchog gi gsang rgyud las bkol ba:

ithi:

rgya rgya rgya:

ithi:

las can snying gis bu dang 'phrad par shog:
rtsod ldan dus su 'gro don 'phel bar shog:

gnyis zhus so //

Extracted from the *Secret Tantra of Supreme Wisdom-Awareness of the Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One*.

So it was said!

Seal! Seal! Seal!

So it was said!

May it encounter a karmically destined heart son!
May it multiply the welfare of beings in the age
of strife!

It was copyedited twice.

Appendix VI

The Samyema: A Means of Accomplishment of the Seven-Born
Tibetan Edition

Sigla	Editions
S-RL-l	<i>Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa las skye bdun sgrub pa</i> (Ratna gling pa, <i>gTer chos/ Ratna gling pa</i> , Lha Idan: Ratna gling pa'i dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang, 2013, 27 v., vol. 11, 173–179)
S-RL-s	<i>Thugs rje chen po gsang ba 'dus pa las: skye bdun gyi sgrub thabs bsam yas ma</i> (Ratna gling pa, <i>gTer chos</i> , gSer rta snubs zur dgon: sNga 'gyur rnying ma dpal bla med gsang chen gnubs zur dgon, 2014, 21 v., vol. 5, 413–419)

<u>Underline</u>	Words and phrases found only in Guru Chos dbang versions
Bold	Words and phrases found only in Ratna gling pa versions

[brda yig]

bdag 'dra pad+ma 'byung gnas kyis:
 skye bdun sgrub pa'i man ngag mchog:
 zab dril don bsdu bstan par bya⁴³⁰:
 de la spyi don bsdu ba⁴³¹ bzhi yis bstan:

[1] brtag [2] bsgrub⁴³² [3] dbang bskur [4] gzhan don bya:

[1] brtag thabs skye bdun gang yin te⁴³³:
dal 'byor grub thob skye ba bdun:
nges par blangs⁴³⁴ shing dran pa ste:

ngo mtshar can te⁴³⁵ legs blangs⁴³⁶ nas:
 mkha' spyod rig 'dzin sha bsgrub⁴³⁷ dang :
 bla med byang chub mchog bsgrub⁴³⁸ ste:
 gnyis las 'di ni mchog bsgrub⁴³⁹ bo⁴⁴⁰:

sha nyid blangs te ma rul bar⁴⁴¹:
 legs par bskams⁴⁴² te⁴⁴³ gcig⁴⁴⁴ tu⁴⁴⁵ bya:
 de ni brtag pa'i rim pa'o:

⁴³⁰ bya'o S-RL-l

⁴³¹ missing bsdu ba S-RL-l

⁴³² sgrub S-RL-l

⁴³³ de S-RL-l

⁴³⁴ blang S-RL-l

⁴³⁵ de S-RL-l

⁴³⁶ blang S-RL-l

⁴³⁷ sgrub S-RL-l

⁴³⁸ sgrub S-RL-l

⁴³⁹ sgrub S-RL-l

⁴⁴⁰ pa'o S-RL-l

⁴⁴¹ ba S-RL-l

⁴⁴² skam S-RL-l

⁴⁴³ ste S-RL-l

⁴⁴⁴ rtsis S-RL-s

⁴⁴⁵ su S-RL-s

gnyis⁴⁴⁶ pa bsgrub pa'i rim pa ni:
 de yang bkra shis dben gnas su:
 bsgrub⁴⁴⁷ khang phyi dkar nang dkar⁴⁴⁸ ba:
 che zhing nyams dga'i gnas bcas te:

dkyil 'khor 'dab drug sgo khyud rdzogs:
 phyi nang gsang gsum mchod tshogs bsham:
 sku gsung thugs rten rgyan tshogs dgram⁴⁴⁹:

skye bdun sha ni sran tshad la⁴⁵⁰:
 bzang drug gla rtsi a mR ta:

grub thob sha ni tshogs tshad dang :
 byin rlabs rdzas dang rtag tu ngu:
sman dang dbang lag 'bras phye ni:
 phul re phul re⁴⁵¹ sbyar bar bya:

rgyal rigs bu chung bya rgod kyi:
 sha yang yod na theb rtse⁴⁵² re:
 skyobs⁴⁵³ su sbyor⁴⁵⁴ na bzang bar bshad:

de nas rtogs⁴⁵⁵ ldan grub thob dang :
khirms ldan dge slong dri chus sbyar:
 ril bu mnyam⁴⁵⁶ zhing dpag med bya⁴⁵⁷:
 mtshal dang skyer pa'i khaṅḍa dang :
 gur gum sbyar te kha dog bsgyur⁴⁵⁸:

rin chen bum pa mtshan⁴⁵⁹ ldan la:
 gu gul bdug⁴⁶⁰ shing bgegs bskrad bya:
 ril bus bkang ste⁴⁶¹ kha rgyan dang :

⁴⁴⁶ gsum S-RL-s

⁴⁴⁷ sgrub S-RL-l

⁴⁴⁸ dmar S-RL-s

⁴⁴⁹ bskyed S-RL-l

⁴⁵⁰ nang S-RL-l

⁴⁵¹ te S-RL-s

⁴⁵² tshigs S-RL-l

⁴⁵³ skabs S-RL-l

⁴⁵⁴ sbyar S-RL-l

⁴⁵⁵ rtog S-RL-s

⁴⁵⁶ snyam S-RL-s

⁴⁵⁷ byas S-RL-l

⁴⁵⁸ sgyur S-RL-l

⁴⁵⁹ tshad S-RL-l

⁴⁶⁰ btugs S-RL-s

⁴⁶¹ te S-RL-l

mgul chings gzungs thag rdo rje sogs:
 chas mams legs par rdzogs byas te:
 bum rdzas nyer lnga dag kyang blug⁴⁶²:

dkiyl 'khor dbus su bzhugs su gsol:
 tshad med bzhi po sngon song nas:
 khru byas sems bskyed sdom pa bzung⁴⁶³:
 thugs rje chen po'i las gzhung bsrang:⁴⁶⁴
 bla rdzogs la⁴⁶⁵ sogs⁴⁶⁶ gzhan yang bya:
 dus bzhir mchod tshogs 'byor tshad 'bad:

dnogs gzhi bskyed rim dmigs pa ni:
 rang nyid thugs rje chen por bsgom:
 zhal gcig phyag gnyis sku mdog dmar:
 phyag g.yas **pad** phreng thugs kar 'dzin:

phyag g.yon **pad sdong** bdud⁴⁶⁷ rtsi⁴⁶⁸ bum⁴⁶⁹:
 rdo rje dkiyl krung rang 'dra'i yum:
 gsang ba ye shes mdangs ldan ma:
 mnyen⁴⁷⁰ lcug⁴⁷¹ 'khril ldem⁴⁷² dbyer med bsam⁴⁷³:

spyi gtsug rigs bdag thugs kar ni:
 zla steng⁴⁷⁴ hrñh la yig drug bskor:
 bum pa bhrūm las gzhal yas khang :
 pho brang yongs rdzogs chen por bsgom:

bum nang ril bu re re yang⁴⁷⁵ :
 bdag nyid kho na⁴⁷⁶ ci 'drar bskyed:
 ye shes 'gugs⁴⁷⁷ bstim drag tu bya:

⁴⁶² sgrub S-RL-l

⁴⁶³ gzung S-RL-s

⁴⁶⁴ bsrings S-RL-s; inserts mchan bu before this line: yang snying 'dus pa'i gsang
 ba 'dus pa rgyal ba rgya mtsho S-RL-l

⁴⁶⁵ thugs S-RL-l

⁴⁶⁶ gsum S-RL-l

⁴⁶⁷ thugs S-RL-l

⁴⁶⁸ kar S-RL-l

⁴⁶⁹ bsname S-RL-l

⁴⁷⁰ gnyen S-RL-l

⁴⁷¹ lcugs S-RL-l

⁴⁷² zhing S-RL-l

⁴⁷³ bsgom S-RL-l

⁴⁷⁴ sdeng S-RL-s

⁴⁷⁵ la'ang S-RL-l

⁴⁷⁶ nar S-RL-l

⁴⁷⁷ bkug S-RL-l

ril bu dam tshig ye shes su⁴⁷⁸:
dbyer med thugs rje chen por bsgom:

gzungs thag phyogs bzhir 'then par bya:
sgrub byed ⁴⁷⁹**rnal 'byor mang na mchog:**
yang snying 'di ni⁴⁸⁰ bsgrub⁴⁸¹ par bya:

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

ril bu bsgrub sngags kyi dmigs thun:

dkyil 'khor lha tshogs rnam kyi sku las 'od zer bsam gyis mi khyab
pa byung: bdag lhar gsal ba'i gnas gsum du thim:

yang bdag dang dkyil 'khor gyi lha tshogs rnam kyi sku las 'od zer
bsam gyis mi khyab pa 'phros: snod kyi 'jig rten lha'i gzhal yas khang
rang snang bde ba chen por gyur: bcud kyi sems can thams cad rtsa
gsum gyi lha tshogs su gyur: sgra grags pa thams cad kyang gsungs
sngags kyi rang sgrar gyur bar bsgom:

yang 'od zer 'phros pas rgyal ba'i zhing khams rab 'byams nas: bla
ma rig 'dzin sangs rgyas byang sems dkyil 'khor gyi lha tshogs: tshe
la dbang ba'i drang srong rig 'dzin mkha' 'gro chos skyong rnam kyi
thugs ka nas: mchog dang thun mong gi byin rlabs 'o ma'i rgyun ltar
dkar nar gyi bkug nas: thugs rje chen po yab yum gyi spyi bor thim:
sku lus gang : yab yum sbyor mtshams nas bdud rtsi babs: sgrub rdzas
ril bu dang dbyer med du 'dres par bsam zhing .⁴⁸²

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ
arapacamita hrdaya⁴⁸³ svāhā⁴⁸⁴

de tshe rtags kyi rim pa yang:
'od dang du ba sgra dang dri⁴⁸⁵:
zhal mthong dag snang dpag med 'byung:
mtshan rtags rdzogs nas sngags ring⁴⁸⁶ sbrel:

478 su S-RL-l

479 rnam S-RL-s

480 yis S-RL-l

481 sgrub S-RL-l

482 missing this entire prose section after the mantra S-RL-l

483 emend. hrīḥdaya S-RL-s

484 missing this line of mantra S-RL-l

485 ni S-RL-l

486 'di S-RL-l

om̄ āḥ hūm̄ svāhā:
 mūm̄⁴⁸⁷ lām̄ mām̄ pyām̄⁴⁸⁸ tām̄:
 sarva tathāgata:
 mahāpañca om̄ āyujñāna mahāpuṇye tiṣṭha om̄:

rgyal ba rigs lngas⁴⁸⁹ ye shes sku lngar⁴⁹⁰ sbyor:
 ye shes bdud rtsi sngags kyis⁴⁹¹ 'chi med tshe:
 rnam rtog bag chags sbyong zhing mngon sangs rgyas:
rmi lam dag tu rtags **bzang**⁴⁹² 'byung bar nges:

thugs rje chen po 'khor ba myang 'das sbyong⁴⁹³:
 skye bdun ril bu⁴⁹⁴ ma bsgrubs⁴⁹⁵ sangs rgyas 'thob⁴⁹⁶:
 bdun nam bcu gcig nyer gcig dag tu bsgrub:
 tshogs 'khor bya zhing dngos grub dag kyang bskul:

rjes kyi rim pa bstan pa ni:

[3] **de nas bum pa'i dbang bskur**⁴⁹⁷ bya:

om̄ āḥ hūm̄⁴⁹⁸

don gyi ye shes kun rgyas⁴⁹⁹ kyang⁵⁰⁰:
 ma rig gzung⁵⁰¹ 'dzin bag chags 'thas:
 ngo mtshar rmad byung mchog gi rdzas:
 bag chags rnam rtog sbyong byed cing :
 'di yis⁵⁰² mngon par sangs rgyas 'thob:
 rnam grol ye shes mchog thob shog:

om̄ maṇi padme hūm̄ hrīḥ:

⁴⁸⁷ mūm̄ S-RL-s

⁴⁸⁸ pām̄ S-RL-l; pyām̄ S-RL-s

⁴⁸⁹ lnga S-RL-l

⁴⁹⁰ lnga S-RL-l

⁴⁹¹ kyi S-RL-l

⁴⁹² bzang rtags S-RL-l

⁴⁹³ sbyor S-RL-s

⁴⁹⁴ snying po S-RL-s

⁴⁹⁵ emend. sgrubs

⁴⁹⁶ thob S-RL-s

⁴⁹⁷ adds hypermetrical syllable, bar S-RL-l

⁴⁹⁸ missing mantra S-RL-l

⁴⁹⁹ rgyal S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁰ yang S-RL-l

⁵⁰¹ gzungs S-RL-l

⁵⁰² yi S-RL-l

sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ⁵⁰³ āḥ:

rang nyid dam tshig sems dpar⁵⁰⁴ bsgom:
ril bu ye shes sems dpar⁵⁰⁵ bskyed:
dam tshig ye shes dbyer med par:
thugs rje chen por bdag gyur bsam:

ril bu re ni **dri chu**⁵⁰⁶ yis⁵⁰⁷:
phul te lto stong⁵⁰⁸ btang⁵⁰⁹ bar bya:
 rgyas par byed na **dbang lan**⁵¹⁰ **gsum**:
ril bu lan gsum sbyin par bya:

[4] de nas gzhan don spyod pa'i tshe:
 ril bu sus⁵¹¹ 'dod gong ltar 'tshogs:
 gdul bya sbyang⁵¹² phyir khru kyang bya:
 zhag ni gsum bdun lnga la sogs:
 sgrub pa kha gso rjes gnang⁵¹³ sbyin:⁵¹⁴

dug lnga⁵¹⁵ sku gsung thugs su bsgyur⁵¹⁶:
 ma bsgrubs⁵¹⁷ sangs rgyas ngo mtshar che:
 de nas 'gro ba yongs la spel:

thugs rje chen po'i sdom pa⁵¹⁸ dang⁵¹⁹:
 bskyed rim phog la yig bdun bzla⁵²⁰:
 sdom pa lam khyer⁵²¹ rnam gsum yin:

de nas yon tan bshad pa ni:

⁵⁰³ missing hrīḥ S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁴ dpa' S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁵ dpa' S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁶ bzang S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁷ chus S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁸ ru S-RL-l

⁵⁰⁹ btang S-RL-l; gtang S-RL-s

⁵¹⁰ lag S-RL-s

⁵¹¹ su S-RL-l

⁵¹² sbyangs S-RL-s

⁵¹³ has hypermetrical, pa'ang S-RL-l

⁵¹⁴ has extra line: snang sku grags gsung dran rtog thugs: S-RL-l

⁵¹⁵ gsum S-RL-l

⁵¹⁶ 'gyur S-RL-l

⁵¹⁷ emend. sgrub

⁵¹⁸ dang S-RL-l

⁵¹⁹ bskyed S-RL-l

⁵²⁰ bzlas S-RL-l

⁵²¹ sbyor S-RL-l

yang snying 'dus pa'i rgyud dag las:

ril bu su yi ltor song ba:
tshe rabs gang dang gar skyes kyang :
 spyan ras gzigs dang 'bral mi srid:

ces pas ril bu sus thob pa:
 thugs rje chen po'i zhing du 'gro:
 'di la the tshom mi 'tshal te:

ma bsgrubs⁵²² sangs rgyas 'thob thabs lnga:

sngon sbyangs las sad rtogs grol dang :
 rang byung rgyud mchog btags grol dang :
 mtshan ldan pad can rtsa yi⁵²³ gnad:
 gsang lam zab mo 'pho ba dang :
 ngo mtshar rdzas mchog skye bdun no:

de phyir 'di spyad⁵²⁴ skye bu la:
 byang chub sems ldan mchog tu gces⁵²⁵:
 ril bu gces spras cher byas te:
 'gro don dpag med rgya chen spyod:

snying nor mig 'bras zab mo'i gter:
 bsam yas dbu rtse'i khri la sbas:

lnga bcu kha ral dus kyi tshe:
 las can gcig dang 'phrad nas kyang :
 'gro kun 'khor ba dong sprug shog:

samayā: ⁵²⁶	kha tham:	guhya: ⁵²⁷
rgya rgya rgya:	[brda yig]	ithi:

bsam yas dbu rtse'i khri nas gter ston ratna gling pas bton pa'i gter
 ma lags so/ /⁵²⁸

⁵²² sgrub S-RL-1

⁵²³ rtsa'i S-RL-1

⁵²⁴ spyod S-RL-1

⁵²⁵ skyes bu mchog S-RL-1

⁵²⁶ sargya margya yargya S-RL-1

⁵²⁷ gu hye S-RL-1

⁵²⁸ sprul sku rat+na gling pas bsam yas dbu rtse nas gdan drangs pa'o: S-RL-1

Appendix VII

The Samyema: A Means of Accomplishment of the Seven-Born Translation

I, Padmasambhava,
will teach, in a summary encapsulating the profound [points],
the supreme pith instructions for accomplishing the seven-born.
I will teach it in four summary topics:

[1] assessment, [2] accomplishment, [3] initiation, and [4] bringing
benefit to others.

[1] The means of assessment concerns what a seven-born is:
it is someone who has certainly assumed and recalls
seven births with the leisures and opportunities, in which they have
attained accomplishment.

As this is astounding, once they are carefully received,
their flesh can accomplish the *vidyādhara* of flight
and it can accomplish supreme unsurpassable awakening—
among these two [goals], this one accomplishes the supreme.

Take their flesh, and before it rots,
dry it well and bring it together.
That was the stage of assessment.

[2] Second is the stage of accomplishment:
In an auspicious and remote place,
construct the dwelling of a practice venue,
white outside and white inside, large and pleasant.

Form a complete *maṇḍala* with six petals, doors, and perimeter.
Lay out outer, inner, and secret feast offerings.
Arrange receptacles of awakened body, speech, and mind, and an as-
sortment of adornments.

Mix with a chunk of seven-born flesh the size of a pea
the six excellent substances, musk, *amṛta*,
the flesh of *siddhas*, as much as can be gathered,
blessed substance, *rtaḡ tu ngu*,

medicine, *dbang lag*,⁵²⁹ rice flower—
a handful of each.

If you also happen to have
the flesh of a young boy of royal caste and a vulture,
it is said to be better if mixed in as support.

Then, mix in the urine of a realized siddha
and that of a disciplined monk.
Form an immeasurable number of pills of equal size.
Color them by combining saffron
with vermilion and a concentrate (*khaṇḍa*) of *skyer ba*.⁵³⁰

Take a vase of proper specifications, made of precious materials,
drive obstructors away by scenting it with frankincense.
Fill it with the pills and deck it out well with the accoutrements
of a spout adornment, a neck band, a *dhāraṇī* cord, a *vajra*, and the rest.
Also pour into it the twenty-five vase substances.⁵³¹

Request it to sit in the middle of the *maṇḍala*.
First do the four immeasurables,
Then cleanse, generate *bodhicitta*, and take vows.
Go through the entirety of the liturgy of the Great Compassionate One.

⁵²⁹ Dga' ba'i rdo rje (2002, 255) and Karma chos 'phel (1993, 163–165) list this as an abbreviation for *dbang po lag pa*. Dga' ba'i rdo rje identifies it as *Gymnadenia orchidis* Lindl. Karma chos 'phel identifies it as Himalayan march orchid (*Gymnadenia crassinervis*) and describes its use in *bcud len* practice. It seems to translate the Sanskrit *indrahasta* (c.f. Monier Williams).

⁵³⁰ *skyer ba'i khaNDa*. *Skyer ba* is likely *skyer pa*, which Dga' ba'i rdo rje (2002, 117–118) identifies as *Berberis jamesiana* Forrest et W.W. Sm, and Karma chos 'phel (1993, 113–116) identifies as *Berberis dasystachya* Maxim.

⁵³¹ Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo (2002: 1398–1399) lists the twenty-five substances under the heading "twenty-five vase substances" (*bum rdzas nyer lnga*) as follows: The five precious substances (*rin po che lnga*) of 1) gold (*gser*), 2) silver (*dngul*), 3) coral (*byu ru*), 4) pearl (*mu tig*), and 5) copper (*zangs*); the five medicines (*smān lnga*) of 6) Himalayan march orchid (*dbang lag*; *Gymnadenia crassinervis*, cf. Karma chos 'phel 1993, 163), 7) raspberry (*kantākāri*, *kaṇḍakari*, *Rubus idaeopsis* focke, cf. Karma chos 'phel 1993, 104), 8) heart-leaved moonseed (*sle tres*, emended from *sle khres*; *Tinospora cordifolia*, cf. Karma chos 'phel 1993, 103), 9) bamboo manna/silica (*cu gang*), and 10) sweet flag (*shu dag dkar po*; *shu* is corrected from *sha*; *Acorus gramineus*, cf. Karma chos 'phel 1993, 157); the five fragrances (*dri lnga*) of 11) camphor (*ga bur*), 12) musk (*gla rtsi*), 13) nutmeg (*dza ti*), 14) saffron (*gur gum*), and 15) sandal (*tsandan*); the five grains (*'bru lnga*) of 16) barley (*nas*), 17) wheat (*gro*), 18) sesame (*til*), 19) pulse (*sran ma*), and 20) rice (*'bras*); and the five essences of 21) salt (*lan tshwa*), 22) sesame oil (*til mar*), 23) butter (*mar*), 24) raw sugar (*bu ram*), and honey (*sbrang rtsi*).

Also perform others, such as Guru, Great Perfection (*bla rdzogs*), and so forth.

Try to make as many offerings as you can afford throughout the four time periods.

The main practice, the visualization of the generation stage, is as follows:

Meditate on yourself as the Great Compassionate One.

Imagine you have one face, two hands, and a red complexion, holding in your right hand a lotus and a rosary at your heart, and in your left hand a lotus-stem and vase of ambrosia, and that you are cross-legged, in indivisible union with your consort resembling you,

She who is Endowed with the Glow of Secret Gnosis (*gSang ba ye shes mdangs ldan ma*),

who is graceful, pliant, lithe, and supple.

At your crown is the lord of the family,
at your heart is a moon supporting the syllable *hrīḥ*, surrounded by the six syllables.

Meditate that the vase, from the syllable *bhrūm*, becomes a celestial mansion,
a palace, perfectly complete.

Generate [the mental image] that each pill inside the vase is also in the exact same image as yourself.

Emphatically summon the wisdom [beings] and dissolve them [there].

Meditate on the pills as the Great Compassionate One in an indivisibility of *samaya* and wisdom [beings].

Pull the *dhāraṇī* cord into the four directions.

The more *yogins* practicing the better.

Accomplish the following essence [mantra]:

om māṇi padme hūm hrīḥ

The session-visualization for the mantra-accomplishment of the pills is as follows:

An inconceivable flood of light rays emerges from the bodies of the divine assembly of the *maṇḍala* and dissolves into the three places of yourself visualized as the deity.

Then, an inconceivable flood of light rays radiates from yourself and the body of divine assembly of the *maṇḍala*. Meditate that the world of the environment transforms into a celestial mansion of self-manifesting great bliss; all the beings that inhabit it transform into the divine assembly of the three roots; and all sounds too transform into the self-resounding of the *dhāraṇī* mantra.

Imagine next that light rays again radiate forth, and summon from the hearts of the gurus, *vidyādhara*s, buddhas, bodhisattvas, the divine assembly of the *maṇḍala*, and from the hearts of the sages, *vidyādhara*s, *ḍākinī*s, and *dharmapāla*s with mastery over lifespan—throughout the infinite buddha realms—the supreme and common blessings, in the form of a straight white stream, resembling a stream of milk, and that it dissolves into the crown of the Great Compassionate One and consort. Imagine that it fills their bodies and ambrosia [over]flows out from their point of union, mingling indivisibly with the accomplishment substance of the pills. [Then chant:]

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ
arapacamita hrīḥdaya svāhā

As for the kinds of signs [that can appear] at that time:
light, smoke, sound, fragrance,
and pure visions of encountering the face can immeasurably occur.
Once the portents and signs have occurred, lengthen the mantras by
adding:

om āḥ hūm svāhā
mūm lām mām pyām tām
sarva tathāgata mahāpañca om āyujñānamahāpunye tiṣṭha om

By means of the five buddha families, one is joined with the five wisdom bodies.

By means of the wisdom ambrosia mantra, [one attains] deathless lifespan,
purifies concepts and their habitual patterns, becomes manifestly awakened,
and is certain have auspicious signs in dreams.

The Great Compassionate One purifies *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.
The pill of the seven-born brings awakening without practice.
Practice it for seven, eleven, or twenty-one [days].
Perform a *gaṇacakra* and then request the *siddhis*.

Now for the teaching on the concluding stage:

[3] Next perform the initiation of the vase [by first reciting the following]:

om āḥ hūm

Although true wisdom is fully perfected,
ignorance, dualistic fixation, and habitual patterns are solidified.
May the amazing and astounding supreme substance
purify habitual patterns and concepts.
Through it may we reach manifest awakening
and attain liberation and the highest wisdom.

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ
sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ āḥ

Meditate on yourself as the *samaya* being,
engender the image of the pill as the wisdom being,
and imagine that you become the Great Compassionate One
of *samaya* and wisdom indivisible.

Offer each pill with urine
and administer it on an empty stomach.
If you do it in more detail, the initiation can happen three times,
and you should give the pill three times.

[4] Then, when acting on behalf of others,
gather as before whomever wants a pill,
bathe disciples to purify them.
For three, seven, or five days
restore the practice, and then confer the permission blessing

Transform the three poisons into awakened body, speech, and mind.
Then spread to all beings
the amazing buddhahood without practicing.

Reciting the seven syllables
while yoking the generation stage
to the vow of the Great Compassionate One
is the three-fold manner of integrating the vow onto the path.

Now, to explain its virtues:
It is said in the *Quintessential Assembly tantra*:

Whoever's stomach the pill falls in
will never part from Avalokiteśvara
no matter the lifetime and wherever they are born.

Thus, whoever acquires a pill
will travel to the pure land of the Great Compassionate One—
of this there need be no doubt.

Means of attaining awakening without practicing are five-fold:

liberation through realization from awakening the karma of former
training,
liberation through wearing a supreme self-arisen *tantra*,
the crucial point of the channels with a qualified [lady] with a lotus,
the secret profound path of transference, and
the amazing supreme substance of the seven born.

Therefore, beings who implement it
should be revered as supreme among those with *bodhicitta*.
Highly value the pill,
and widely implement it beyond measure.

This profound Treasure, [as vital as one's] essential wealth and eyes,
was hidden Samyé Utsé (bSam yas dbu rtse).
During the era when people lose their teeth at fifty,
may a karmically destined one encounter it
and churn up the depths of *saṃsāra* for all beings.

samayā: kha thām: guhya: rgya rgya rgya:....ithi

This is a Treasure revealed by the Treasure revealer Ratna Lingpa from
Samyé Utsé throne (bSam yas dbu rtse'i khri).

Appendix VIII

Wish-fulfilling Gem: A Ritual for Accomplishing the Seven Born
Tibetan Edition

Sigla	Editions
L	<i>sKye bdun sgrub pa'i cho ga yid bzhin nor bu</i> (Ratna gling pa, <i>gTer chos/ Ratna gling pa</i> , Lha ldan: Ratna gling pa'i

dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang, 2013, 27 v., vol. 11, 163–172)

S *sKye bdun sgrub pa'i cho ga yid bzhin nor bu* (Ratna gling pa, *gTer chos*, gSer rta snubs zur dgon: sNga 'gyur rnying ma dpal bla med gsang chen gnubs zur dgon, 2014, 21 v., vol. 5, 403–411)

[brda yig]

byams pa'i mgon la phyag 'tshal lo:

bdag 'dra o rgyan pad ma⁵³² yis:
ma 'ongs 'gro ba'i don ched du:
ngo mtshar skye bdun sgrub pa yi:
cho ga'i rim pa bstan par bya:

'di la sbyor dngos rjes gsum ste⁵³³.
[1] sbyor ba sngon 'gro⁵³⁴ la gsum ste:

[1.1] gnas bya ba:
[1.2] rdzas brtag pa:
[1.3] ril bu sbyar⁵³⁵ ba'o:

[1.1] dang po ni bkra shis pa⁵³⁶ yid dang mthun pa'i gnas su: bsgrub⁵³⁷
khang phyi dkar la⁵³⁸ nang dkar⁵³⁹ ba: rgyar gang yang rung ba: chu
zheng du gab pa⁵⁴⁰ shin tu legs par byas te:

rgyud las:

khang gsar⁵⁴¹ gkar zhal gru bzhi'i nang:

zhes so:

[1.2] gnyis pa rdzas brtag pa ni:

⁵³² pad+ma L

⁵³³ dang L

⁵³⁴ + dngos S

⁵³⁵ sbyar L

⁵³⁶ – pa L

⁵³⁷ sgrub L

⁵³⁸ – la L

⁵³⁹ dmar S

⁵⁴⁰ – : S

⁵⁴¹ par S

nges par skye bdun du nges pa'i⁵⁴²: dal 'byor grub thob skye bdun
brtsegs⁵⁴³ mar blangs shing: bar du gzhan gyis ma chod pa: bram ze la
sogs gang yang rung ba dang : khyad par du bram ze dri med snying
po dang : dung rna can dang : bram ze lo bhi pa⁵⁴⁴ dang : bod yul kun
tu o rgyan bdag gis sbas pa rnams ni mchog go:

gzhan yang skye mtha'i byang chub sems dpa'⁵⁴⁵ srid pa tha ma pa'i
spur sha dang : bde bar gshegs pa'i gdung la sogs pa rnams so:

de lta bu'i sha de blangs nas: ma rul ma sum⁵⁴⁶ pa legs par bskams⁵⁴⁷ te
tshags⁵⁴⁸ su bya'o:

[1.3] gsum pa ril bu sbyar ba⁵⁴⁹ ni:

gong gi rdzas sran ma tsam re la: bzang drug dang : gla rtsi dang : a
mR ta dang : dbang lag dang : rtag tu ngu:⁵⁵⁰ 'bras phye phul re sbyar
ro:

de du⁵⁵¹ tsam⁵⁵² sbyor yang 'dres shes⁵⁵³ par bya'o:

de dag gi skyobs su⁵⁵⁴ grub thob gang zag dam pa tshad ldan yin nges
pa'i gdung : ring bsrel:⁵⁵⁵ spur sha dang : gzhan yang rgya bod kyi byin
brlabs rten⁵⁵⁶ khyad par can dang : rgyal rigs kyi bu chung nad ngan
gyis⁵⁵⁷ ma shi ba'i sha dang : bya rgod kyi sha rnams yod na skyobs su
dum re sbyar: med kyang chog go:

⁵⁴² ni L

⁵⁴³ brtseg S

⁵⁴⁴ wa L

⁵⁴⁵ byang chub sems dpa' S, bud med L

⁵⁴⁶ sung L

⁵⁴⁷ skam L

⁵⁴⁸ rtsigs L

⁵⁴⁹ pa S

⁵⁵⁰ -: L

⁵⁵¹ dus L

⁵⁵² ci tsam L

⁵⁵³ par L

⁵⁵⁴ +: L

⁵⁵⁵ -: L

⁵⁵⁶ - rten L

⁵⁵⁷ pas :

rdzas de dag grub thob rtogs ldan dang : dge slong khirms gtsang gi chu dang : thar nu 'o mas sbyar nas: ril bu sran tshad dpag med bye snyed du byas te:⁵⁵⁸ mtshal dang gur gum gyis kha dog bsgyur ro:

[2] gnyis pa dngos gzhi⁵⁵⁹ ji ltar bsgrub pa'i rim pa la yang⁵⁶⁰ gsum ste:

[2.1] dang po ni: gsang 'dus kyi sgrub khog nas ji ltar byung ba ltar du: sngon 'gro phyi nang gi mtshams bcad⁵⁶¹: lta gon la sogs rgyas par⁵⁶² gzhung ltar bya'o:

[2.2] sgos kyi sbyor ba⁵⁶³ bum pa chen po dkar ram dmar ba la rigs lnga'i phyag mtshan bri: gu gul dang thun gyis⁵⁶⁴ brab: bgegs bskrad byas la ril bu blug⁵⁶⁵: bum rdzas nyer lnga spyi dang mthun⁵⁶⁶ par bya: kha rgyan mgul chings sna lnga: kha tshang⁵⁶⁷ la gsang 'dus kyi tsa ka li⁵⁶⁸ thams cad gzugs so: gzhan yang cho ga'i rim pa rgyan dang rdzas thams cad sgrub khog dang las byang dang⁵⁶⁹ sprete rgyas par bya'o:

[2.3] gsum pa sgrub byed dmigs pa'i rim pa ni:

bdag nyid thugs rje chen po bskyed rim ltar:⁵⁷⁰ gsal ba'i thugs kar zla ba'i dal gyi lte bar hrñh dang mtha' la⁵⁷¹ yi ge drug pa gsal ba las 'od 'phros: bde chen nas ye shes pa spyang drangs la⁵⁷² gnyis med du bstim: stong pa'i ngang las bhrūm bum pa⁵⁷³ las ye shes kyi gzhal yas khang : sgo drug rta babs thams cad rdzogs pa: ye shes kyi rang snang las grub pa rgya che 'phang⁵⁷⁴ du⁵⁷⁵ mtho bar bsam⁵⁷⁶:

558 – ril bu sran tshad dpag med bye snyed du byas te: L

559 – dngos gzhi L

560 – yang L

561 – bcad S

562 – rgyas par L

563 – bar S

564 – gyis L

565 emend. bsgrub S, sgrub L

566 'thun S

567 tshangs L

568 tsa kli L

569 du L

570 – : S

571 mar L

572 – la S

573 bum pa bhrūm S, bum pa bhrūm L

574 dpang L

575 – du L

576 bsgom S

nang gi ril bu dpag med re re la yang : bdag nyid thugs rje chen po
 ji 'dra ba re re bzhin bsgom: de dag dam tshig pa re re la thugs srog
 hrīḥ dang : bdag gi hrīḥ las 'od 'phros bde ba can dang : po ta la nas ye
 shes pa spyang drangs nas dam tshig pa ril bu re re la yang bstim mo⁵⁷⁷:

de nas gzungs thag 'dzin pa⁵⁷⁸ mang du byas nas: gzungs thag phyogs
 mtshams thams cad du 'then la: snang srid thams cad thugs rje chen
 po'i zhing dang sku ru bsam⁵⁷⁹ la: 'dzab dgongs lta bu⁵⁸⁰: bum nang⁵⁸¹
 thams cad dang : mdor na snang srid thams cad yi ge bdun pa'i sngags
 sgra bung ba tshang zhis pa ltar du di ri ri⁵⁸²: u ru ru bzla⁵⁸³ zhing⁵⁸⁴ :
 ngag bcad: le lo dang : chang dang : gnyid dang : gnam spangs te⁵⁸⁵
 nyin mtshan du thun gyi rgyun btsugs te⁵⁸⁶ legs par bzla'o⁵⁸⁷:

de tshe rtags kyi rim pa yang : 'od dang : du ba dang : dri bzang⁵⁸⁸
 dang : lha'i zhal mthong ba dang : nyams spro ba: byin chags pa
 dang⁵⁸⁹ :dkyil 'khor mchod rdzas rnams bkrag mdangs bzang ba: rmi
 lam du yang nyi zla shar ba: gos dkar⁵⁹⁰ gon pa: rnga rdung⁵⁹¹ :
 dung 'bud⁵⁹²: dar phyar: khros byed: chos 'chad: sems can srog skyob:
 gru pa byed: zam btsugs: nam mkhar 'phur ba la sogs 'byung: dngos
 su yang gtor ma dang⁵⁹³ bum pa khol ba la sogs rtags khyad par can
 byung na: rgyal ba rigs lnga'i snying po: sku lnga ye shes lnga ru sbyor
 ba dang : phung po'i bdud bcom nas tshe'i rig 'dzin sgrub par byed
 pa'i snying po 'di sham bur byas te di⁵⁹⁴ ri ri bzla'o⁵⁹⁵:

om̄ āḥ hūm svāhā:
 mūm⁵⁹⁶ lām mām pyām⁵⁹⁷ tām:

-
- 577 – mo L
 578 gzungs thag 'dzin pa S, gzung 'dzin L
 579 bsgom L
 580 lta bu L, ltar du S
 581 + gi lha S
 582 – di ri ri L
 583 bzlas L
 584 shing L
 585 + : L
 586 + : L
 587 bzlas so L
 588 + po L
 589 – dang S
 590 + po L
 591 brdung ba L
 592 + pa L
 593 + : L
 594 ti L
 595 bzlas so L
 596 mūm S
 597 pām L, pyām S

sarvatathāgata mahāpañca om āyujñānamahāpuṇye tiṣṭha
om:

zhes sgrub khog las byung ba ltar: skabs su⁵⁹⁸ byin dbab pa dang⁵⁹⁹ :
dngos grub blang⁶⁰⁰ ba sogs 'phrul⁶⁰¹ dmigs shes par bya'o:

de ltar yig bdun dung phyur ram: bye ba bdun⁶⁰² la sogs⁶⁰³ dus dang⁶⁰⁴ :
zhag grangs la sogs them par bya zhing : skabs su nyul le bskrad pa la
sogs bya zhing : 'dzab la thang lhod med par 'bad do:

[3] spyi don gsum pa mjug tu⁶⁰⁵ dbang bskur par bya ste:

bum pa ril bur bcas⁶⁰⁶ pa thugs rje chen po dngos su⁶⁰⁷ mos pa snying⁶⁰⁸
rus pa'i gting nas byas la: mched rnams 'phan⁶⁰⁹ dang : gdugs dang :
rgyal mtshan dang : na bza' dang : spos dang : mda' dang⁶¹⁰ : me long
dang⁶¹¹ : tshogs dang : spyang gzigs⁶¹² rol mo'i tshogs dpag med 'byor
tshad thogs nas sgrug khog ltar byin 'bebs dang⁶¹³ bstod pa byas la:
thams cad dal la⁶¹⁴ bskor zhing dngos grub len pa'i gsol 'debs thugs
dam gnad nas bskul pa 'di bya'o:

hrīḥ

ma skyes⁶¹⁵ chos dbyings spros dang bral ba las⁶¹⁶:

thugs rje'i rnam 'phrul yid bzhin nor bu ltar⁶¹⁷:

byams mgon thugs rje'i lha khyed⁶¹⁸ dgongs su gsol:

bdag cag ma rig las ngan sdig po che:

598 + byin rlabs su L

599 las L

600 blangs S

601 'khrul L

602 – 'bum L

603 – la sogs S

604 – : S

605 + : L

606 bu L

607 + bskyed la S

608 + khung S

609 'phen L

610 dar L

611 – dar L

612 + : L

613 + : L

614 – la L

615 bcas L

616 la L

617 dang L

618 khyod L

khams gsum 'khor ba'i gnas su gtan 'khyams shing :
rigs drug 'khor ba'i 'dam las⁶¹⁹ thar dus med:

mtha' med yun du nyam thag 'di 'dra myong :
byams mgon thugs rje'i spyan gyis ma gzigs sam:
'di la mgon po'i⁶²⁰ thugs rjes phyag rkyongs⁶²¹ la:
thar pa'i lam du 'dren par mdzad du gsol:

rang gi rnam smin sdug bsngal rgyun spyod⁶²² na:
'phags pa'i thugs rjes bdag la ci zhig bya:
thabs mkhas thugs rje'i zhags pa mchis lags na:
da lta nyid du 'dren par mdzad du gsol:

ma gdung bu la brtse ba ji bzhin du:
thugs dam ma g.yel thugs rje dbang gi lha:
las ngan mtha' zad 'khor ba dong sprugs⁶²³ nas:
mgon po khyod kyī zhabs drung 'dren du gsol:

zhes snying⁶²⁴ rus pa'i gting nas bya:

ru⁶²⁵ dra'i smre bshags kyang bya'o:

mjug chog gsol ba btab pa rnams dbang bum bskur ltar bya zhing rjes
rgyas par bum dbang ltar dbang rdzogs par bya:⁶²⁶

sgos nyer bsdus su bskur ba ni:

hūm:
rang byung thugs rje'i dbang gi lha:
dung phyur bye ba dpag med bzhugs:
lha dbang lus la bskur ba yis:
thugs rje chen po'i sku thob shog:

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ:
sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca om:

⁶¹⁹ 'dam las S, gnas la L

⁶²⁰ pos L

⁶²¹ rkyang L

⁶²² gcod L

⁶²³ sprug L

⁶²⁴ + khung S

⁶²⁵ rU S

⁶²⁶ mjug chog gsol ba btab pa rnams dbang bskur ltar bya'o: rjes rgyas par bum dbang
gzhung ltar rgyas par bya'o: L

'gag med rdo rje tshangs pa'i dbyangs⁶²⁷:
 yan lag rgya mtsho'i chos sgra sgrog⁶²⁸:
 gsung dbang ngag la bskur ba yis:
 thugs rje chen po'i gsung thob shog:

gong gi sngags sham du:⁶²⁹ abhiṣiṅca āḥ

smra bsam brjod med spros bral thugs:
 phyogs dus rgyal ba'i thugs rdo rje:
 thugs dbang sems la bskur ba yis:
 thugs rje chen po'i thugs thob shog:

sham bur:⁶³⁰ abhiṣiṅca hūṁ:

don gyi ye shes kun rgyas kyang :
 ma rig gzung 'dzin bag chags 'thas:
 ngo mtshar rmad byung mchog gi rdzas:
 bag chags rnam⁶³¹ rtog⁶³² sbyong byed cing :

'di⁶³³ yis⁶³⁴ mngon par sangs rgyas thob:
 sku gsung thugs yon phyin las dang :
 thams cad ma lus dbang thob nas⁶³⁵:
 rnam grol ye shes mchog thob shog:

yig bdun sham bur: sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ āḥ

zhes dbang⁶³⁶ bskur la:⁶³⁷ bum pa gnas bzhir gtugs shing : dbang re
 bzhin bdag dam tshig pa: ril bu ye shes sems dpar⁶³⁸ bskyed nas dri
 chu⁶³⁹ phul te: ril bu gsum spyin dam tshig ye shes dbyer med du gyur:
 bdag thugs rje chen po'i ngo bor gyur pa'i⁶⁴⁰ nges shes bskyed do:

627 gsung S

628 sgrogs L

629 -: S

630 -: S

631 rnams L

632 rtogs L

633 'dis L

634 ni L

635 shog S

636 - dbang L

637 -: L

638 pa, - sems dpar L

639 chu'i L

640 par S

rjes su yang las can rnam lo re bzhin zhag bdun la sogs 'tshogs te:
bsgrub⁶⁴¹ pa⁶⁴² kha gso zhing .⁶⁴³ dbang dang rjes gnang sbyin dus
spyod lam⁶⁴⁴ kun tu gong gi bskyed rim ldan pas yig bdun bzlas:

gzhan la yang lung sbyin:⁶⁴⁵ maṇi bskul: rgyal khams thams cad maṇi
bskul: ril bu bkye'o⁶⁴⁶:

rjes yon tan dang 'bras bu bstan pa ni:

gsang 'dus rgyud las:

ril bu su yi ltor song ba:
tshe rabs gang dang gar skyes kyang :
spyan ras gzigs dang 'bral mi srid:

bdag las gzhan gces 'gro don spyod:
yig bdun bzlas⁶⁴⁷ zhing dam tshig srungs⁶⁴⁸:
thams cad 'khor ba dong nas sprug:

zhes pas:

ma bsgrubs⁶⁴⁹ thabs kyis⁶⁵⁰ sangs rgyas 'thob⁶⁵¹ pa la bzhi ste: rgyud
btags grol: phyag rgya pad+ma can: gsang lam 'pho ba: dam rdzas
skye bdun te:

dper na mthep dang gzhu'i nus pas mda' pha rol na 'gro ba dang : gru
dang mnyan pa'i rtsol bas chu bo sgrol ba ltar:⁶⁵² nges par spyan ras
gzigs kyi drung du skye bar 'gyur ro:

gsang 'dus rgyud don skye bdun sgrub pa'i thabs:
ma 'ongs don du o rgyan pad+mas ngas:
chos dang dam rdzas gnam skas brag la sbas:
ma 'ongs dus mthar las can gcig dang 'phrad:

⁶⁴¹ sgrub L

⁶⁴² – pa L

⁶⁴³ – : L

⁶⁴⁴ – lam L

⁶⁴⁵ – : L

⁶⁴⁶ spel lo: L

⁶⁴⁷ bzla S

⁶⁴⁸ srung L

⁶⁴⁹ sgrub L

⁶⁵⁰ kyi L

⁶⁵¹ thob L

⁶⁵² – : L

snyigs ma'i 'gro ba 'khor ba dong sprug shog:

sa ma ya: rgya rgya rgya: [brda yig]

sprul sku rat+na gling pa'i gter ma'o:⁶⁵³

Appendix IX

Wish-fulfilling Gem: A Ritual for Accomplishing the Seven Born Translation

Homage to the lord of love!

I, Padmasambhava,
for the sake of future beings,
will teach the ritual procedure
for accomplishing the amazing seven-born.

It is threefold: [1] the preparation, [2] the main part, and [3] the conclusion:

[1] The preliminary preparation is [also] three-fold:

- [1.1] securing a place
- [1.2] assessing the substance
- [1.3] forming the pills

[1.1] First, in a place that is auspicious and agreeable, very adeptly make a practice house, white outside and white inside, of any size, whose dimensions are equally proportionate.

The *tantra* states:

inside a new square structure with white plaster walls.

[1.2] Second, the assessment of the substance

It can be a brahmin, or anyone else, who has assumed seven lives in succession, without any other lifetime intervening, as a *siddha* with the leisures and opportunities, and who ascertains those seven lives with

⁶⁵³ +/bkra shis dpal 'bar 'dzam gling rgyas gyur gcig S

certainty. Specifically, the brahmins Stainless Essence (Dri med snying po) and He who Wears Conch Earrings (Dung rna can), the brahmin Lobhipa, and everything concealed by me, the master of Uḍḍiyāna, all throughout Tibet, is supreme.

Moreover, it is the corpse flesh of bodhisattvas in their final existence and final birth, the bones of the Sugata, and the like.

Having procured such flesh, dry it well, without letting it rot or become rancid, and shred it.

[1.3] Third, forming the pills

For each pea-size piece of the aforementioned substance, mix in a hand-full each of the six excellent substances, musk, *amṛta*, *dbang lag*, *rtaḡ tu ngu*, and rice flour.

However much of this you concoct, you should know that it has been mixed [well].

As support for these, add in the bones (*gdung*), pearl relics (*ring bsrel*), and corpse flesh of a *siddha*—someone who surely was a bonafide sublime person—as well as extraordinary Indian and Tibetan blessings receptacles, the flesh of a child of royal caste who did not die from a terminal illness, and the flesh of a vulture. If you happen to have these, mix in a piece of each as support. But being without these will also suffice.

Combine these substances with the urine of a realized *siddha*, the urine of a pure monk, and *thar nu* milk. Make a countless number of pea-size pills, as many as there are grains of sand, then color them with vermilion and saffron.

[2] Second, the main part, the procedure for how to accomplish [the pills], has three [subdivisions]:

[2.1] First, do the preliminaries of demarcating the external and internal boundaries, the preparatory phase, and so forth, in detail, according to the liturgy, just as it appears in the accomplishment structural framework (*sgrub khog*) of the *Secret Assembly*.

[2.2] As a specific preparation, draw the hand implements of the five families on a big red or white vase. Pelt it with power substances,

together with frankincense [smoke]. [Thereby] drive away obstructors and then insert the pills. Make the twenty-five vase substances according to the general specification. Fasten an adornment to its spout and a five-color band around its neck. On a lid with small holes insert all the miniature icon cards (*tsa ka li*) of the *Secret Assembly*. Moreover, do it elaborately, connecting all the stages of the procedure, the adornments, and the substances with the accomplishment structural framework (*sgrub khog*) and the liturgy manual (*las byang*).

[2.3] Third, the procedure of the visualization that effects the accomplishment is as follows:

Visualize yourself according to the generation stage of the Great Compassionate One. Visualize that at your heart is a moon disk, at the center of which is the syllable *hrīḥ*, surrounded by the six syllables. Light radiates from it, invites the wisdom being from Great Bliss, and merges them indivisibly with you.

Meditate that from the state of emptiness there emerges the vase, in the form of the syllable *bhrūm*. It transforms into a celestial mansion wisdom, complete with six gates and porticoes. It is formed from the self-manifestation of wisdom, vast and lofty in height.

Meditate that each of the innumerable pills inside are also identical to yourself in the form of the Great Compassionate One. In each of these *samaya* beings is the heart-lifeforce of the syllable *hrīḥ*. From them, and from *hrīḥ* in one's own [heart too] radiates light that invites the wisdom beings from *Sukhāvātī* and *Potalaka* and dissolves them in each of the pills.

Then, with many *dhāraṇī*-cord holders, pull the *dhāraṇī* cord into the cardinal and intermediate directions while imagining that all of appearance and existence is the land and awakened body of the Great Compassionate One. Recite, and otherwise refrain from talking, according to the *Intent of Recitation* (*'dzab dgongs*)—*dī ri ri* and *u ru ru*—like the sound of a beehive, such that everything inside the vase and, in sum, all that appears and exists, is the seven-syllable mantra. Recite well, establishing a continuity of sessions throughout the day and night, refraining from laziness, alcohol, sleep, and chatter.

As for the sequence of signs that can occur at that time: there can be light, smoke, fragrant scent, visions of the faces of deities, exultation, majesty, the *maṇḍala* and offerings substances becoming lustrous and fine; and, in dreams, the sun and moon rising, wearing white clothes,

beating a drum, blowing a conch, hoisting a banner, washing, preaching the Dharma, protecting beings, rowing, erecting a bridge, and flying in the sky, among others. There can also occur things in actuality, like the oblation and vase boiling over, and so forth.

If extraordinary signs like these occur, add to the end, and recite like *di ri ri* this essence [mantra]—it is the essence [mantras] of the five bud-dha families, conjoined with the five awakened bodies and five wis-doms, and [the essence mantra] for destroying the demon of the aggre-gates and thereby attaining the *vidhyādhara* [level of mastery] over lifespan:

om̐ āḥ hūm̐ svāhā
mūm̐ lām̐ mām̐ pyām̐ tām̐
sarva tathāgata mahāpañca om̐ āyujñānamahāpunye tiṣṭha om̐

You should know how to occasionally visualize dynamic transfor-mations, such as the bringing down of blessings, the receiving of sid-dhis, and the like, as they appear in the accomplishment structural framework (*sgrub khog*).

In this way complete the duration, number of days, and so forth for one hundred million recitations, seventy million recitations, or the like, of the seven syllables.

Occasionally drive out the *nyulé* and so forth and make efforts to en-sure that the recitation is neither too rigid not too loose.

[3] The third topic is the initiation to be conferred at the end

Imagine that the vase and its pills are the Great Compassionate One in person, and while maintaining this belief from the very depths of your heart, bring down the blessings and perform praises, according to the accomplishment structural framework (*sgrub khog*), while the siblings hold up an immeasurable assembly of pendants, parasols, banners, fabrics, incense, arrows, mirrors, feast offerings, gifts, and music, as much they can afford. Everyone should circumambulate the *maṇḍala* and perform this supplication for receiving *siddhis* that beseeches [the Great Compassionate One] through appealing to the vital point of his pledge:

hrīḥ
From the unborn expanse of reality, free of elaboration,
emanation of compassion, who is like a wish-fulfilling gem,

lord of love, deity of compassion, we beseech you to
consider us.

We ignorant sinners with bad karma
have endlessly wandered throughout the land of *saṃsāra*,
with its three realms
and have never been free from the swamp of *saṃsāra*, with
its six classes.

Experiencing such torment as this for so very long—
won't you look upon us with your compassionate gaze, lord
of love?
Out of your compassion, oh lord, extend to us your hand!
We beseech you to lead us to the path of liberation!

If we constantly undergo suffering as the ripening of our
own actions,
what good to us is your compassion, noble one?
If you have the lasso of skillful means and compassion,
we beseech you to guide us this very moment!

Like a mother's fierce love for her child,
do not disregard your pledge, divine lord of compassion!
We beseech you to churn up *saṃsāra* from its depths to bring
an end to our bad karma,
and drag us before your feet, oh lord!

Chant this from the very depths of your hearts.

Also do the confession of Rudra's lamentation.

The supplicators should do the concluding rite according to the initiation vase (*dbang bum*) and then afterwards do the complete initiation in detail according to the vase initiation (*bum dbang*).

Specifically confer it during the dissolution as follows:

hūm
Self-arisen divine lord of compassion
you are present in immeasurable tens and hundreds of
millions [of forms].
By conferring on my body the lord of deities
may I attain the awakened body of the Great Compassionate
One!

om maṇi padme hūm hrīḥ
sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca om

With your ceaseless vajra brahmā speech,
you resound the Dharma with its ocean of divisions.
By conferring upon my speech your awakened speech,
may I attain the awakened speech of the Great
Compassionate One!

Add to the end of the previous mantra sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca hrīḥ
āḥ

Your inconceivable and ineffable awakened mind, free of
discursive thought,
is the vajra awakened mind of the Jinas throughout space
and time.
By conferring upon my mind the power of your awakened
mind,
may I attain the awakened mind of the Great Compassionate
One!

Add to the end of the previous one abhiṣiṅca hūm.

Although true wisdom is fully perfected,
ignorance, dualistic fixation, and habitual patterns are
solidified.
May the amazing and astounding supreme substance
purify habitual patterns and concepts.

Through it may we reach manifest awakening!
May we attain all the initiations without exception
of awakened body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities!
May we attain liberation and the highest wisdom!

At the end of the seven syllables add sarva tathāgata abhiṣiṅca āḥ.

While conferring the initiation touch the vase to the four parts of the
body. With each initiation, generate [the image of] yourself as the *sa-*
maya being and the pill as the wisdom being, and offer the pill with
urine. Having given three pills, the *samaya* and wisdom beings become
indivisible. Engender confidence that you have transformed into the
essence of the Great Compassionate One.

Thereafter, as well, those with the requisite karma should assemble each year for seven days, or the like, restore the practice and, when giving the initiation and permission blessing, recite the seven syllables while observing the aforementioned generation stage [visualization] throughout all activities.

Give the reading transmission to others as well. Encourage them in the *maṇi*. Encourage the whole country in the *maṇi*. And distribute the pills.

Finally, is the teaching on the virtues and fruits:

The *tantra* states:

Whoever's stomach a pill should fall in,
will never part from Avalokiteśvara
no matter the lifetime or birthplace.

Act on behalf of beings, cherishing others more than yourself,
recite the seven syllables, and observe the *samayās*,
and you will stir up *saṃsāra* from the dregs for all.

Thus, there are four techniques for attaining buddhahood without practicing:

[1] the liberation through wearing *tantras*, [2] a *mudrā* with a lotus, [3] the secret path of transference, and [4] the *samaya* substance of the seven-born.

Just as, for example, an arrow travels afar through the power of thumb and bow, and a river is crossed with a boat and an oarsman's effort, so too will we surely be reborn in the presence of Avalokiteśvara.

This means of accomplishment of the seven-born, the meaning of the
Tantra of the Secret Assembly (*gsang 'dus rgyud don skye bdun sgrub pa'i thabs*),

was concealed by me, the master of Uḍḍiyāna, for the sake of posterity, among the Dharma teachings and *samaya* substances at Namkedrak (gNam skas brag).

May it encounter a karmically destined one in the future, at the end of time,

and churn up *saṃsāra* from the depths for beings of the degenerate age!

samaya: seal seal seal:

This is a Treasure of the emanation body Ratna Lingpa.

May auspiciousness and glory blaze forth and spread through the world!

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One More Saint Petersburg Manuscript of the Collection of Songs by the 6th Dalai Lama: Text¹

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he title of this paper hides a reference to my recent edition of the manuscript Tib. 1000 kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS), that contains an important version of the collection of songs ascribed to the 6th Dalai Lama (Zorin 2021). Its partial relation to the Beijing manuscript introduced in Zhuang Jing 1981 and edited fully in Sørensen 1990 was indicated and explored to a certain extent also in Zorin 2020. Both texts belong to the same textual lineage but a number of issues concerning it remained unsolved, mostly due to certain lacunae which Tib. 1000 definitely has and the Beijing manuscript probably has (see below). Having published Tib. 1000, I could only hope that new sources would be found somewhere in the future to allow us to answer some of the questions. It was with a great surprise that quite soon, shortly before my abrupt leaving Russia under very sad circumstances, I was able to identify another manuscript that belongs to the same group as the two above-mentioned texts.

It is found in the same — truly precious — collection of Tibetan texts that is preserved at the IOM RAS under the access number Tib. 2459-2. It was given to the manuscript in 2021, the older access number of the item being A-916/1.² The text was passed to the Institute of Oriental Studies (now IOM RAS) from the State Public Library, Leningrad (now the Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg) in 1949, and the library had obtained it in 1938. This information is available thanks to the stamps put on the manuscript. It is also clear that the text was among numerous items passed to the library from the

¹ This paper was written as a part of my research project supported by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in spring–summer 2022.

² The well-known ACIP database of the IOM RAS collection contains its schematic description, yet the text never attracted interest of scholars, as far as I know.

so-called State Book Fund where they had been presumably collected as a result of the big wave of Stalinist political terror in 1937–1938.³ It is difficult to say if we can ever find out who owned the text before those tragic events. However, we can date it relatively precisely since the paper has the stamp of Brothers Ryazantsev's Kosinskaya paper plant (located near Vyatka, now Kirov), No. 7,⁴ which is dated from 1887 (Klepikov 1959: 108). Most probably, the manuscript was made between the late 1880s and the late 1920s, when the large-scale oppression of Buddhism by the Soviets started.

Since at that period Russian paper was commonly used by Buddhists in Russia and Mongolia, the manuscript could be produced by Buryat, Kalmuck or Mongolian scribes. The local writing styles have not been studied in-depth so it is difficult to make any exact conclusions concerning the location where Tib. 2459-2 could appear. Three people took part in writing the text, they worked one after another: one person wrote the first ten folios, another the next five folios, and yet another the final seven folios. The three handwritings can be easily distinguished from each other. My personal experience of dealing with Tibetan texts produced in various Mongolian lands allows me to suggest, very tentatively, that the first scribe could be a Kalmuck (an Oirat) while the other two Buryats but it may easily be a wrong suggestion, and all of them could be Buryats or Mongols.⁵

This is a small-sized pothi manuscript (21,7/21,9 6,9/7,1 cm) that consists of 22 folios. The *dbu can* script is used except for the colophon relating to the main part of the text and the final auspicious formulae

³ It follows from the letter of the Director of the Library, L. L. Rakov, to the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences, from November 24, 1948, in which he suggested that “a big number of block prints and manuscripts in Mongolian, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese that used to belong to the Clinic of Tibetan Medicine, the Mongolist Prof. Tsybakov (Tsybikov?), etc., also to the Asiatic Museum” and that “had been passed to the State Public Library from the State Book Fund after 1937” should be transferred to the Institute (the document is kept at the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences: collection 151, inventory 1, No. 989, f. 24).

⁴ See the folios 5, 6, 8, 14, 20 (in the last case the text of the stamp is illegible).

⁵ I mean here general impression of what the letters look like and the use of the sign



at the beginning of the text on each of the first 10 folios (this feature is rather frequently found in the 18th century Kalmuck manuscripts but is not unique to them). The unconventional way of writing marginal numbers of the folios — *gcigs* (for *gcig*) ‘one’, *gsums* (for *gsum*) ‘three’, *gzhes* (for *bzhi*) ‘four’, *glnga* (for *lnga*) ‘five’ — also attracts attention although it may be an individual feature of the scribe, his intention remaining unclear to me.

written in the *dbu med*. The title of the text is provided on f. 1a (not quite correctly) and in the colophon (correctly): *Rin chen tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho'i gsung mgur rgyas pa*, i.e. *An extensive collection of the spiritual songs by Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso*. The text consists of three parts, the beginnings of the latter two being marked with the decorative *sbrul bshad* sign.

1) An introductory poem of eleven stanzas that has no hint at a compiler or editor of the collection (unlike the introductions found in Tib. 1000 and the Beijing manuscript). It seems it can be read as a narrative. In the first three stanzas the lyrical hero characterizes southern, western and northern directions as places where Avalokita, his beloved one and Vaiśravaṇa respectively are located. It means he himself is located in the east (maybe, in Mön) whence he starts his trip to Lhasa. Stanzas 4–7 describes his way of a pilgrim before the Tibetan Holy City, “the Wheel of Dharma”, is reached. Under the daylight Lhasa is a joyful place (stanza 8), and in one of its two major temples, Ramoche, the famous statue of the Buddha abides whose protection is asked about (stanzas 9 and, probably, 10). The last stanza may hint that the lyrical hero is ready to have an affair with the girl he loves. This whole poem may be ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama if only we can assume that he did not consider himself the embodiment of the enlightened one — that would be difficult to harmonize with his plea about protection for the after-death experience in the bardo (stanza 9).

2) 167 songs that are completed with the short colophon. They compose a “mixed” version of the collection that unites those of the Beijing manuscript and Tib. 1000, including songs that are found in the former and missing in the latter, and vice versa. It also has several songs that are not found in either of them; unfortunately, some songs are not written in full, due either lapses of the scribes or defects of the text from which they made the copy. My analysis of the textual discrepancies in the songs that are represented in all the three versions shows that Tib. 2459-2 is much closer to the Beijing manuscript. However, Tib. 2459-2 contains a shorter version, it ends up on the song that corresponds with No. 150 according to the Beijing version (this song is missing in Tib. 1000). It is sad because it does not allow us to reconstruct the final part of Tib. 1000 as well as to try to understand if the part IV of the Beijing manuscript (according to tentative P. Sørensen’s enumeration) should be considered as the second part, given the fact that its beginning corresponds very well with the end of the part I (Sørensen 1990: 370). Since this part IV is defected (there is

only one folio and the last song contained there is not complete), there is even a possibility that its missing folios could contain the end of the main part of the collection while the following songs, up to No. 406 (according to P. Sørensen), may be just a long appendix that is followed with another, smaller one (Nos. 407–445). In any case, we can be sure that all the three versions belong to the same textual tradition that reflects another way of organizing the songs ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama than found in the Lhasa block print⁶, and it is clear that this tradition was rather wide spread. Therefore, we can hope that new similar sources may be found over time in the collections of Tibetan texts. Before that any speculations concerning the development of this tradition seem premature to me.

3) An appendix: nine additional songs without any heading or colophon. The first two songs look like a beginning of “the sequel”, the story of the Seventh Dalai Lama. The first song is the famous one in which Tsangyang Gyatso asks a crane to lend him the wings to fly to Lithang and back which is easily interpreted as an indication of the place where his next birth had to take place. The second song plainly names his reincarnation, Kelsang Gyatso, acting as the leader of the three major monastic centers around Lhasa. The other six songs do not fit easily into this narrative although such meaningful locations as Tsari⁷ and Gyantse are mentioned there. The final song, however, is likely to have been chosen intentionally to conclude this smaller collection with the idea of successful functioning of “the golden ring of the monasteries”, apparently guided by the Dalai Lama(s). The manuscript is concluded with the auspicious formulas.

The following edition of the text consists of two parts.

1. The facsimile and diplomatic edition of each page of the manuscript. The latter intends to reflect all the details of the written text and does not correct it in any way.

2. The simplified version where the introduction and each of the songs are arranged separately, all special signs omitted, abbreviated words replaced with their full forms, and some obvious mistakes corrected. The discrepancies with the Beijing manuscript and the Lhasa block print are also provided. The introduction and appendix

⁶ First published in Savitsky 1983. The majority of publications of the Sixth Dalai Lama’s songs is connected, directly or indirectly, with it.

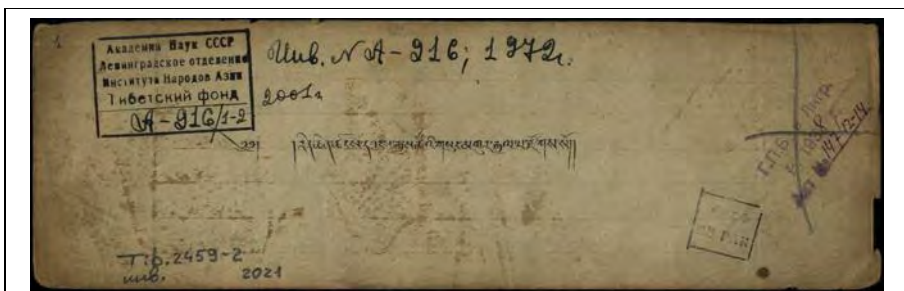
⁷ See Sørensen 1990: 114–122; this revered area is also mentioned in the introductory acrostic in Tib. 1000.

are provided with the English translation. The translation of the main part is incorporated into a separate paper that follows this one in the present issue of RET.

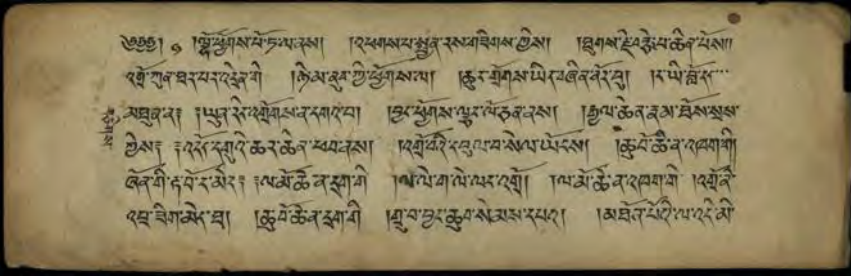
1. The facsimile and diplomatic edition

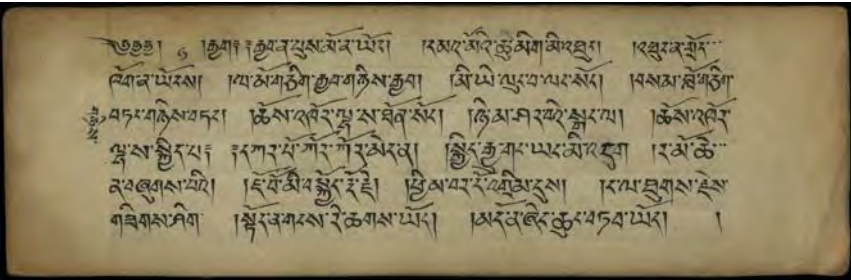
The transliteration here is based on the Wylie system, with the following additions:

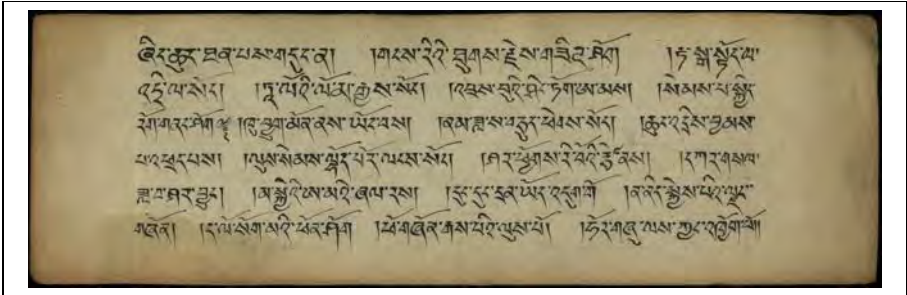
@#	yig mgo
	shad
·	tsheg
;	gnyis tsheg bshad
&	sbrul shad
б	a decorative sign at the beginning of the text on folios
1-10	
—	blank space within the text area
-	abbreviation (bsdus yig)
‡	inverted ta
ṃ	ma written as a diacritic
ā	rendering of the long Sanskrit vowel
∴	dotted lines that highlight letters added above or below
the line	
{ }	such brackets contain letters added above or below the
line	
< >	shift of the diacritic from the root letter to the left or to
the right	
?	illegible letters
+	absence of tsheg



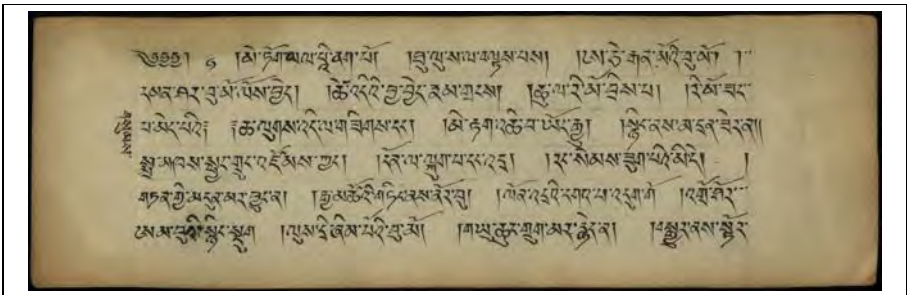
@#|_ | rin'chen'tshangs'dbyangs'rgya'mtsho'i'gsung'mgur'rgyal'pa'rdzogs'so | |

		
sgyog	@## _b_ lho'phyogs'po'ta'la'naś _ 'phags'pa'spyan'ras'gzigs'kyis _ thugs' rje'brtse'pa'chen'pos	[1]
	'gro'kun'thar'par'dren'gi _ nyi'ma'nub'kyi'phyogs'la _ chung'grogs'yid' bzhin'nor'bu _ nga'yi'blo'dang...	[2]
	mthun'na;_yun'ring'grogs'na'dga'ba _ byang'phyogs'lcang'lo'can'naś _ rgyal'chen'rnam'thos'sras'	[3]
	kyis;_dod'dgu'i'char'chen'phab'naś _ 'gro'ba'i'dbul'ba'sel'yongs _ chu'bo' chi'na'khag'gi	[4]
	zhon'gi'rta'bo'nga'med;_la'mo'che'na'drag'gi _ la'le'ga'le'lang'gro _ la'mo' che'na'khag'gi' 'gro'ni'	[5]
	'bra'zig'med'tha _ chu'bo'che'na'drag'gi _ gru'ba'byang'chub'sems'dpa' _ mthon'po'i'la'di'mi'	[6]

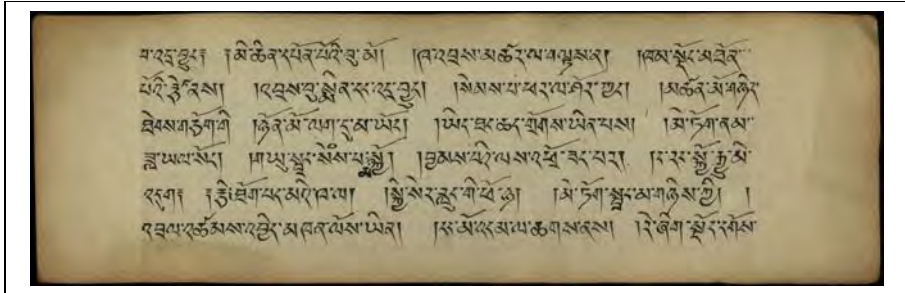
		
gnyis	@## _b_ rgyag;rgyab'na'pus'mo'na'yong _ dma'mo'i'chu'mig'mi'thung _ 'thung'na'grod...	[1]
	khog'na'yongs _ la'mo'gcig'rgyab'gnyis'rgyab _ mi'yi'lung'ba'lang'song _ bsam'blo'gcig'	[2]
	btang'gnyis'btang _ chos'khor'lha'sa'thon'song _ nyi'ma'shar'ba'i'sgang' la _ chos'khor'	[3]
	lha'sa'skyid'pa;_dkar'po'kor'kor'med'na _ sgyid'rgyu'gang'yang'mi'dug _ ra'mo'che...	[4]
	na'bzhugs'pa'i _ jo'bo'mi'bskyod'rdo'rje _ phyi'ma'bar'do'grim'dus _ nga'la'thugs'rjes'	[5]
	gzigs'shig _ stod'na'gangs'ri'chags'yod _ mdo'na'zhing'chung'tbab'yod _	[6]



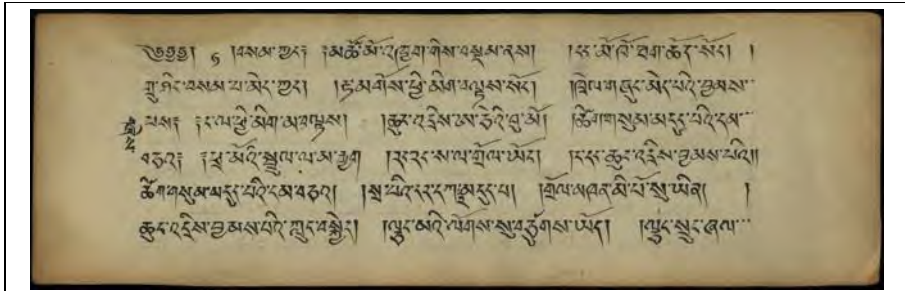
	zhing'chung'than'pas'gdung'na __ gangs'ri'i'thugs'rjes'gzit'shog__ rta'sga'stod'la'	[1]
	'dri'la'song __ tā'lo'i'lo'ma'rgyas'song __ 'bras'bu'i'shing'tog'a'mas __ sems'pa'skyid'	[2]
	rog'gnang'shog& khu'byug'mon'nas'yong'bas __ nam'zla'sa'bcud'phebs'song __ chung'dris'byams'	[3]
	pa'phrad'pas __ lus'sems'lhod'po'r'langs'song __ shar'phyogs'ri'bo'i'rtse'nas __ dkar'gsal'	[4]
	zla'ba'shar'byung __ ma'skye'i'a'ma'i'zhal'ras __ dung'dung'dran'yod'dug'go__ na'nid'skyes'pa'i'ljang''	[5]
	gzhon __ da'lo'sog'ma'i'phon'shog__ pho'gzhon'rgas'pa'i'lus'po __ hor'gzhu'las'kyang'khyog'po	[6]



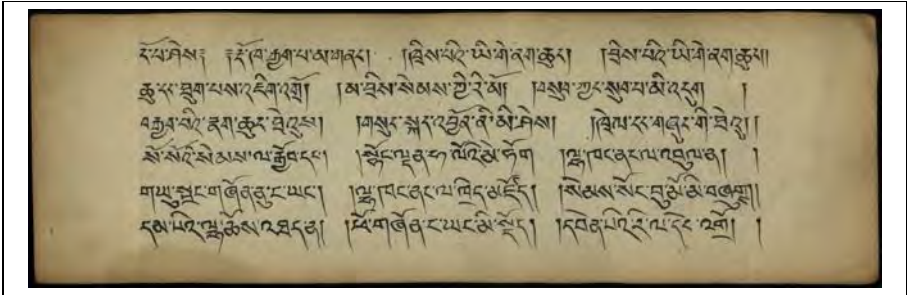
sums	@## _b_ me'tog'yal'pa-'a-i'nag'po __ thu'lu'sa'la'bltas'pas __ a'ce'rgan'mo'i'bu'mo' __ ''	[1]
	dman'shar'bu'mo'los'byed __ tshe'di'i'bya'byed'nam'grangs __ chu'la'ri'mo'bris'pa __ ri'mo'zad''	[2]
	pa'med'pa'i; __; cha'lugs'di'la'gzigs'dang __ mi'rtag'chi'ba'yong'rgyu __ snying'nas'ma'dran'zer'na	[3]
	smra'mkhas'spyang'grung'dzoms'kyang __ don'la'lkug'pa'dang'dra __ rang'sems'zug'pa'i'mi'de __	[4]
	gtan'gyi'mdun'mar'byung'na __ rgya'mtsho'i'gting'nas'nor'bu __ lon'dra'i'dga'pa'dug'go__ 'gro'shor''	[5]
	am'bu'i'snying'sdug__ lus'dri'zhim'po'i'bu'mo __ g.yu'chung'grug'mar'rnyed'na __ bsgyur'nas'stor'	[6]



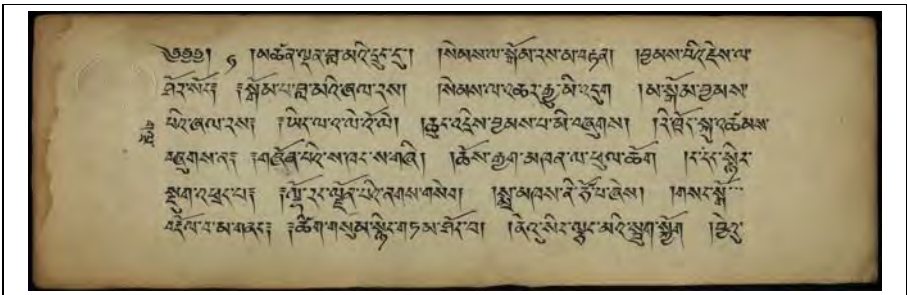
	pa'dra'byung;_mi'chin'dpon'po'i'bu'mo __ kha'bras'mtshar'la'bltas'na __ kham'sdong'mthon''	[1]
	po'i'rtse'nas __ 'bras'bu'smin'dang'dra'byung __ sems'pa'phar'la'shor'kyang __ mtshan'mo'gnyid'	[2]
	thebs'gcog'gi __ nyon'mo'lag'du'ma'yong __ yid'thang'chad'grog'syin'pas __ me'tog'nam''	[3]
	zla'yal'song __ g.yu'sbrang'sems'pa:ma'skyo __ byams'pa'i'las'phro'zad'par __ nga'rang'skyo'rgyu'mi'	[4]
	'dug;_ _rtsi'thog'pad'ma'i'kha'la __ skyi'ser'rlung'gi'pho'nya __ me'tog'sbrang'ma'gnyis'kyi __	[5]
	'bral'tshams'byid'mkhan'los'yin __ ngang'mo'dam'la'chags'nas __ re'zhig'sdong'dgos'	[6]



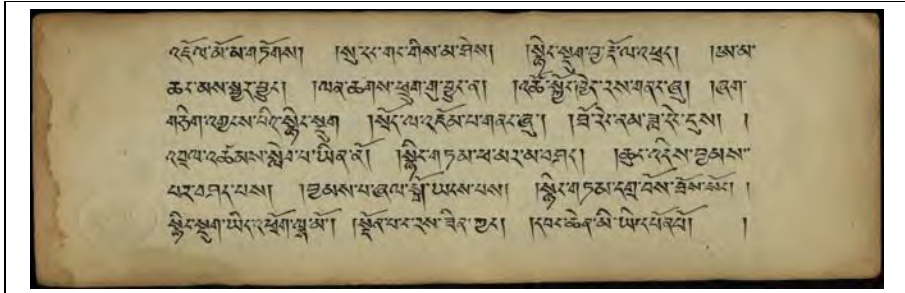
gzhes'	@## _b_ bsam'kyang;_mtsho'mo'khyag'gis'bsdam'nas __ ngang'mo'kho'thag'chod'song __	[1]
	gru'shing'bsam'pa'med'kyang __ rta'mgos'phyi'mig'bltas'song __ khrel'gzhung'med'pa'i'byams''	[2]
	pas;_nga'la'phyi'mig'ma'bltas __ chung'dris'a'ce'i'bu'mo __ tshig'gsum'mdud'pa'i'dam''	[3]
	bca';_phra'mo'i'sbrul'la'ma'rgyag__ rang'rang'sa'la'grol'yong __ nga'dang'chung'dris'byams'pa'i'	[4]
	tshig'gsum'mdud'pa'i'dam'bca' __ sra'pa'i'dar'dka:ra'mdud'pa __ grol'mkhan'mi'po'su'yin __	[5]
	chung'dris'byams'pa'i'klung'bskyed __ lcang'ma'i'logs'su'bitsugs'yod __ lcang'srung'zhal''	[6]



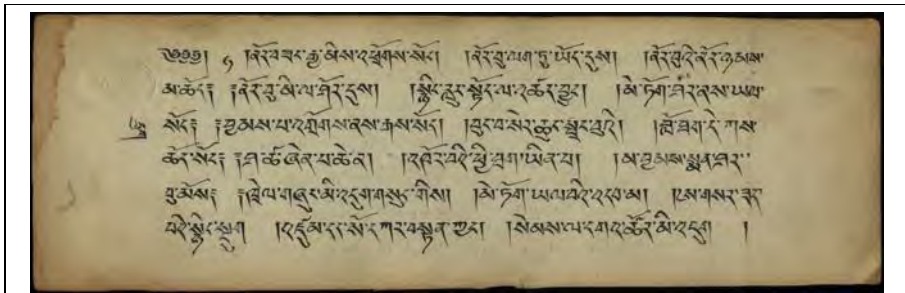
	ngo'pa'shes; ___rdo'kha'rgyag'pa'ma'gnang ___ khris'pa'i'yi'ge'nag'chung ___	[1]
	bris'pa'i'yi'ge'nag'chung	[2]
	chu'dang'thug'pas'jig'gro ___ ma'bris'sems'kyi'ri'mo ___ bsub'kyang'sub'pa' mi'dug___ _	[3]
	brgyab'pa'i'nag'chung'the'us ___ gsung'skad'byon'ni'mi'shes ___ khrel'dang' gzhung'gi'the'u	[4]
	so'so'i'sems'la'rgyob'dang' ___ stong'ldan'ha'lo'i'me'tog___ lha'khang'nang'la' 'bul'na ___	[5]
	g.yu'sprang'gzhon'nu'nga'yang' ___ lha'khang'nang'la'khrid'mdzod ___ sems' song'bu'mo'mi'bzhug-s	[6]
	dam'pa'i'lha'chos'thad'na ___ pho'gzhon'nga'yang'mi'sdod ___ dben'pa'i'ri' la'deng'gro ___	[6]



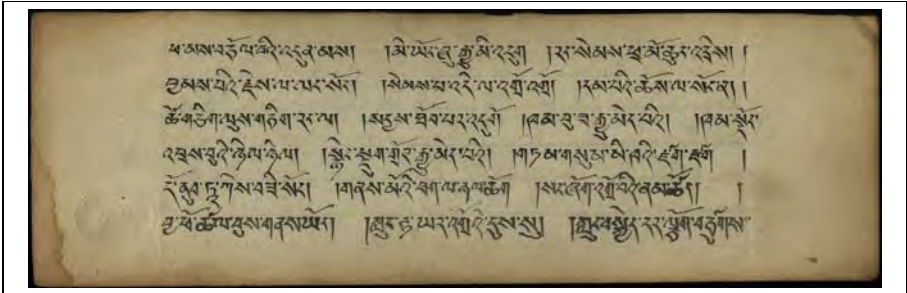
gñgñ	@## _b_ mtshan'ldan'bla'ma'i'drung'du' ___ sems'la'sgom'ras'ma'brtan ___	[1]
	byams'pa'i'rjes'la'	[2]
	shor'song; ___sgom'pa'bla'ma'i'zhal'ras ___ sems'la'char'rgyu'mi'dug___ ma' sgom'byams'	[3]
	pa'i'zhal'ras; ___yid'la'a'le'o'le ___ chung'dris'byams'pa'mi'bzhugs ___ ri' khrod' sku'tshams'	[4]
	bzhugs'na; ___gzhon'pa'i'sa'khang'sa'gzhi ___ chos'rgyag'mkhan'la'phul'chog___ nga'dang'snying'	[5]
	sdug'phrad'pa; ___lho'rang'ljon'pa'i'nags'gseb ___ smra'mkhas'ni'tso'pa' zhes ___ gsang'sgo''	[6]
brdol'ba'ma'gnang; ___tshig'gsum'snying'gtam'shong'ba ___ ne'u'sing'lcang'ma'i' sbug'skyog___ bye'u'	[6]	



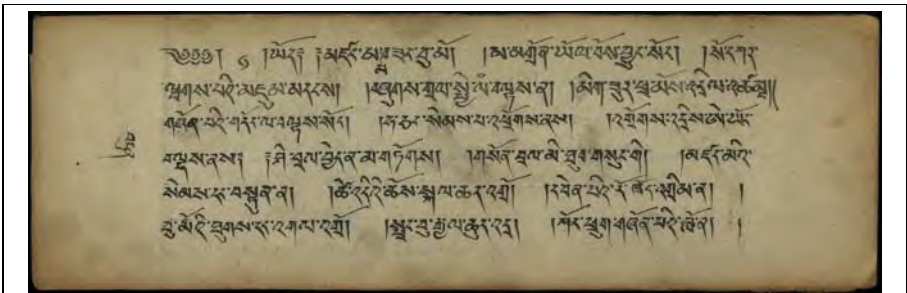
	'jol'mo'ma'gtogs __ su'dang'gang'gis'ma'shes __ snying'sdug'bya'rdo'la'	[1]
	'phrad __ a'ma'	
	chang'mas'sbyar'byung __ lan'chags'phrug'gu'byung'na __ 'tsho'skyong'	[2]
	khyed'ras'gnang'zhu __ zhag'	
	gcig'gyangs'pa'i'snying'sdug __ srod'la'jom'pa'gnang'zhu' __ tho'reng'nam'	[3]
	zla'deng'dus __	
	'bral'tshams'sleb'pa'yin'no __ snying'gtam'pha'mar'ma'bshad __ chung'dis'	[4]
	byams'	
	par'bshad'pas __ byams'pa'zhal'sgo'yangs'pas __ snying'gtam'dgra'bos'thos'	[5]
	song __	
	snying'sdug'yid'phrog'lha'mo' __ sngon'pa'nga'ras'zin'kyang __ dbang'chen'	[6]
	mi'yi'dpon'po __	



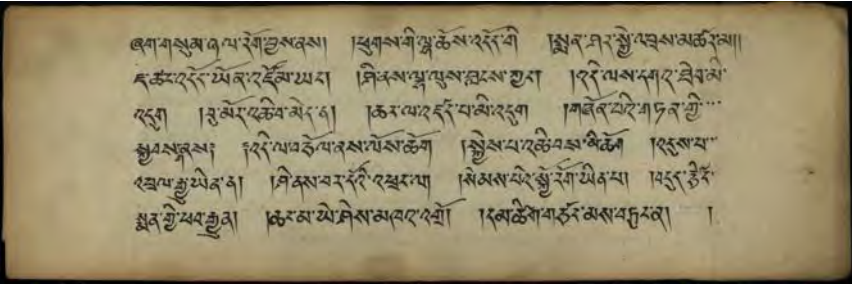
dng	@## _b_ nor'bzang'rgya'mis'phrogs'song __ nor'bu'lag'tu'yod'dus __ nor'	[1]
	bu'i'nor'nyams'	
	ma'chod; _nor'bu'mi'la'shor'dus __ snying'rlung'stod'la'tshad'byung __ me'	[2]
	tog'shar'nas'yal'	
	song; __; byams'pa'grog'snas'rgas'song __ bung'ba'ser'chung'sbrang'bu'i __	[3]
	blo'thag'de'kas'	
	chod'song; _sha'tsha'zhen'pa'che'na __ 'khor'ba'i'phyi'thag'yin'pa __ ma'	[4]
	byams'sman'shar''	
	bu'mos; __; khrel'gzhung'mi'dug'gsung'gis __ me'tog'yal'ba'i'dab'ma __	[5]
	a'gsar'zad'	
	pa'i'snying'sdug __ dzum'dang'so'dkar'bstan'kyang __ sems'la'dga'tshor'mi'	[6]
	'dug __	

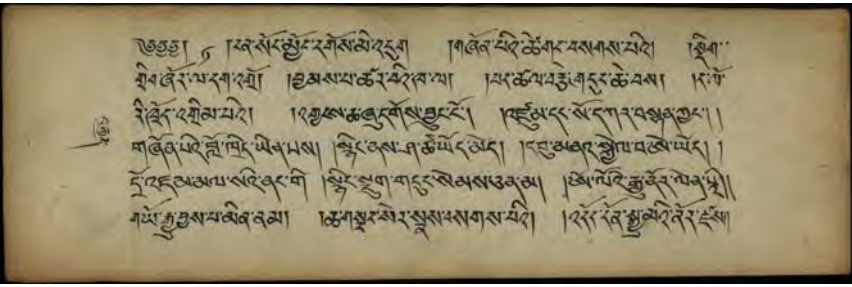


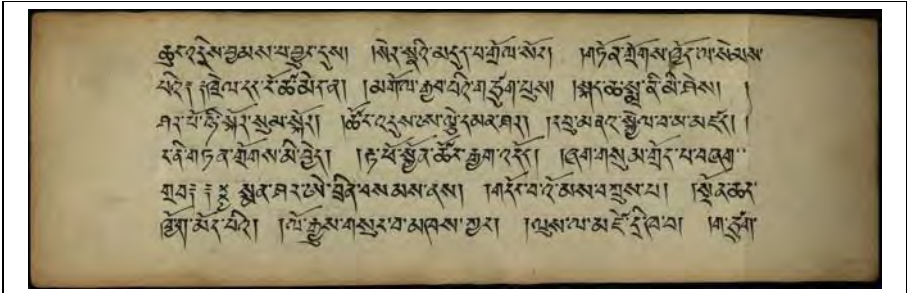
	pha'mas'bcol'ba'i'dun'mas __ mi'yong'zhu'rgyu'mi'dug __ rang'sems'phra' mo'chung'dris __	[1]
	byams'pa'i'rjes'la'lang'song __ sems'pa'di'la'gro'gro __ dam'pa'i'chos'la' song'na	[2]
	tshe'gcig'lus'gcig'rang'la __ sang-yas'thob'par'du-go kham'bu'za'rgyu'med' pa'i __ kham'sdong'	[3]
	'bras'bu'i'nyil'nyil __ snying'sdug'gro'rgyu'med'pa'i __ gtam'gsum'mi'kha'i' rdzag'rdzag __	[4]
	do'nub'ta'kis'bzi'song __ gnas'mo'i'phag'la'nyal'chog __ sang'zhog'gro'ba'i' nam'tshod __	[5]
	bya'pho'tshal'bus'gnas'yong __ klung'rta'yar'gro'i'dus'su __ klung'bskyed' dar'lcog'btsugs'	[6]



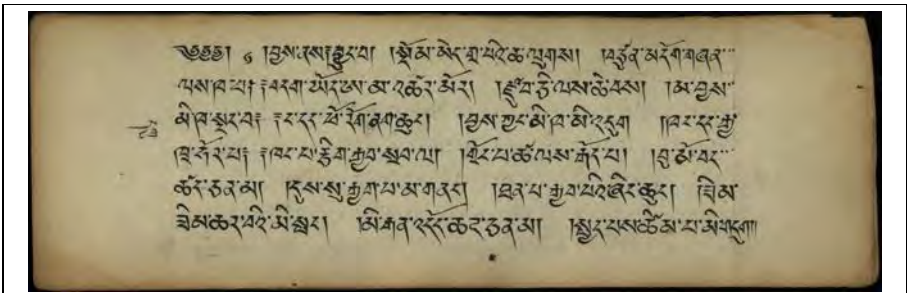
undun	@## _b_ yod; ;mdzod'ma:{ma}bzang'bu'mo __ ma'mgron'yol'bos'byung' song __ so'dkar'	[1]
	lpags'pa'i'mjum'mdangs __ bzhugs'gal'spyi'lam'btas'na __ mig'zur'phra' mos'dril'tsham-s	[2]
	gzhon'pa'i'gdong'la'btas'song __ ha'cang'sems'pa'phrogs'nas __ 'grogs'dris' e'yong'	[3]
	btas'nas; __;shi'bral'byed'na'ma'gtogs __ gson'bral'mi'thub'gsung'gi __ mdzang'ma'i'	[4]
	sems'dang'bstun'na __ tshe'di'i'chos'skal'chad'gro __ dben'pa'i'ro'khrod' 'grim'na __	[5]
	bu'mo'i'thugs'dang'gal'gro __ sprang'bu'rgya'la'chud'dra __ kong'phrug' gzhon'pa'i'blo'na __	[6]

		
brag'rad.	zhag'gsum'nyal'rog'byas'nas _ phugs'gi'lha'chos'dod'gi _ sman'shar'skye' 'bras'mtshar'ma	[1]
	ja'chang'dod'yon'dzom'yang _ shi'nas'lha'lus'blangs'kyang _ 'di'las'dga' theb'mi'	[2]
	'dug _ bu'mor'chi'ba'med'na _ chang'la'dzad'pa'mi'dug _ gzhon'pa'i gtan'gyi'...	[3]
	skyabs'ig'nas; _ 'di'la'bcol'nas'los'chog _ skyes'pa'chi'bas'mi'chog _ 'dus' pa'...	[4]
	'bral'rgyu'yin'na _ shi'nas'bar'do'i'phrang'la _ sems'pa'i'skyo'rog'yin' pa _ bdud'rtsing'	[5]
	sman'gyi'phab'rgyun _ chang'ma'ye'shes'mkha''gro _ dam'tshig'gtsang' mas'btung'na _	[6]

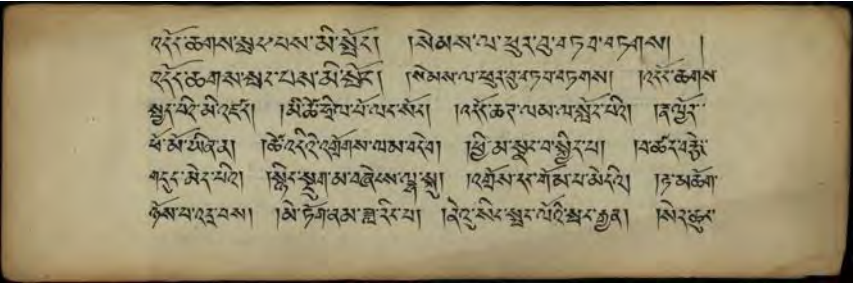
		
brag'rad.	@## _b_ ngan'song'myong'dgos'mi'dug _ gzhon'pa'i'tshe'gang'bsags' pa'i _ sdig'	[1]
	grib'zhor'la'dag'gro _ byams'pa'tshar'ba'i'kha'la _ pad'tshal'brtse'gdung' che'bas _ da'lo'	[2]
	ri'khrod'grim'pa'i _ 'gyangs'cha'zhu'dgos'byung'ngo _ 'dzum'dang'so' dkar'bstan'kyang'	[3]
	gzhon'pa'i'blo'khrid'yin'pas _ snying'nas'sha'tsha'yod'med _ dbu'mna' skyel'ba'e'yod _	[4]
	dro'jam'mal'sa'i'nang'gi _ snying'sdug'gdung'sems'can'ma _ o'lo'i'rgyu'nor' len'pa'a-i	[5]
	g.yo'rgyu'byas'pa'min'nam _ cha'gsngang'ser'snas'bsags'pa'i _ 'dod'don' sgyu'ma'i'nor'rdzas	[6]

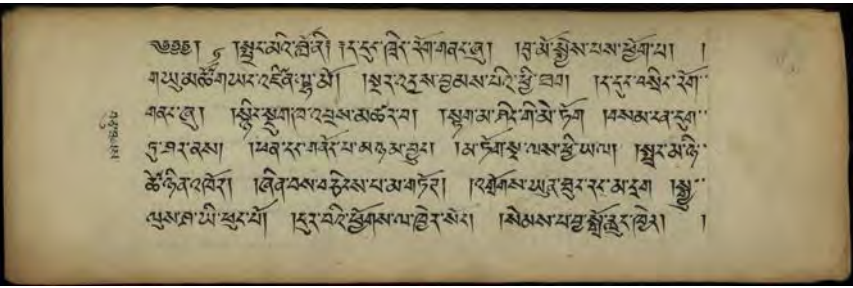


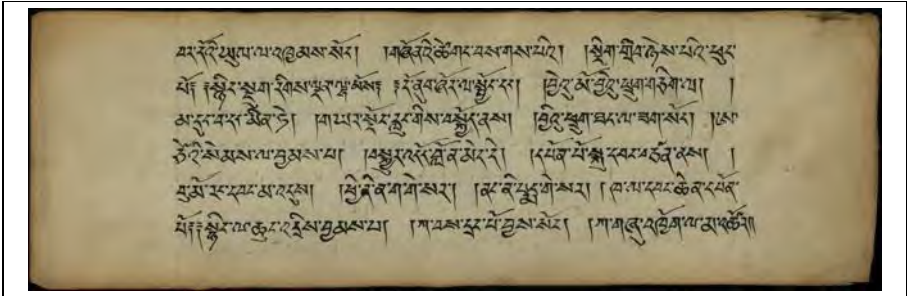
	chung' dris'byams'pa'byung'dus __ ser'sna'i'mdud'pa'grol'song __ gton' grogs'khyod'la'sems'	[1]
	pa' i;_khrel'dang'ngo'tsha'med'na __ mgo'la'rgyab'pa'i'gtsug'pus __ skad'cha' smra'ni'mi'shes __	[2]
	shar'po'nyi'skor'sum'skor __ tshong'dus'a'lce'dman'shar __ dbu'mna'skyel' ba'ma'mdzad __	[3]
	nga'ni'gtan'grog'smi'byed __ rta'pho'skyon'tshong'rgyag'dod __ zhag' gsum'grod'pa'bzhag'	[4]
	grab;_&smān'shar'e'brin'bsams'nas __ gdong'ba'o'mas'bkrus'pa __ sngon' chad'	[5]
	khyo'ga'mod'pa'i __ lo'rgyus'gsung'ba'mkhas'kyang __ lus'la'mdze'dri'kha' ba __ ga'tsug'	[6]



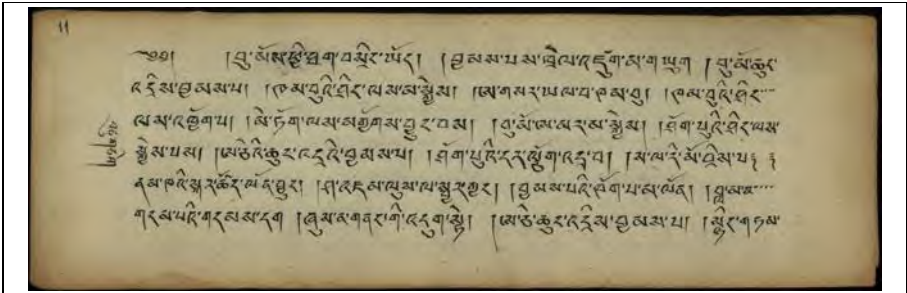
ngp	@## _b_ byas'nas;byung'ba __ sdom'med'gra'pa'i'cha'lugs __ btsun'mdog' gzhan''	[1]
	las'kha'pa;_bdag'yod'a'ma'tshar'mor __ rdzu'ba'ci'las'che'bas __ ma'byas'' mi'kha'sdang'ba;_nga'dang'pho'rog'nag'chung __ byas'kyang'mi'kha'mi' 'dug __ khang'dang'rgya'	[2]
	khra'hor'pa;_khang'pa'rcig'rgyab'srab'la __ grong'pa'tsha'las'rgod'pa __ bu'mo'bad''	[3]
	tshang'can'ma __ ngus'su'rgyag'pa'ma'gnang __ than'pa'rgyab'pa'i'zhing' chung __ zim'	[4]
	zim'char'ba'i'mi'spang __ mi'rgan'dod'cha'can'ma __ spyad'pas'tshim' pa'mi'gdug	[5]

		
bcu' thams'	'dod'chags'spang'pas'mi'spong __ sems'la'phur'bu'ttab'tbags __	[1]
	'dod'chags'spang'pas'mi'spong __ sems'la'phur'bu'ttab'tbags __ 'dod'chags'	[2]
	spyad'pa'i'mi'dzad __ mi'tshe'hri'l'po'lang'song __ 'dod'cha't'am'la'slong'	[3]
	pa'i __ rnal-yor'	[4]
	pho'mo'yin'na __ tshe'di'i'grog'slam'bde'ba __ phyi'ma'snang'ba'skyid'pa	[5]
	gdung'med'pa'i __ snying'sdug'ma'bzheng's'zha'sku __ 'gros'dang'gom'pa'	[6]

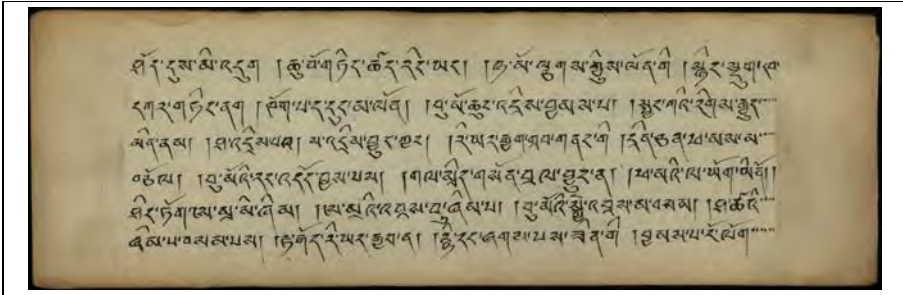
		
bcu' thams'	@## _b_ sprang'ma'i'blo'ni_da'dung'khrid'rog'gnang'zhu __ bu'mo'skyes'	[1]
	pas'phyog'pa __	[2]
	g.yu'mtsho'g.yang'dzin'lha'mo __ sngar'dras'byams'pa'i'phyi'thab __ da'	[3]
	gnang'zhu __ snying'sdug'kha'bras'mtshar'ba __ stag'ma'shing'gi'me'tog_	[4]
	tshe'nyin'khor __ zhin'bas'bcings'pa'ma'gto't __ 'grog's'yun'thung'rang'ma'	[5]
	lus'sha'yi'phung'po __ dur'ba'i'phyogs'la'khyer'song __ sems'pa'bya'sgo'	[6]



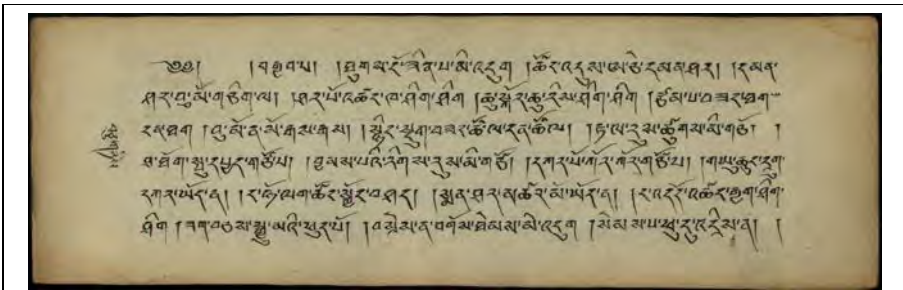
	bar'do'i yul'la'khyams'song _ gzhon-'i'tshe'gang'bsa'gs'pa'ci _ sdig'grib'nyes'pa'i'phung'	[1]
	po;_snying'sdug'rigs'ldan'lha'mos;_do'nub'zhor'la'sbyong'dang _ bye'u'mo'bye'u'phrug'gcig'la _	[2]
	ma'dung'ba'dang'min'te _ g.yar'sdong'rlung'gis'bskyod'nas _ byi'u'phrug'thang'la'zag'song _ a'	[3]
	tse'i'sems'la'byams'pa _ bskiyur'dod'blo'na'med'de _ dpon'po'sku'dbang'btsan'nas _	[4]
	bu'mo'rang'dbang'ma'dus _ phyi'ni'na'ga'ge'sar' _ nang'ni'pa+dma'ge'sar _ kha'la'dbang'chen'dpon'	[5]
	po;_snying'la'chung'dris'byams'pa _ ka'bas'drang'po'byas'song _ ka'gzhu'khyog'la'ma'tshor	[6]



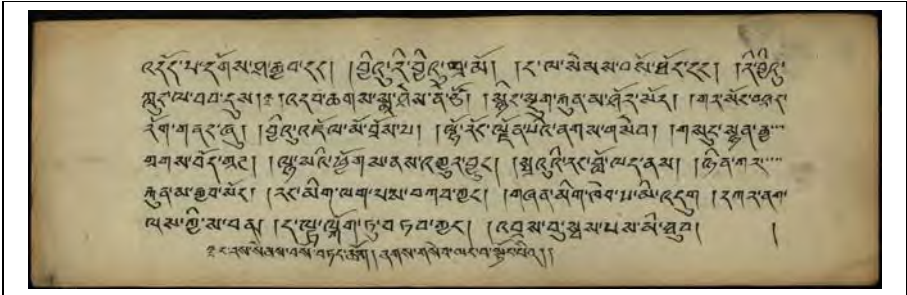
bou gcig	@# _ bu'mos'phyi'thag'bsring'yod _ byams'pas'khrel'dzug'ma'g.yug_	[1]
	bu'mo'chung' 'dris'byams'pa _ kham'bu'i'shing'las'ma'skyes _ a'gsar'yal'ba'kham'bu _	[2]
	kham'bu'i'shing'... las'khyog'pa _ me'tog'las'mgyogs'byung'bas _ bu'mo'a'mar'ma'skyes _	[3]
	shog'pu'i'shing'las skyes'pas _ a'ce'i'chung'dra'i'byams'pa _ shog'pu'i'dar'lcog'dra'ba _ sa'la'ri'mo'bris'pa;_	[4]
	nam'kha'i'skar'tshod'lon'byung _ sha'jam'lus'la'sbyar'kyang _ byams'pa'i'khog'pa'ma'lon _ bla'ma'?...'	[5]
	gdam'pa'i'gdams'dag_ zhus'na'gnang'gi'dug'ste _ a'ce'chung'dris'byams'pa _ snying'gtam'	[6]



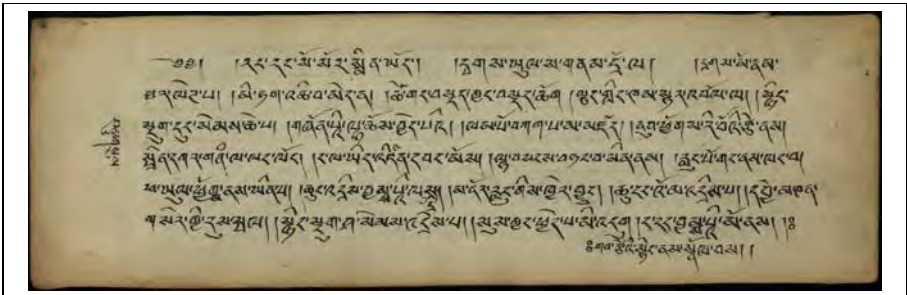
	shod'dus'mi'dug chu'bo'gting'tshad'ring'yang _ nya'mo'lcags'kyi+us'lon'gi snying'sdug'kha'	[1]
	dkar'gting'nag khog'pa'da'dung'ma'lon _ bu'mo'chung'dris'byams'pa _ spyang'ka'i'rigs'rgyud'....	[2]
	min'nam _ sha'dris'pa? s'dris'byung'kyang _ ri'yar'rgyag'grab'gnang'gi _ drin'can'pha'mas'ma'....	[3]
	bcol _ bu'mo'i'rang'dod'byas'pas _ gal'srid'gson'bral'byung'na _ pha'ma'i'la'yog'yi-no	[4]
	shing'tog'a'mra'mi'zhim _ a'mra'i''bras'bu'zhim'pa _ bu'mo'Tskye'bras'ma'bsam _ sha'tsha'i'....	[5]
	zhim'pa'bsam'pas _ rta'rgod'ri'yad'rgyab'na _ rnyi'dang'zhags'pas'zin'gi _ byams'pa'ngo'log'....	[6]



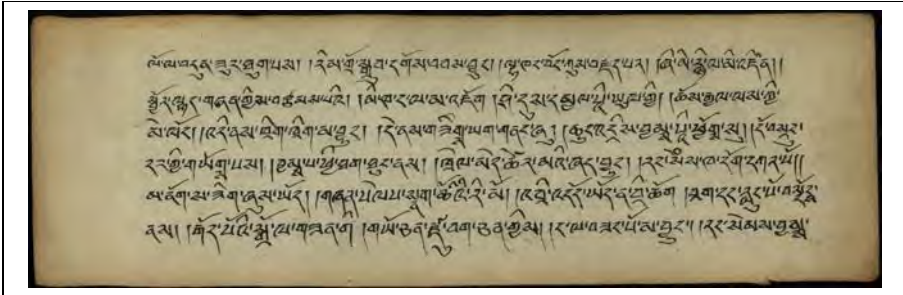
bcu'gnyis	@## _b brgyab'pa _ thugs'ngo'zin'pa'mi'dug _ tshong'dus'a'ce'dman'shar _ dman'	[1]
	shar'bu'mo'gcig'la _ shar'po'tshang'kha'shig'shig _ chu'skor'chu'ris'shi'g'shig _ rtsam'pa'bzang'thag'...	[2]
	ngan'thag _ bu'mo'na'so'rgas'rgas _ snying'sdug'bzang'tsho'la'ngan'tshol _ rta'la'rus'tshugs'mi'gco _	[3]
	sha'thog'spu'dpyad'gtso'pa _ byams'pa'i'rigs'rus'mi'gtso _ dkar'po'kor'kor'gtso'pa _ g.yu'chung'drug'	[4]
	dkar'yod'na _ nga'nyo'lag'tshong'skyong'bshad _ sman'shar'mtshar'mo'yod'na _ nga'dod'tshang'rgyag'shig'	[5]
	shig _ zag'bcas'sgyu'ma'i'phud'po _ bsres'na'bgos'thems'mi'dug _ sems'pa'phu'ngu'dris'na _	[6]



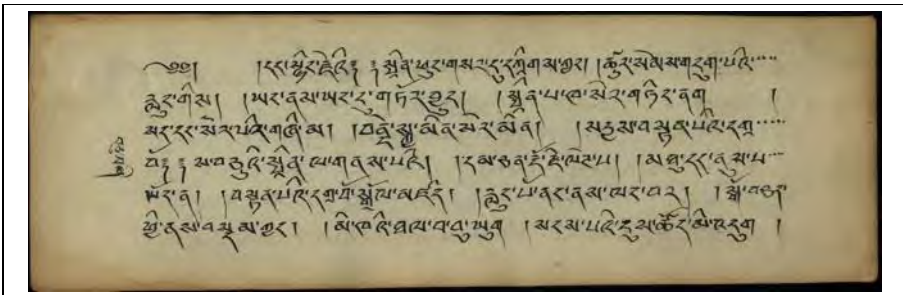
	'dod'pa'dgos'sha'rgyab'dang _ byi'u'ri'byi'u'khra'mo _ nga'la'sems'bso'	[1]
	thong'dang _ ri'byi'u'	[2]
	klung'la'bab'dus ? 'dab'chags'smra'shes'ne'tso _ snying'sdug'rkun'ma'shor'	[3]
	sod _ gar'song'bshad'	[4]
	rog'gnang'zhu _ byi'u'jol'mo'bros'pa _ lho'rong'ljon'pa'i'nags'gseb _ gsung'	[5]
	snyan'rgya'...	[6]
	grags'bod'grat _ lha'sa'i'phyogs'nas'gyur'byung _ spra'u'i'rang'blo'lad'nas	[ad]
	_ nyin'kar'...	
	rkun'ma'rgyab'song _ rang'mig'lag'pas'bkab'kyang _ gzhan'mig'kheb'pa'mi'	
	'dug_ dkar'nag'	
	las'kyi'sa'ban _ da'lta'lkog'tu'tbab'kyang _ 'bras'bu'sbas'pas'mi'thub _	
	&nga'ras'sems'bso'tbang'chog nags'gseb'lang'ba'stong'pa'i	



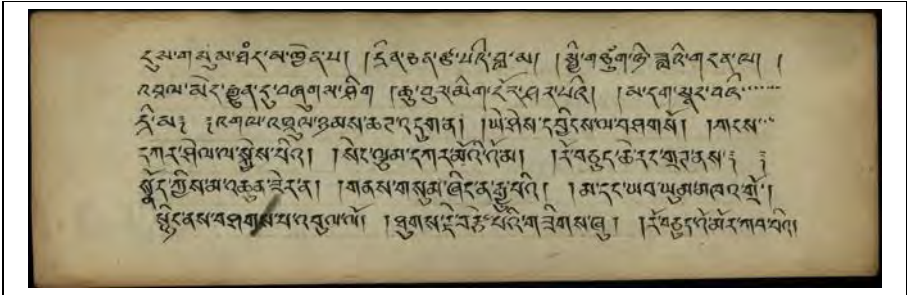
bcu'gsun	@# _ rang'rang'so'sor'smin'yod' _ dwags'yul'sa'gnam'dro'la _ drags'	[1]
	mo'rnam'	[2]
	thar'let'pa _ mi'rtag'chi'ba'med'na _ tsh'e'gang'bsdad'kyang'bsgad'chog_	[3]
	lcang'gling'kham'star'bol'la snying'	[4]
	sdug'dung'sems'che'pa _ gzhon'pa-'a-i'lha'chos'byed'pa'I _ lam'po'bkag'pa'	[5]
	ma'mdzad _ nub'phyogs'ri'bo'i'rtse'nas	[6]
	sprin'dkar'gnam'la'lang'long _ nga'la'yid'dzin'dbang'mos _ lha'bsangs'tbang'	[ad]
ba'min'nam _ rlung'po'gang'nas'lang'ba		
pha'yul'phyog-s'nas'yi'na'pa _ chung'dris'byam-s'pa-'a-i'lus:{dri} _ ma'nor'		
rlung'gis'khyer'byung _ chu'dang'o'ma'dris'pa dbye'mkhan'		
gser'gyi'rus'spal snying'sdug'sha'sems'dris'pa sus'kyang'phyed'pa'mi'dug		
nga'dang'byam-s'pa-'a-i'mo'nas _ _		
	:gab'rtse'i'steng'nas'snol'bas	



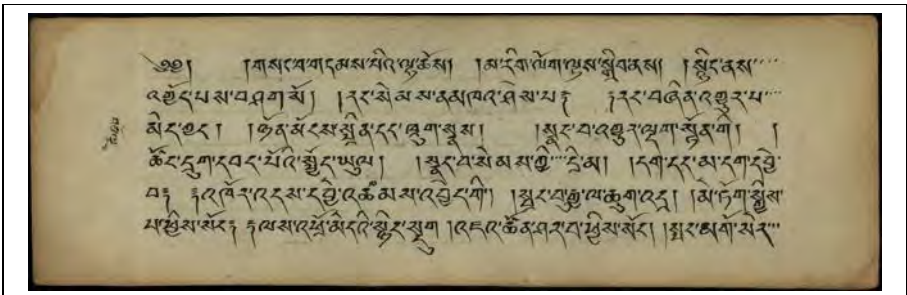
	lo'la'bdun'zur'thug'pas _ rim'gro'sgrub'dgos'babs'byung lha'khang'bong'	[1]
	kus'brjad'par _ zhi'mi'rnyi'la'mi''dzin _	[2]
	sbyor'lhad'gzhan'gyis'brtsams'pa'i _ mi'kha'nga'la'ma''jog_ shi'dus'dmyal'	[3]
	pa-'a-i'yul'gyi _ chos'rgyal'las'kyi'_	[4]
	me'long 'di'nas'khrig'khrig'ma'byung _ de'nas'gzig-s'yag'gnang'zhu chung'	[5]
	'dris'byam-s'pa-'a-i'phyog-s'su ngo'bsrung'	[6]
	dar'gyi'g.yog-s'pas _ byam-s'pa'phyi'thag'thung'nas khrel'med'tsher'ma'i'	
	zhad'byung _ rang'sems'kha'dog'dkar'po	
	ma'nog'sa'zig'zhus'yod gzhan'sels'snag'tsho'i'ri'mo 'bri''dod'yod'na'bri'	
	chog_ brag'dang'rlung'po'bsdong-s'	
	nas _ rgod'po'i'sgro'la'gzan'gi_ g.yo'can'rdzu'bag'can'gyis nga'la'bzang'po'	
	ma'byung' rang'sems'byam-s'	



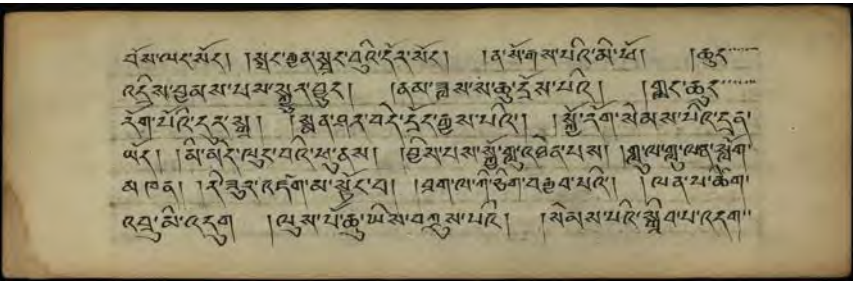
bcu'bzhi	@# _ dang'snying'rje'i'_,sprin'phung'gsar'du'dkrigs'kyang _ tshur'sems'	[1]
	gdug'pa'i''''	[2]
	rlung'gis _ yang'nas'yang'du'gtor'byung _ sprin'pa'kha'ser'gting'nag_ _	[3]
	sad'dang'ser'pa'i'gzhi'ma _ ba+nde'skya'min'ser'min _ sang-yas'bstan'pa'i'	[4]
	dgra''''	[5]
	bo'_,sa'bcu'i'sprin'la'gnas'pa'i _ dam'can'rdo'rje'leṭ'pa _ mthu'dang'nus'	[6]
pa''''		
yod'na _ bstan'pa'i'dgra'bo'sgrol'mdzad _ rlung'po'nang'nas'lang'bar _		
sgo'bcad'		
phyi'nas'bsdam'kyang _ mi'kha'i'thal'ba'bu'yug_ sangs'pa'i'dus'tshod'mi'		
'dug_ _		

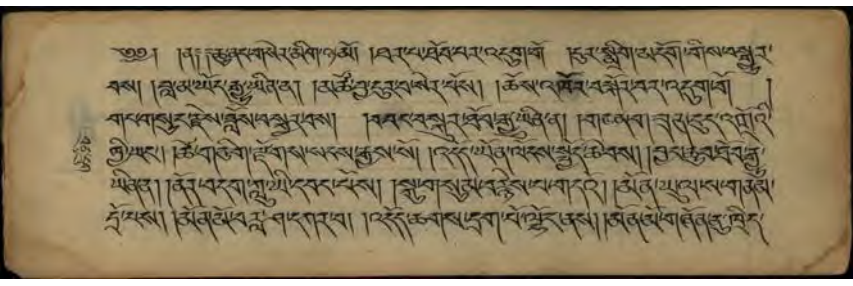


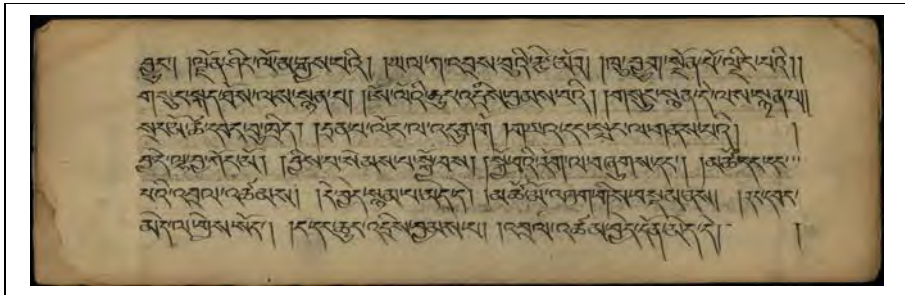
	dus'gsum'tham-d'm'khyen'pa _ drin'can'rtsa'pa'i'bla'ma _ spyi'gtsug'nyi'zla'i'gdan'la _	[1]
	'bral'med'rgyun'du'bzhugs'shig_ chu'bur'mig'ngor'shar'pa'i _ ma'dag'snang'ba'i'.....	[2]
	dri'ma;_ gal'khrul'nyams'chaṭ'dug'na _ ye'shes'dbyings'la'bshag-so _ gangs'...	[3]
	dkar'shel'la'skyes'pa'i _ seng'lcam'dkar'mo'i'o'ma _ ro'bcud'che'rang'graṭ'nas;_ _	[4]
	snod'kyis'ma''chun'zer'na _ gnas'gsum'zhing'na'rgyu'pa'i _ ma'dang'yab'yum'mkha''gro' _	[5]
	_snying'nas'bshags'pa'bul'lo _ thugs'rje'brtse'pa'i'gzigs'zhu _ ro'bcud'o'mor'kab'pa'i	[6]



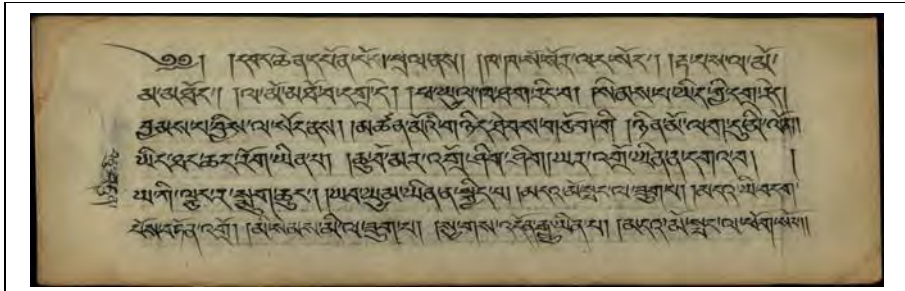
bco'ngga'	@# _ gsang'ba'gdams'pa'i'lha'chos _ ma'rig'log'ltas'sgrib'nas _ snying'nas'...	[1]
	'gyod'pas'bshag-so _ rang'sems'nam-kha'shes'pa;_ rang'bzhin'gyur'pa'...	[2]
	med'kyang _ nyon'mongs'sprin'dang'khrug'snas _ snang'ba'gyur'idag'ston'gi _	[3]
	tshong'drug'dbang'po'i'spyod'yul _ snang'ba'sems'kyi'...'dri'ma _ dag'dang'ma'dag'dbye'	[4]
	ba;_ khor'das'dbye'tshams'byed'gi _ sbrang'bu'rgya'la'chug'dra _ me'tog'skyis'	[5]
	pa'physis'song;_ las'phro'med-'i'snying'sdug_ 'ja'tshon'shar'ba'physis'song _ spang'mgo'ser'...	[6]

	
	bos'lang'song _ spang'rgyan'sbrang'bu'i'dor'song _ na'so'rgas'pa'i'mi'pho [1] ___ chung'.....
	'dri's'byams'pas'skyur'byung _ nam'zlas'sa'chu'dros'pa'i _ glang'chung'..... [2]
	rog'po'I'dur'sgra _ sman'shar'bde'drod'rgyas'pa'i _ skyo'rog'sems'pa'i'dran' [3]
	yod _ mi'me'd'lung'ba'i'phu'nas _ byis'pas'skyo'glu'then'pas _ glu'la'glu'lan'slog' [4]
	mkhan _ ri'zur'dzag'ma'stong'ba _ brag'la'ki'cig'brgyab'pa'i _ lan'pa'tshig' [5]
	'bru'mi'dug _ lus'po'chu'yis'bkrus'pa'I _ sems'pa'i'sgrib'pa'dag' [6]

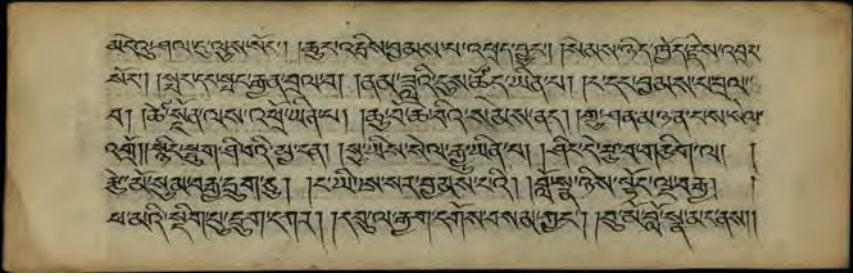
	
	@# _ na;chu'nang'gser'mig'nya'mo _ thar'pa'thob'par'dug'go _ ngur'smrig' [1] mdog'gis'bsgyur'
	bas _ bla'ma'yod'rgyu'yin'na _ mtsho'bya'ngur'ba'ser'pos _ chos'khor'bskor' [2] bar'dug'go _
	gang'gsung'rjes'zlos'bskyar'bas _ bbang'bskur'thob'rgyu'yin'na _ gcan'gzan' [3] dud'gro'i'
	khyi'yang' tshe'gcig'rdzogs'sangs'rgyas'so _ 'dod'yon'longs'spyo'd'che'bas [4] byang'chub'thob'rgyu'
	yin'na nor'bdag'klu'yi'dbang'pos _ sku'gsum'brnyes'pa'gda'o mon'yul'sa' [5] gnam'
	dro'pas mon'mo'brla'sha'dkar'ba _ 'dod'chags'drag'po'lhod'nas mon'mo' [6] gzhon'nu'khrid'

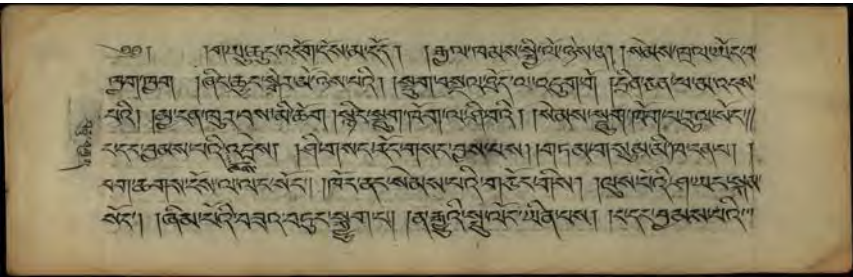


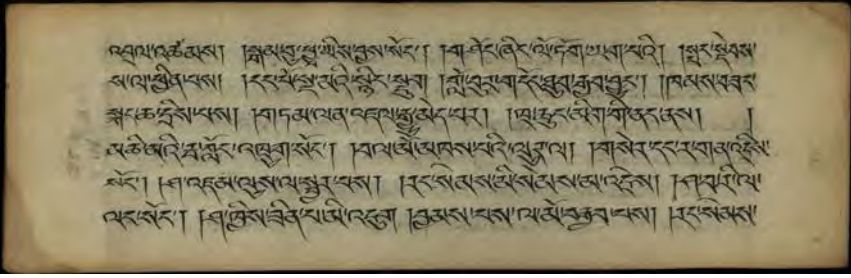
	byung' _ ljon'shing'lo'ma'rgyas'pa'i _ yal'ka'bras'bu'i'rtse'mor _ khu'byug' sngon'po'lding'pa'i	[1]
	gsung'skad'thos'las'snyan'pa _ o'lo'i'chung'dris'byams'pa'i gsung'snyan' de'las'snyan'pa	[2]
	srang'mo'tshe'dbang'bu'khrid _ dran'pa'long'la'dug'go g.ya'dang'spang'la' gnas'pa'i _	[3]
	bya'de'lha'bya'kong'mo _ byis'pa'sems'pa'skyo'bas skyo'ba'i'rog'la'bzhugs' dang' _ mtsho'dang'ngang'...	[4]
	pa'i'bral'tshams _ de'byed'snyam'pa'med'de _ mtsho'mo'khyag'gis'bsdam' nas _ rang'dbang'	[5]
	med'la'gyes'song' _ nga'dang'chung'dris'byams'pa _ 'bral'tsham'byed'don' med'de _	[6]

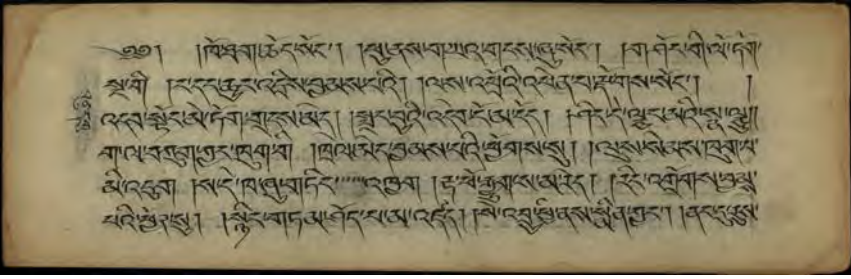


bcu'bdam'	@# _ dbang'chen'dpon'pos'phral'nas _ kha'kha'so'sor'lang'song' _ rta'pas' la'mo'	[1]
	ma'mthong' _ la'mo'mtho'ba'dgra'de _ pha'yul'kha'thag'ring'ba _ sems'pa' yid'kyi'dgra' red	[2]
	byams'pa'byis'la'song'nas mtshan'mo'i'gnyid'thebs'gcog'gi nyin'mo'lag'du' mi'lon	[3]
	yid'thang'chad'rog'yin'pa _ chu'bo'mar'gro'shig'shig yar'gro'yin'na'dga'ba _	[4]
	ya'ki'lang'ra'smug'chung' yab'yum'yin'na'skyid'pa mda'mo'spang'la'zug' pa mda'yi'bdag'	[5]
	pos'btan'gro mi'sems'mi'la'zug'pa _ su'gas'don'rgyu'yin'pa mda'mo' spang'la'phog'song'	[6]

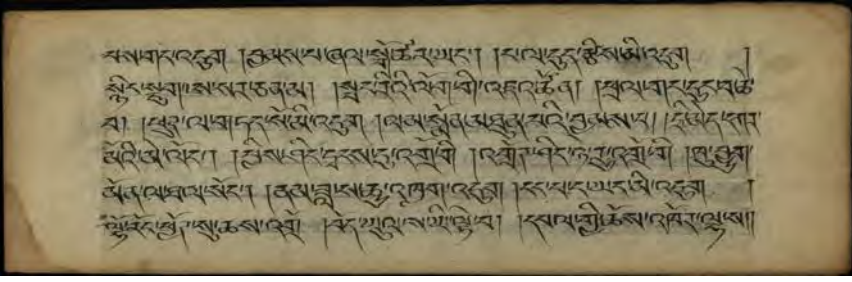
	
	mde'u'shal'du'lus'song' _ chung'dris'byams'pa'phrad'byung' _ sems'nyid' [1] khyod'rjes'brang' song' _ spang'dang'spang'rgyan'bral'ba _ nam'zla'i'dus'tshod'yin'pa _ nga' [2] dang'byams'pa'bral' ba _ tshe'sngon'las'phro'yin'pa _ chu'bo'che'ba'i'sems'nad gru'shan'mnyan' [3] pas'sel' 'gro snying'sdug'shi'ba'i'mya'ngan _ su'yis'sel'rgyu'yin'pa _ shing'de'rtsa' [4] ba'g'cig'la _ rtse'mo'sum'brgya'drug'cu _ nga'yi'a'sar'byams'pa'i _ blo'sna'nyis'stong'lnga' [5] brgya _ pha'ma'i'sdig'pu'drug'dkar dbu'la'rgyag'dgos'bsam'kyang' bu'mo'blo'sna' [6] mang'nas

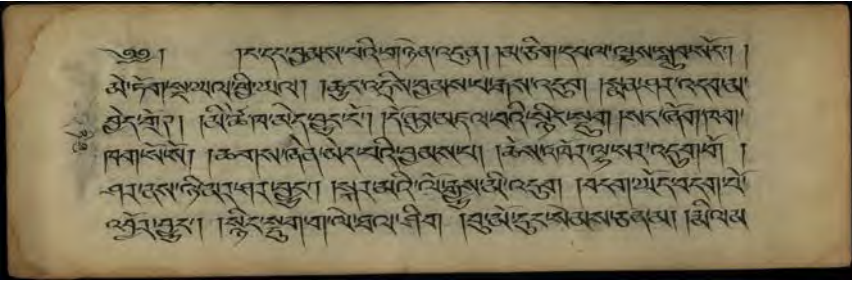
	
bcu'brgyad'	@# _ g.yu'chung'dog'ngos'ma'dod _ rgyal'khams'spyi'lo'nyes'na _ [1] sems'khral'yong'ba' khyag'khyag _ zhing'chung'sger'mo'nyes'pa'i _ sdug'bsngal'thod'la'dug'go [2] drin'can'pha'ma'das' pa'i _ mya'ngan'khur'bas'mi'chog snying'sdug'khog'la'shi'ba'i _ sems'sdug' [3] khog'pa'rul'song' nga'dang'byams'pa'i' {khog'} dres _ shi'gsang'rong'gsang'byas'pas g'tam' [4] gsum'mi'kha'ngan'pa _ bag'chags'ngos'la'lang'song' _ khong'nang'sems'pa'i'gcong'gis _ lus'po'i'sha' [5] yang'skam' song' _ zhim'po'i'bza'btung'skyug'pa _ na'rgyu'i'spu'long'yin'pas _ nga' [6] dang'byams'pa'i'...

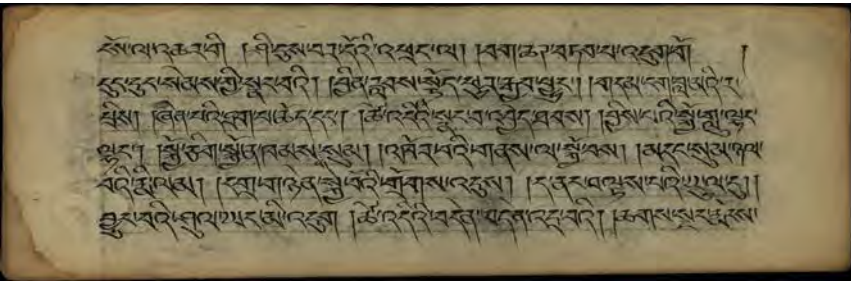
	
	<p>'bral'tshams _ sgam'bu'phywa'yis'byas'song' _ gshong'zhing'lo'tog'yag'pa'i [1] _ spang'sdebs'</p>
	<p>sa'la'phyin'pas _ dang'po'snga'ma'i'snying'sdug_ glo'bur'gdong'thub'rgyab' [2] byung' _ khams'bzang'</p>
	<p>skad'cha'dris'pas _ gtam'lan'jal'rgyu'med'par _ khra'chung'mig'gi'nang'nas [3] _ </p>
	<p>mchi'ma'i'rba'klong'khrug'song' _ bal'mo'mkhas'pa'i'lut'la _ gser'dang'ra' [4] gan'dris'</p>
	<p>song' _ sha'jam'lus'la'sbyar'pas _ rang'sems'mi'sems'ma'dres _ sha'ba'ri' [5] la'</p>
	<p>lang'song' _ sha'khyis'zin'pa'mi'dug_ byams'pas'la'mo'brgyab'pas _ rang' [6] sems'</p>

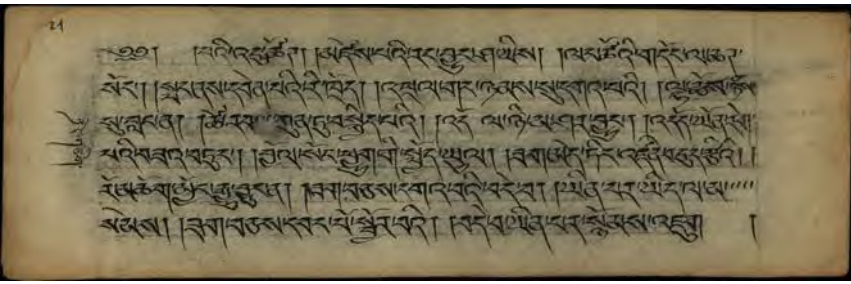
	
	<p>@# _ kho'thag'chod'song' _ phu'nas'g.ya'gangs'zhu'song' _ gshong'gi'lo' [1] tog'</p>
	<p>snga'gi_ nga'dang'chung'dris'byams'pa'i _ las'phro'i'phen'pa'rdzogs'song' [2] _ </p>
	<p>'dab'stong'me'tog'grangs'med _ sprang'bu'i'deb'ngo'ma'dod _ shing'de' [3] lcang'ma'i'sna'lcu </p>
	<p>ga'la'bkug'kyang'khug'gi_ khrel'med'byams'pa'i'phyogs'su _ lus'sems'khug' [4] pa'</p>
	<p>mi'dug_ sa'de'kha'zhu'gting'.....'khyag_ rta'pho'rgyug'sa'ma'red _ ring' [5] 'grogs'byam-s'</p>
	<p>pa'i'phyot'su _ snying'gtam'shod'pa'ma'dzad se'bru'phyi'nas'smin'kyang' [6] _ nang'du'rus'</p>

bcu'dgu

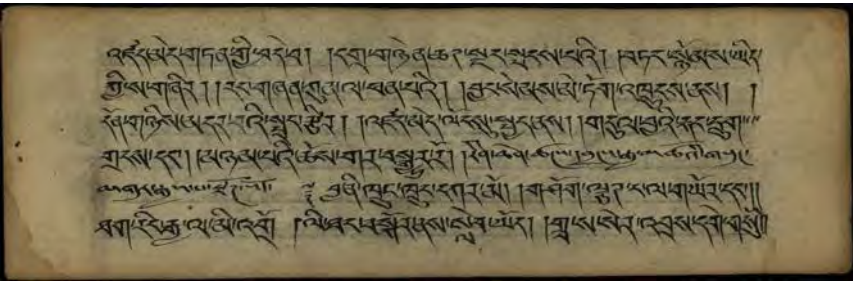
		
	pas'gang'dug_ byams'pa'zhal'sgo'tshar'yang' _ nga'la'dud'rtsis'mi'dug_	[1]
	snying'sdug'a'sar'can'ma _ spang'ri'i'log'gi'ja'tshon _ phral'gang'dung'ba'che'	[2]
	ba _ phut'la'gtad'so'mi'dug_ lam'smon'mthun'pa'i'byams'pa dri'med'dkar'	[3]
	mo'i'me'long' _ phyis'shing'dwang'stu'gro'gi_ 'gro't'shing'nye'ru'gro'gi_	[4]
	khu'byug'	
	mon'la'thal'song' _ nam'zla'sa'chu'khyag'dug_ ngang'pha'nga'yang'mi'dug_	[5]
	lho'rong'phyot'su'chas'gro_ bod'yul'sa'yi'lte'ba _ dpal'gyi'chos'khor'lha'sa	[6]

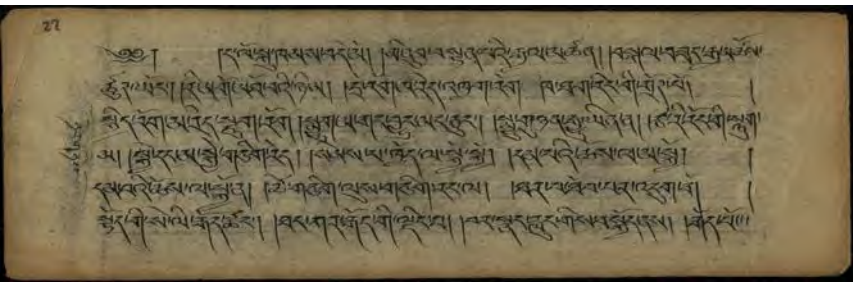
		
ny'i'shu	@# _ nga'dang'byams'pa'i'gnyen'dun ma'cig'dpal'lhas'sgrub'song' _	[1]
	me'tog'snga'yal'phyi'yal _ chung'dris'byams'pa'rgas'dug_ sman'shar'dab'ma'	[2]
	byed'gro't _ mi'tshe'kha'med'byung'ngo' do'nub'mjal'ba'i'snying'sdug sang'zhog'khag'	[3]
	khag'so'so _ chags'zhen'med'pa'i'byams'pa _ chos'khor'lha'sar'dug'go_	[4]
	shar'nas'nyi'mar'shar'byung' _ skar'ma'i'lo'rgyus'mi'dug_ bdag'yod'bdag'po'	[5]
	'byor'byung' _ snying'sdug'ga'le'thal'shig_ bu'mo'dung'sems'can'ma _ rmi+lam	[6]

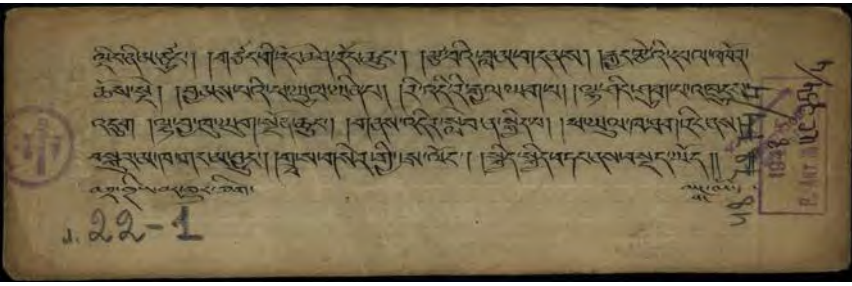
		
	ngos'la'char'gi shi'dus'bar'do'i'phrang'la bag'chat'btap'pa'dug'go	[1]
	dung'dung'sems'kyi'snang'ba'i byin'rlabs'stod'phur'gyab'phyung' gdam'	[2]
	ngag'bla'ma'i'ra' _	
	pris zhen'pa'i'thag'pa'chod'dang' tshe'di'i'snang'ba'byed'thabs' byis'	[3]
	pa'i'skyo'glu'lhang'	
	lhang' skyo'cig'skyo'na'khams' : [g]sum khor'ba'i'gnas'la'skyo'bas	[4]
	mdang'sum'nyal'	
	ba'i'rmi'lam dgra'gnyen'skye'ba'i'gros'dus da'nang'btas'pa'i'yul'du	[5]
	byung'ba'i'shul'yang'mi'dug tshe'di'i'bden'bden'dra'ba'i chags'sngang'	[6]
	rmongs'	

		
	@# pa'i'du'tshot mdzes'pa'i'rang'byung'sha'yis lang'tsho'i'gdong'	[1]
	la'chat' _	
	song' spang'nas'dben'pa'i'ri'khrod phral'gang'nyams'su'dga'pa'i lha'	[2]
	chos'nyams'	
	su'blang'na tshe'rab' kun'tu'bskyid'pa'i o'd-'l'nyi'ma'shar'byung'	[3]
	'dod'yon'reg'	
	pa'i'bza'btung' byol'song'phyug'gi'spyod'yul zag'med'ting'dzin'bdud'	[4]
	rtsi'i	
	ro'mchog'myong'rgyu'byung'na zag'bcas'dga'ba'i'bde'ba yin'par'yid'la'	[5]
	ma' _ _ _	
	sems zag'bcas'dbang'po'sbyor'ba'i bde'ba'yin'par'snyoms'jug' _	[6]

nyer'gci5

		
	<p>'dzad'med'gtan'gyi'bde'ba _ dgra'gnyen'chaṭ'sdang'spangs'pa'i _ btang'snyoms'yid'</p>	[1]
	<p>kyi'sa'gzhir rang'gzhan'kun'la'phan'pa'i _ byang'sems'me'tog'khrungs'nas _ </p>	[2]
	<p>don'gnyis'mdar'ba'i'sprang'rtsir _ 'dzad'med'long-su'spyad'nas gdul'bya'i'rkang'drug'...</p>	[3]
	<p>grangs'dang' mnyam'pa'i'chos'gar'bsgyur'ro rin'chen'tshangs'dbyangs'rgya'mtsho'i'gsung'</p>	[4]
	<p>ngur'rgyas'pa'rdzoṭ'so _&bya'ni'khrung'khrung'dkar'mo gshog'lcaṭ'nga'la'g.yor'dang' </p>	[5]
	<p>thag'ring'rgya'la'mi'gro_ li'thang'bskor'nas'sleb'yod _ grwa'sa'ser'bras'dge'gsuṃ </p>	[6]

		
nyer'gnyis	<p>@# ___ da'lo'sku'khams'bde'mo mi'nub'bstan'pa'i'rgyal'mtshan bskal'bzang'rgya'mtshos'</p>	[1]
	<p>tshuṭ'yong' ri'mgo'mtho'ba'i'nyi'ma _ dro'rog'ma'red'khyag'rog_kha'thag'ring'gi'groṭ'po ___ </p>	[2]
	<p>skyid'rog'ma'red'sdug'rog smyug'ma'gang'byung'mang'cung' _ smyu'gu'nyan'rgyu'yin'na tsa'ri'rong'gi'snyug'</p>	[3]
	<p>ma skye'dang'ma'skye'gcig'red sems'pa'khyod'la'skyo'skyo _ dam'pa'i'chos'la'ma'skyo ___ </p>	[4]
	<p>dam'ba'i'chos'la'skyo'na _ tshe'gcig'lus'gcig'rang'la _ thar'pa'thob'par'dug'go_ </p>	[5]
	<p>stod'gi'se'li'rgod'tshang' _ thang'kar'rgod'gi'lding'ba bar'snang'rlung'gis'bskyod'nas _ rgod'po'...</p>	[6]

	
	lding'ni'ma'tsung' _ gtsang'gi'rong'chen'rong'chung' _ rtsa'ba'i'bla'ma'gdan' sa rgyang'rtse'i'dpal'khor' [1]
	chos'sde _ byams'pa'i'pha'yul'yin'pa ri'di'ri'rgyal'yag'pa lha'shing'shug' pa'khrungs' [2]
	'dug_ lha'bya'khu'yug'sngon'chung' _ gnas'dir'sleb'na'skyid'pa pha'yul' kha'thag'ring'nas [3]
	bskur'ma'kha'gang'ma'byung' grwa'sa'gser'gyi'a'long' skyid'skyid'btang' nas'bsdad'yod _ [4]
	bkra'shis'par'gyur'cig' _____ ma+ngga' [5]
	lam' _ [6]

2. The simplified edition of the text supplied with lists of discrepancies with the other authentic sources and the English translation of the Introduction and the Appendix

Abbreviations

- B Beijing manuscript according to Per Sørensen's edition⁸
 SP1 Tib. 1000, preserved at the IOM RAS
 L Lhasa block print⁹

When two or more syllables in the text of Tib. 2459-2 have discrepancies with the other sources these syllables are italicized.

⁸ In few points it is desirable that this edition be checked against the original manuscript.

⁹ In the edition of Tib. 1000 I missed several songs found in the Lhasa block print. The present edition is filling these unfortunate gaps, see Nos. 6 (L: No. 47), 9 (L: No. 5), 10 (L: No. 6), 39 (L: No. 21), 40 (L: No. 22), 41 (L: No. 23), 99 (L: No. 58), 105 (L: No. 45), 141 (L: No. 32).

[The title]

1a1 @#| |rin chen tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho'i gsung mgur
[rgyas]<rgyal> pa [bzhugs]<rdzogs> so | |

[Introduction]

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| [1] | (1b1) lho phyogs po ta
la nas
'phags pa spyen ras
gzigs kyis
thugs rje brtse pa chen
pos
(1b2) 'gro kun thar par
'dren gi | In the south there is Poṭala from
whence
Holy Avalokita
By [force] of great compassion
and love
Leads all the migrators to the
liberation. |
| [2] | nyi ma nub kyī phyogs
la
chung grogs yid bzhin
nor bu
nga yi blo dang (1b3)
mthun na; ;
yun ring 'grogs na dga'
ba | In the west [where] the sun sets,
[There is] a childhood friend, the
wish-fulfilling gem.
If [her thoughts are] in accord
with my mind,
If a long relationship [is ahead I
will be] glad. |
| [3] | byang phyogs lchang lo
can nas
rgyal chen nam thos
sras (1b4) kyis; ;
'dod dgu'i char chen
phab nas
'gro ba'i dbul ba sel
yongs | In the north there is Alakavati
from whence
The great king Vaiśravaṇa
Pours the great rain of all that is
desired
And dispels [all] poverty of the
migrators. |
| [4] | chu bo ch[e] na 'kh[y]ag
gi
(1b5) zhon gi rta bo nga
med; ;
la mo che na drag gi
ga<la> le ga le lang
'gro | The great river is frozen —
I do not have a riding horse,
The great pass road is solid —
[I will] walk up slowly, slowly. |

- [5] la mo che na 'kh[y]ag gi | The great pass road is frozen —
 'gro ni (1b6) 'ba' zhiḡ There is no single way to go.
 <'bra zig> med tha | | The great river is solid —
 chu bo che na drag gi | The boatman [is] the bodhisattva.
 gru ba byang chub sems
 dpa' | |
- [6] mthon po'i la 'di mi This high mountain pass is not
 (2a1) rgyag; ; overpassed —
 rgyab na pus mo na When [I can] overpass [it, I] will
 yong | | move on [my] knees,
 dma' mo'i chu mig mi [I] have not drunk from a spring
 'thung | | in the lowland —
 'thung na grod (2a2) When [I can] drink [from it, I] will
 khog na yongs | | move on my belly.
- [7] la mo gcig rgyab gnyis One pass having been
 rgyab | | overpassed, another one
 mi yi lung pa<ba> lang overpassed,
 song | | An inhabited valley arises.
 bsam blo gcig (2a3) One thought having been
 btang gnyis btang | | considered, another one
 chos 'khor lha sa thon considered,
 song | | Lhasa, the Wheel of Dharma,
 appears!
- [8] nyi ma shar ba'i sgang Upon the sunrise
 la | | Lhasa, the Wheel of Dharma, is
 chos 'khor (2a4) lha sa joyful;
 skyid pa; ; When there is no whiteness
 dkar po kor kor med around
 na | | There is no reason to the joy.
 skyid<sgyid> rgyu
 gang yang mi 'dug |
- [9] ra mo che (2a5) na Abiding in the Ramoche [Temple]
 bzhugs pa'i | | Lord Akṣobhyavajra¹⁰,
 jo bo mi bskyod rdo Later, when [I] enter the *bardo*
 rje | | state,

¹⁰ The famous statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni that is said to have been brought to Tibet by Princess Bhṛkuṭī in the 7th century.

- phyi ma bar do 'grim Look at me with compassion!
 dus | |
 nga la thugs rjes (2a6)
 gzigs shig |
- [10] stod na gangs ri chags There is a snow mountain
 yod | | evolved above,
 mdo na zhing chung There is a little field attached [to
 btab yod | | it] below.
 (2b1) zhing chung than If the little field suffers from
 pas gdung na | | drought,
 gangs ri<ri'i> thugs rjes May the snow mountain look [at
 gzigs shog | it] with compassion!
- [11] rta sga stod la (2b2) A saddle has been laid upon [a
 'dril<dri la> song | | horse],
 tā lo'i lo ma rgyas The palm tree leaves have grown.
 song | | The fruit, born by the tree, [oh]
 'bras bu'i shing tog a mother,
 mas | | Give [me], please, to delight [my]
 sems pa skyid (2b3) mind!
 rog[s] gnang shog& |

[The songs]

[No. 1]

khu *byug mon*¹ nas *yong bas*² | | nam zla³ sa bcud phebs⁴ song | |
 chung⁵ 'dris⁶ byams (2b4) pa '*phrad pas*⁷ | | lus sems *lhod por langs*⁸
 song | |

B: No. 1; SP1: No. 1; L: No. 46.

¹ L: chug mun; ² B: yong dus, SP1: phebs byung, L: yongs pa'i;
³ B/SP1: zla'i, L: la'i; ⁴ SP1: 'phel; ⁵ L: nga; ⁶ SP1: 'drid, L: dang; ⁷ SP1: phebs
 byung, L: phrad nas; ⁸ B/L: lhod por lang, SP1: bde la bkod.

[No. 2]

shar phyogs ri bo'i rtse nas | | dkar gsal (2b5) zla ba shar byung | |
 ma skye'i¹ a ma'i zhal² ras | | *dung dung dran yod 'dug go*³ |

B: No. 2; SP1: No. 2; L: No. 1.

¹ B/SP1/L: skyes; ² SP1: bzhin; ³ B: dran long la 'dug[g]lo, SP1: dran
 slong gtong mkhan 'dra byung, L: yid la 'khor 'khor byas byung.

[No. 3]

na ning *skyes pa'i¹ ljang* (2b6) *gzhon²* | | da lo sog³ ma'i phon shog⁴ |
 pho gzhon rgas pa'i *lus po⁵* | | *hor gzhu las kyang 'khyog po⁶* | |

B: No. 3; SP1: No. 3; L: No. 2.

¹ L: stabs pas; ² B/L: ljang zhon, SP1: ljangs gzhon; ³ L: sogs; ⁴ B: chog, SP1: thag, L: lcog; ⁵ SP1: mi pho; ⁶ B: hor gzhu las skyo ba, SP1: hor gyi gzhu las 'khyogs song, L: lho gzhu las gyong ba'i.

[No. 4]

(3a1) me tog *yal pa'i¹ nag po* | | *thu lu² sa³ la bltas pas⁴* | |
 a ce⁵ *rgan mo'i bu mo⁶* | | (3a2) *dman shar bu mo los byed⁷* | |

B: No. 4; SP1: No. 4; L: —.

¹ B: yal ba'i, SP1: rgas pa'i; ² B: thu lu nag po, SP1: thul lo'i nag po; ³ B: [de], SP1: khyod; ⁴ SP1: ltas na; ⁵ B/SP1: lce; ⁶ B: rgan mos sman shar, SP1: bu mo nga tsho; ⁷ B: bu mo [de] yang los byas, SP1: na so rgas pa 'phams song.

[No. 5]

tshe 'di'i¹ bya byed² rnam grangs | | chu la³ *ri mo bris pa⁴* | |
 ri⁵ mo zad⁶ (3a3) pa med pa'i; cha⁷ lugs 'di⁸ la gzigs dang | |

B: No. 5; SP1: No. 5; L: —.

¹ B: 'di; ² SP1: byes; ³ B: [yi], SP1: yi; ⁴ B/SP1: nang gi ri (SP1: ris) mo; ⁵ SP1: ris; ⁶ SP1: zag; ⁷ SP1: 'char; ⁸ B: [de].

[No. 6]

mi rtag¹ 'chi ba² *yong rgyu³* | | snying nas⁴ ma *dran zer⁵* na | |
 (3a4) *smra mkhas⁶ spyang grung⁷* 'dzoms⁸ kyang⁹ | | don la¹⁰ lkug¹¹
 pa *dang 'dra¹²* | |

B: No. 6; SP1: No. 6; L: No. 47.

¹ L: btags; ² SP1: ba'i; ³ B/L: —, SP1: 'jig chen; ⁴ SP1: la; ⁵ B: dran dang zer, L: drem; ⁶ B/L: —, SP1: mi lus; ⁷ B/L: lcang drung; ⁸ B/SP1: 'dzom; ⁹ SP1: yang; ¹⁰ SP1: du; ¹¹ L: bkug; ¹² B/L: dang 'dra byung; SP1: yin no.

[No. 7]

rang sems¹ *zug pa'i²* mi de | | (3a5) gtan³ gyi mdun mar byung na | |
 rgya mtsho'i gting nas⁴ nor bu | | *lon 'dra'i dga' pa 'dug go⁵* | |

B: No. 7; SP1: No. 7; L: No. 3.

¹ SP1: blur; ² SP1: babs pa'i, L: song ba'i; ³ L: stan; ⁴ SP1: gi; ⁵ B/L: lon pa dang 'dra (L: mnyam) byung, SP1: lag tu lon pa 'dra byung.

[No. 8]

'gro shor¹ (3a6) am² bu'i snying sdug³ | lus dri⁴ zhim po'i⁵ bu mo | |

g.yu chung *grug mar*⁶ *rnyed na*⁷ | | *bsgyur nas stor* (3b1) *pa*⁸ 'dra
byung; ;

B: No. 8; SP1: —; L: No. 4.

¹ B/L: zhor; ² B/L: lam; ³ L: thub; ⁴ L: drid; ⁵ B/L: pa'i; ⁶ B/L: gru dkar;

⁷ B: rnyes nas, L: snyed nas; ⁸ B/L: skyur ba dang.

[No. 9]

mi ch[e]n dpon po'i bu¹ mo | | kha² 'bras mtshar³ la bltas⁴ na | |
kham sdong mthon (3b2) po'i rtse nas⁵ | | 'bras bu smin dang⁶ 'dra
byung | |

B: —; SP1: No. 8; L: No. 5.

¹ L: sras; ² L: kham; ³ L: +lugs; ⁴ SP1/L: ltas; ⁵ SP1: la; ⁶ SP1: pa, L: pa

dang.

[No. 10]

sems pa phar la shor kyang¹ | | mtshan mo² gnyid³ (3b3) *thebs gcog*
*gi*⁴ | |

nyon⁵ mo⁶ lag du⁷ *ma yong*⁸ | | yid thang chad grogs⁹ yin pas¹⁰ | |

B: No. 9; SP1: No. 9; L: No. 6.

¹ SP1: ba, L: nas; ² B/L: mo'i, SP1: mor; ³ L: snyid; ⁴ B: theb cog gis,
SP1: thebs bcog gi, L: thebs gcog gis; ⁵ B/SP1/L: nyin; ⁶ SP1: mor; ⁷ B/SP1/L:
tu; ⁸ B/SP1: mi lon, L: ma lon; ⁹ B: rog, SP1/L: rogs; ¹⁰ B: pa, SP1: pa'i, L: bas.

[No. 11]

me tog nam (3b4) zla¹ yal song² | | g.yu sbrang sems pa ma skyo³ | |
byams pa'i las 'phro⁴ zad par⁵ | | nga rang⁶ skyo⁷ rgyu mi (3b5) 'dug; ;

B: No. 10; SP1: No. 10; L: No. 7.

¹ SP1: zlas; ² SP1: nas; ³ SP1: skyod; ⁴ SP1: 'gro; ⁵ B: pa; ⁶ B/L: ni, SP1:
yang; ⁷ SP1: skyod.

[No. 12]

rtsi thog *pad ma*¹ 'kha la | | skyi² ser rlung gi³ pho⁴ nya | |
me⁵ tog sbrang ma⁶ gnyis kyi⁷ | | (3b6) 'bral 'tshams⁸ 'by[e]d⁹ mkhan
*los yin*¹⁰ | |

B: No. 11; SP1: No. 11; L: No. 8.

¹ B/SP1/L: ba mo'i; ² B/L: rkyang, SP1: gyang; ³ SP1: po'i, L: gis; ⁴ L:
po (sic); ⁵ L: ma (sic); ⁶ SP1/L: bu; ⁷ SP1: la; ⁸ B/SP1: mtshams; ⁹ B/L: byed,
SP1: gtong; ¹⁰ SP1: min nam.

[No. 13]

ngang *mo 'dam la chags*¹ nas | | re zhig sdong² dgos (4a1) bsam³
kyang; ;
mtsho mo 'khyag⁴ *gis bsdam*⁵ nas | | *ngang mo*⁶ kho thag chod
song | |

B: No. 12; SP1: No. 12; L: No. 9.

¹ B: mo 'dam la chag, SP1: pas mtsho mo bsam, L: pa 'dam la chags;

² B: sdod, SP1: sdad; ³ L: bsams; ⁴ B: khyag, L: dar; ⁵ B/SP1: pas bsams, L: kha bsgrigs; ⁶ B: re zhig, SP1/L: rang sems.

[No. 14]

(4a2) gru shing¹ bsam² pa med kyang | | rta mgos³ phyi⁴ mig bltas⁵
song⁶ | |
khrel gzhung med pa'i byams (4a3) pas⁷; nga la *phyi mig*⁸ *ma ltas*⁹ | |
B: No. 13; SP1: No. 13; L: No. 10.
¹ B/SP1/L: shan; ² B: SP1/L: sems; ³ SP1: mgo'i; ⁴ SP1: phyir; ⁵ B/SP1:
blta, L: ltas; ⁶ B: gis, SP1: gi, L: byung; ⁷ SP1: pa'i; ⁸ SP1: phyir ltas; ⁹ B/L: mi
blta (L: lta), SP1: ma byung.

[No. 15]

*chung 'dris a ce'i bu mo*¹ | | tshig gsum *mdud pa'i dam* (4a4) *bca*²; ;
phra³ mo'i⁴ sbrul⁵ la ma rgyag⁶ | *rang rang sa la*⁷ grol yong⁸ | |
B: No. 14; SP1: No. 14; L: No. 11.
¹ B/SP1/L: nga dang tshong 'dus bu mo (SP1: a lce, L: bu mo'i); ² B:
dam pa'i 'dud pa, SP1: dam bca' mdud pa, L: dam bca'i 'dud pa; ³ B/SP1/L:
khra; ⁴ SP1: bo, L: bo'i; ⁵ L: 'grul; ⁶ L: rgyab; ⁷ B: rang sa la, SP1: mdud pa rang
sar; ⁸ B/SP1/L: song.

[No. 16]

nga dang chung 'dris byams pa'i | | (4a5) tshig gsum mdud pa'i dam
bca' | |
sra pa'i dar dka:(r)mdud pa | | grol mkhan mi po su yin | |
B/SP1/L: —.

[No. 17]

(4a6) chung 'dris¹ byams pa'i² klung³ bskyed⁴ | | *lcang ma'i*⁵ logs⁶
su⁷ btsugs⁸ yod | |
lcang srung⁹ *zhal* (4b1) *ngo*¹⁰ *pa shes*¹¹; ; rdo¹² kha¹³ rgyag¹⁴ pa ma
gnang | |
B: No. 15; SP1: No. 15; L: No. 12.
¹ SP1: 'drid, L: 'bris; ² SP1: pas; ³ B/SP1/L: rlung; ⁴ B/SP1: skyed; ⁵ B:
skye legs; ⁶ B/SP1: log; ⁷ B: nas, SP1/L: la; ⁸ B: gtsug, SP1: btsug; ⁹ SP1: bsrung;

¹⁰ L: a jo; ¹¹ B: dba' shes, SP1: og shes, L: zha ngos; ¹² B: sdong; ¹³ L: ka; ¹⁴ SP1: brgyab.

[No. 18]

<khris pa'i yi ge nag chung | | >¹bris pa'i² yi ge nag chung | | (4b2)
chu dang thug³ pas 'jig 'gro⁴ | |
ma bris sems ky⁵ ri⁶ mo | | bsub⁷ kyang sub pa⁸ mi 'dug |

B: No. 16; SP1: No. 16; L: No. 13.

¹ Apparently, a wrong repetition of the first verse; ² L: pas; ³ B/SP1/L: thig; ⁴ SP1: brdzes yod, L: 'jig song; ⁵ L: kyis; ⁶ SP1: ris; ⁷ B: bsub, L: sub; ⁸ B: zubs (zub sa?), SP1: zub sa, L: zub rgyu.

[No. 19]

(4b3) brgyab¹ pa'i² rnag³ chung the'us⁴ | | gsung skad 'byon⁵ ni mi
shes | |
khrel dang gzhung gi the'u⁶ | | (4b4) so so'i sems la rgyob⁷ dang | |

B: No. 17; SP1: No. 17; L: No. 14.

¹ B/SP1/L: rgyab; ² L: pas; ³ B/SP1/L: nag; ⁴ SP1: the'us; ⁵ SP1: 'byin;
⁶ B: the'us; ⁷ L: skyon.

[No. 20]

stong¹ ldan ha lo'i me tog | | lha khang nang la 'bul² na | |
(4b5) g.yu sprang³ gzhon nu nga yang⁴ | | lha khang nang⁵ la khrid⁶
mdzod⁷ | |

B: No. 18; SP1: No. 18; L: No. 15.

¹ B/L: stobs; ² B: mchod khang la thad, SP1: mchod pa'i gral la thegs, L: mchod rdzas la phebs; ³ B/SP1/L: sbrang; ⁴ SP1: nga yang mi sdod; ⁵ B/L: —; ⁶ SP1: 'khrid; ⁷ SP1/L: dang.

[No. 21]

sems song bu mo¹ mi bzhu²gs | | (4b6) dam pa'i² lha chos 'thad³ na | |
pho gzhon⁴ nga yang mi sdod | | dben pa'i⁵ ri la deng⁶ 'gro | |

B: No. 19; SP1: No. 19; L: No. 16.

¹ L: —; ² L: lta; ³ B: chos la thad, SP1: chos la thegs, L: chos la phebs;
⁴ SP1: byams pa; ⁵ L: —; ⁶ B: khrod la btang, SP1: khrod 'grims, L: la theg.

[No. 22]

(5a1) mtshan ldan bla¹ ma'i drung du | | ²
sems la sgom ras ma brtan³ | | byams pa'i rjes⁴ la (5a2) shor⁵ song; ;

B: No. 20^{1<2>34}; SP1: No. 20^{1<2>34}; L: No. 17.

¹ SP1: [bla]; ² A missing line: B/L: sems khrid (L: 'khrid) zu bar phyin pas, SP1: sems khrid zhu la phyin pa'i; ³ B: la sgom pas ma thub, SP1: nyid bsgor bas ma thub, L: pa sgor kyang mi thub; ⁴ L: phyogs; ⁵ B: langs.

[No. 23]

sgom pa¹ bla ma'i zhal ras | | sems² la 'char³ rgyu mi 'dug⁴ |
ma sgom⁵ byams (5a3) pa'i zhal⁶ ras; ;yid⁷ la 'a le 'o le⁸ | |

B: No. 21; SP1: No. 21; L: No. 18.

¹ B: bsgom pa, SP1: dgos pa'i; ² B/SP1/L: yid; ³ L: char; ⁴ SP1: med par; ⁵ SP1: mi dgos; ⁶ SP1: bzhin; ⁷ SP1: sems; ⁸ B: 'a le 'u le, SP1: wal le wal le, L: wa le wa le.

[No. 24]

chung 'driś byams pa mi bzhugs¹ | | ri khrod sku 'tshams (5a4)
bzhugs² na; ;

gzhon pa'i sa khang³ sa gzhi⁴ | | chos rgyag mkhan la⁵ phul chog |

B: No. 22; SP1: No. 22; L: —.

¹ B: chung 'gris byams pa ri khrod, SP1: snying sdug chung 'drid byams pa; ² B: sku mtshams [de] la thad, SP1: ri khrod bsgrub par bzhugs; ³ B: gang; ⁴ B: gzhis; ⁵ B: [de] la, SP1: rten du.

[No. 25]

nga dang snying (5a5) sdug¹ 'phrad² pa³; ;lho⁴ rang⁵ ljon⁶ pa'i nags
gseb⁷ | |

smra⁸ mkhas⁹ n[e] tso¹⁰ pa zhes¹¹ | | gsang sgo (5a6) brdol ba¹² ma
gnang¹³; ;

B: No. 23; SP1: No. 23; L: No. 50^{abCDef}.

¹ L: byams pa'i; ² B: phrad, L: sdebs; ³ L: —; ⁴ L: lhos (perhaps, the letter *sa* had to be carved before *lho* to compose the word *sdebs sa* and complete the first verse that misses one syllable in L); ⁵ B/L/SP1: rong; ⁶ L: mun; ⁷ L: nal bseb; ⁸ L: smas; ⁹ B/SP1/L: mkhan; ¹⁰ L: nes dzo; ¹¹ B: a shes, SP1: og shes, L: logs shes; ¹² B/SP1: gsang sgo rtol ba, L: gsung kha mdo la; ¹³ L: shes.

[No. 26]

tshig gsum¹ snying gdam shong² ba³ | | ne'u sing⁴ lchang ma'i⁵ sbug
skyog⁶ | |

bye'u⁷ (5b1) 'jol mo ma gtogs⁸ | | su dang gang gis ma shes⁹ | |

B: No. 24; SP1: No. 24; L: —.

¹ SP1: gdam; ² B: bshos, SP1: bshod; ³ B/SP1: sa; ⁴ B: ne'u [g]sing, SP1: ne seng; ⁵ B/SP1: ra'i; ⁶ SP1: khul skyogs; ⁷ B/SP1: byi'u; ⁸ B: rtogs; ⁹ B: dang gang gis mi shes, SP1: yi shes pa med do.

[No. 27]

snying sdug¹ bya rdo la² 'phrad | | *a ma* (5b2) *chang mas sbyar*
*byung*³ | |

lan chags *phrug gu*⁴ byung na | | 'tsho⁵ skyong *khyed ras gnang*
*zhu*⁶ | |

B: No. 25; SP1: No. 25; L: No. 28.

¹ L: thub; ² B/SP1/L: lam; ³ SP1: chang ma'i nang du byas song; ⁴ B: phru gu, L: bu lon; ⁵ B: gso, SP1: bsos; ⁵ B: khye ras snang zhu, SP1: su yis mdzad dam.

[No. 28]

zhag (5b3) gcig 'gyangs pa'i¹ snying sdug | srod la 'jom pa² gnang
*zhu*³ | |

tho reng⁴ nam zla deng⁵ dus | | (5b4) 'bral 'tshams sleb pa yin no⁶ | |

B: No. 26; SP1: No. 26; L: —.

¹ B: brkyangs pa'i, SP1: skyang ba'i; ² B: 'ja' ba, SP1: mja' ba; ³ SP1: ma gto; ⁴ B/SP1: rangs; ⁵ B: btang, SP1: gtang; ⁶ B: 'bral mtshams byed pa los yin, SP1: kha cags so sor gyel song.

[No. 29]

snying gtam *pha mar*¹ ma bshad | | chung 'dis² byams (5b5) par
bshad pas | |

byams pa³ *zhal sgo yangs pas*⁴ | | snying⁵ gtam dgra bos thos⁶
song | |

B: No. 27; SP1: No. 27; L: No. 29.

¹ B: gzhan la; ² B: 'dris, SP1: 'drid, L: 'br[i]s; ³ SP1: par; ⁴ B/SP1/L: shar (L: sha) pho mang nas (SP1: ba'i); ⁵ SP1: gsang, L: bsang; ⁶ B/SP1/L: go.

[No. 30]

(5b6) snying sdug¹ yid 'phrog² *lha mo*³ | | sngon⁴ pa nga *ras zin*
*kyang*⁵ | |

dbang chen mi yi⁶ dpon po | | (6a1) nor bzang rgya⁷ *mis 'phrogs*⁸
song | |

B: No. 28; SP1: No. 28; L: No. 30.

¹ L: thub; ² SP1: 'phrogs; ³ SP1: mdzes ma; ⁴ B/L: rngon, SP1: rngan; ⁵ SP1: yis 'dzin yang; ⁶ L: yis; ⁷ SP1: brgya; ⁸ B/L: lus 'phrog, SP1: lus bzhes.

[No. 31]

nor bu *lag tu yod*¹ dus | | nor bu'i nor nyams (6a2) ma chod²; ;

nor bu mi la³ shor dus⁴ | | snying rlung stod la 'tsha[ng]⁵ byung⁶ | |

B: No. 29; SP1: No. 29; L: No. 31.

¹ B: lag nas yong, SP1: rang lag yod, L: rang la yod; ² SP1: shes; ³ SP1: lag; ⁴ SP1: nas; ⁵ B/L: tshang, SP1: 'tshangs; ⁶ B/SP1: song.

[No. 32]

me tog shar nas yal (6a3) song; ;byams pa 'grogs¹ nas rgas song | |
bung ba² ser³ chung sbrang bu'⁴ | | blo thag de kas⁵ (6a4) chod song; ;

B: No. 30; SP1: No. 30; L: —.

¹ B: 'grog[s]; ² B/SP1: nga dang; ³ B: [g]ser, SP1: gser; ⁴ B: byung bung ba'i; ⁵ B: khas, SP1: kha'i.

[No. 33]

sha tsha zhen pa *che na*¹ | | 'khor ba'i phyi² thag yin pa³ | |
ma byams⁴ sman⁵ shar (6a5) bu mos⁶; ;khrel gzhung mi 'dug gsung
gis | |

B: No. 31; SP1: No. 31; L: —.

¹ B: ches nas; ² B: then, SP1: 'then; ³ SP1: pa'i; ⁴ B/SP1: byas; ⁵ B: dman, SP1: rmin; ⁶ SP1: mo'i.

[No. 34]

me tog yal ba'i 'dab¹ ma | | a gsar² zad (6a6) pa'i³ snying sdug | |
'dzum dang⁴ so dkar *bstan kyang*⁵ | | sems la dga' tshor⁶ mi 'dug | |

B: No. 32; SP1: No. 32; L: —.

¹ SP1: 'dabs; ² B: [g]sar; ³ SP1: che ba'i; ³ B: [m]dang[s]; ⁴ SP1: ston yang; ⁵ SP1: tsho[r].

[No. 35]

(6b1) pha mas¹ bcol ba'i 'dun² mas | | mi yong zhu rgyu *mi 'dug*³ | |
rang sems *phra mo chung 'dri*⁴ | | (6b2) byams pa'i rjes la lang⁵
song | |

B: No. 33; SP1: No. 33; L: —.

¹ SP1: ma'i; ² B/SP1: mdun, ³ B/SP1: med kyang; ⁴ SP1: dri med 'gro phyogs; ⁵ B: lang[s], SP1: shor.

[No. 36]

sems *pa 'di la*¹ 'gro 'gro² | | dam pa'i chos la song³ na | |
(6b3) tshe gcig lus gcig rang⁴ la | | sangs rgyas thob par⁵ 'dug go | |

B: No. 34; SP1: No. 34; L: No. 19.

¹ SP1: nyid dri med; ² SP1: phyogs; ³ SP1: 'gro, L: phyin; ⁴ SP1: 'di, L: nyid; ⁵ B/SP1/L: pa.

[No. 37]

kham¹ bu za rgyu med pa'i² | | kham³ sdong (6b4) 'bras bu'i⁴ nyil
nyil⁵ | |
snying sdug grogs⁶ rgyu med pa'i⁷ | | gtam gsum mi kha'i *rdzag*
*rdzag*⁸ |

B: No. 35; SP1: No. 35; L: —.

¹ SP1: khams; ² SP1: par; ³ SP1: khams; ⁴ SP1: bu; ⁵ B: nil nil (?); ⁶ B:
'grig, SP1: sdebs; ⁷ SP1: par; ⁸ SP1: rdzong chen.

[No. 38]

(6b5) do nub *tā kis*¹ bzi² song | | gnas mo'i³ phag⁴ la nyal chog |
sang zhog⁵ 'gro ba'i nam tshod | | (6b6) bya pho tshal⁶ bus⁷ gnas⁸
yong | |

B: No. 36; SP1: No. 36; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: ra yang; ² B: gzi; ³ SP1: mo; ⁴ B: phrag, SP1: nang; ⁵ B: zhog[s],
SP1: zhogs; ⁶ B: [m]tsha['], SP1: tsha; ⁷ B/SP1: lus; ⁸ B: gnang, SP1: byed.

[No. 39]

klung¹ rta yar 'gro'i *dus su*² | | klung³ bskyed⁴ dar lcog btsugs⁵ (7a1)
yod⁶; ;
mdzod⁷ ma ma bzang⁸ bu mo⁹ | | *ma mgron yol bos byung song*¹⁰ | |

B: No. 37; SP1: No. 37; L: No. 21.

¹ B/SP1/L: rlung; ² B: thog la, SP1: steng la, L: dus la; ³ B/SP1/L:
rlung; ⁴ SP1: skyed; ⁵ B: gtsug, L: rtsugs; ⁶ L: pas; ⁷ B/SP1/L: 'dzang; ⁸ B: sangs;
⁹ B: mo'i; ¹⁰ B/L: mgron (L: 'gron) po la bos byung, SP1: nyin mtshan 'khyong
nas sdebs chog.

[No. 40]

so dkar (7a2) lpags¹ pa'i mjum² mdangs | | bzhugs gral³ spyi lam⁴
*bltas na*⁵ | |
mig zur *phra mos 'dril 'tshams*⁶ | | (7a3) gzhon pa'i gdong la *bltas*
*song*⁷ | |

B: No. 38; SP1: No. 38; L: No. 22.

¹ SP1: gzigs; ² B/SP1/L: 'dzum; ³ L: bral; ⁴ B/SP1/L: la; ⁵ B: bstan
kyang, SP1: ston nas; ⁶ B: phra mo'i sgril mtshams, SP1: khra mo'i bsgrigs
mtshams, L: khra mo'i sgril mtshams; ⁷ B: blta gis, SP1: byas byung, L: bltas
byung.

[No. 41]

ha cang¹ sems pa² 'phrogs³ nas | | *'grogs 'dris*⁴ e yong (7a4) *bltas*⁵
nas⁶; ;

shi⁷ bral byed⁸ na *ma gtogs*⁹ | | gson¹⁰ bral mi thub¹¹ gsung¹² gi¹³ | |

B: No. 39; SP1: No. 39; L: No. 23.

¹ B: can (?); ² B/SP1/L: la; ³ B: 'phros, SP1: 'phrod; ⁴ B: 'grog 'dris, SP1: 'grog 'drid, L: 'grog 'bris; ⁵ L: bris; ⁶ B: pas, SP1: pa'i, L: bas; ⁷ L: 'chi; ⁸ SP1: byung; ⁹ B: ma rtogs, SP1: ma gtog, L: min pa; ¹⁰ L: bson; ¹¹ SP1: yong, L: byed; ¹² L: gsungs; ¹³ B: gis, SP1/L: byung.

[No. 42]

mdzang¹ ma'i (7a5) sems² dang bstun na | | tshe 'di'i³ chos skal chad 'gro | |

dben pa'i ro⁴ khrod⁵ 'grim⁶ na | | (7a6) bu mo'i thugs dang 'gal⁷ 'gro | |

B: No. 40; SP1: No. 40; L: No. 24.

¹ B/SP1/L: 'dzang; ² L: thugs; ³ B/L: 'di, SP1: 'dir; ⁴ B/SP1/L: ri; ⁵ SP1: khro[d]; ⁶ SP1: 'grims; ⁷ L: 'ga'.

[No. 43]

sprang¹ bu rgya² la chud³ 'dra | | kong phrug⁴ gzhon pa'i *blo na*⁵ | | (7b1) zhag⁶ gsum nyal rog byas nas⁷ | | phugs⁸ gi⁹ lha chos 'dod gi¹⁰ | |

B: No. 41; SP1: No. 41; L: No. 25.

¹ B/SP1/L: sbrang; ² B/L: brgya; ³ B: zin, SP1: chung, L: bcug; ⁴ B: 'phrug; ⁵ B/SP1: sems pa, L: blo sna; ⁶ SP1: the end of the song is missing; ⁷ B: na, L: pa'i; ⁸ B: phug; ⁹ B/L: yul; ¹⁰ B: 'dod gis, L: dran byung.

[No. 44]

sman¹ shar skye 'bras mtshar ma² | | (7b2) ja chang 'dod yon 'dzom³ yang⁴ | |

shi nas lha lus blangs kyang | | 'di las dga' theb⁵ mi (7b3) 'dug |

B: No. 42; SP1: No. <42> (?); L: —.

[All: B] ¹ dman; ² la; ³ 'dzom[s]; ⁴ pa; ⁵ nges.

[No. 45]

bu mor¹ 'chi ba med na | | chang la 'dzad² pa mi 'dug |

gzhon pa'i *gtan gyi*³ (7b4) skyabs gnas; ;'di la bcol nas⁴ los chog |

B: No. 43; SP1: No. <43> (?); L: 34.

¹ B: mo; ² B/L: mdzad; ³ L: bstan gyis; ⁴ B/L: bas.

[No. 46]

¹skyes *pa 'chi*² bas mi³ chog | | 'dus pa⁴ (7b5) 'bral rgyu yin na⁵ | |

shi nas bar do'i 'phrang⁶ la⁷ | | sems pa'i⁸ *skyo rog yin pa*⁹ | |

B: No. 44; SP1: No. 44; L: —.

¹ SP1: the first verse and the first syllable (or two syllables) of the second one are missing; ² B: nas shi; ³ B: ma; ⁴ B: mdun ma; ⁵ SP1: ma bsgrigs rgyu yin; ⁶ B: [ʼ]phrang, SP1: phrang; ⁷ SP1: du; ⁸ B/SP1: pa; ⁹ SP1: skyod las mi 'dug, B = SP2 but: rog[s].

[No. 47]

bdud rtasing¹ (7b6) sman gyi² phab³ rgyun | | chang ma ye shes mkha'
'gro | |
dam tshig gtsang mas⁴ btung⁵ na⁶ | | (8a1) ngan song myong⁷ dgos
*mi 'dug*⁸ |
gzhon pa'i tshe gang bsags pa'i | | sdig (8a2) grib⁹ *zhor la dag*
*'gro*¹⁰ | |

B: No. 45^{c-h}; SP1: No. 45^{c-h}; L: No. 20^{defXX}. B/SP1/L has two additional verses (one distich) at the beginning, L does not have the last two verses (the final distich), while in SP1 these verses belong to No. 46; in B and SP2 they are repeated twice — here and below, see No. 68.

¹ B/SP1/L: rtsi; ² B/L: gyis; ³ SP1: chab; ⁴ B: nas; ⁵ B: gtung, L: bstung; ⁶ SP1: nas; ⁷ L: myang; ⁸ SP1: med do; ⁹ B/SP1: sgrib; ¹⁰ SP1: nyes pa'i phung po.

[No. 48]

byams pa tshar¹ ba'i kha² la | | *pad tshal*³ brtse gdung⁴ che bas⁵ | |
da lo⁶ (8a3) ri khrod 'grim pa'i | | 'gyangs cha zhu dgos byung ngo | |
B: No. 46; SP1/L: —.
[All: B] ¹ mtshar; ² sgang; ³ ba[r] tshang; ⁴ [g]dung; ⁵ nas; ⁶ lam.

[No. 49]

'dzum¹ dang² so dkar *bstan kyang*³ | | (8a4) gzhon pa'i blo khrid yin
pas⁴ | |
snying nas sha tsha yod med | | dbu mna'⁵ skyel⁶ *ba e yod*⁷ | |

B: No. 47; SP1: —; L: No. 27.

¹ L: mdzum; ² B: dkar; ³ L: stan chog; ⁴ B: pa, L: 'dug; ⁵ B/L: sna; ⁶ B: 'pher, L: zhes; ⁷ L: rogs gnang dang.

[No. 50]

(8a5) dro¹ *'jam mal sa'i*² nang gi³ | snying sdug⁴ gdung⁵ sems can
ma | |

o lo'i⁶ rgyu nor len⁷ pa'i | | (8a6) g.yo rgyu⁸ byas⁹ pa *min nam*¹⁰ | |

B: No. 48; SP1: —; L: No. 55.

¹ B: gro, L: sha; ² L: 'byams nya zas; ³ L: gis; ⁴ L: thub(?); ⁵ B/L: dung; ⁶ L: los; ⁷ L: 'phrog; ⁸ B: sgyu; ⁹ L: bshad; ¹⁰ L: man 'grogs.

[No. 51]

*cha gsngang*¹ ser snas bsags pa'i | 'dod don² sgyu ma'i nor rdzas | |
 (8b1) chung 'dris byams pa byung dus | | ser sna'i mdud pa grol
 song | |

B: No. 49; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ chags sdang; ² yon.

[No. 52]

gton¹ grogs khyod² la sems³ (8b2) pa'i; ;khrel dang ngo tsha med na | |
 mgo la rgyab pa'i gtsug pus⁴ | | skad cha smra⁵ ni mi shes | |

B: No. 50; SP1: —; L: No. 26.

¹ B: gtan, L: bstan; ² B: khyed, L: khyad; ³ B: bsam, L: bsams; ⁴ B/L:
 g.yus; ⁵ L: smas.

[No. 53]

(8b3) *shar po nyi skor sum skor*¹ | | tshong 'dus a lce dman shar | |
 dbu mna'² skyel ba ma mdzad | | (8b4) nga ni gtan grogs mi byed | |

B: No. 51; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ sh[w]a pho nyin 'khor mtshan 'khor; ² sna.

[No. 54]

rta pho skyon tshong rgyag 'dod | | zhag gsum grod pa bzhag (8b5)
 grab;;

B/SP1/L: —.

[No. 55]

sman¹ shar e brin² bsams³ nas | | gdong ba⁴ 'o mas *bkrus pa*⁵ | |
 sngon chad (8b6) khyo ga⁶ mod⁷ pa'i | | lo rgyus gsung ba mkhas
 kyang | |

lus la mdze⁸ dri kha ba | | ga tsug (9a1) byas nas byung ba | |

B: No. 52; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ dman; ² drin; ³ bsam; ⁴ pa; ⁵ [']khru[s] gis; ⁶ ka; ⁷ med;
⁸ [m]dze.

[No. 56]

sdom med gra¹ pa'i cha lugs | | btsun mdog gzhan (9a2) las kha pa²; ;
 bdag yod a ma 'tshar mor | | rdzu ba ci las che bas | |

B: No. 53^{abXX}; SP1/L: —. B has six verses of which the first two
 correspond with this No. while the other four correspond with the next one.

[All: B] ¹ grwa; ² bas.

[No. 57]

ma byas (9a3) mi kha sdang ba; ;nga dang pho rog nag chung | |
 byas kyang mi kha mi 'dug | khang¹ dang rgya² (9a4) khra hor pa; ;

B: No. 53^{c-f}; SP1/L: —. On B see the previous No.

[All: B] ¹ khong; ² skya.

[No. 58]

khang pa rcig¹ rgyab² srab la | | grong pa tsha³ las rgod⁴ pa | |
 bu mo bad⁵ (9a5) tshang can ma | | *ngus su*⁶ rgyag pa ma gngang | |

B: No. 54; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ rtsig; ² sha; ³ chad; ⁴ dgos; ⁵ ba[r]; ⁶ ngu zug.

[No. 59]

than pa rgyab pa'i *zhing chung*¹ | | *zim* (9a6) *zim*² char ba'i³ mi
 spang⁴ | |

*mi rgan*⁵ 'dod chags⁶ can ma⁷ | | spyad⁸ pas tshim pa⁹ mi gdug¹⁰ | |

B: No. 55; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ bye thang; ² sim sim; ³ pas; ⁴ ngom[s]; ⁵ mos skom; ⁶ pa;
⁷ mar; ⁸ dpyad; ⁹ dus; ¹⁰ 'dug.

[No. 60]

(9b1) <'dod chags spang pas mi spong | | sems la phur bu btab
 btags | | >¹

(9b2) 'dod chags spang pas mi spong | | sems la phur bu btab btags | |
 'dod chags (9b3) spyad² pa'i³ mi 'dzad⁴ | | mi tshe hril po⁵ lang⁶
 song | |

B: No. 56^{XXab}; SP1/L: —. B has six verses of which the first two correspond with the end of this No. while the other four correspond with the next one.

¹ Apparently, a wrong repetition of the first two verses; [All: B]
² dpyad; ³ pas; ⁴ mdzad; ⁵ por; ⁶ lang[s].

[No. 61]

'dod chags lam la¹ slong² pa'i | | rnal 'byor (9b4) pho mo yin na | |
 tshe 'di'i³ 'grogs lam bde ba | | phyi ma *snang ba*⁴ skyid pa | |

B: No. 56^{c-f}; SP1/L: —. On B see the previous No.

[All: B] ¹ du; ² spyod; ³ 'di; ⁴ rna sos.

[No. 62]

*ba tshad*¹ brtse (9b5) gdung² med pa'i | | snying sdug ma bzhengs
lha sku | |

'gros dang gom pa med [pa]'i | | rta mchog (9b6) nyos pa 'dra bas³ | |

B: No. 57; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ ba[r] tshang; ² [g]dung; ³ byung.

[No. 63]

me tog nam zla ring pa | | ne'u sing¹ spang lo'i spang rgyan | |
ser² chung (10a1) *sprang ma* 'i³ blo ni⁴; ;da dung *khrid rog gnang*
*zhu*⁵ | |

B: No. 58; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ [g]sing; ² [g]ser; ³ bung ba'i; ⁴ sna; ⁵ re zhis bsring dang.

[No. 64]

bu mo skyes pas¹ phyog² pa | | (10a2) *g.yu mtsho g.yang* 'dzin³ lha
mo | |

sngar 'dras⁴ byams pa'i *phyi thab*⁵ | | *da dung*⁶ bsring rog⁷ (10a3)
gnang zhu | |

B: No. 59; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ pa'i; ² [m]chog; ³ klu mo mchog yag; ⁴ 'dris; ⁵ gnas[s]u; ⁶ 'chi
bdag; ⁷ ba.

[No. 65]

snying sdug kha 'bras mtshar ba | | stag ma shing gi *me tog*¹ | |
bsam ngan dug (10a4) *tu shar nas*² | | phan dang gnod pa mnyam³
byung | |

B: No. 60; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ lo ma; ² gis sbyor bas; ³ ma.

[No. 66]

ma¹ tog snga las² phyi yal | | sprang³ ma nyi⁴ (10a5) tshe nyin 'khor | |
zh[e]n bas⁵ bcings pa ma gtogs⁶ | | 'grog⁷ yun thung rang *ma drag*⁸ | |

B: No. 61; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ me; ² yal; ³ sbrang; ⁴ nyin; ⁵ pas; ⁶ rtog[s]; ⁷ 'grog[s]; ⁸ drag[s]
byung.

[No. 67]

sgyu¹ (10a6) lus sha yi *phung po*² | | dur ba'i³ phyogs⁴ la *khyer*
*song*⁵ | |

sems pa bya sgo⁶ rlung khyer | | (10b1) bar do'i yul⁷ la 'khyams
*song*⁸ | |

B: No. 62; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ rgyu; ² me tog; ³ sa'i; ⁴ khrod; ⁵ bzhag yod; ⁶ sgro; ⁷ 'phrang;
⁸ 'grim[s] 'gro.

[No. 68]

gzhon [pa]'i tshe gang bsags pa'i | | sdig grib¹ nyes pa'i phung (10b2)
po; ;

snying sdug rigs² ldan lha³ mos⁴; ;do nub *zhor la sbyong dang*⁵ | |

B: No. 63 (cf. also 45^{gh}); SP1: No. 46; L: —. The first two verses are repeated twice in SP2 and B, see No. 47.

¹ B: sdig; ² B: yid; ³ SP1: bu; ⁴ B: mo, SP1: mo'i; ⁵ SP1: the end of the song is missing.

[No. 69]

*bye'u mo bye'u*¹ phrug gcig la | | (10b3) *ma dung ba dang min te*² | |
g.yar sdong rlung gis bskyod nas | | byi'u phrug thang la zag song | |

B: No. 64^{abXX}; SP1/L: —. B has four verses of which the first two correspond with this No., while the other two correspond with the next one.

[All: B] ¹ byi'u byis; ² mi bsam [bsam] pa med de.

[No. 70]

a (10b4) tse'i sems la byams pa | | bskiyur 'dod blo na med de | |

dpon po sku dbang btsan nas | | (10b5) bu mo rang dbang ma 'dus | |

B: No. 64^{XXcd}; SP1/L: —. On B see the previous No.

[No. 71]

phyi ni na¹ ga ge sar | | nang ni pa+dma ge sar | |

kha la dbang chen dpon (10b6) po; ;snying la chung 'dris byams pa | |

B: No. 65; SP1/L: —.

¹ B: nā.

[No. 72]

ka bas drang po byas song¹ | | ka gzhu² 'khyog la³ ma 'tshor⁴ | |

(11a1) bu mos *phyi thag*⁵ bsring yod | | byams pas *khrel 'dzug*⁶ ma
g.yug⁷ |

B: No. 66; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ yod; ² gzhus; ³ par; ⁴ mdzad; ⁵ 'chi bdag; ⁶ sprel bzhugs;
⁷ g.yug[s].

[No. 73]

bu mo chung (11a2) 'dris byams pa | | kham bu'i shing las *ma*
*skyes*¹ | |

a gsar yal ba kham bu² | | <kham bu'i shing (11a3) las 'khyog pa | | >³
me tog las *mg-yogs byung bas*⁴ | |

B: No. 67^{abcXd}; SP1/L: —.

¹ B: *skyes pa*; ² B: *bu'i*; ³ probably, a wrong addition; ⁴ B: 'gyog pa.

[No. 74]

bu mo a mar ma *skyes* | | *shog pu'i*¹ shing las² (11a4) *skyes pas*³ | |
a ce'i⁴ chung 'dra'i⁵ byams pa | | shog pu'i⁶ *dar l-cog*⁷ 'dra ba | |

B: No. 68; SP1: —; L: No. 35^{abCD}

¹ B: *shog bu'i*, L: *kham bu'i*; ² L: *la*; ³ L: *sam*; (further on, all: B) ⁴ *lce*; ⁵
B: 'dris; ⁶ *bu'i*; ⁷ *me tog*.

[No. 75]

sa la ri¹ mo bris² pa³; ; (11a5) *nam kha'i*⁴ *skar tshod*⁵ lon⁶ byung⁷ | |
sha 'jam⁸ lus la⁹ sbyar¹⁰ kyang¹¹ | | byams pa'i *khog pa*¹² ma¹³ lon | |

B: No. 69; SP1: —; L: No. 49^{cdab}. In L the order of two pairs of verses
is reversed.

¹ L: *re*; ² L: *gris*; ³ B: *pas*, L: *pa'i*; ⁴ B: *nam[m]kha'i*, L: *nam mkha'i*; ⁵ L:
dkar mtshod; ⁶ L: *thig*; ⁷ B: *gis*; ⁸ L: 'byams; ⁹ L: *po*; ¹⁰ L: 'gres; ¹¹ B: *bas*; ¹² L:
lding tshod; ¹³ L: *mi*.

[No. 76]

bla ma (11a6) *gdam*¹ pa'i *gdams dag*² | *zhus na gnang gi 'dug ste* | |
a ce³ chung 'dris byams pa⁴ | | *snying gnam* (11b1) *shod*⁵ *dus mi 'dug* | |

B: No. 70; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ *dam*; ² *gdam[s] ngag*; ³ *lce*; ⁴ *par*; ⁵ *bshod*.

[No. 77]

chu bo¹ gting tshad ring yang² | | *nya mo lcags kyus lon gi*³ | |
snying sdug kha (11b2) *dkar gting nag* | *khog pa da dung ma lon* | |

B: No. 71; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ *mo*; ² *kyang*; ³ *gis*.

[No. 78]

bu mo chung 'dris¹ byams pa | | *spyang ka'i*² *rigs rgyud* (11b3) *min*
nam | |

sha 'dris *pa[gs]* 'dris³ byung kyang | | *ri yar rgyag*⁴ *grab gnang*⁵ *gi*⁶ | |

B: No. 72; SP1: —; L: No. 36.

¹ L: 'bis; ² B/L: ki'i; ³ B: 'brel lpags 'brel, L: 'gris spag 'gris; ⁴ B: la yar; ⁵ B/L: mdzad; ⁶ L: gis.

[No. 79]

drin can pha mas ma (11b4) bcol¹ | | bu mo'i² rang 'dod *byas pas*³ | |
gal srid gson bral⁴ byung na | | pha ma'i la yog⁵ *yi-no*⁶ | |

B: No. 73; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ sgrig; ² mo; ³ byams pa; ⁴ skyur; ⁵ [g].yog[s]; ⁶ los yin.

[No. 80]

(11b5) shing tog¹ a mra mi² zhim | | a mra'i 'bras bu zhim pa | |
bu mo'i³ skye 'bras ma⁴ bsam | | sha tsha'i⁵ (11b6) zhim⁶ pa bsam
pas⁷ | |

B: No. 74; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ de; ² ma; ³ mo; ⁴ mi; ⁵ tsha; ⁶ zhen; ⁷ gis.

[No. 81]

rta rgod ri yad¹ rgyab na² | | rnyi³ dang zhags pas zin gi⁴ | |
byams pa⁵ ngo log (12a1) brgyab⁶ pa⁷ | | thugs⁸ ngo zin pa⁹ mi 'dug | |

B: No. 75; SP1: —; L: No. 37.

¹ B/L: yar; ² B: pa, L: ba; ³ B/L: snyi; ⁴ B/L: gis; ⁵ B: pa'i; ⁶ B/L: rgyab;
⁷ B: pa'i, L: bas; ⁸ L: mthu; ⁹ B: sa.

[No. 82]

tshong 'dus a ce¹ dman shar | |²
dman (12a2) shar bu mo gcig la | | shar po³ 'tshang *kha*⁴ shig shig | |

The second verse is missing. B: No. 76^{a<b?>} + 77^{cd}; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ lce; ² [a missing line:] sprul pa 'gyed rgyu yod pa¹¹; ³ pho; ⁴
tshang rgyag.

[No. 83]

chu skor¹ chu ris *shig shig*² | rtsam³ pa bzang thag (12a3) ngan thag | |
bu mo na so rgas rgas | | snying sdug bzang tsh[ol] ngan tshol | |

B: No. 78; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ 'khor; ² zad zad; ³ [r]tsam.

[No. 84]

rta la rus thugs¹ mi g[ts]o | | (12a4) sha thog spu dpyad² gtso pa³ | |

¹¹ It is only an assumption that the version of SP2 had to have the second verse corresponding with this one.

byams pa'i⁴ rigs rus⁵ mi gtso | | dkar po⁶ kor kor⁷ gtso pa⁸ | |

B: No. 79; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ tshug[s]; ² bcad; ³ bas; ⁴ pa; ⁵ rus tshig[s]; ⁶ po'i; ⁷ sgor sgor;
⁸ bas.

[No. 85]

g.yu chung drug¹ (12a5) dkar yod na | | nga nyo lag tshong² skyong
bshad³ | |

sman⁴ shar mtshar mo yod na | | nga 'dod 'tshang⁵ rgyag shig (12a6)
shig |

B: No. 80; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ gru; ² pa; ³ gis; ⁴ dmar; ⁵ tshang.

[No. 86]

zag bcas sgyu ma'i phud¹ po | | bsres na bgos them² mi 'dug |
sems pa phu ngu 'dri³ na³ | | (12b1) 'dod pa dgos sha rgyab⁴ dang | |

B: No. 81; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ phung; ² bsred nas dgos des; ³ gcig tu bsres nas; ⁴ bgo
[b]sha['] rgyob.

[No. 87]

¹byi'u ri byi'u² khra³ mo | | nga la sems bso thong⁴ dang | |
ri byi'u (12b2) klung⁵ la bab⁶ dus | | (add) nga ras⁷ sems bso btang
chog⁸ |

B: No. 82; SP1: No. *86; L: —

¹ SP1 lacks the first verse and the second except for the last two
syllables; ² B: byil; ³ B: phra; ⁴ SP1: mthong; ⁵ B: byil rlung, SP1: byi klung; ⁶ B:
babs; ⁷ SP1: yis; ⁸ SP1: bsos zhu mchog.

[No. 88]

(add) nags gseb¹ lang ba² stong pa'i³ | | (12b2) 'dab chags⁴ smra
shes⁵ ne tso | |

snying sdug rkun ma⁶ shor so[ng] | | gar song⁷ bshad⁸ (12b3) rog⁹
gnang zhu¹⁰ | |

B: No. 83; SP1: No. *87; L: —.

¹ SP1: gsel; ² B: lung pa'i, SP1: lung pa; ³ B: phu yi, SP1: phug gi; ⁴ SP1:
'dabs bya; ⁵ B: a bar, SP1: a be; ⁶ B/SP1: rku la; ⁷ B: ga[r] song, SP1: —; ⁸ SP1:
bshod; ⁹ B: rog[s], SP1: rogs; ¹⁰ SP1: dang.

[No. 89]

byi'u 'jol mo¹ bros pa² | | lho rong ljon pa'i nags gseb³ | |

gsung snyan rgya (12b4) grags⁴ bod grags⁵ | | lha sa'i phyogs nas
'gyur⁶ byung | |

B: No. 84; SP1: No. *88; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: mo'i; ² B: 'gro sa, SP1: khrungs sa; ³ B: [g]seb; ⁴ B: [b]srag[s];
⁵ B: [b]srag[s]; ⁶ B: skyur, SP1: bsgyur.

[No. 90]

spra'u'i¹ rang blo lad² nas | | nyin kar³ (12b5) rkun ma *rgyab song*⁴ | |
rang mig *lag pas bkab kyang*⁵ | | gzhan mig kheb⁶ pa mi 'dug |

B: No. 85; SP1: No. *89; L: —.

¹ B: spre'u, SP1: spre'u'i; ² B: lang[s], SP1: log; ³ B: par; SP1: mo; ⁴ B:
rkus pas, SP1: brku bar; ⁵ B: sbar mos bkab kyang, SP1: rang gis bkabs par; ⁶
B: khebs, SP1: sgrib.

[No. 91]

dkar nag (12b6) las kyi sa ban¹ | | da lta lkog tu btab kyang | |
'bras bu sbas pas² mi³ thub | | (13a1) rang *rang so sor*⁴ smin yod⁵ | |

B: No. 86; SP1: No. *90; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: bon; ² SP1: pa'i; ³ SP1: ma; ⁴ SP1: sar thang la; ⁵ B: gis, SP1:
song.

[No. 92]

dwags¹ yul sa *gnam dro*² la | | d[w]ags³ mo rnam (13a2) thar legs
pa⁴ | |

mi rtag 'chi ba *med na*⁵ | | tshe gang *bsdad kyang bsgad chog*⁶ |

B: No. 87; SP1: No. *91; L: —.

¹ SP1: ra; ² B: rnams gro; ³ SP1: ra; ⁴ SP1: pa'i; ⁵ SP1: ma gtong; ⁶ B:
[b]sdad kyang [b]sdad chog, SP1: stobs snying 'dod gi.

[No. 93]

lcang gling kham star¹ 'bol la² | | snying (13a3) sdug dung³ sems che
pa⁴ | |

gzhon pa'i⁵ lha chos⁶ byed pa'i | | lam po⁷ bkag pa ma mdzad⁸ | |

B: No. 88; SP1: No. *92; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: ltar; ² B: ba; ³ B: [g]dung; ⁴ B: ba, SP1: ba'i; ⁵ B/SP1: pa; ⁶ SP1:
mchod; ⁷ B/SP1: bu; ⁸ B/SP1: gnang.

[No. 94]

nub phyogs ri bo'i rtse nas | | (13a4) sprin dkar¹ gnam la *lang long*² | |
nga la yid 'dzin *dbang mos*³ | | lha *bsangs btang*⁴ ba *min nam*⁵ | |

B: No. 89; SP1: No. *93; L: —.

¹ SP1: —; ² B: long long, SP1: lang ling; ³ SP1: lha mo'i; ⁴ B: bsang[s] btang, SP1: bsangs gtang; ⁵ B: los yin, SP1: min.

[No. 95]

rlung po gang¹ nas *lang ba*² | | (13a5) pha yul phyogs nas *yin pa*³ | | chung 'dri⁴ byams pa'i lus dri⁵ | | ma nor rlung gis⁶ khyer⁷ byung | |
B: No. 90; SP1: No. *94; L: —.

¹ SP1: ga; ² B: lang[s] lang[s], SP1: langs kyang; ³ B: lang[s] byung, SP1: lang byung; ⁴ SP1: 'drid; ⁵ B: po; ⁶ B/SP1: pos; ⁷ B/SP1: 'khyer.

[No. 96]

chu dang 'o ma 'dri¹ pa | | dbye² mkhan (13a6) gser gyi rus³ s[b]al | | snying sdug sha sems 'dres pa | | *sus kyang phyed pa*⁴ *mi 'dug*⁵ | |
B: No. 91; SP1: No. *95; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: 'dres; ² B: 'byed; ³ SP1: rul; ⁴ B: dbye mkhan su yang, SP1: su yis dbye bo; ⁵ SP1: ma mthing.

[No. 97]

nga dang byams pa'i¹ mo² nas | | (add) gab rtse'i steng nas³ snol⁴ bas | |
(13b1) lo⁵ la bdun zur *thug pas*⁶ | | rim gro sgrub dgos *babs byung*⁷ | |
B: No. 92; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ pa; ² smos; ³ du; ⁴ sbol; ⁵ mo; ⁶ bab nas; ⁷ byung[ng]o.

[No. 98]

lha khang *bong kus brjad*¹ par | | *zhi mi rnyi la*² mi³ 'dzin⁴ | |
(13b2) sbyor lhad⁵ gzhan gyis⁶ *brtsams pa'i*⁷ | | *mi kha nga*⁸ la *ma 'jog*⁹ | |

B: No. 93; SP1: No. *96; L: —.

¹ B: 'un khus rdzas, SP1: phur ron brdzas; ² B: zhim mi snyi la, SP1: zhom bu snyigs gis; ³ B/SP1: ma; ⁴ B: zin; ⁵ B/SP1: ba; ⁶ SP1: gyi; ⁷ B: byas pa'i, SP1: byas par; ⁸ SP1: kha g.yogs bdag; ⁹ B: mi 'jog, SP1: ma bzhang.

[No. 99]

shi dus¹ dmyal pa'i² yul gyi³ | | chos rgyal las kyī (13b3) me long | |
'di nas⁴ *khriḡ khriḡ*⁵ *ma byung*⁶ | | de nas *gzigs yag gngang zhu*⁷ | |
B: No. 94; SP1: No. *97; L: No. 58.

¹ B/SP1/L: de; ² B/SP1/L: ba'i; ³ L: gyis; ⁴ SP1: na; ⁵ B: krig krig, SP1: 'khriḡ 'khriḡ; ⁶ B/SP1/L: mi 'dug; ⁷ B: gzigs pa gngang zhu, SP1: yag po gzigs shigs, L: khriḡ khriḡ gngang zhu.

[No. 100]

chung 'dris¹ byams pa'i² phyogs su | | ngo bsrung (13b4) dar *gyi*
*g.yogs pas*³ | |
 byams pa *phyi thag thung*⁴ nas⁵ | | khrel med tsher ma'i zhad⁶
 byung⁷ | |

B: No. 95; SP1: No. *98; L: —.

¹ SP1: 'drid; ² SP1: —; ³ B: gyi[s] g.yog pas, SP1: dkar g.yogs kyang;⁴ B: 'chi bdag 'thung; ⁵ SP1: bas; ⁶ B: gzhung [']tsher mas bshad, SP1: med 'tshe ma mngon; ⁷ B/SP1: song.

[No. 101]

rang sems kha dog¹ dkar po | | (13b5) ma nog² sa³ zig⁴ zhus⁵ yod | |
 gzhan⁶ se[m]s snag tsho'i⁷ ri⁸ mo | | 'bri⁹ 'dod yod na bri¹⁰ chog¹¹ | |

B: No. 96; SP1: No. *99; L: —.

¹ B: btags, SP1: dar; ² B: nog; ³ B/SP1: pa; ⁴ B: [cig], SP1: zhig; ⁵ SP1: zhu; ⁶ B: mi; ⁷ B/SP1: tsha'i; ⁸ SP1: ris; ⁹ SP1: 'dri; ¹⁰ B: na bris, SP1: kyang 'dri; ¹¹ B/SP1: shog.

[No. 102]

brag dang rlung po bsdongs¹ (13b6) nas | | rgod po'i sgro² la gzan³
 gi⁴ | |
 g.yo can *rdzu bag*⁵ can gyis⁶ | | nga *la bzang po ma byung*⁷ | |

B: No. 97; SP1: No. *100; L: No. 38.

¹ B: 'thab, SP1: stobs, L: sdebs; ² SP1: sgnos, L: dgro; ³ SP1: zin, L: zan; ⁴ B/SP1: gis, L: byung; ⁵ SP1: [rdzu bag]; ⁶ B: des, SP1: gyi; ⁷ B: la gzan po byas byung, SP1: yi sems la zin pa'i, L: la zan pos byas byung.

[No. 103]

rang¹ sems byams (14a1) dang snying rje'i²; sprin phung³ gsar du
 dkrigs⁴ kyang | |
 tshur sems gdug⁵ pa'i (14a2) rlung gis⁶ | | *yang nas yang du gtor*
*byung*⁷ | |

B: No. 98; SP1: No. 101; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: phar; ² B: rjes, SP1: rje; ³ SP1: dkar; ⁴ B: 'khrig[s], SP1: 'khrigs; ⁵ B: sdug; ⁶ B: pos, SP1: gi; ⁷ SP1: sprin gsar chags re mi 'dug.

[No. 104]

sprin pa kha ser gting nag | | (14a3) sad dang¹ ser pa'i² gzhi³ ma | |
 ba+nde⁴ *skya min*⁵ ser min⁶ | | sang[s rg]yas bstan pa'i dgra (14a4)
 bo; ;

B: No. 99; SP1: No. 102; L: No. 39.

¹ SP1/L: —; ² B/SP1: ba'i, L: ra'i; ³ L: zhi; ⁴ SP1: ban sde, L: ban dhe; ⁵ L: spyā man; ⁶ L: man.

[No. 105]

sa *bcu'i sprin la gnas pa'i*¹ | | dam can rdo rje *leṭ pa*² | |
mthu dang nus pa (14a5) yod na | | bstan *pa'i dgra bo sgrol*³ mdzad⁴ | |
B: No. 100; SP1: No. *103; L: No. 45.

¹ B: bcu'i steng na gnas pa'i, SP1: bcud sa la dbang ba'i, L: bcu'i dbyings su bzhugs pa'i; ² B/SP1/L: chos skyong; ³ SP1: dgra 'dul la phebs; ⁴ B: mdzod, SP1/L: dang.

[No. 106]

rlung po nang nas *lang bar*¹ | | sgo² bcad³ (14a6) phyi nas⁴ *bsdam kyang*⁵ | |

mi kha'i⁶ thal ba⁷ bu yug | *sangs pa'i*⁸ dus tshod⁹ mi 'dug |

B: No. 101; SP1: No. *104; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: langs par; ² B: go; ³ B/SP1: cha; ⁴ SP1: la; ⁵ B: bsdam[s] song, SP1: ma rgyag; ⁶ B/SP1: kha; ⁷ B/SP1: ba'i; ⁸ B/SP1: sang ba'i; ⁹ SP1: ni.

[No. 107]

(14b1) dus gsum tham[s cad] mkhyen pa | | drin can rtsa [b]a'i bla ma | |

spyi gtsug nyi zla'i *gdan la*¹ | | (14b2) 'bral med *rgyun du*² bzhugs shig³ |

B: No. 102; SP1: No. *105; L: —.

¹ B: steng du; ² B/SP1: brtan par; ³ SP1: shigs.

[No. 108]

chu bur¹ mig ngor shar pa'i² | | ma dag snang ba'i (14b3) dri ma ; ;
'gal 'khrul *nyams chags*³ 'dug na⁴ | | ye shes *dbyings la*⁵ bshags [s]o | |

B: No. 103; SP1: No. *106; L: —.

¹ SP1: Ibu; ² B/SP1: ba'i; ³ B: nyams chag, SP1: nongs pa; ⁴ SP1: ci mchis; ⁵ B: dbyings nas, SP1: spyān lam.

[No. 109]

gangs (14b4) dkar shel la skyes¹ pa'i | | seng lcam² dkar mo'i³ 'o ma | |
ro bcud che *rang grags*⁴ nas ; ; (14b5) snod kyis⁵ ma 'chun⁶ zer na⁷ | |

B: No. 104; SP1: No. *107; L: —.

¹ B: gnas; ² B: chen, SP1: lce; ³ SP1: mo; ⁴ B: rang grag[s], SP1: na grag; ⁵ B: kyi[s], SP1: kyi; ⁶ B: chun, SP1: mchun; ⁷ SP1: gyis.

[No. 110]

gnas gsum zhing na rgyu¹ pa'i² | | ma dang *yab yum*³ mkha' 'gro |
 (14b6) snying⁴ nas *bshags pa 'bul lo*⁵ | | thugs rje⁶ *brtse pa 'i*⁷ gzigs⁸
 zhu⁹ | |

B: No. 105; SP1: No. *108; L: —.

¹ SP1: bzhugs; ² B: ba'i; ³ B/SP1: ye shes; ⁴ B: dbyings; ⁵ SP1: gsol ba
 btab bo; ⁶ B: rje'i; ⁷ B/SP1: lcags kyus; ⁸ SP1: bzung; ⁹ B: shig, SP1: zhig.

[No. 111]

ro¹ bcud 'o *mor kab pa 'i*² | | (15a1) gsang ba gdams³ pa'i lha chos | |
 ma rig⁴ log ltas⁵ sgrib nas⁶ | | *snying nas* (15a2) '*gyod pas bshags*
 [*sjo*]⁷ | |

B: No. 107; SP1: No. *110; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: mar; ² B: mas gang ba, SP1: mar gab pa'i; ³ B/SP1: dam; ⁴ SP1:
 rigs; ⁵ B: pas, SP1: lnga'i; ⁶ B: na; ⁷ SP1: nyams su rtogs pa mi 'dug.

[No. 112]

rang sems nam [m]kha'¹ shes² pa³; ;rang bzhin 'gyur pa⁴ (15a3) med
 kyang | |
 nyon mongs sprin *dang khrug snas*⁵ | | snang ba⁶ 'gyur ldag⁷ ston
 gi⁸ | |

B: No. 108; SP1: No. *111; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: mkha'i; ² B: gshis, SP1: shigs; ³ B/SP1: la; ⁴ B: mdog, SP1: ba;
⁵ B: ltar 'khrugs pa'i, SP1: gyis sgrib nas; ⁶ B: ba'i, SP1: bar; ⁷ B: mdog, SP1: —;
⁸ B/SP1: byung.

[No. 113]

(15a4) tshong¹ drug dbang po'i spyod yul | | snang ba sems kyi dri
 ma | |
 dag dang ma dag dbye (15a5) ba²; ;'khor 'das *dbye 'tshams 'byed*
 gi³ | |

B: No. 109; SP1/L: —.

(All: B) ¹ tshogs; ² bas; ³ gyes mtshams byed gis.

[No. 114]

sbrang bu *rgya la chug 'dra*¹ | | me tog *sky[e]s* (15a6) pa² phyis song; ;
 las 'phro³ med [pa]i snying sdug | | 'ja⁴ *tshon shar ba phyis*⁵ song | |

B: No. 110; SP1: No. *112; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: skye ba (SP1: bar) sngas song; ² B/SP1: shar ba; ³ SP1: 'phrod;
⁴ B/SP1: mjal; ⁵ 'dzom[s] byed pa 'gyang[s], SP1: byed par sngas.

[No. 115]

spang mgo¹ ser (15b1) bos² lang³ song | | spang⁴ rgyan sbrang bu'i⁵
dor song | |

na so rgas pa'i mi pho | | chung (15b2) 'dris⁶ byams pas *skyur*
*byung*⁷ | |

B: No. 111; SP1: No. *113; L: —.

¹ SP1: mdog; ² B/SP1: por; ³ B: lang[s]; ⁴ B: [spang]; ⁵ B: bus; ⁶ SP1:
'drid; ⁷ SP1: dor song.

[No. 116]

nam zlas¹ sa *chu dros pa'i*² | | glang chung (15b3) rog³ po'i [*ngjur*
*sgra*⁴ | |

sman⁵ shar bde drod⁶ rgyas pa'i⁷ | | skyo rog⁸ sems pa'i⁹ dran (15b4)
yod¹⁰ | |

B: No. 112; SP1: No. *114; L: —.

¹ B: zla, SP1: dus; ² B/SP1: bcud dros (SP1: dro) song; ³ B: [g]rog[s];
⁴ B: ngur sgra[s], SP1: ngu sgra; ⁵ B: dman, SP1: smin; ⁶ SP1: dro; ⁷ SP1: song;
⁸ B/SP1: glu; ⁹ B: la; ¹⁰ B: byung, SP1: blong.

[No. 117]

mi med lung ba'i¹ phu nas² | | byis pas³ skyo glu '*then pas*⁴ | |
glu la glu *lan slog*⁵ (15b5) mkhan | | ri zur 'dzag⁶ ma⁷ *stong ba*⁸ | |

B: No. 113; SP1: No. *115; L: —.

¹ B/SP1: pa'i; ² B: la, SP1: —; ³ B/SP1: pa'i; ⁴ B: lhang lhang, SP1:
blangs pa'i; ⁵ SP1: len bslog; ⁶ B/SP1: 'jag; ⁷ SP1: ma'i; ⁸ B: ssub stong, SP1:
sdong po.

[No. 118]

brag la ki¹ cig² brgyab³ pa'i⁴ | | lan pa tshig (15b6) 'bru mi 'dug |

B: No. 114^{ab}; SP1: No. *116^{ab}; L: —. The second pair of verses is
missing.

¹ B/SP1: ku; ² B: gcig, SP1: zhig; ³ B/SP1: rgyab; ⁴ B: pas.

[No. 119]

lus po chu yis¹ bkrus² pa'i³ | | sems *pa'i sgrib pa*⁴ 'dag⁵ (16a1) na; ;
chu nang gser mig nya mo⁶ | | thar pa⁷ thob par⁸ '*dug go*⁹ |

B: No. 115; SP1: No. *117; L: —.

¹ B: yi[s], SP1: la; ² B: dkrus, SP1: bkru; ³ B/SP1: nas; ⁴ SP1: kyi sdig
sgrib; ⁵ B/SP1: dag; ⁶ B: mos; ⁷ SP1: ba; ⁸ B/SP1: pa; ⁹ SP1: 'dug gam.

[No. 120]

ngur smrig mdog gis¹ bsgyur (16a2) bas² | | bla ma yod³ rgyu yin
na | |

mtsho *bya ngur ba ser pos*⁴ | | *chos 'khor bskor bar*⁵ 'dug go⁶ |

B: No. 116; SP1: No. *118; L: —.

¹ B: gi[s], SP1: gi; ² B/SP1: ba'i; ³ B/SP1: yong; ⁴ B/SP1: stod gser bya
ngang pas (SP1: pa'i); ⁵ B/SP1: 'gro ba 'dren pa; ⁶ SP1: gam.

[No. 121]

(16a3) gang gsung rjes *zlos bskyar bas*¹ | | [d]bang bskur thob rgyu
yin na | |

gcan gzan dud 'gro'i² (16a4) khyi³ yang⁴ | | tshe gcig *rdzogs sangs
rgyas so*⁵ | |

B: No. 118^{ab} & 119^{cd}; SP1: No. *120^{ab} & 121^{cd}; L: —.

¹ B: zlos gsung bas, SP1: bzlos skad kyi; ² SP1: 'gro; ³ B/SP1: khyu;
⁴ B: yi[s], SP1: yi; ⁵ B/SP1: mngon par rdzogs pa (SP1: pa'i).

[No. 122]

'dod yon longs spyod¹ che bas² | | *byang chub*³ thob rgyu (16a5) yin
na | |

nor bdag klu yi⁴ dbang pos⁵ | | sku *gsum brnyes pa gda'o*⁶ | |

B: No. 120; SP1: No. *122; L: —.

¹ SP1: —; ² SP1: ba'i; ³ B: dbang bskur; ⁴ B: yis; ⁵ SP1: po; ⁶ B: gsum
rnyed pa 'dug[g]o, SP1: gsung 'grub par gda' 'o.

[No. 123]

mon yul sa gnam¹ (16a6) dro pas² | | mon mo brla sha dkar ba | |
'dod chags drag po lhod³ nas | | mon mo gzhon nu⁴ khrid (16b1)
byung⁵ | |

B: No. 121; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ rnams; ² la; ³ byung; ⁴ nus; ⁵ song.

[No. 124]

ljon shing lo ma¹ rgyas pa'i | | yal ka² *bras bu'i*³ rtse mor⁴ | |
khu byug⁵ sngon po⁶ lding pa'i⁷ | | (16b2) gsung *skad thos las*⁸
snyan pa | |

B: No. 122^{a-d}; SP1/L: —. B has six verses of which the first four
correspond with this No. while the other two correspond with the next one.

[All: B] ¹ 'dab; ² ga; ³ [de] yi; ⁴ nas; ⁵ bya; ⁶ mo; ⁷ ba'i; ⁸ [skyur] skad kyi.

[No. 125]

o lo'i chung 'dris byams pa'i | | gsung snyan *de las snyan pa*¹ | |
 (16b3) srang mo tshe dbang bu khrid | | dran pa long la 'dug go |
 B: No. 122^{efXX}; SP1/L: —. On B see the previous No.
¹ B: yid la dran byung.

[No. 126]

g.ya' dang spang la gnas¹ pa'i | | (16b4) bya de lha bya kong² mo | |
 byis³ pa sems *pa skyo*⁴ bas⁵ | | skyo *ba'i rog la*⁶ bzhugs⁷ dang | |
 B: No. 123; SP1: No. *123; L: —.
¹ B: skyes; ² B: gong, SP1: go; ³ B/SP1: byams; ⁴ SP1: nyid skyod; ⁵ B:
 ba'i, SP1: pa'i; ⁶ B: rog[s] la [ni], SP1: ba'i rogs la; ⁷ B/SP1: phebs.

[No. 127]

mtsho dang ngang (16b5) pa'i¹ 'bral 'tshams² | | *de byed snyam*³ pa
 med de⁴ | |
 mtsho mo 'khyag⁵ gis⁶ bsdam⁷ nas | | *rang dbang* (16b6) *med la gyes*⁸
 song | |
 B: No. 124; SP1: No. *124; L: —.
¹ B/SP1: pa; ² B/SP1: mtshams; ³ B: byed snyam [snyam], SP1: yod la
 bsam; ⁴ SP1: kyang; ⁵ B: [']khyag, SP1: khyag; ⁶ B/SP1: pas; ⁷ B: [b]sdam[s],
 SP1: bsdoms; ⁸ B: [rang] dbang med la lang[s], SP1: dbang med so sor 'phral.

[No. 128]

nga dang chung 'dris¹ byams pa² | | 'bral 'tsham byed don³ med
 de⁴ | |
 (17a1) dbang chen *dpon pos phral nas*⁵ | | *kha kha*⁶ *so sor lang*⁷
 song | |
 B: No. 125; SP1: No. *125; L: —.
¹ B/SP1: byams pa; ² B: 'bral mtshams, SP1: bral ba; ³ B: byed snyam
 [snyam] pa, SP1: yong bsam yid la; ⁴ SP1: kyang; ⁵ SP1: las 'gro med pas; ⁶ B:
 khag khag; ⁷ B: [rang] la lang[s], SP1: sa ro 'phral.

[No. 129]

*rta pas*¹ la mo² (17a2) *ma mthong*³ | | la mo *mtho ba*⁴ dgra de⁵ | |
 The second pair of verses is missing. B: No. 126^{ab}; SP1: No. *126^{ab};
 L: —.
¹ B: blta ba, SP1: blta bar; ² B/SP1: mos; ³ SP1: sgrib song; ⁴ B: che ba,
 SP1: chen mo; ⁵ B/SP1: red.

[No. 130]

pha yul kha¹ thag ring ba | | *sems pa yid*² kyi dgra red |

(17a3) *byams pa byis la song nas*³ | | *mtshan mo'i*⁴ *gnyid*⁵ *thebs gcog gi*⁶ |

nyin mo⁷ lag du⁸ *mi lon*⁹ | | (17a4) yid thang chad rog¹⁰ yin pa¹¹ | |

The song in SP2 and B combines lines of two nos.:

a-d: B: No. 127; SP1: No. *127; L: —.

d-f: B: No. 9^{b-d}; SP1: No. 9^{b-d}; SP2: No. 10^{b-d}; L: No. 6^{b-d}.

¹ B (No. 127) / SP1 (No. 127): sa; ² B (No. 127): lus sems gnyis; ³ B (No. 127): byams pa byes la song ba, SP1 (No. 127): snying sdug sha sems ma 'brel; ⁴ SP1 (No. 127): nyin mtshan, SP1 (No. 9): mtshan mor, SP2 (No. 10): mtshan mo; ⁵ L (No. 6): snyid; ⁶ B (No. 127): theb[s] lcog gis, B (No. 9): theb cog gis, SP1 (No. 127): kyi dgra red, SP1 (No. 9): thebs bcog gi; ⁷ SP1 (No. 9): mor; ⁸ B (No. 9) / SP1 (No. 9) / L (No. 6): tu; ⁹ SP2 (No. 10): ma yong, L (No. 6): ma lon; ¹⁰ SP1 (No. 9) / L (No. 6): rogs, SP2 (No. 10): grogs; ¹¹ SP1 (No. 9): pa'i, SP2 (No. 10): pa, L (No. 6): bas.

[No. 131]

chu bo¹ mar 'gro *shig shig*² | yar 'gro yin na dga' ba | |

(17a5) *ya ki*³ lcang ra⁴ smug chung⁵ | | *yab yum*⁶ yin na skyid pa | |

B: No. 128; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ mo; ² shad shad; ³ ma gi; ⁴ gling; ⁵ skyid; ⁶ pha gzhis.

[No. 132]

mda' mo spang la zug pa | | mda' yi bdag (17a6) pos bton 'gro | |

mi sems mi la zug pa | | su gas 'don rgyu yin pa | |

B/SP1/L: —.

[No. 133]

mda' mo spang¹ la phog song | | (17b1) mde'u shal² du³ lus song | |

chung 'driś byams pa 'phrad byung | | sems nyid *khyod rjes 'brang*⁴

(17b2) song | |

B: No. 129; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ 'ben; ² shul; ³ la; ⁴ rjes 'brang lang[s].

[No. 134]

spang dang spang rgyan¹ bral² ba | | nam zla'i *dus tshod*³ yin pa⁴ | |

nga dang byams pa bral⁵ (17b3) ba | | tshe sngon las 'phro⁶ yin pa⁷ | |

B: No. 130; SP1: No. *128; L: —.

¹ SP1: brgyan; ² B: 'brel, SP1: 'bral; ³ SP1: 'phan dugs; ⁴ SP1: pa'i; ⁵ B: 'bral; ⁶ SP1: zad; ⁷ SP1: pa'i.

[No. 135]

chu bo¹ che ba'i sems nad | | gru shan mnyan² pas sel (17b4) 'gro³ | |

snying sdug shi ba'i *mya ngan*⁴ | | su yis⁵ sel *rgyu yin pa*⁶ | |

B: No. 131; SP1: No. *129; L: —.

¹ B: mo; ² B: gnyan, SP1: gnyen; ³ B: song, SP1: yong; ⁴ SP1: sems nad; ⁵ B: gas; ⁶ B: rog[s] byed pa, SP1: ngo ma mthing.

[No. 136]

shing de rtsa ba gcig la | | (17b5) rtse mo *sum brgya drug cu*¹ | |

nga yi a sar² *byams pa'i*³ | | blo sna nyis stong lnga brgya⁴ | |

B: No. 132; SP1: No. *130; L: —.

¹ SP1: nyis stong lnga brgya; ² B: ba, SP1: ma; ³ B: byams par, SP1: chang ma; ⁴ SP1: [brgya].

[No. 137]

(17b6) pha¹ ma'i sdig *pu drug dkar*² | | dbu la rgyag³ dgos bsam kyang | |

bu mo blo sna mang nas | | (18a1) g.yu chung 'dog⁴ ngos ma dod⁵ | |

B: No. 133; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ a; ² [pa'i] g.yu [chung]; ³ sgron; ⁴ 'dog[s]; ⁵ [']dod.

[No. 138]

rgyal khams spyi lo nyes na¹ | | sems khral yong ba (18a2) khyag² khyag | |

*zhing chung sger mo nyes pa'i*³ | | sdug bsngal thod⁴ la 'dug go⁵ | |

B: No. 134; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ pa; ² khag (?); ³ snying sdug lkog la shi ba'i; ⁴ [']thol; ⁵ byung [ng]lo.

[No. 139]

drin can pha ma 'das (18a3) pa'i | | mya ngan khur bas mi chog | |

snying sdug khog la shi ba'i | | sems sdug khog pa rul song | |

B/SP1/L: —.

[No. 140]

(18a4) nga dang byams *pa'i khog 'dres*¹ | | shi gsang² rong³ gsang⁴ *byas pas*⁵ | |

gtam gsum mi kha ngan pa⁶ | | (18a5) *bag chags ngos la lang song*⁷ | |

B: No. 135; SP1: No. *131; L: —.

¹ B: pa'i lkog grib, SP1: pa 'dri ba; ² SP1: sang; ³ B/SP1: ro; ⁴ SP1: sang; ⁵ SP1: byed kyang; ⁶ B: pas; ⁷ B: sa steng kun la khyab song, SP1: dmag brta' rgyag rgyag byed byung.

[No. 141]

khong *nang sems pa'i*¹ gcong² gis³ | | lus⁴ po'i⁵ sha yang skam⁶
(18a6) song | |

The first pair of verses is missing. B: No. 136^{cd}; SP1: No. *132^{cd}; L: No. 32^{cd}.

¹ B: dang byams pa'i, SP1: nad sems kyis; ² B: lcong, SP1: bcongs, L: cong; ³ B: gi[s]; ⁴ SP1: gzugs; ⁵ B: kyi; ⁶ L: rkam.

[No. 142]

zhim *po'i bza' btung skyug pa*¹ | | *na rgyu'i spu long yin pas*² | |
nga dang byams pa'i (18b1) *'bral 'tshams*³ | | sgam bu⁴ *phywa yis*
*byas*⁵ song | |

B: No. 137; SP1: No. *133; L: —.

¹ SP1: po za rgyu med par; ² B: nang ro'i bun long yin pa, SP1: na rgyu 'bun la longs [s]o; ³ B/SP1: dbye mtshams; ⁴ SP1: po'i; ⁵ B: chag[gli[s] bkod, SP1: phyag gis byed.

[No. 143]

gshong zhing lo *tog yag pa'i* | | *spang sdebs* (18b2) *sa la*¹ phyin
pas² | |

dang po snga *ma'i snying sdug* | *glo bur gdong thub rgyab byung*³ | |

B: —; SP1: No. *134; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ yag ljang sra 'ong ba'i gseb tu; ² pa'i; ³ mor 'jal ba'i snying sdug khong dang 'jal ba'i.

[No. 144]

khams¹ bzang (18b3) skad cha dris pas² | | gtam lan *'jal rgyu med*
*par*³ | |

khra chung mig gi nang nas | | (18b4) *mchi ma'i*⁴ rba *klong 'khrug*
*song*⁵ | |

B: —; SP1: No. *135; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ kham; ² pa'i; ³ bslog tu mi 'dug; ⁴ mchil ma; ⁵ rlabs g.yos byung.

[No. 145]

bal mo mkhas pa'i lugs la | | gser dang ra¹ gan 'dris² (18b5) song | |
sha 'jam lus la sbyar pas³ | | *rang sems mi*⁴ sems ma 'dres | |

B: —; SP1: No. *136^{cdab}; L: —. In SP1 the order of two pairs of verses is reversed.

[All: SP1] ¹ rag; ² 'brel; ³ nas; ⁴ mi sems rang.

[No. 146]

sha ba *ri la* (18b6) *lang*¹ song | | sha khyis² *zin pa mi 'dug*³ |
*byams pas la mo brgyab pas*⁴ | | rang sems (19a1) kho thag chod
 song | |

B: —; SP1: No. *137; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ la mo rgyab; ² khyi; ³ kho thag chod song; ⁴ snying sdug
 dpon pos bzhes song.

[No. 147]

phu nas¹ *g.ya' gangs zhu*² song | | gshong gi³ lo *tog* (19a2) *snga gi*⁴ |
 nga dang chung 'dris⁵ byams pa'i | | las 'phro'i⁶ 'phen pa rdzogs⁷
 song | |

B: —; SP1: No. *138; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ yi; ² spang por; ³ zhing; ⁴ thog sngas song; ⁵ 'drid; ⁶ 'gro;
⁷ rdzod (=rdzot?).

[No. 148]

(19a3) 'dab stong me tog grangs med | | sprang bu'i 'deb ngo ma
 dod | |

B/SP1/L: —.

[No. 149]

shing de lchang¹ ma'i *sna lcu*² | | (19a4) ga³ la bkug kyang *khug gi*⁴ |
 khrel⁵ med byams pa'i *phyogs su* | | *lus sems khug pa* (19a5) *mi*
*'dug*⁶ | |

B: —; SP1: No. *139; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ spa; ² sne mo; ³ gang; ⁴ gug gis; ⁵ 'khrel; ⁶ sems pa gang
 khug zhus kyang ma khug.

[No. 150]

sa de kha zhu¹ gting 'khyag² | rta pho rgyug³ *sa ma red*⁴ | |
 ring⁵ 'grogs⁶ byams (19a6) pa'i phyogs su | | snying gdam *shod pa*⁷
 ma 'dzad⁸ | |

B: —; SP1: No. *140; L: No. 40.

¹ SP1/L: zhur; ² L: khyag; ³ SP1: rgyugs, L: gtong; ⁴ SP1: —; ⁵ SP1:
 gsar, L: sang; ⁶ L: sgrogs; ⁷ SP1: bshod sa, L: shos sa; ⁸ SP1: mdzad, L: red.

[No. 151]

*se 'bru*¹ phyi nas smin kyang² | | nang du³ rus (19b1) pas⁴ gang⁵
 'dug | |
 byams pa zhal sgo tshar⁶ yang | | *nga la dud rtsis*⁷ mi 'dug | |

B: —; SP1: No. *141; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ ser 'brum; ² yang; ³ de; ⁴ pa'i; ⁵ khengs; ⁶ mtshar; ⁷ nang na gdong tshad.

[No. 152]

(19b2) snying sdug a sar can ma | | spang ri'i log gi 'ja' tshon | |
phral gang dung ba che (19b3) ba | | phugs la gtad so mi 'dug |
B/SP1/L: —.

[No. 153]

*lam smon*¹ mthun pa'i byams pa | | dri med *dkar* (19b4) *mo'i*² me
long | |

*phyis shing dwangs tu*³ 'gro gi | 'grog shing *nye ru 'gro*⁴ gi |

B: —; SP1: No. *142; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ las 'gro; ² dngul dkar; ³ 'phyi zhing dangs su; ⁴ nyer du
gtang.

[No. 154]

khu byug (19b5) mon la thal¹ song | | nam zla sa chu² 'khyag 'dug³ |
ngang pha⁴ nga yang mi 'dug⁵ | (19b6) lho rong phyogs su⁶ chas
'gro |

B: —; SP1: No. *143; L: —.

[All: SP1] ¹ thegs; ² bcud; ³ song; ⁴ pa; ⁵ sdod; ⁶ la.

[No. 155]

bod yul sa yi lte ba | | dpal gyi chos 'khor lha sa | |

(20a1) nga dang byams pa'i gnyen 'dun¹ | | ma cig² dpal lhas sgrub³
song | |

B: No. 138; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ mdun; ² gcig; ³ sgrigs.

[No. 156]

(20a2) me tog snga yal phyi yal | | chung 'dris byams *pa rgas*¹ 'dug |
sman² shar 'dab ma (20a3) byed grogs³ | | mi *tshe kha*⁴ med byung
ngo | |

B: No. 139; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ par dgos; ² dman; ³ 'drar; ⁴ byed ka.

[No. 157]

do nub mjal¹ ba'i snying sdug | sang zhog² khag (20a4) khag so so | |
chags zhen med pa'i byams pa | | chos 'khor lha sar 'dug go |

B: No. 140; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ mdza'; ² zhog[s].

[No. 158]

(20a5) shar nas *nyi mar*¹ shar byung | | skar ma'i lo rgyus mi 'dug |
bdag yod bdag po (20a6) 'byor byung² | | snying sdug ga le thal³
shig |

B: No. 141; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ skar ma; ² song; ³ thas.

[No. 159]

bu mo dung¹ sems can ma | | rmi lam (20b1) ngos² la 'char gi³ |
shi dus⁴ bar do'i 'phrang la | | bag chags btab⁵ pa 'dug go |

B: No. 142; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ [g]dung; ² [nang]; ³ yong gis; ⁴ nas; ⁵ rgyugs.

[No. 160]

(20b2) dung¹ dung sems kyi snang ba'i² | | *byin rlabs*³ stod phur
rgyab phyung⁴ | |
gdam⁵ ngag bla ma'i *ra* (20b3) *pris*⁶ | | zhen pa'i thag pa chod dang | |

B: No. 143; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ da; ² bas; ³ 'khor ba'i; ⁴ byung; ⁵ gdams; ⁶ ral gris.

[No. 161]

tshe 'di'i snang ba 'byed *thabs*¹ | | *byis pa'i*² skyo glu lhang (20b4)
lhang | |

³skyo cig skyo na *kham s gsum*⁴ | | 'khor *ba'i gnas*⁵ la skyo bas⁶ | |

B: No. 144; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ 'khrid lugs; ² byams pas; ³ +kham s ga (possibly, an erroneous addition); ⁴ P. Sørensen moved these two syllables to the last verse (Sørensen 1990: 367); ⁵ ba 'di; ⁶ ba.

[No. 162]

mdang¹ sum nyal (20b5) ba'i *rmi lam*² | | dgra gnyen skye ba'i grogs
'dus | |

da nang bltas pa'i yul du | | (20b6) byung³ ba'i shul yang mi 'dug |
tshe 'di'i⁴ bden bden 'dra ba'i⁵ | | chags s[d]ang⁶ rmongs (21a1) pa'i
'du⁷ tshogs | |

B: No. 145^{aXXbcd}; SP1/L: —. B consists of four verses and has no correspondence with the verses bc of this song.

[All: B] ¹ mdangs; ² rjes la; ³ [b]sdad; ⁴ 'di; ⁵ yang; ⁶ sgo; ⁷ rus.

[No. 163]

mdzes pa'i¹ rang byung sha yis² | | *lang tsho'i gdong*³ la chags (21a2)
song⁴ | |

spang nas dben pa'i ri khrod | |⁵

The final verse is missing. B: No. 146^{cbd<e>}; SP1/L: —. B has six verses, the first two of which are not found here.

[All: B] ¹ ma'i; ² yi; ³ me tog [de]; ⁴ pas; ⁵ [a missing verse:] B: gnas mchog [de] la e thad.

[No. 164]

'*phral gang*¹ nyams su *dga' ba'i*² | | lha chos *nyams* (21a3) *su blang na*³ | |

tshe rab⁴ kun tu bskyid⁵ pa'i | | 'od [gsa]l nyi ma shar byung⁶ | |

B: 147; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ [']phral phug[s]; ² blangs pa'i; ³ sems la bzhag nas; ⁴ 'di; ⁵ skyid; ⁶ song.

[No. 165]

'dod *yon reg*¹ (21a4) pa'i bza' btung | | *byol song phyug gi spyod yul*² | |

zag med ting³ 'dzin bdud rtsi'i | | (21a5) ro mchog myong rgyu byung na | |

zag bcas dga' ba'i bde ba | | yin par yid la ma (21a6) sems | |

zag bcas dbang po *sbyor ba'i*⁴ | | bde ba yin par *snyoms 'jug*⁵ | |

B: 148^{abcdXXef}; SP1/L: —. B has six verses and has no correspondence with the verses *ef* of this song.

[All: B] ¹ yul rigs; ² spyod yul gyi [ni] me tog; ³ rigs; ⁴ [s]myos pa'i; ⁵ ma shes.

[No. 166]

(21b1) ¹'dzad med gtan gyi bde ba | |

dgra gnyen chags sdang spangs pa'i | | btang snyoms *yid* (21b2) *kyi*²
sa gzhir³ | |

The first verse is missing. B: No. 149^{<a>bcd}; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ [a missing verse:] zag med dga' bzhi'i snyoms 'jug; ² gyi [ni]; ³ gzhi.

[No. 167]

rang gzhan¹ kun la phan pa'i | | byang sems² me tog 'khrungs³ nas | |

(21b3) don gnyis⁴ mdar⁵ ba'i *sprang rtsir*⁶ | | 'dzad med longs [s]u
*spyad nas*⁷ | |

gdul bya'i rkang drug (21b4) grangs dang⁸ | | mnyam⁹ pa'i chos gar
bsgyur ro | |

B: No. 150; SP1/L: —.

[All: B] ¹ sems; ² chub; ³ 'khrung[s]; ⁴ snying; ⁵ mngar; ⁶ sbrang rtsi;
⁷ spyod na; ⁸ med; ⁹ snyan.

[Colophon]

rin chen tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho'i gsung (21b5) mgur rgyas pa
rdzoṭ so | |

[Appendix]

[No. 1]

bya ni¹ *khrung khrung*² dkar mo³ | | *gshog lcags nga la g.yor*⁴
dang | |

(21b6) thag ring *rgya la*⁵ mi 'gro | li thang bskor⁶ nas *sleb yod*⁷ | |

B: No. 342; SP1: —; L: No. 57.

¹ B/L: de; ² L: skro dkrungs; ³ L: po; ⁴ B: gshog rtse nga la dbyar, L:
nga la shogs rtse g.yar; ⁵ B: rgyang nas, L: bskyang nas; ⁶ B: skor; ⁷ B: log
yong, L: bslebs yongs.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| [1] | bya ni khrung khrung
dkar mo
gshog lcags nga la
g.yor dang
(21b6) thag ring rgya la
mi 'gro
li thang bskor nas sleb
yod | The bird, the white crane,
Lend me [your] iron wings, and
I will not move very far,
I will make a circle around
Lithang and arrive [here]. |
| [2] | grwa sa ser 'bras dge
gsum
(22a1) da lo sku khams
bde mo
mi nub bstan pa'i rgyal
mtshan | The three monastic universities,
Sera, Drepung and Gaden,
This year are in an excellent state
of being —
The Doctrine's victory banner that
never wanes
Was settled by Kelsang Gyatso! |

- bskal bzang rgya
mtshos (22a2) tshugs
yong | |
- [3] ri mgo mtho ba'i nyi The sun [upon] the high
ma | | mountain-top
dro rog ma red 'khyag Is not a helper of warmth [but] a
rog | helper of cold.
kha thag ring gi grogs A friend who is far away
po | | Is not a helper of happiness [but]
(22a3) skyid rog ma red a helper of sadness.
sdug rog |
- [4] smyug ma gang byung Whatever amount of the reed
mang cung | | appears,
smyu gu [s]nyan rgyu [It] is a basis for a delicate
yin na | | calamus, in which case
tsa ri rong gi snyug The reed in the ravine of Tsari
(22a4) ma | | [May] arise or not arise, [it] is one
skye dang ma skye gcig [and same].
red | |
- [5]¹² sems pa khyod la skyo [My] thoughts all worry about
skyo | | you,
dam pa'i chos la ma [And] do not worry about the
skyo | | Sublime Dharma.
(22a5) dam pa'i chos la If [they] had worried about the
skyo na | | Sublime Dharma,
tshe gcig lus gcig rang In this very life, this very body
la | | [I] would have obtained the
thar pa thob par 'dug liberation.
go |
- [6] (22a6) stod gi se [ra'i] [There is] a nest of the vulture of
rgod tshang | | Sera [monastery] (?) above,¹³
thang kar rgod gi lding The white vulture soars [there].
ba | | The wind shook the sky,
bar snang rlung gis [But] the vulture does not stop (?)
bskyod nas | | soaring.

¹² This is a variation of the song No. 36 (B: No. 34; SP1: No. 34; L: No. 19).

¹³ Or "in the Upper Sera". Perhaps, the Upper Tantric College (Rgyud stod) of Sera monastery is meant.

- rgod po (22b1) lding ni
ma tsung(?) | |
- [7] gtsang gi rong chen Rongchung, a great ravine in
rong chung | | Tsang,
rtsa ba'i bla ma gdan Is the residence of the Root Lama.
sa | | Pelkor Chode¹⁴ in Gyantse¹⁵
rgyang rtse'i dpal 'khor Is the love's native land.
(22b2) chos sde | |
- byams pa'i pha yul yin
pa | |
- [8] ri 'di ri rgyal yag pa | | This mountain is better than the
lha shing shug pa king of mountains,
'khrungs (22b3) 'dug | Divine juniper arises [here].
lha bya khu yug sngon The divine bird, the small blue
chung | | cuckoo,
gnas 'dir sleb na skyid If you get to this place, [you will]
pa | | be delighted.
- [9] pha yul kha thag ring From the remote native land
nas | | An offering, a square rug,
(22b4) bskur ma kha appeared.
gang ma byung | | "The golden ring" of the
grwa sa gser gyi a monasteries,
long | | Having held a festive occasion,
skyid skyid btang nas [goes on] living.
bsdad yod | |

[Auspicious formulas]

(22b5) bkra shis par gyur cig | ma+ngga lam

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¹⁴ The well-known monastery founded by the Gyantse ruler Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags pa (1389–1442) between 1418–25.

¹⁵ The name of this once third largest Tibetan city is spelled *rgyal rtse* but pronounced *gyantse*, and this wrong reading is reflected in Tib. 2459-2.

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The Translation of the Two Manuscript Versions of the Collection of the Sixth Dalai Lama's Songs Preserved in Saint Petersburg¹

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his paper is aimed at fulfilling my previous promise to present the analysis of the contents of the manuscript Tib. 1000 along with some suggestions on editing its text (Zorin 2021: 234). I will also have to correct a few mistaken readings of the original text, especially in its introductory part, that I regretfully could not avoid. This experience shows that it is better not to separate in time the publication of a text and its in-depth analysis. I can only justify myself with the fact that starting from August 2020 the situation in Russia was deteriorating quickly and I felt an urgency to introduce the truly important text to the academia while I could do it, leaving the remaining task to the mercy of the future. The latter did prove unmerciful to masses of people in my native part of the world, but I was fortunate enough to escape the danger and have a chance to accomplish my work and indicate my earlier mistakes. The brighter side of my decision is that it allows me now to deal with the two manuscripts complimentary to each other. The second one, Tib. 2459-2, was identified in the Tibetan collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS), in 2021. Its text is fully introduced in the previous paper of the present issue of RET. Together with the materials of the Beijing manuscript (Sørensen 1990: 285–448), we have three versions that reflect an obviously long and widespread tradition of combining the songs ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama in a way alternative to the one known from the Lhasa block print.

¹ This paper was written as a part of my research project supported by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in spring–summer 2022.

1.

Their mutual relations are not quite clear (see p. 232–233 of this issue of RET), so it is desirable to obtain additional textual materials. However, the introductory poem to the main part of the Beijing manuscript may be considered, to my mind, an indication of its belonging to the time close to the life of the Sixth Dalai Lama and the powerful Regent Sangye Gyatso whose figure is presumed referred to in many songs under study.

The text was translated by P. Sørensen (Sørensen 1990: 343–344) but I have a little bit different interpretation, especially of stanza 2, so, perhaps, it will not be inappropriate to present here my version of the translation of the whole poem. The Tibetan text is also provided according to P. Sørensen's edition.

<p>rgyal rnam thugs rje'i chu gter gangs can pa'i legs byas ris med bsrub skyes mtshan dpe'i gzugs stong du 'bar bas thub bstan pa+dmo'i tshal bzhad mdzad tshangs dbyangs rgya mtshor [phyag] bgyi'o </p> <p>sangs rgyas gnyis pa blo bzung grags pa yi<s> bstan pa rgya mtsho'i gos can mthar spel ba gzhan dring mi 'jog gnam sa'i dbang phyug che legs byas ches cher 'bar bas ches cher gsung </p>	<p>To the one [who has all the great being's] signs and characteristics that appeared due to the churning Of the ocean of the victors' compassion [thanks to] the virtuous deeds [assembled] by Tibetans, without any differentiation [between them]; [To the one] who makes the grove of lotuses of the Sage's Teaching blossom By the shining [radiating] in a thousand [directions] — to Tsangyang Gyatso [I] pay homage! The one who spreads the Second Buddha Losang Drakpa's Teaching To the ends of the "sea-clothed"² [earth] [Is] the independent great lord of the sky and the earth:</p>
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² The name of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (lit. the Buddha Sea) encoded in the text is highlighted in bold type.

<p>srid pa rma bya'i rgyal mo'i mtshar pa che phun sum tshogs pas gsung mgrur legs bshad ston sna tshogs cir yang 'char ba'i mtshon brgya yis kun yid 'phrog pa'i bstan bcos yi ger phab </p>	<p>The brighter [his] virtuous deeds shine, the more powerful the speech. Thanks to the splendid magnificence of the Peahen Queen of Existence,³ [I] will present the well-composed spiritual songs; Out of one hundred examples in which all kinds [of thoughts] manifest [I] will arrange a treatise-śāstra that will captivate all minds.</p>
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Each stanza of the poem has its function: the first is a salutation to the Sixth Dalai Lama as the author or, at least, the lyrical hero of the songs, the third expresses the aim to arrange them into a connected text (*śāstra*), while the middle one, into whose text the name of the Regent of Tibet, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, is intertwined, must indicate his connection with this purpose. Unlike the first stanza it does not conclude with an expression characteristic to hymnal texts (*phyag bgyi'o* or another one) but this is certainly a praise of him as an independent ruler who supported the Gelukpa teaching. The final verse of the stanza is a little bit ambiguous in regard of whose speech gets more powerful thanks to the excellency of his deeds — Rje Tsongkhapa's, his own, or his young protégé's. Could Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho be the compiler of the collection? The answer is probably

³ P. Sørensen assumes that the expression *srid pa rma bya'i rgyal mo'i mtshar pa che* (The magnificence of the Peahen Queen of Existence) can be interpreted as a heading of the text (Sørensen 1990: 344). I think this interpretation does not correspond well with the Instrumental case of the following expression *phun sum tshogs pas*. But if it is a lapse of the scribe P. Sørensen's suggestion can be accepted. The figure of *the Peahen of Existence* (*srid pa rma bya*) needs additional research. Search in the BDR library found two cases of use of this expression: *srid pa rma bya'i rgyal mo sna tshogs su / lsnang ba'i mdongs 'od mdzes bkra dbang po'i gzhu* (in several texts, e.g. BDR:IE0OPP006793); *srid pa rma bya'i rgyal mo'i bslu brid kyil / ltad mo mtshar yang snying po dang bral phyir* (in one of the historian Thu'u bkwan's treatises: BDR:IE0OPP000415). In the first case the image is associated with luster, beautiful shining, in the second also with the shining but of deceitful character. Tibetan demonology (mostly belonging to Bön) knows the female deity named Srid pa'i rgyal mo but it is not clear if she relates to the peahen imagery (see Bellezza 2014: 174).

negative since the collection contains a number of songs that depicts him in ugly colors. But, perhaps, the introductory poem was written initially for another version of the collection of songs, that did not include criticism of the Regent? In any case, the person who composed this poem (and compiled the collection?) is likely to have been his contemporary. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the encoding of his name into a stanza that turns this way into a praise of him — moreover, it seems to depict him as an alive person.

The introduction to the Saint Petersburg manuscript Tib. 1000 is completely different. Its author did not claim that he was going to compile the collection, but referred to it as a certain entity that already existed and that the fortunate people were lucky to have access to. My English translation of the poem is provided below along with the corrected Tibetan text. Since the original is written as an acrostic of the abecedarium type, I made an additional versified translation, too.⁴

o m bde legs su gyur cig	OM! Let there be auspiciousness!
ka de skal bzang stong gi sangs	First, ⁶ the maṇḍala that gathered
rgyas yongs 'du'i dkyil 'khor	completely the Buddhas of one
	thousand Good Aeons ⁷ ;
kha brtsan gyi lha skal 'phags	The destined deity, powerful in
mchog spyen ras gzigs dbang	speech, the Holy Sublime
	Avalokiteśvara;
ga sha mkha' 'gros bskor ba'i gu	Guru Padma from Uḍḍiyāna
ru o+rgyan pa+dma	surrounded by the ḍākinīs [full] of
	girth;

⁴ There are thirty lines that correspond with the number of Tibetan letters. The English alphabet consists of 26 letters. I did not want to use its final letter since, in 2022, it temporarily obtained an abominable meaning for a person of my national background and political position. Thus, there remained five letters and they provided me with the most natural option under sad circumstances, one that was made virtually illegal by the current Russian state.

⁵ This is the corrected version of the text that was published earlier with several mistakes (Zorin 2021: 256–257).

⁶ The tentative translation based on an assumption that the syllable *ka* designates here the beginning of the list, while *de* as a demonstrative pronoun.

⁷ This is the literal translation but, perhaps, the one thousand Buddhas of Kalpabhadra (Good Aeon) was meant, this interpretation being reflected in the versified translation.

nga tsho 'dzam gling mchod sdong chos rgyal srong btsan sgam po	The Dharma King Songtsen Gampo, ⁸ the object of offerings in our Jambudvīpa!
ca col sgra dbyangs chos kyi[s] sa gsum yongs la khyab song	Fill the three realms by the Dharma with [its] rolling melody;
cha lugs skye 'gro'i nram thar pa'i lam bzang dkris song	Establish the virtuous path of liberation for the living beings of various appearances;
ja ro skyur bzhin mi mdzad thugs rje lcags kyus 'dzin pa	Grasping with the hook of compassion, without throwing away like used tea leaves,
nya mo gdul bya'i tshogs nams srid pa'i mtsho 'dir 'dzin song	Grasp the hosts of the "fish", those to be tamed, in this sea of existence!
ta la gru 'dzin pho brang bde chen mgon po'i zhing mchog	[May] the blissful [Po]ṭāla Palace, "The Ship Pier", — the best [pure] field of the Protector, ⁹
tha ma snyigs dus 'gro ba'i mgon po gang gi zhing kham	The [pure] realm of the Protector of the migrators in the ultimate period of degeneration
da lta mngon sum mjal ba'i skal bzang dge mtshan snyan grags	[Be] seen directly now by the fortunate ones, bestowed with benefits, glorious,
na rgas 'chi yang 'gyod med las can nga tsho[s] thob byung	Unworried because of the sicknesses, old age, death — may we ¹⁰ obtain such a luck!

⁸ Both Guru Padmasambhava and Srong btsan sgam po are considered the embodiments of Avalokiteśvara in Tibetan Buddhism.

⁹ Avalokiteśvara's pure field Poṭāla[ka] is named twice here: the truncated phonetic rendering is dubbed with the Tibetan translation 'gru 'dzin, lit. 'Holding boats'. i.e. 'a pier, haven' (according to the dictionary: Jäschke 1881: 325).

¹⁰ The original text has here *nga tsho'i* 'our' that must be a mistake; however, even if *nga tshos* was meant it is not very natural for Tibetan sentences to put the subject at the end. Perhaps, it should be replaced with *'di tsher* 'in this life'. Then, the meaning of the phrase would be that those who could see Avalokiteśvara's pure field would be able to defeat the fear of sicknesses, etc. in this life already. The latter interpretation is used in the versified translation.

<p>pa tra 'phrul bral legs bshad don dam chos dang 'jig rten </p> <p>pha rol phyin pa'i gsung shas sa gsum 'gro la spel lo </p> <p>ba tsh[w]a nyon mong dug lnga t[i]ng nge 'dzin pa'i lam bstan </p> <p>ma rigs mun pa sel ba'i nyi zla tshang dbang rgya mtsho </p> <p>tsa ri ma mo mkha' 'gro'i gtso mo ta re'i rnam sprul </p> <p>tsha grang sdug bsngal bsil byed dri za yid 'phrogs mdzes mas </p> <p>dza ga phud kyi bdud rtsi ro mchog phyag tu bsnam nas </p> <p>wa wal sems mthun byams tshangs dbang mchod tshul gzigs mo </p> <p>zha mchog spyi bo'i bryan du ngoms su chog pa'i yag byung </p>	<p>The elegant sayings, free from magical patterns,¹¹ the Sublime Dharma and the world- Transcending speeches [he] spreads in the three realms; [He] shows the path of the concentration for [the elimination] of the five kinds of salt-defilements, Tsangwang Gyatso, the Sun and the Moon, dispels the darkness of ignorance.</p> <p>The chief mother dākinī from [the area] Tsari,¹² an emanation of Tārā, The mitigator of torments of heat and cold, the enchanting beauty- gandharvī, Having taken in [her] hands [some] amrita of the best taste, selected beer, Clearly, with the mind harmonious and loving, she follows the way of making offerings to Tsangwang.¹³</p> <p>The best hat adorning the head,¹⁴ [everything] was good for the pleasure;</p>
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¹¹ The translation is based on the first meaning of the word *pa tra* 'the designation for images such as the endless pattern'; it can also mean 'a bowl' and 'a kind of a precious stone'. In any case, the meaning of the phrase is that the words of Dharma do not need any magical devices.

¹² Tsari is one of the most revered natural areas in Tibet, see Sørensen 1990: 114–122.

¹³ A clear allusion to the song No. 45 of the collection presented below (No. 20 according to the block print); see its analysis in Sørensen 1990: 113–142; Martin 2004: 94–97.

¹⁴ Perhaps, a reference to the song No. 56 according to the block print: *[I] put the hat on [my] head, / threw the braid back. // "Fare you well!" — [she] said. / "Happy stay!" — [I] replied. // "[My] heart is sad", — [she] said. / "See you soon", — [I] replied.* This song is missing on the extant folios of Tib. 1000 and the Beijing manuscript. Perhaps, they did have it at the end of the main part of the collection

<p>za ma smin chung 'grogs 'drid tshang dbang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar </p>	<p>[There were] young women, the sweethearts — [these stories are told in] the <i>namthar</i> of Tsangwang Gyatso,</p>
<p>'a cag skal ldan 'gro ba'i rna bar thos pa'i skal bzang </p>	<p>That we, the fortunate migrators, have luck to hear with our own ears;</p>
<p>ya bral med pa'i blo 'dri[s] gsung mgu[r] 'di la zhus chog </p>	<p>Being inseparable with [our] devoted thoughts¹⁵ from him, [we] ask that his sublime songs [sound] here.</p>
<p>rang bzhin snyems gyong 'jom pa'i gtam gsum khas grags blo 'dri </p>	<p>The devoted one will utter three phrases that conquer the arrogance and stubbornness of nature¹⁶;</p>
<p>la nas zag med blo ['dri]s gter gyi zhal kha phyé chog </p>	<p>Behind the mountain pass, the undefiled mind will open like a treasure.</p>
<p>sha khrag bsdoms nas bzhengs pa'i zla dgu ngo bcu'i lha khang </p>	<p>The shrine of the god that manifested in nine months and ten days from the union of flesh and blood —</p>
<p>sa steng 'di na dkon pa'i rten gsum thugs kyis bzhengs so </p>	<p>The three rare supports were displayed by the [compassionate] heart here, on the earth¹⁷.</p>
<p>ha le snyan pa'i tshig gis bstod pas sngon du bsus te </p>	<p>Having introduced [the main text] with the praise in marvelous pleasant words,</p>
<p>a gsal om dwangs rnam thar gsung mgu 'di na dge'o </p>	<p>Clear [as] A, bright [as] OM, "The Namthar [composed] of the Sublime Songs" is [presented] here — may it be virtuous!</p>

of songs where the tragic denouement of the Sixth Dalai-Lama's story could be described. Tib. 2459-2 lacks it, too, because its version of the collection is shorter.

¹⁵ The word *blo 'dri*s is not attested in the dictionaries; my tentative translation 'devoted thoughts / mind' is based on the context and the meaning of the word 'dri's 'familiar, dear'; but, perhaps, the standard word *blo gros* 'mind, thoughts' could be meant here.

¹⁶ Perhaps, a reference to the song No. 15 of the collection presented below.

¹⁷ The Dalai Lamas are considered emanations of Avalokiteśvara who, thus, manifests in visible corporeal form born from the mother's womb; this way he gives the Buddhists three supports: the enlightened one's body, speech and mind.

A versified translation

OM! May there be happiness!

At first, the Maṇḍala that's gathered one thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa;

By their side, the king of speech, the destined deity — Holy Sublime Avalokiteśvara;

Circled by laughing celestial dancers, Guru Padma from Uḍḍiyāna, Dharmarāja Songtsen Gampo, the abode for our offerings in Jambudvīpa! —

Entirely fill the three realms of the world with the rolling melody-Dharma!

Fling the mortals in all their costumes onto the excellent way of salvation!

Grasp with the hook of Compassion the beings discarded like tea leaves!

Here, in this sea of existence, grasp the crowds of fish that strive for taming!

In the blissful Poṭalaka Palace the Protector's excellent realm is located,

Joyful's this field of the Refuge for the beings in the final age of digression,

Keys to fortune, virtues and glory appear to those who see him directly,

Leaving behind all the torments of sickness, aging and death in this life already.

Merely lucid, eloquent words of the Ultimate Truth and Transcendence,

Never deceptive in patterns, he spreads for the worldly migrators;

Only his path of samādhi removes the poisonous salt of the five defilements,

Piercing darkness of ignorance is the Sun and Moon Tsangwang Gyatso.

Queen of the Tsari ḍākinī mothers, one of the emanations of Tārā,

Remover of pains of heat and cold, a beautiful, stunning gandharvī,

She took in her hands the excellent beer, the best-tasting amrita,

To serve for Tsangwang in a proper way, with thoughts all harmonious, loving;

Upon the head an exquisite hat, all goodness needed for pleasure,

Very sweet ladies, dear to the heart, — this Tsangwang Gyatso's
namthar

We, fortunate people, have the rare luck to hear with our own ears:
Xclusively being devoted to him, we ask for his songs to sound.

Yet also we'd like the three words to be said against the arrogant,
stubborn

Nature of the mind that, being purified, would open up like a
treasure.

Of flesh and blood was the temple built, the one of nine months and
ten days,

Wherein his heart sent forth to the earth the three supports so rare.

After this welcoming hymn is done, with all its refined expressions,

Radiant clarity of the Namthar Songs will shine. May it be
auspicious!

2.

It is a nuisance that we do not know exactly what was the end of both the main part of the Beijing collection and Tib. 1000. The block print version, which like the latter one is labeled as a biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama, is concluded with a block of songs describing the tragic end of his life. The extant folios of Tib. 1000 miss six songs from this block (Nos. 51–54, 56–57 according to the block print). The Beijing manuscript lacks four songs but it is not clear whether the other two (Nos. 52 and 57) belonged to its main part (see Nos. 272 and 342 according to the tentative enumeration of P. Sørensen). Both the Beijing manuscript and Tib. 2459-2 do not apply the concept of biography to the collections of songs they present: the introduction to the former one calls it *gsung mgur legs bshad* (see above), while the latter one has the general title *Rin chen tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho'i gsung mgur rgyas pa*, i.e. *An extensive collection of the spiritual songs by Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso*.

Tib. 2459-2 contains an abridged version of the collection and cannot help us in solving this riddle. This is also a mixed version that combines songs and sometimes blocks of songs that are presented in the Beijing manuscript and missing in Tib. 1000 (see the table, Nos. 8, 97, 123–125, 131, 133, 137–138, 155–167), and vice versa (see Nos. 9, 143–147, 149–151, 153–154). It is impossible to imagine that the compiler could combine exactly these two books but he, obviously, had to deal with variants of both versions. The text of Tib. 2459-2 has

fewer discrepancies with the Beijing manuscript, still, it differs from it in a number of cases, and, moreover, it contains some songs that are missing in both of the other manuscripts.

The fact is that all three versions start with two songs that are definitely interpreted here as relating to the Sixth Dalai Lama's parents. It probably means that they go back to the same original version collected by an anonymous person according to a certain conception. The order of the following songs is not contradictory to the biographic interpretation, even in regard to the abridged version found in Tib. 2459-2.

The table below can help to discuss this topic. It presents the summary list of the contents of the two versions of the collection of the Sixth Dalai Lama's songs presented in the two Saint Petersburg manuscripts. The Beijing manuscript (B) is used to an extent that corresponds with their materials. The references to the Lhasa block print (L) are also included as an additional point of comparison.¹⁸ Tib. 1000 (SP2) is taken as the basic text; the extra songs that are found in Tib. 2459-2 (SP2) are either the additional ones (Tib. 1000 probably never had them) or those that can fill the lacunae of the missing folios of Tib. 1000, although we cannot say for sure which of them were represented in it. The first column contains the numbering of the whole collection artificially composed by me on the basis of the two manuscripts. The third column provides very short descriptions of the contents of each song. Using them we can try to discuss briefly the composition of the collection as reflected in the manuscripts under study.

Unlike the Lhasa block print, it consists of too many songs to present a coherent narrative. However, I believe it is clear that the compiler did care about how to arrange the songs, at least to counterbalance amorous motifs with religious and philosophical musings. The "struggle" between these two lines of the quasi-narrative seems to be the essence of the entire composition. The lyrical hero constantly sways between the joys of this life and thoughts that they are illusory and the path of Dharma should be taken.

The initial group of the six songs can be read as a kind of foreword that introduces the parents of the hero and the end of the (innocent)

¹⁸ In my previous publications I missed nine songs from the Lhasa block-print that have equivalents in Tib. 1000: nos. 6 (L: 47), 9 (L: 5), 10 (L: 6), 39 (L: 21), 40 (L: 22), 41 (L: 23), *97 (L: 58), *103 (L: 45), *132 (L: 32).

childhood that brings about thoughts about the inevitable aging. Two philosophical songs conclude this part, emphasizing the idea of the unreliability and futility of all mundane aspirations. Nevertheless, the young man enters the sea of passions and the following one hundred songs describe various aspects of his experience, starting from the first love to a daughter of some mighty ruler whose figure is usually identified as the Regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. The most important motifs here are the danger of losing beloved ones (various animalistic similes are used, most frequently the flower/girl and the bee/poet paradigm), the uncertainty of the women's feelings, the comparison between worldly love and religion (guidance of a lama and an option to leave for a mountain retreat are often remembered in this context), and the fear of a certain powerful figure (most probably, the Regent) who is depicted both as a ruler and a person pretending to be an expert in the Buddhist teaching. Closer to the end of this part the feeling of anxiety and disappointment increases and a group of purely religious songs (107–114) that starts with a dedication to the root guru appears. It is followed with several sad songs (115–118) about the young man's loneliness and then with seven songs that criticize people (perhaps, the Regent again) following Buddhism just outwardly, without deep devotion and understanding. The following group of songs (126–162) again presents motifs connected with worldly love (at least outwardly), a new one being added to them, that of the death of close people — the parents and a beloved one. Sadness seems to be a prevailing poetical emotion here, and it serves as a preparation for another block of songs that praise the path of Dharma. Such a block concludes the version of Tib. 2459-2, the songs 162–170 praise the rejection of passions and explain the best qualities of the samadhī. The final song here (170) plays with the simile of the bee and the yogi-poet: having enjoyed the ambrosia of the samadhī, the bee performs the dance of the Dharma. This looks like an excellent "epilogue" for the collection. However, the Beijing manuscript has a continuation of an unknown length. Tib. 1000 has differences from both of the other two manuscripts here. Due to the missing page, we do not know if it had any of the songs 158–170, in any case it could have just three to four songs. Nevertheless, the last extant page starts with two philosophical songs (missing in the two other manuscripts), i.e. Tib. 1000 also had such a block, albeit it was apparently shorter. Like in the Beijing manuscript, it was not the end of the collection but, except for two songs about "worldly" affairs, its remaining part, unfortunately, is a

mystery to us.

The repeating character of religious “insertions” and the fact that the version of Tib. 2459-2 ends up with one of them shows, to my mind, the intention of the compiler (if not the *author*) of the collection. The distribution of the “biographic” details through various parts of the collection seems to support the assumption that the compiler had this aspect in mind, too. Although the manuscripts cannot be compared in this respect with the concise version of the Lhasa block print, their comparison shows some affinity in terms of the arrangement of the songs, especially in the opening part. Among the songs 1–21 of the manuscripts versions there are equivalents of the first 18 songs from the block print, and they even go in the same order. Later on, two more blocks of songs that have the same sequence as in the block print are found. It means there must be a certain genetic relation between both major variants of the collection (represented with the three manuscripts and the block print) but any further conclusions about it are hardly possible.¹⁹

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
1	1	The season is fertile in Mön / the parents fell in love.	1	1	46
2	2	The moon in the sky / the mother in the poet's memory is clear.	2	2	1
3	3	Boys getting old(er).	3	3	2
4	4	Girls getting old(er).	4	4	—
5	5	Illusory nature of mundane activities.	5	5	—
6	6	The stupidity of not remembering about impermanence and death.	6	6	47

¹⁹ The majority of songs consist of four verses (*rkang pa*), otherwise, their number as well as various discrepancies between the four versions are reflected. Sometimes, one or more verses are found in some versions and are not in others. In this case, square brackets show that they are found in certain versions, while curly brackets and letter(s) X show that they are missing; e. g., in No. 25, all the manuscript versions have four verses while the Lhasa block print has six verses, this is shown as $2[XX]+2$ and $2^{+2}+2$, respectively. If one or two verses are missing by a mistake, this is shown with angle brackets, e.g. $2^{<+2?>}$ (in this case only two lines are written and my assumption is that the second pair of verses is missing). All such cases are easier to be checked in the edition of the songs following after the table.

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
7	7	Obtaining the beloved one / a jewel from the sea.	7	7	3
8	—	A casual love affair / a turquoise found and left.	8	8	4
9	8	The governor's daughter / a ripened peach.	—	9	5
10	9	No sleep at night / how to get the beloved one tomorrow?	9	10	6
11	10	The flower/love withers, no worries for the bee/poet.	10	11	7
12	11	Winter is near — the flower and the bee are likely to part soon.	11	12	8
13	12	The goose likes the lake — frost makes him leave it.	12	13	9
14	13	The boat looks back / the girl does not.	13	14	10
15	14	A knot of vows with a marketplace girl easily unties.	14	15	11
16	—	A knot of vows with the beloved one is strong.	—	16	—
17	15	The sweetheart has set a prayer flag — may it stay unharmed!	15	17	12
18	16	Written letters are erasable / a mental image of the beloved one is not.	16	18	13
19	17	The seal on paper is mute — may the seal of modesty be stamped on minds!	17	19	14
20	18	The bee wants to enter a temple along with the luxurious flower (an offering).	18	20	15
21	19	If the beloved one chooses religion, the poet will follow her.	19	21	16
22	20 2+2	Amorous thoughts disturb concentration on the lama's words.	20 2+2	22 1<+1>+ 2	17 4
23	21	The lama's image does not appear in the mind / the girl's image does.	21	23	18
24	22	If the beloved one remains in a retreat, the man will offer all possessions to Dharma.	22	24	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
25	23 2[XX]+2	The forest of Lhorong is the place of secret meetings — may it remain unexposed!	23 2[XX]+2	25 2[XX]+ 2	50 2+[2]+2
26	24	<i>A variation on the same motif.</i>	24	26	—
27	25	A meeting in a tavern — what if a child is to be born?	25	27	28
28	26	A one-night affair — easy to part.	26	28	—
29	27	A secret told to the beloved one gets known to the foe.	27	29	29
30	28	The hunter caught the beauty but Prince Norzang took her.	28	30	30
31	29	The sadness of seeing the jewel that used to be yours in another man's hands.	29	31	31
32	30	The flower/beloved one withers — the bee/poet has to accept it.	30	32	—
33	31	Passion fastens to <i>samsāra</i> , its weakening in the poet makes the girl unhappy.	31	33	—
34	32	The flower withers quickly / the girl is flicker-minded: no feelings behind her smile.	32	34	—
35	33	Parents suggest one girl as a bride — thoughts cling to another.	33	35	—
36	34	If thoughts are stable, Buddhahood may be obtained in this life.	34	36	19
37	35	Peaches fall down — gossip spreads.	35	37	—
38	36	The poet gets drunk and stays at a tavern till the early morning.	36	38	—
39	37	The wind horse flies high / the beloved one has agreed to be with the poet.	37	39	21
40	38	A row of pretty women — sidelong glances follow the poet.	38	40	22
41	39	The beloved one takes an oath to be with the poet until death parts them.	39	41	23
42	40	No retreats anymore — this is the girl's desire.	40	42	24
43	41 2<+2>	A bee in the net / thoughts of the religious boy from Kongpo after three days of love.	41 2+2	43 2+2	25 2+2

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
44	<42> ?	Worldly pleasures — obtaining divinity can hardly give more fun.	42	44	—
45	<43> ?	Girls and beer, if eternal, are the best refuge for the young man.	43	45	34
46	44 <1+>3	Being separated from the beloved one in the next life is a horror.	44 4	46 4	—
47	45 [2]+4 {XX}	Perfect beer/amrita offered by Jñānaḍākinī protects one from lower realms.	45 [2]+4+[2]	47 {XX}4+ [2]	20 [2]+4 {XX}
48	46	May the young man's afflictions be burnt by the sweetheart at night.	63	68	—
49	?	Love makes the poet postpone a retreat.	46	48	—
50	?	The girl is beloved but does <i>she</i> love?	47	49	27
51	?	Does not the pretty girl lie to get money from the poet?	48	50	55
52	?	The beloved one has appeared — avarice is away.	49	51	—
53	?	The turquoise ornament cannot tell the beloved one's thoughts.	50	52	26
54	?	No way to find a constant partner among marketplace girls.	51	53	—
55	?	<i>Unclear since two lines are missing.</i>	—	54 2<+2?>	—
56	?	The girl looks great and tells she did not have lovers — why does she stink, then?	52	55	—
57	?	The fake monk — his lie is the greatest.	53 2{XX}+4	56 2+[2]	—
58	?	They gossip about the poet and the raven but do not about the ruler and the Mongolian hawk.		57 ⁴	—
59	?	Neighbors can hear — the shy girl should not be made crying.	54	58	—
60	?	The dry valley / the aging man will not refuse a spritz of rain / casual sex.	55	59	—
61	?	The poet failed both to reject passions and to exhaust them.	56 {XX}2+4	60 [2]+2	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
62	?	The passion of a yogi and a yoginī secures a happy union in this and the next life.		61 ⁴	—
63	?	The beloved one who has no love / a horse who cannot ride.	57	62	—
64	?	The season of blossom is long — the bee asks the flower to linger on.	58	63	—
65	?	The beloved one is a lake goddess — may she at least pretend she still has love.	59	64	—
66	?	The girl's evil thoughts turned out equally powerful as her beauty.	60	65	—
67	?	The flower and the bee / the couple — relations can be long if only their passion is strong.	61	66	—
68	?	The massive body is put into a grave — the small bird-consciousness flew away to the bardo.	62	67	—
69	?	The bird is devoted to its child but cannot help it fall down when the wind is too strong.	64 2{XX}+ {XX}2	69 2+[2]	—
70	?	The girl wants to be with the poet but cannot resist the governor's will.		70 [2]+2	—
71	?	The Cobra's saffron/governor in front of the poet — the lotus/beloved one in his heart.	65	71	—
72	?	May the girl be straight like a pillar, not like a crooked arch pillar.	66	72	—
73	?	The girl is not born from a peach tree — her love has faded even faster than its fruit.	67 3{X}+1	73 3+[1]+1	—
74	?	The girl is born from a paper plant, she is like a prayer flag made of paper.	68 2+2	74 2+2	35 2+[2]
75	?	A sky scheme explains the moves of the planets — sex does not help to enter the girl's heart.	69	75	49
76	?	The lama always gives instructions — the girl does not answer whether she loves the poet.	70	76	—
77	?	Fish can be caught in a deep lake, the girl's heart is unattainable.	71	77	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
78	?	The girl is like a wolf who cannot be domesticated.	72	78	36
79	?	The girl acts against her parents' will — what if her love fails?	73	79	—
80	?	The persimmon/girl's body is not very beautiful — the mango/heart is sweet.	74	80	—
81	?	The stray horse can be caught — the rebellious girl's heart not.	75	81	37
82	?	One girl from market place attracts many men.	76 1+1?+ [2] & 77[2] + 2	82 1<+1?> {XXXX} +2	—
83	?	Tsampa will keep on being grinded / the woman will look for lovers until old age.	78	83	—
84	?	The mane (not bones) is the main thing in a horse / the face (not pedigree) in a woman.	79	84	—
85	?	The rare turquoise/beauty is wanted by many.	80	85	—
86	?	The blended skandhas are inseparable, the revered mind can separate desire.	81	86	—
87	*86 ²⁰ <2+>2	If the bird consoles the poet in the mountains, he will console it (her?) in the valley.	82 2+2	87 2+2	—
88	*87	The beloved one was stolen — can the parrot tell by whom?	83	88	—
89	*88	The singing bird, famous in China and Tibet, is banished from Lhasa.	84	89	—
90	*89	The stupid monkey closes her face and thinks nobody can see it steal in the daytime.	85	90	—
91	*90	Seeds are not seen but the fruit will inevitably get visible.	86	91	—

²⁰ This is a provisional number that was calculated the following way: thirteen pages, 24 to 36, are missing, almost all extant pages contain 3 songs each, hence 39 numbers were added by me to 46.

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
92	*91	Everything is good about the girl from Dakpo, one has to be strong to be ready to lose her.	87	92	—
93	*92	The girl is beautiful, the poet worries she can draw him away from religion.	88	93	—
94	*93	The cloud drifting in the sky — isn't it a sign of Yidzin Lhamo's love?	89	94	—
95	*94	It must be the wind from the poet's motherland — it has brought scent of the beloved one's body.	90	95	—
96	*95	Can the poet and his beloved one be separated like water and milk?	91	96	—
97	—	The bad astrological prognosis for lovers can be cleansed with rituals.	92	97	—
98	*96	The poet pleads not to be punished for something he did not do.	93	98	—
99	*97	May the karmic mirror of Yama help the poet to have all bad things corrected in his next life.	94	99	58
100	*98	No use in wearing white silk — the beloved one's feelings have proved short.	95	100	—
101	*99	The opponent is eager to draw a black picture on the poet's white scarf/heart.	96	101	—
102	*100	The rock and wind beat the vulture / the lies beat the poet's mind.	97	102	38
103	*101	The white cloud of the poet's love faces the hostile wind of the opponent's heart.	98	103	—
104	*102	The yellow cloud that is black inside / neither a layman nor a monk, the foe of Buddhism.	99	104	39
105	*103	Protector Dorje Chökyong is invoked to tame the foe of Buddhism.	100	105	45
106	*104	The strong wind, no locks / the storm of gossip cannot be extinguished.	101	106	—
107	*105	A salutation to the poet's Root Teacher.	102	107	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
108	*106	All mistakes are confessed in front of the Buddha.	103	108	—
109	*107	Glacier water has great potency.	104	109	—
110	*108	A prayer to Jñānaḍākinī's compassion.	105	110	—
111	*109	Virtuous merits are not to be reviled even when the strong wind blows.	106	—	—
112	*110	Butter is hidden in milk / the true essence is obstructed by ignorance.	107	111	—
113	*111	Mind is free of changes by nature, only afflictions make it display changes.	108	112	—
114	—	Differentiation between the pure and the impure makes the difference between saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.	—	113	—
115	*112	The bee/poet and the flower/beloved one appeared at different times and failed to enjoy each other.	110	114	—
116	*113	Autumn makes the bee part with the flower / the aging man has to part with the beloved one.	111	115	—
117	*114	The season is fertile / the girl is charming — the young bull weeps / the poet sings a sad song.	112	116	—
118	*115	The boy sings a sad song — only grass responds him.	113	117	—
119	*116 2+2	No echo from the rock / no heartfelt reply from the beloved one's father.	114 2+2	118 2<+2>	—
120	*117	Washing does not purify — a fish would have obtained liberation this way.	115	119	—
121	*118	Saffron clothes do not make one a lama — a goose would have been a spiritual leader.	116	120	—
122	*119	Repeating others' words does not mean being a guru — a parrot would have been one.	117	—	—
123	*120 2+[2]	Repeating others' words does not mean having power — an echo would have been an enlightened one.	118 2+[2]	121 2{XX}+ {XX}2	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
124	*121 [2]+2	The seer of foes and friends cannot become a buddha — a beast of prey would have been one.	119 [2]+2		
125	*122	Worldly joys do not produce enlightenment — Kubera would have been a buddha.	120	122	—
126	—	Mön lady's thighs are very white, she has led away the young man.	121	123	—
127	—	The cuckoo's song is sweet but the beloved one's voice is sweeter.	122 6	124 6	—
128	—	<i>Unclear since two lines are missing (beloved "sister Tsewang" is mentioned).</i>	—	125 2<+2?>	—
129	*123	The snow grouse is called to console the poet's heart agitated by the beloved one.	123	126	—
130	*124	The lake and the goose seemed to be inseparable — the ice has made the goose leave.	124	127	—
131	*125	The girl and the poet seemed to be inseparable — the governor and karma made them part.	125	128	—
132	*126 2+2	The mountain pass hinders vision, the great river hinders walking.	126 2+2	129 2<+2>	—
133	*127 2+[2] {XX}	Separation with the fatherland disturbs thoughts, separation with the beloved one disturbs sleep.	127 2+[2] & 9(1)+ [1] (=the last verse of No. 127) +[2]	130 2+[2]+ [2]	—
134	—	The poet would have been happy to see the river stream up and his parents appear up there.	128	131	—
135	—	The owner will take his arrow from the meadow, none can extract a thought from the poet's mind.	—	132	—
136	—	The arrowhead is lost in the earth, the poet's thoughts are constantly with the beloved one.	129	133	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
137	*128	The meadow and grass have parted due to the season / the poet and the beloved one due to their karma.	130	134	—
138	*129	Crossing the river can be helped by the boat owner — the death of the beloved one cannot be helped.	131	135	—
139	*130	The tree has lots of twigs / the woman has lots of ideas.	132	136	—
140	—	The girl has many own thoughts — does not want be adorned with her (?) parents' turquoise.	133	137	—
141	—	The bad year results in anxieties / the damage of "the private little field" produces suffering.	134	138	—
142	—	The parents' death did not overwhelm the poet with despondency, unlike his beloved one's death.	—	139	—
143	*131	Relations were kept secret but an army of gossip attacked lovers.	135	140	—
144	*132 2+2	The beloved one became somebody else's bride — both mind and body of the poet are hit.	136 2+2	141 <2>+2	32 2+2
145	*133	A sickness prevents one from eating tasty food / lovers are separated by an irresistible power.	137	142	—
146	*134	A harvested field was the place where the poet first met his beloved one.	—	143	—
147	*135	When asked "how do you feel?" — the girls started crying.	—	144	—
148	*136	Bodies of lovers are united but minds are not — unlike gold and brass in Nepalese crafts.	—	145	—
149	*137	The deer in the mountains / the girl seized by the governor cannot be taken by the dog/poet.	—	146	—
150	*138	Stones from the mountain killed the harvest / the karmic connection between lovers ran out.	—	147	—
151	—	<i>Unclear since two lines are missing (the bee/</i>	—	148 2<+2?>	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
		<i>flower pattern is used).</i>			
152	*139	The tree remains bent in the same direction / the beloved one's thoughts change their turn.	—	149	—
153	*140	The frozen earth/new girlfriend is not suitable for the male horse's run/candid talks.	—	150	40
154	*141	The briar fruit has a big bone inside / the beloved one's face is pretty but her heart is unknown.	—	151	—
155	—	The beloved one/rainbow is bountiful now but the resource may be extinguished soon.	—	152	—
156	*142	The destined girl is like a stainless silver mirror — she would appear late(r).	—	153	—
157	*143	The cuckoo left for Mön — the goose will leave for Lhorong.	—	154	—
158	— (?)	The center of Tibet is Lhasa, relations with the beloved one were established by Machik Pel-lha.	138	155	—
159	— (?)	The flower/girl will get old one day — may the beauty show her petals, a natural thing to do.	139	156	—
160	— (?)	A casual one-night love affair — love that is free of attachment was found in Lhasa.	140	157	—
161	— (?)	The sun/husband is in, the star/poet is out.	141	158	—
162	— (?)	The candid girl has appeared in the dream — may the karmic connection with her be formed!	142	159	—
163	— (?)	The mind is attached to passion — let the lama cut its cord with his sword!	143	160	—
164	— (?)	The boy's sad song reflects sadness of being attached to saṃsāra.	144	161	—
165	— (?)	The dream about universal friendship is but a dream, anything just reminding truth is but a defilement.	145 1{XX}+3	162 1+[2]+3	—

Nos.	SP1: nos.	Summary of the contents	B: nos.	SP2: nos.	L: nos.
166	— (?)	The poet had a passion to the girl's beauty but he has expelled it and heads for a retreat.	146 [2]+4	163 [XX]3 <+1>	—
167	—	Practicing pure Dharma in this life will bring clear light in future lives.	147	164	—
168	—	Sensual pleasures are suitable for animals, amrita of samadhī provides true happiness.	148 4[XX]+2	165 4+[2]+2	—
169	—	Samadhī provides the purest happiness, equanimity is the best basis of the mind.	149 4	166 <1+>3	—
170	—	Having produced bodhicitta and enjoyed amrita, the bees will perform the Dharmic dance.	150	167	—
171	*147	The practice of Dharma will bring about the sun of clear light, the source of endless happiness.	—	—	—
172	*148	With the flower of bodhicitta, one can enjoy amrita of the two truths.	—	—	—
173	*149	The Eastern Indian peacock and the parrot from Lhorong met in Lhasa.	447	—	—
174	*150	Gossips are numerous — the amount of love the poet has had exceeds the limits of a sea.	450	—	—
<...>					

3.

The following translation corresponds entirely with the table presented above. Whenever Tib. 1000 (SP1) has its versions of the songs it is used as the basic textual source, in other cases Tib. 2459-2 (SP2) or, for several verses, the Beijing manuscript (B) is used. The translation is supplied with the edited Tibetan text — my suggestions at its correction are put in square brackets, the original syllables being also shown in angle brackets. Only meaningful discrepancies (including synonyms and various forms of the same words) found in the other manuscripts and the block print are presented in the notes to

each song.²¹ When necessary, they are provided with a translation.

My aim was to present an academic, close to literal translation of the songs which would be clear to the reader in regard of the first layer of their meaning. Behind it there may be other layer(s) that make various interpretations of a number of the Sixth Dalai Lama's songs possible. A lot of valuable commentaries in this regard are provided in Per Sørensen's book.²² As far as I know, the only attempt at literary translation of the complete set of the songs found in the Beijing manuscript, hence most of the songs presented below, was made into English by Simon Wickham-Smith. It was only published in the internet but is currently unavailable, I have it as an electronic document (Wickham-Smith [2006]). Several relevant songs are also presented in the Chinese translation (Zhuang Jing 1981), the French translation (Vilgrain 1986) that follows Zhuang Jing's selection of songs from the Beijing manuscript, and the English translation (Waters 2007) that uses a part of Zhuang Jing's selection and adds several more songs from Sørensen's edition.

1.

SP1: 1. [B: 1 / SP2: 1 / L: No. 46]

khu byug mon ¹ nas <i>phebs</i>	The cuckoo from Mön appeared,
<i>byung</i> ²	The fertile power of the season
nam zla'i sa bcud 'phel ³ song	increased.
<i>chung 'drid</i> ⁴ byams pa <i>phebs</i>	Love [in] friends from childhood
<i>byung</i> ⁵	appeared,
lus sems <i>bde la bkod</i> ⁶ song	Both the body and the mind
	turned happy.

¹ L: mun: '[from] darkness' — most probably, an orthographic mistake, otherwise, 'darkness' may symbolize the winter season; ² B: yong dus, SP2: yong bas, L: yongs pa'i; ³ B/SP2/L: phebs — an awkward repetition of the same verb as in the first verse; ⁴ B/SP2: chung 'dri, L: nga dang: 'I and [love]' — a completely different meaning that explains why the song could not be placed at the beginning of L; ⁵ B/SP2: 'phrad pas — 'met' but it does not fit the verse smoothly and seems to have been borrowed from L where it works perfectly, L: phrad nas; ⁶ B/SP2/L: lhod por lang (SP2: langs) — 'got relaxed'.

²¹ When two or more syllables have discrepancies with the other sources these syllables are italicized. The full lists of discrepancies, with all mistakes and dubious forms, are available in my edition of Tib. 2459-2 (see the previous paper of this issue of RET).

²² In certain cases, I read the songs differently, partly because the two Saint Petersburg manuscripts provided alternative or clearer textual information.

2.

SP1: 2. [B: 2 / SP2: 2 / L: No. 1]

shar phyogs ri bo'i rtse nas	From the mountain in the east
dkar gsal zla ba shar byung	The pure white moon appeared.
ma skyes ¹ a ma'i bzhin ² ras	The face of my own (<i>var.</i> : unborn)
<i>dran slong gtong mkhan 'dra</i>	mother
<i>byung</i> ³	Appeared like a memory excitor.

¹ SP2: skye'i — the phrase *ma skye'i a ma* means 'the mother of unborn' (perhaps, a hint at the non-reality of the Dalai Lama's birth since he is supposed to be an embodiment of the Enlightened one?); the interpretation of the word 'ma skyes' as relating to the poet's own mother was rendered to me by Jampa Namdrol, a Tibetan fellow of the Asian Classics Input Project, in the middle of the 2000s; ² SP2: zhal; ³ B: dran long la 'dug[g]o, SP2: dung dung dran yod 'dug go — 'arises effortlessly in [my] memory', L: yid la 'khor 'khor byas byung — 'started circling in my mind'.

3.

SP1: 3. [B: 3 / SP2: 3 / L: No. 2]

na ning <i>skyes pa'i</i> ¹ ljangs	Fresh sprouts that appeared last
gzhon	year
da lo sog ma'i ph[o]n thag ²	Are ropes of straw this year.
pho gzhon rgas pa'i <i>mi pho</i> ³	An elder man [who used to] be a
<i>hor gyi gzhu las 'khyogs</i>	lad
<i>song</i> ⁴	Has got more twisted than a
	Mongolian bow.

¹ L: stabs pas [btab pa'i?] 'were planted'; ² B: chog, SP2: shog, L: lcog 'bundle'; ³ B/SP2/L: lus po; ⁴ B: hor gzhu las skyo ba 'more tired than a Mongolian bow', SP2: hor gzhu las kyang 'khyog po, L: lho gzhu las gyong ba'i 'tougher than the southern bow'.

4.

SP1: 4. [B: 4 / SP2: 4 / L: —]

me tog <i>rgas pa'i</i> ¹ thul le<lo'i> ²	When looking at you, a decayed
nag po khyod ³ la [b]ltas na	flower's
a lce <i>bu mo nga tsho</i>	Withered (<i>lit.</i> black) corpse,
<i>na so rgas pa 'pham<s> song</i> ⁴	[We see that] we, respectable girls,
	Have been [also] defeated with
	getting old.

¹ B/SP2: yal ba'i; ² B/SP2: thu lu; ³ B: [de], SP2: sa 'place/earth (with flowers)'; ⁴ B: rgan mos sman shar / bu mo [de] yang los byas, SP2: rgan mo'i bu mo / dman shar bu mo los byed — in both cases the idea seems to be that young girls turn old.

5.

SP1: 5. [B: 5 / SP2: 5 / L: —]

tshe 'di'i bya byed<byes> rnam	All sorts of activities in this life
grangs	Are images [drawn] in water.
chu <i>yi nang gi ri<s> mo</i> ¹	Of images undefiled
<i>ri<s> mo zag</i> ² pa med pa'i	The mode of arising should be
'char ³ lugs 'di ⁸ la gzigs dang	observed.

¹ SP2: la ri mo bris pa yi; ² B/SP2: zad '(without) cessation'; ³ SP2: cha.

6.

SP1: 6. [B: 6 / SP2: 6 / L: 47]

mi rtag 'chi ba'i ¹ <i>jig chen</i> ²	The great terror of impermanence
snying la ³ ma dran zer na	[and] death
<i>mi lus</i> ⁴ <i>spyang grung</i> ⁵ 'dzom ⁶	Is not recollected in [my] heart —
yang ⁷	if [you] say,
don du ⁸ lkug pa <i>yin no</i> ⁹	[It means that] even though [you
	are] clever as a human being,
	[You] are stupid in regard of the
	truth.

¹ B/SP2/L: ba; ² B/SP2: yong rgyu 'forthcoming (death)', L: —; ³ SP2: nas; ⁴ B/L: —, SP2: smra mkhas '(clever as) a speaker'; ⁵ B/L: lchang drung; ⁶ SP2/L: 'dzoms; ⁷ B/SP2/L: kyang; ⁸ B/SP2/L: la; ⁹ B/L: dang 'dra byung; SP2: dang 'dra 'like (a fool)'.

7.

SP1: 7. [B: 7 / SP2: 7 / L: 3]

rang blor ¹ <i>babs pa i</i> ² mi de	If a person who is on my mind
gtan gyi mdun mar byung	Would become [my] partner for
na	life,
rgya mtsho'i gting gi ³ nor bu	It would be like taking in hands
<i>lag tu lon pa 'dra byung</i> ⁴	A jewel from the depth of the sea.

¹ SP2: sems; ² SP2: zug pa'i 'tormenting', L: song ba'i; ³ B/SP2/L: nas; ⁴ B/L: lon pa dang 'dra (L: mnyam) byung, SP2: lon 'dra'i dga' pa 'dug go 'it will be a joy, like receiving (a jewel)'.

^8.

SP1: —. [B: 8 / SP2: 8 / L: 4]

[B:] 'gro zhor lam bu'i snying	The sweetheart met casually on
sdug	the way
lus dri zhim pa'i bu mo	[Was] a girl with a good-smelling
g.yu chung gru dkar rnyes	body.
nas	

*skyur pa dang*¹ 'dra byung | | It was like finding a white-lustered little turquoise
And throwing [it] away.

¹ SP2: <bsgyur>[bskyur] nas stor pa 'throwing away and losing'.

9.

SP1: 8. [B: — / SP2: 9 / L: 5]

mi chen dpon po'i bu¹ mo The noble master's daughter's
kha 'bras mtshar la [b]ltas na | | Shape of the face is amazing to
kham sdong mthon po'i rtse la² look at,
'bras bu smin pa³ 'dra byung | | As if on the top of the high peach
tree
A ripened fruit appeared.

¹ L: sras; ² SP2: nas; ³ SP2: dang, L: pa dang.

10.

SP1: 9. [B: 9 / SP2: 10 / L: 6]

sems pa phar la shor ba¹ Thoughts wander in love,
mtshan mor gnyid thebs [g]cog At night the sleep is interrupted.
gi[s] | | Not getting [her] in the day time
nyin mor lag tu *mi lon*² Is an assistant of disappointment.
yid thang chad rogs³ yin
pa'i⁴ | |

¹ B/SP2: kyang, L: nas; ² SP2: ma yong; ³ SP2: grogs; ⁴ B: pa, SP2: pas, L: bas.

11.

SP1: 10. [B: 10 / SP2: 11 / L: 7]

me tog nam zla<s> yal nas¹ The season of flowers has faded
g.yu sbrang sems pa ma away,
skyod² | | [But] thoughts of the turquoise
byams pa'i las ['phro]<'gro> bee are not shaken.
zad par³ Karmic power of [our] love has
nga yang⁴ skyod⁵ rgyu mi exhausted,
'dug | | [But] there is no reason to be
agitated for me.

¹ B/SP2/L: song; ² B/SP2/L: skyo 'sad'; ³ B: pa; ⁴ B/L: ni, SP2: rang; ⁵ B/SP2/L: skyo '(to be) sad'.

12.

SP1: 11. [B: 11 / SP2: 12 / L: 8]

rtsi thog <i>ba mo'i</i> ¹ kha la	Above hoarfrost on grass
[skyi]<gyang> ² ser rlung po'i ³	The envoy of a cold winter wind
pho nya	[blows].
me tog sbrang bu ⁴ gnyis la ⁵	Is it going to be the one that
'bral mtshams gtong ⁶ mkhan	separates
<i>min nam</i> ⁷	The flower and the bee?

¹ SP2: pad ma'i 'a lotus'; ² B/L: rkyang; ³ B/SP2: gi, L: gis; ⁴ B/SP2: ma; ⁵ B/SP2/L: kyi; ⁶ B/L: byed, SP2: 'by[e]d; ⁷ B/SP2/L: los yin 'is surely going to be'.

13.

SP1: 12. [B: 12 / SP2: 13 / L: 9]

ngang <i>pas mtsho mo bsam</i> ¹ nas	The goose contemplated the lake
re zhig sdad ² dgos bsam	And decided to live [there] for a
kyang	while,
mtsho mo 'khyag ³ <i>pas bsdams</i> ⁴	But the lake got bound with frost,
nas	And his thoughts lost resolve.
<i>rang sems</i> ⁵ kho thag chod	
song	

¹ B/SP2: mo 'dam la chag (SP2: chags), L: pa 'dam la chags 'attached to a bog'; ² B/SP2/L: sdong 'to unite'; ³ B: khyag, L: dar; ⁴ SP2: gis bsdam, L: kha bsgrigs; ⁵ B: re zhig 'after a little while', SP2: ngang mo 'a goose'.

14.

SP1: 13. [B: 13 / SP2: 14 / L: 10]

gru shan ¹ sems ² pa med kyang	Though the boat has no
rta mgo[s]<'i> phyi<r> mig	consciousness,
<i>blta gi</i> ³	[Its] horse's head looks back [at
khrel gzhung med pa'i byams	me].
pa[s]<'i>	The beloved one has neither
nga la <i>phyir ltas ma byung</i> ⁴	modesty nor conscience,
	[She] did not turn back to look at
	me.

¹ SP2: shing; ² SP2: bsam; ³ B: blta gis, SP2: bltas song, L: ltas byung; ⁴ B/L: phyi mig mi blta (L: lta), SP2: phyi mig ma bltas.

15.

SP1: 14. [B: 14 / SP2: 15 / L: 11]

<i>nga dang tshong 'dus a lce</i> ¹	I and a market lady
tshig gsum <i>dam bca' mdud pa</i> ²	[Made] a knot of an oath of three words;
khra bo ³ sbrul la ma rgyag ⁴	[We] did not make [it] of a spotted
<i>mdud pa rang sar</i> ⁵ grol	snake,
song ⁶	[Yet] the knot got untied by itself [like the snake].

¹ B/L: nga dang tshong 'dus bu mo (L: bu mo'i), SP2: chung 'dris a ce'i bu mo; ² B: dam pa'i 'dud pa, SP2: mdud pa'i dam bca', L: dam bca'i 'dud pa; ³ B: phra bo, SP2: phra mo'i, L: phra bo'i 'subtle, fine, thin'; ⁴ L: rgyab; ⁵ B/SP2: rang rang (B: the second rang is missing) sa la 'each to its own place'; ⁶ SP2: yong.

^16.

SP1: —. [B: — / SP2: 16 / L: —]

nga dang chung 'dris byams pa<'i>	I and the beloved one, known from childhood,
tshig gsum mdud pa'i dam bca'	Took an oath in which three words [made] a knot.
sra [b]a'i dar dkar mdud pa	Who is that person who can untie
grol mkhan mi po su yin	A tight knot of white silk?

17.

SP1: 15. [B: 15 / SP2: 17 / L: 12]

chung 'drid ¹ byams pas ² rlung skyed	The sweetheart, known from childhood,
<i>lcang ma'i</i> ³ log[s] la ⁴ btsug yod	Set a prayer flag near a willow.
lcang bsrung <i>zhal ngo</i> ⁵ og shes ⁶	The caretaker of the willow, sir, please,
rdo kha brgyab ⁷ pa ma gnang	Do not throw stones [at it].

¹ B/SP1: 'dris, L: 'bris; ² B/SP2/L: pa'i; ³ B: skye legs; ⁴ B: log nas, SP2: logs su, L: logs la; ⁵ L: a jo; ⁶ B: dba' shes, SP2: pa shes, L: zha ngos; ⁷ B/SP2/L: rgyag.

18.

SP1: 16. [B: 16 / SP2: 18 / L: 13]

bris pa'i yi ge nag chung chu dang thig pas ¹ brdzes yod ²	A written black little letter Is removed by water or a spot.
ma bris sems kyi ri<s> mo	An unwritten image in the mind,

bsub kyang *zub sa*³ mi 'dug | | Even being rubbed, is out of erasure.

¹ P. Sørensen translates *chu dang thig pa* as 'a drop of water'; ² B/SP2: 'jig 'gro, L: 'jig song — 'ruined'; ³ SP2: sub pa, L: zub rgyu.

19.

SP1: 17. [B: 17 / SP2: 19 / L: 14]

rgyab pa'i nag chung th[e]'us The little black seal stamped [on
gsung skad 'byin¹ ni mi shes | | paper]
khrel dang gzhung gi the'u Does not know the spoken words.
so so'i sems la rgyob² dang | | May the seal of modesty and
conscience
Be stamped on the mind of each
[of us].

¹ B/SP2/L: 'byon; ² L: skyon 'to put on top; to become faulty'.

20.

SP1: 18. [B: 18 / SP2: 20 / L: 15]

stong¹ ldan ha lo'i me tog If a flower of the holly hock with
*mchod pa'i gral la thegs*² na | | one thousand petals
g.yu sbrang *nga yang mi sdod*³ Is brought among other offerings,
lha khang nang la 'khrid I, the turquoise bee, will not stay
dang⁴ | | [here], either,
Lead [me] inside the temple!

¹ B/L: stobs 'power, strength'; ² B: mchod khang la thad 'is taken to the shrine', SP2: lha khang nang la 'bul 'is offered to the temple', L: mchod rdzas la phebs 'arrives as [one of] the offering substances'; ³ SP2: gzhon nu nga yang 'I, the young man'; ⁴ B/SP2: mdzod.

21.

SP1: 19. [B: 19 / SP2: 21 / L: 16]

sams song bu mo mi bzhugs If the girl I love will not stay
*dam pa'i*¹ *chos la thegs*² na | | [And] leave for the Sublime
[pho gzhon] <byams pa> nga Dharma,
yang mi sdod I, the young man, will not stay,
dben pa'i ri *khrod 'grims*³ either,
'gro | | [And] set for a mountain solitary
retreat.

¹ L: [lha]<lta> 'divine (dharma)'; ² B: chos la thad, SP2: lha chos 'thad, L: chos la phebs; ³ B: la btang, SP2: la deng, L: la theg.

22.

SP1: 20. [B: 20 / SP2: 22^{1<+1+>2} / L: 17]

mtshan ldan [bla] ma'i drung [I] came to a genuine lama
 du To ask [him] to train my mind
sems khrid zhu la phyin [But] could not fix [my thoughts
*pa'i*¹ | | on him],
sems nyid [bsgom]<bsgor> bas [They] slipped away after [my]
*ma thub*² beloved one.
 byams pa'i rjes³ la shor⁴
 song | |

¹ B/L: *sems khrid* (L: 'khrid) *zhu bar phyin pas*, SP2: a missing line; ² B/L: *la sgom pas ma thub*, SP2: *la sgom [pas]<ras> ma brtan* 'was not stable in concentrating', L: *pa sgor kyang mi thub*; ³ L: *phyogs* 'towards'; ⁴ B: *langs* 'rose, got up'.

23.

SP1: 21. [B: 21 / SP2: 23 / L: 18]

*dgos pa'i*¹ bla ma'i zhal ras While the face of the lama, that is
 yid² la 'char rgyu med par³ | | required,
*mi dgos*⁴ byams pa'i bzhin⁵ ras Cannot appear in [my] mind,
*sems*⁶ la *wal le wal le*⁷ | | The face of the beloved one, that is
 not required,
 [Is seen] clearly, clearly in [my]
 mind.

¹ B: *bsgom pa*, SP2/L: *sgom pa* 'meditated upon'; ² SP2: *sems*; ³ B/SP2/L: *mi 'dug*;
⁴ B/SP2/L: *ma sgom* 'without meditation'; ⁵ SP1: *zhal*; ⁶ B/SP2/L: *yid*; ⁷ B/SP2: 'a le
 'u (SP2: 'o) le, L: *wa le wa le*.

24.

SP1: 22. [B: 22 / SP2: 24 / L: —]

snying sdug chung 'drid byams If the beloved sweetheart, known
pa from childhood,
*ri khrod bsgrub par bzhugs*¹ Will stay practicing at a mountain
 na | | retreat,
 gzhon pa'i sa khang sa gzhi [I] will make material offerings for
 chos rgyag *rten du*² phul the aims of Dharma —
 chog | | The young man's estate and land.

¹ B: *chung 'gris byams pa ri khrod / sku mtshams [de] la thad* '(if) the beloved
 sweetheart, known from childhood, sets for a mountain hermit', SP2: *chung 'dris
 byams pa mi bzhugs / ri khrod sku 'tshams bzhugs* '(if) the beloved sweetheart,
 known from childhood, would not stay (here) but would stay at a mountain hermit';
² B: *[de] la*, SP2: *mkhan la* 'to the person in charge of (religious provisions)'.

25.

SP1: 23²{XX}+2. [B: 23²{XX}+2 / SP2: 25²{XX}+2 / L: 50²{+2+}2]

nga dang *snying sdug*¹ 'phrad² [The place of] my meeting with
 pa the sweetheart
 lho rong ljon³ pa'i nags gseb | | [Is] the dense forest of Lhorong.
 smra⁴ mkhan⁵ ne tso *og shes*⁶ The talking parrot, [who] knows
*gsang sgo rto*l ba⁷ ma gngang | | [it],
 Do not make a hole in [our] secret
 door!

¹ L: byams pa'i; ² B: phrad, L: sdebs; ³ L: mun 'dark'; ⁴ L: smas; ⁵ SP2: mkhas; ⁶ B: a shes, SP2: pa zhes, L: log shes; ⁷ B/SP2: gsang sgo brdol ba, L: gsung kha mdo la '(do not spread) the secret at the crossroad'.

26.

SP1: 24. [B: 24 / SP2: 26 / L: —]

tshig [gsum]<gtam> snying The place where the intimate talk
 gtam *bshod sa*¹ in three words was uttered
nef'u seng² lchang ra'i³ *khul* [Is] a crooked area of the willow
*skyogs*⁴ | | grove [among] the grasslands.
 byi'u⁵ 'jol mo ma gtogs Except for a little singing bird
 su *yi[s] shes pa med do*⁶ | | There is nobody who knows it.

¹ B: bshos ba 'copulated', SP2: shong ba 'contained, held'; ² B/SP2: ne'u sing; ³ SP2: ma'i; ⁴ B/SP2: sbug skyog 'crooked inner place'; ⁵ SP2: bye'u; ⁶ B/SP2: dang gang gis mi (SP2: ma) shes.

27.

SP1: 25. [B: 25 / SP2: 27 / L: 28]

snying sdug¹ bya rdo lam An accidental meeting (like that of
 'phrad a bird and a thrown stone) with
chang ma'i nang du byas the sweetheart
*song*² | | Took place in the house of the
 lan chags *phrug gu*³ byung na tavern mistress.
 bsos⁴ skyong *su yis mdzad* If misfortunately (as a karmic
*dam*⁵ | | debt) a child appears,
 Who will take care [of it]?

¹ L: thub; ² B/SP2/L: a ma chang mas sbyar byung 'mother, the tavern mistress, organized'; ³ B: phru gu, L: bu lon 'a debt'; ⁴ B: gso, SP2/L: 'tsho; ⁵ B/SP2/L: khye[d] ras gngang (B: snang) zhu '(I) ask you to bestow (manifest) (help)'.

28.

SP1: 26. [B: 26 / SP2: 28 / L: —]

zhag [g]cig [brkyangs] A sweetheart reserved for one day
 <skyang> pa'i¹ snying sdug [Was] only [my] lover for the night.
 srod la [mdza']<mja'> ba² When the hour of the dawn struck
 ma gtog[s]³ | | [We] parted our faces.
 tho rangs⁴ nam zla gtang⁵
 dus
 kha cag<s> so sor gye[s]<l>
 song⁶ | |

¹ B: brkyangs pa'i, SP2: 'gyangs pa'i; ² B: 'ja' ba, SP1: 'jom pa; ³ B/SP2: gngang zhu 'please, be (my lover)'; ⁴ B/SP2/L: reng; ⁵ B: btang, SP2: deng; ⁶ B: 'bral mtshams byed pa los yin 'it is certainly [time] to part', SP2: 'bral 'tshams sleb pa yin no '[time] to part has come'.

29.

SP1: 27. [B: 27 / SP2: 29 / L: 29]

snying gdam pha mar¹ ma [I] did not tell [my?] parents about
 bshad innermost feelings,
 chung 'drid² byams par bshad [But] told [my] love, known from
 pas | | childhood,
 byams par³ shar pho mang And from numerous men, who
 [nas]<ba'i>⁴ hang around [my] love,
 gsang⁵ gdam dgra bos go⁶ The foe learnt the secret talk.
 song | |

¹ B: gzhan la '(not tell) the others'; ² B: 'driś, SP2: 'dis, L: 'br[i]s; ³ B/SP2/L: pa; ⁴ SP2: zhal [ngo]<sgo> yangs pas 'from vast number of people around'; ⁵ B/SP2: snying '(talks about) innermost feelings'; ⁶ SP2: thos 'heard'.

30.

SP1: 28. [B: 28 / SP2: 30 / L: 30]

snying sdug¹ yid 'phrog<s> The sweetheart, the enchanting
 mdzes ma² beauty
 rngan³ pa nga yis 'dzin Was caught by me, the hunter,
 yang⁴ | | But the powerful ruler of people
 dbang chen mi yi dpon po Prince Norzang got her.
 nor bzang rgya lus bzhes⁵
 song | |

¹ L: thub; ² B/SP2/L: lha mo 'a goddess'; ³ B/SP2/L: rngon (SP2: sngon); ⁴ B/SP2/L: ras zin kyang; ⁵ B/L: rgya lus 'phrog, SP2: rgya mis 'phrogs.

31.

SP1: 29. [B: 29 / SP2: 31 / L: 31]

nor bu <i>rang lag yod</i> ¹ dus	While having a jewel in my hands,
nor bu'i nor nyams ma shes ²	[I] did not realize the value of the
nor bu mi lag ³ shor nas ⁴	jewel.
snying rlung stod la 'tshangs	After the jewel got to the hands of
song ⁵	[another] man
	[I] became squeezed with
	depression.

¹ B: lag na<s> yong '(when I) get in hands', SP2: lag tu yod '(when I) have in hands', L: rang la yod '(when) I have'; ² B/SP2/L: chod; ³ B/SP2/L: la '(got) to (another man)'; ⁴ B/SP2/L: dus 'when'; ⁵ B/L: tshang song, SP2: 'tsha[ng] byung.

32.

SP1: 30. [B: 30 / SP2: 32 / L: —]

me tog shar nas yal song	The flower appeared and
byams pa 'grogs nas rgas	[afterwards] withered,
song	The beloved one entered into a
<i>nga dang gser chung sbrang</i>	relationship and [afterwards]
<i>bu'i</i> ¹	grew old.
blo thag de kha<i> ² chod	I and the small golden bee
song	Had to get settled with this very
	[fact].

¹ B: nga dang [g]ser byung bung ba'i, SP2: bung ba ser chung sbrang bu'i 'the bee, small golden bee'; ² B: khas, SP2: kas.

33.

SP1: 31. [B: 31 / SP2: 33 / L: —]

sha tsha zhen pa <i>che na</i> ¹	When [I] cling to [my] passion
'khor ba'i 'then ² thag yin	ardently,
pa'i ³	[It] is the rope dragging the circle
ma byas [dman]<rmin> shar bu	of <i>saṃsāra</i> .
mo[s]<i>	[If I] do not do [it], the girl, [my]
khrel gzhung mi 'dug gsung	young lady,
gis	Says [I] have neither modesty nor
	conscience.

¹ B: ches nas; ² B: then, SP2: phyi '(causing) the future (life)'; ³ B/SP2: pa.

34.

SP1: 32. [B: 32 / SP2: 34 / L: —]

me tog yal ba'i 'dab<s> ma	Petals of a withered flower
a gsar <i>che ba'i</i> ¹ snying sdug	[resemble]
'dzum dang ² so dkar <i>ston</i>	[My] sweetheart who is very
<i>yang</i> ³	fickle-minded.
sems la dga' tsho[r] mi 'dug	Although [she] shows smile and
	white teeth,
	There is no affection in [her] mind.

¹ B/SP1: zad pa'i; ³ B: [m]dang[s] 'face; splendor; glow, luster'; ³ B/SP2: bstan kyang.

35.

SP1: 33. [B: 33 / SP2: 33 / L: —]

pha ma[s]<i> bcol ba'i mdun ¹	Although there was no way to say
ma<s>	that,
mi yong zhu rgyu <i>med</i>	The bride suggested by parents
<i>kyang</i> ²	did not fit [me],
rang sems [phra mo chung	My little thoughts roamed
'dri]<dri med 'gro phyogs>	After [my] beloved sweetheart.
byams pa'i rjes la shor ³ song	

¹ SP2: 'dun 'an advice', ² SP2: mi 'dug; ³ B: lang[s], SP2: lang 'followed'.

36.

SP1: 34. [B: 34 / SP2: 36 / L: 19]

sems <i>nyid dri med</i> ¹ 'gro	If [my] mind sets for the Sublime
phyogs ²	Dharma,
dam pa'i chos la 'gro ³ na	The stainless direction to go,
tshe gcig lus gcig 'di ⁴ la	In this one life, one body
sangs rgyas thob pa 'dug go	[I] will obtain the Buddha[hood].

¹ B/SP2/L: pa 'di la '(direction to go) for this (mind)'; ² B/SP2/L: 'gro; ³ B/SP2: song, L: phyin; ⁴ B/SP2: rang, L: nyid.

37.

SP1: 35. [B: 35 / SP2: 37 / L: —]

kham<s> bu za rgyu med par ¹	Having [its] peaches not eaten,
kham<s> sdong 'bras bu ² nyil	The peach tree starts dropping the
nyil	fruit.
snying sdug sdebs ³ rgyu med	[Even] not having joined together
par ⁴	with a sweetheart,

gtam gsum mi kha'i *rdzong* [I cause] a great fortress of gossip
*chen*⁵ | | and stories of three kinds
 (=sundry stories).

¹ B/SP2: pa'i; ² B/SP2: bu'i; ³ B: 'grig, SP2: grogs; ⁴ B/SP2: pa'i; ⁶ B/SP2: rdzag
 rdzag 'lots, much'.

38.

SP1: 36. [B: 36 / SP2: 38 / L: —]

do nub *ra yang*¹ bzi song Tonight [I] got drunk as usual,
 gnas mo[¹i] nang² la nyal [I] was allowed to sleep in the
 chog | | house of the hostess.
 sang zhogs 'gro ba'i nam tshod Tomorrow in the morning the
 bya pho tsha lus byed³ yong | | time to go
 Will be made [known to me] by
 the bird, the red rooster.

¹ SP2: tā kis ?; ² B: phrag, SP2: phag 'hidden part'; ³ B: gngang.

39.

SP1: 37. [B: 37 / SP2: 39 / L: 21]

rlung rta yar 'gro'i *steng la*¹ Upwards, after the wind-horse
 rlung [b]skyed dar lcog btsugs² (=fortune) flying high,
 yod³ | | [My] "wind producing" prayer
 'dzang ma ma bzang⁴ bu mo⁵ flag is set.
nyin mtshan 'khyong nas sdebs The clever lady, the good mother's
*chog*⁶ | | daughter,
 Agreed to be with [me] day and
 night long.

¹ B: thog la, SP2: dus su, L: dus la 'when'; ² B: gtsug; ³ L: pas; ⁴ B: sangs 'pristine,
 cleansed'; ⁶ B: mo'i; ⁷ B/L: mgron (L: 'gron) po la bos byung 'called (me) to be a guest'.

40.

SP1: 38. [B: 38 / SP2: 40 / L: 22]

so dkar gzigs¹ pa'i 'dzum When [I] appeared before the
 mdangs whole row of seated
 bzhugs gral spyi la [Ladies] with white teeth and
 [bstan]<ston> nas² | | smiling looks,
 mig zur *khra mo'i bsgrigs* The ensemble of pretty sidelong
*mtshams*³ glances
 gzhon pa'i gdong la *byas* Became set on the face of the
*byung*⁴ | | young man.

¹ B/SP2/L: lpags 'skin'; ² B: bstan kyang, SP2/L: bltas na; ³ B/L: phra (L: khra) mo'i sgril mtshams, SP2: phra mos 'dril 'tshams; ⁴ B: blta gis, SP2: bltas song, L: bltas byung 'looked'.

41.

SP1: 39. [B: 39 / SP2: 41 / L: 23]

ha cang sems la ¹ 'phrod ² nas	[The girl] proved very suitable to
'grog ³ 'drid ³ e yong bltas ⁴	[my] heart.
pa'i ⁵	"Will [you] be [my life] partner?"
shi ⁶ bral byung ⁷ na ma gto[gs] ⁸	— [I] looked [at her].
gson bral mi yong ⁹ gsung	"If only death does not part [us],
byung ¹⁰	[I] will not part [with you] while
	alive" — [she] said.

¹ SP2: pa; ² B: 'phros 'love? streamed out, radiated', SP2: 'phrog³ 'stole, enchanted', L: song; ³ B: 'grog 'drid, SP2: 'grog³ 'drid, L: 'grog 'bris; ⁴ L: [dri]<bris> 'asked'; ⁵ B: pas, SP2: nas, L: bas; ⁶ L: 'chi; ⁷ B/SP2/L: byed; ⁸ L: min pa 'is not going to be'; ⁹ B/SP2: thub, L: byed; ¹⁰ B: gsung gi, SP2: gsung gis, L: gsungs byung.

42.

SP1: 40. [B: 40 / SP2: 42 / L: 24]

'dzang ¹ ma'i sems ² dang bstun	In accordance with the wise lady's
na	mind
tshe 'dir ³ chos skal chad 'gro	[I] cease [my] dharmic lot for this
dben pa'i ri khro[d] 'grims ⁴ na	life.
bu mo'i thugs dang 'gal 'gro	If [I] roam to a mountain solitary
	retreat,
	It will be against the girl's heart.

¹ SP2: mdzang; ² L: thugs; ³ B/L: 'di, SP2: 'di'i; ⁴ B/SP2/L: 'grim.

43.

SP1: 41^{2<+2>}. [B: 41²⁺² / SP2: 43²⁺² / L: 25²⁺²]

sbrang bu rgya la	Like a bee that got caught in a net
chud<chung> ¹ 'dra	[Are] the thoughts of a young boy
kong phrug gzhon pa'i sems	from Kong[-po] —
pa ²	Having had a bed-mate for three
zhag ³ [gsum nyal rog[s] byas	days,
nas ⁴	[He] wants [now only] the Divine
phug<s> gi ⁵ lha chos 'dod gi ⁶	Dharma in a cave.

¹ B: zin, L: bcug; ² SP2: blo [s]na, L: blo sna; ³ SP1: the end of the song is missing; ⁴ L: pa'i; ⁵ B/L: yul; ⁶ B: 'dod gis, L: dran byung 'remembered'.

44.

<SP1: 42> ?. [B: 42 / SP2: 44 / L: —]

[d]<s>man shar skye 'bras The maiden, the marvelous fruit
 mtshar ma¹ | | of birth,
 ja chang 'dod yon 'dzom Tea, beer, earthly pleasures are
 yang² | | [all] assembled [here].
 shi nas lha lus blangs kyang | | Even if after death [I] get the body
 'di las dga' theb³ mi 'dug | of a deity,
 The joy will not be fuller than this.

[All B:] ¹ la; ² 'dzom[s] pa; ³ nges 'certainly'.

45.

<SP1: 43> ?. [B: 43 / SP2: 45 / L: 34]

bu mor 'chi ba med na | | If the girls had no death,
 chang la 'dzad pa mi 'dug | The beer would not exhaust.
 gzhon pa'i gtan gyi skyabs To this eternal refuge for a young
 gnas | | man
 'di la bcol nas¹ los chog | [I] will entrust [myself], for sure.

¹ B/L: bas.

46.

SP1: 44^{<1+>3}. [B: 44⁴ / SP2: 46⁴ / L: —]

¹[skyes pa 'chi² bas mi chog | The man is oppressed with [the
 'dus pa³] ma bsgrigs rgyu coming] death,
 yin⁴ | | The gathering [with the spouse in
 shi nas bar do'i phrang⁵ du⁶ the future] cannot be arranged.
 sems pa skyod las mi 'dug⁷ | | After death, on the tortuous paths
 of the bardo,
 The consciousness has no [escape]
 from the trembling [because of
 that].

¹ SP1: the first verse and the beginning of the second one are missing; ² B: nas shi;
³ B: mdun ma 'the wife'; ⁴ B/SP2: 'bral rgyu yin na 'if (the man) is going to be
 separated'; ⁵ SP2: 'phrang; ⁶ B/SP2: la; ⁷ B/SP2: pa'i skyo rog[s] yin pa '(sadness) is
 [the only] companion of (the consciousness)'.

47.

SP1: 45^{[2]+4{XX}}. [B: 45^{[2]+4+[2]} / SP2: 47^{{XX}4+[2]} / L: 20^{[2]+4{XX}}]

¹dag pa [shel r]i'i² gangs chu Glacier water from the Pure
 klu bdud rdo rje'i³ [zil pa]<zi Crystal Mountain
 ba> | |

bdud rtsi sman gyi⁴ chab⁵ [Is mixed with] dew-drops from
 rgyun the [herb] Vajra Serpent-Demon
 chang ma ye [sh]es mkha' (=Bonnet Bell-flower).
 'gro | | If this stream of the healing elixir,
 dam tshig gtsang mas btung⁶ [Bestowed by] the *chang* seller
 nas⁷ Jñānaḍākinī,
 ngan song myong dgos *med* Is drunk with the pure samaya
 do⁸ | |⁹ vows,
 There is no need to experience
 lower realms [of existence].

¹ SP2 does not have the first two lines; ² B: shar ri 'eastern mountain', L: shel ri; ³ B/L: rje; ⁴ B/L: gyis; ⁵ B/SP2/L: phab 'yeast'; ⁶ B: gtung, L: bstung; ⁷ B/SP2/L: na; ⁸ B/SP2/L: mi 'dug; ⁹ B/SP2 has two additional verses that in SP1 belong to the next song; thus, in B/SP2 they are used twice.

48.

SP1: 46. [B: 63 / SP2: 68 / L: —]
¹gzhon pa'i tshe gang bsags Whatever afflictions, the heap of
 pa'i faults,
 sdig sgrib² *nyes pa'i phung* Were gathered in a young man's
 po³ | | life —
 snying sdug rigs⁴ ldan bu⁵ [Please,] the sweetheart, a
 mo<'i> daughter of noble family,
 do nub ⁶[zhor la sbyong dang] Purify [them all] spontaneously
 tonight.

¹ See the note about the first two verses in the previous song; ² B: sdig; ³ B/SP2: zhor la dag 'gro '(afflictions) are going to be purified all at the same time'; ⁴ B: yid (ldan) 'reasonable'; ⁵ B/SP2: lha (mo) 'goddess'; ⁶ SP1: the end of the song is missing.

49.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 46 / SP2: 48 / L: —]
 byams pa [m]tshar ba'i kha¹ Because of the great shy affection
 la | | Towards the astonishing beloved
 [bag tsha]<pad tshal>² brtse one
 gdung che bas³ | | It turned out necessary to
 da lo⁴ ri khrod 'grim pa'i | | postpone
 'gyangs cha zhu dgos byung [My] roaming to a mountain
 ngo | | retreat this year.

[All: B] ¹ sgang; ² ba[r] tshang ?; ³ nas; ⁴ (da) lam 'recently, nowadays'.

50.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 47 / SP2: 49 / L: 27]

'dzum dang¹ so dkar *bstan* [You] show a smile and white
*kyang*² | | teeth,
 gzhon pa'i blo khrid yin pas³ | | [And] lead the thoughts of the
 snying nas sha tsha yod med | | young man.
 dbu mna'⁴ skyel⁵ *ba e yod*⁶ | | Is there a true affection in [your]
 heart?
 Could you take a solemn oath?

¹ B: dkar 'white'; ² L: [ston]<stan> chog; ³ B: pa, L: 'dug; ⁴ B/L: sna; ⁵ B: 'pher 'raise',
 L: zhes 'utter'; ⁶ L: rogs gnang dang.

51.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 48 / SP2: 50 / L: 55]

*dro 'jam mal sa'i*¹ nang gi | | On the warm and soft bed
 snying sdug² gdung³ sems can [I see] the passionate sweetheart.
 ma | | Haven't [you] been cheating
 o lo'i rgyu nor len⁴ pa'i | | To grasp riches from the young
 g.yo rgyu⁵ byas⁶ pa *min nam*⁷ | | man?

¹ L: sha 'byams nya zas ?; ² L: thub(?); ³ B/L: dung; ⁴ L: 'phrog 'to steal'; ⁵ B: sgyu;
⁶ L: bshad; ⁷ L: [min 'gro]<man 'gro> 'perhaps, maybe'.

52.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 49 / SP2: 51 / L: —]

cha[gs sd]ang ser snas bsags Earthly pleasures collected by
 pa'i | | attachment, aversion and avarice
 'dod <d>[y]on sgyu ma'i nor [Are but] illusionary possessions.
 rdzas | | When the beloved one, close from
 chung 'dris byams pa byung childhood, appeared
 dus | | The knot of avarice got undone.
 ser sna'i mdud pa grol song | |

53.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 50 / SP2: 52 / L: 26]

[gtan]<gton> grogs khyod¹ la My eternal friend, whether you do
 sems² pa'i | | not have
 khrel dang ngo tsha med na | | Modesty and shame of the mind —
 mgo la rgyab pa'i gtsug The turquoise ornament placed on
 [g.yus]<pus> | | [your] head
 skad cha smra³ ni mi shes | |

Does not know the words to tell
[the truth].

¹ B: khyed; ² B: bsam, L: bsams; ⁴ L: smas.

54.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 51 / SP2: 53 / L: —]

*shar po nyi skor sum skor*¹ | | The young man [has] a double
tshong 'dus a lce dman shar | | circle, triple circle
dbu mna'² skyel ba ma mdzad | | [Among] the young women from
nga ni gtan grogs mi byed | | the market-place.
[They] do not take any vow,
[And] I do not become [anyone's]
life partner.

[All: B] ¹ sh[w]a pho nyin 'khor mtshan 'khor 'the young man [has] a day circle, a night circle'; ² sna.

55.

<SP1: ?>. [B: — / SP2: 54^{2<+2?>} / L: —]

rta pho skyon ['tshang] The stallion wants to commit a
<tshong> rgyag 'dod | | fault —
zhag gsum grod pa bzhag For three days [he] is going to
grab | | have [his] belly full...

56.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 52 / SP2: 55 / L: —]

<s>[d]man shar e [drin]<brin> The maiden cared about [how to
bsams¹ nas | | look] gracefully,
gdong ba 'o mas *bkrus pa*² | | Washed [her] face with milk.
sngon chad khyo ga³ [She] tells [me now] the story
[med]<mod> pa'i | | [That] she had no men previously,
lo rgyus gsung ba mkhas [But I wonder] what [she] did to
kyang | | get
lus la mdze dri kha ba | | The odor of leprosy that [her]
ga tsug byas nas byung ba | | body emits.

[All: B] ¹ bsam; ² ['khru[s] gis; ³ ka.

57.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 53^{2{XX}} / SP2: 56^{2+[2]} / L: —]

sdom med gr[w]a pa'i cha [He took] no vows [but] wears the
lugs | | garment of a monk

btsun mdog gzhan las kha Of the noble color, brighter (?)
 [bas]<pa>¹ | | than others.
 bdag yod a ma [mtshar] Along with the marvelous
 <'tshar> mor | | mother, [the belief in] the
 rdzu ba ci las che bas | | existence of a self,
 Which deceit [is] greater?

¹ Sørensen: =kha rbad 'boasting' (p. 349).

58.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 53⁴ / SP2: 57⁴ / L: —]
 ma byas mi kha sdang ba | | Malice gossip about [what] was
 nga dang pho rog nag chung | | not done [is spread] —
 byas kyang mi kha mi 'dug | [That is about] me and the small
 khang¹ dang rgya² khra hor black raven.
 pa | | No gossip has appeared about
 what was [actually] done —
 [That is about] the Khan and the
 Mongolian bird of prey.²³

[All: B] ¹ khong 'him'; ² skya (khra) 'a bird of hawk family'.

59.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 54 / SP2: 58 / L: —]
 khang pa r[ts]lig rgyab¹ srab At the house with the thin walls
 la | | Neighbors mock hotly [what they
 grong pa tsha las rgod² pa | | hear].
 bu mo [bag]<bad>³ tsha<ng> The girl with shy temper
 can ma | | Should not be made crying.
 ngus su⁴ rgyag pa ma ghang | |

[All: B] ¹ (rtsig) [sha]<zhal> 'wall-plaster'; ² chad las dgos 'necessarily judge' (?); ³ ba[r] (tshang) ?; ⁴ ngu zug 'howling'.

60.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 55 / SP2: 59 / L: —]
 than pa rgyab pa'i zhing The little valley stricken by
 chung¹ | | drought
 zim zim² char ba<'i>³ mi Will not refuse a spritz of rain.
 spang⁴ | | There is no spoil of the old man's
 mi rgan 'dod chags⁵ can ma⁶ | | satisfaction

²³ See the explanation in Sørensen 1990: 348–349.

spyad⁷ pas tshim pa⁸ mi From making love with a
gdug⁹ | | passionate woman.

[All: B] ¹bye thang 'sandy plain'; ²sim sim; ³pas; ⁴(mi) ngom[s] '(not) be satisfied (with)'; ⁵mos [sgom]<skom> 'dod pa 'wish to perform devoted meditation; ⁶ma; ⁷dpyad; ⁸dus 'time'; ⁹(mi) 'dug '(does not) have'.

B: The sandy plain stricken by drought / cannot be satisfied with a spritz of rain.
// The woman who wants to perform devoted meditation / has no time for making love.

61.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 56^{XX}2 / SP2: 60^{[2]+2} / L: —]

'dod chags spang pas mi By rejecting passions [I could] not
spong | | reject [then],
sems la phur bu btab btags | | [I] stabbed a *kilā*-dagger into [my]
'dod chags spyad¹ pa[s]<'i> mi mind.
'dzad² | | By practicing passions [I could]
mi tshe hril po³ lang⁴ song | | not exhaust [them],
[My] entire human life has passed
away.

[All: B] ¹dpyad; ²mdzad; ³por; ⁴lang[s].

62.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 56⁴ / SP2: 61⁴ / L: —]

'dod chags lam la¹ slong² pa'i | | If a *yogi* and a *yoginī* are
rnal 'byor pho mo yin na | | Engaged in the path of passion,
tshe 'di³ 'grog lam bde ba | | In this life [it means] the bliss of
phyi ma *snang ba*⁴ skyid pa | | the path of relationship,
In the next one the happy
manifestation [near each other].

[All: B] ¹du; ²spyod; ³'di; ⁴[gnas bzod]<rna sos> 'contentment'.

63.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 57 / SP2: 62 / L: —]

ba[g] tsha<d>¹ brtse gdung² The sweetheart who has no shy
med pa'i | | affection
snying sdug ma bzhengs lha [Resembles] an unproduced
sku | | statue of a deity.
'gros dang gom pa med As if [I] bought the best horse
[pa]'i | | Who cannot canter or walk.
rta mchog nyos pa 'dra bas³ | |

[All: B] ¹ba[r] tshang ?; ²[g]dung; ³byung.

64.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 58 / SP2: 63 / L: —]

me tog nam zla ring pa | | The season of flowers is long,
 ne'u sing¹ spang lo'i spang Gentiana [flowers] adorn
 rgyan | | meadows and fields.
 ser² chung s[b]rang ma'i³ blo The mind of the little golden bee
 ni⁴ | | Prays: "[Hold on] leading [me]
 da dung khrid rog gnang furthermore!"
 zhu⁵ | |

[All: B] ¹ [g]sing; ² [g]ser; ³ bung ba'i; ⁴ sna; ⁵ re zhid bsring dang 'maintain [me] for a while'.

65.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 59 / SP2: 64 / L: —]

bu mo skyes pas¹ phyog[s]² The girl to whom the man is
 pa | | turned [passionately],
 g.yu mtsho g.yang 'dzin³ lha The goddess, the holder of riches
 mo | | of the blue glittering lake,
 sngar 'dr[i]s byams pa'i phyi [I] pray [you] to keep on
 thab[s]⁴ | | furthermore
 da dung⁵ bsring rog[s]⁶ gnang The outward (?) behavior of the
 zhu | | beloved one, [my] old friend.

[All: B] ¹ pa'i; ² chog (pa) 'suitable'; ³ klu mo mchog yag 'the excellent, supreme Nāgā (Queen)'; ⁴ gnas [s]ju 'in the place'; ⁵ 'chi bdag 'Yama, Lord of Death'; ⁶ ba. Verses 3–4: "Please, keep Yama away from the place of [my] old friend, the beloved one".

66.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 60 / SP2: 65 / L: —]

snying sdug kha 'bras mtshar The face of the sweetheart has a
 ba | | wondrous shape,
 stag ma shing gi me tog¹ | | [It is like] the flower of the tree
 bsam ngan dug tu shar nas² | | rhododendron.
 phan dang gnod pa mnyam³ When the poison of evil thoughts
 byung | | got manifested,
 Benefit and harm equalized.

[All: B] ¹ lo ma 'a leave'; ² gis sbyor bas; ³ ma.

67.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 61 / SP2: 66 / L: —]

m[e] tog snga la[ng]s¹ phyi The flower blossoms early, fades
 ya | | late,

bu mo rang dbang ma 'dus | | The girl cannot control her [life].

71.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 65 / SP2: 71 / L: —]

phyi ni na ¹ ga ge sar	Outside [there is] a cobra's
nang ni pa+dma ge sar	saffron,
kha la dbang chen dpon po	Inside a corolla of a lotus;
snying la chung 'dris byams	In front [of me] the mighty master,
pa	In the heart the beloved one, [my]
	childhood friend.

¹ B: nā.

72.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 66 / SP2: 72 / L: —]

ka bas drang po byas song ¹	The pillar has made [it] straight,
ka gzhu ² 'khyog la ³ ma	The arch pillar, do not look for the
['tshol]<'tshor> ⁴	crookedness.
bu mos <i>phyi thag</i> ⁵ bsring	The girl [wants] to prolong the
yod	relation,
byams pas <i>khrel</i>	The beloved one, do not cast away
['dzem]<'dzug> ⁶ ma g.yug ⁷	modesty!

[All: B] ¹ yod; ² gzhus; ³ par; ⁴ mdzad 'make'; ⁵ 'chi bdag 'Yama, Lord of Death'; ⁶ sprel [gzhu]<bzhugs> 'the monkey's tail' (see Sørensen 1990: 352); ⁷ g.yug[s].

73.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 67^{3(X)+1} / SP2: 73^{3+[1]+1} / L: —]

bu mo chung 'dris byams pa	The beloved girl, [my] childhood
kham bu'i shing las <i>ma</i>	friend,
<i>skyes</i> ¹	Was not born from the peach tree.
a gsar yal ba kham bu['i] ²	[Her love] has faded away faster
me tog las <i>mgyogs byung</i>	than the flower
<i>bas</i> ³	Of the peach that [naturally]
	shrinks quickly.

¹ B: skyes pa 'born'; ² SP2: +kham bu'i shing las 'khyog pa | | (wrong dubbing of the verse 2?); ³ B: 'gyog pa 'raise, lift'.

74.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 68²⁺² / SP2: 74²⁺² / L: 35^{2+[2]}]

bu mo a mar ma skyes	[This] girl [was] not born to a
	mother,

*shog pu'i*¹ shing las² skyes [She was] born from a "paper
pas³ | | plant" (*daphne*),
a ce<'i>⁴ chung 'dr[is]<a'i> Since [this] beloved lady, [my]
byams pa | | childhood friend,
shog pu'i⁵ *dar lcog*⁶ 'dra ba | | [Is] like a prayer flag [made of]
paper.

¹ B: shog bu'i, L: kham bu'i; ² L: la; ³ L: sam; ⁴ B: lce; ⁵ bu'i; ⁶ me tog 'a flower'.

75.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 69 / SP2: 75 / L: 49]
sa la ri mo bris pa¹ | | [I] have drawn an image on the
*nam kha'i*² skar tshod lon³ earth
byung⁴ | | And entered the measures of the
sha 'jam⁵ lus la⁶ sbyar⁷ sky.
kyang⁸ | | Although [I] got connected with
byams pa'i *khog pa*⁹ ma¹⁰ [her] sweet body,
lon | |¹¹ [I] have not entered the inside of
the beloved one.

¹ B: pas, L: pa'i; ² B: nam[m]kha'i, L: nam mkha'i; ³ L: thig; ⁴ B: gis; ⁵ L: 'byams; ⁶ L: po; ⁷ L: 'gres; ⁸ B: bas; ⁹ L: [gting]<lding> tshod 'measure of the depths'; ¹⁰ L: mi; ¹¹ L: the two distichs are placed in the inverted order.

76.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 70 / SP2: 76 / L: —]
bla ma <g>dam pa'i *gdams* When [I] ask the sublime lama
[ng]ag | | about personal instructions
zhus na gnang gi 'dug ste | | [He always] gives [them].
a ce¹ chung 'dris byams pa² | | When [I ask] the beloved lady,
snying gtam shod³ dus mi [my] childhood friend,
'dug | | 'Tell about the innermost feelings'
— [she] does not.

[All: B] ¹ lce; ² par; ³ bshod.

77.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 71 / SP2: 77 / L: —]
chu bo¹ gting tshad ring Although the river's depth is big,
yang² | | The fish can be caught by a hook.
nya mo lcags kyus lon gi | | The sweetheart's face is white, but
snying sdug kha dkar gting [her] depth is black,
nag | |

khog pa da dung ma lon | | [I] have not caught [her] inside so far.

[All: B] ¹ B: mo; ² kyang.

78.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 72 / SP2: 78 / L: 36]

bu mo chung 'driś byams pa | | The beloved girl, [my] childhood
spyang ka'i¹ rigs rgyud min friend,
nam | | Do not you [belong] to the race of
sha 'driś pags 'driś² byung wolves?
kyang | | Although treated with "flesh and
ri yar rgyag³ grab gnang⁴ gi⁵ | skin",
[You] are still ready to flee up to
the mountains.

¹ B/L: ki'i; ² B: 'brel lpags 'brel, L: 'gris [pags]<spag> 'gris; ³ B: la yar; ⁴ B/L: mdzad;
⁵ L: gis.

79.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 73 / SP2: 79 / L: —]

drin can pha mas ma bcol¹ | | The merciful parents did not give
bu mo'i rang 'dod byas pas² | | [their] permission,
gal srid gson bral³ byung na | | [Yet] the girl accomplished her
pha ma'i la yog yin no⁴ | | wish.
If [the affair] turns out to be non-
viable,
It will be the retribution in the
parents' [eyes].

[All: B] ¹ sgrig 'arrange'; ² byams pa 'love'; ³ skyur; ⁴ los yin.

80.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 74 / SP2: 80 / L: —]

shing tog¹ a mra mi² zhim | | The persimmon is not sweet,
a mra'i 'bras bu zhim pa | | The mango fruit is sweet.
bu mo'i skye 'bras ma³ bsam | | [I] do not think [that much] about
sha tsha'i zhim⁴ pa bsam the girl's body,
pas⁵ | | [I] do think about [her] love's
sweetness.

[All: B] ¹ de; ² ma; ³ mi; ⁵ zhen (pa) 'craving, detachment'; ⁵ gis.

81.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 75 / SP2: 81 / L: 37]

rtā rgod ri ya[r]<d> rgyab	When the wild horse runs up to
na ¹	the mountains,
rnyi ² dang zhags pas zin gi ³	[It may] be caught by a snare or a
byams pa ngo log brgyab ⁴	lasso.
pa ⁵	[When] the beloved one turns
thugs ⁶ ngo zin pa ⁷ mi 'dug	[her] face away,
	There is no way to appease [her]
	heart.

¹ B: pa, L: ba; ² B/L: snyi; ³ B/L: gi; ⁴ B/L: rgyab; ⁵ B: pa'i, L: bas; ⁶ L: mthu 'power';
⁷ B: sa.

82.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 76^{1+1?}+^[2] + 77^[2] + 2 / SP2: 82^{1<+1?>{XXXX}+2} / L: —]

tshong 'dus a ce ¹ dman shar	The young girl from the market
² [sprul pa 'gyed rgyu yod	place
pa]	Manifests emanations [for many
dman shar bu mo gcig la	men].
shar po ³ 'tshang kha ⁴ shig	[So,] one maiden girl [is wooed]
shig	By a crowd of young men.

¹ B: lce; ² SP2: the second verse is missing, it is just an assumption that the second verse of no. 76 (B) had to be here; the second half of no. 76 and the first half of no. 77 (B): snying sdug re re'i drung du | | zhal gdan re re gnang gi | | me tog 'dab ma gcig la | | sbrang bu zi dir dgu dir | | 'every mans open his mouth / to each sweetheart; near one flower petal / many bees buzz; ³ B: pho; ⁴ B: [']tshang rgyag.

83.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 78 / SP2: 83 / L: —]

chu skor ¹ chu ris shig shig ²	Until water in not over in the
rtsam pa bzang thag ngan	water mill,
thag	<i>Tsampa</i> is to be grinded, be it
bu mo na so rgas rgas	good or bad.
snying sdug bzang tsh[ol] ngan	Until the girl is not too old,
tshol	[She] would seek sweethearts, be
	they good or bad.

[All: B] ¹ 'khor; ² zad zad 'until exhausted'.

84.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 79 / SP2: 84 / L: —]

rta la rus tshugs ¹ mi g[ts]o	In the horse the shape of bones [is]
sha thog spu dpyad ² gtso	not the main thing,
pa ³	The analysis of "the hair upon
byams pa'i ⁴ rigs rus ⁵ mi gtso	flesh" (the mane?) [is] the main
dkar po ⁶ kor kor ⁷ gtso pa ⁸	thing.
	The family lineage [is] not the
	main thing in the beloved one,
	"The white round" (face) [is] the
	main thing.

[All: B] ¹ tshug[s]; ² bcad; ³ bas; ⁴ pa; ⁵ rus tshig[s] 'joints'; ⁶ po'i; ⁷ sgor sgor; ⁸ bas.

85.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 80 / SP2: 85 / L: —]

g.yu chung drug ¹ dkar yod	If there is a [superior] pale blue
na	little turquoise,
nga nyo lag tshong ² skyong	"I buy!" — [many] shopkeepers
bshad ³	announce.
[dman]<sman> ⁴ shar mtshar	If there is a marvelous maiden,
mo yod na	"I want!" — a crowd of [men]
nga 'dod 'tshang ⁵ rgyag shig	appears.
shig	

[All: B] ¹ gru; ² (lag) pa 'hands'; ³ gis; ⁴ dmar (shar) '(pure) red'; ⁵ tshang.

86.

<SP1: ?>. [B: 81 / SP2: 86 / L: —]

zag bcas sgyu ma'i phu[ng]	When the skandhas, that are
po	illusionary and defiled,
bsres na ¹ bgos them ² mi 'dug	Are mixed, [they] are not
sems pa phu [dud]<ngu> 'dris	separable.
na ³	When the mind is familiar with
'dod pa [bgo]<dgos> sha	reverence,
rgyab ⁴ dang	The division from desire must be
	made!

[All: B] ¹ bsred nas; ² dgos [nges]<des> 'absolutely (un)necessary'; ³ gcig tu bsres nas '[thoughts] having merged into one'; ⁴ rgyob.

87.

SP1: *86<2+>2. [B: 82²⁺² / SP2: 87²⁺² / L: —]

¹ [byi'u ri byi'u ² khra ³ mo	The small bird, the pretty
nga la sems [g]so	mountain bird,
<m>thong dang	Give comfort to my heart.
ri byi[u] klung ⁴ la bab ⁵ dus	When [you], the mountain bird,
nga yis ⁶ sems bso ⁷ zhu	descend into the valley,
<m>chog ⁷	[You] can ask me to comfort
	[your] heart [in turn].

¹ SP1 lacks the first verse and the second except for the last two syllables; ² B: byil;
³ B: phra; ⁴ B: byil rlung; ⁵ B: babs; ⁶ B/SP2: ras; ⁷ B/SP2: bso btang chog.

88.

SP1: *87. [B: 83 / SP2: 88 / L: —]

nags gse[b] lung pa phu[g] gi ¹	[Living] in the innermost area of
'dabs [chags] <bya> a [bo] <be> ²	the forest
ne tso	The feathered one, [my] dear
snyi[ng] [sd]ug rku la ³ shor	parrot!
song	[My] sweetheart was stolen.
⁴ [gar song] bshod rogs ⁵ gngang	Tell me, please, where [she] is
dang ⁶	gone!

¹ B: phu yi, SP2: stong pa'i 'empty'; ² B: a bar, SP2: smra shes 'able to talk'; ³ B/SP2: rkun ma; ⁴ SP1 lacks these two syllables; ⁵ B/SP2: bshad rog[s]; ⁶ B/SP2: zhu.

89.

SP1: *88. [B: 84 / SP2: 89 / L: —]

byi'u 'jol mo'i [']khrungs sa ¹	The birthplace of the little singing
lho rong ljon pa'i nags gseb	bird
gsung snyan rgya grags ² bod	[Is] the dense forest of Lhorong.
grags ³	[Its] sweet speech, renowned in
lha sa'i phyogs nas bsgyur ⁴	China, renowned in Tibet,
byung	Got banished from the side of
	Lhasa.

¹ B: 'gro sa 'place to go', SP2: bros pa '[place of] escape'; ² B: [b]sgrag[s]; ³ B: [b]sgrag[s]; ⁴ B: skyur 'exiled', SP2: 'gyur.

90.

SP1: *89. [B: 85 / SP2: 90 / L: —]

spre'u'i rang blo log ¹ nas	The monkey's mind got erred
nyin mo ² rkun ma brku bar ³	And [he] went to make a theft
rang mig rang gis bkabs par ⁴	under the day [light],

gzhan mig sgrib⁵ pa mi 'dug | | Covering his own eyes by his
[hand],
While the others' eyes had no
obstacles [to see his crime].

¹ B: lang[s] 'arose, got started', SP2: lad 'faint, dull'; ² B: par; SP2: kar; ³ B: rkus pas, SP1: rgyab song; ⁴ B: sbar mos bkab kyang 'covered with [his] palm', SP2: lag pas bkab kyang 'covered with [his] hand'; ⁵ B: khebs, SP2: kheb.

91.

SP1: *90. [B: 86 / SP2: 91 / L: —]

dkar nag las kyi sa bon Although the seeds of white and
da lta lkog tu btab kyang | | black deeds
'bras bu sbas pa<'i>¹ ma² thub Are presently hidden,
rang sar thang la³ smin [It] is impossible to hide the fruit,
song⁴ | | [They] would ripen and [get] to
the surface by themselves.

¹ B/SP2: pas; ² B/SP2: mi; ³ B/SP2: rang so sor 'each to its own'; ⁴ B: gis, SP2: yod.

92.

SP1: *91. [B: 87 / SP2: 92 / L: —]

[dwags]<?>¹ yul sa gnam dro la The Dak[po] Land's climate [is]
[dwags]<?>² mo rnam thar legs warm,
pa'i³ | | The story of life of [my] girl-
mi rtag 'chi ba [mi]<ma> [friend] from Dak[po] is good.
gtong⁴ Impermanence and death cannot
tshe gang [snying stobs]<stobs be relented,
snying> 'dod gi⁵ | | [I] wish to have strength of heart
during the entire life.

¹ SP1: it is not clear what is written: the letter ra or ligature ra-ng (rnga?) or da-ng (=dwangs?); B/SP2: dwags; ² SP1: see note 1, B/SP2: dwags; ³ B/SP2: pa; ⁴ B/SP2: med na 'were there no (death)'; ⁵ B/SP2: bsdad kyang bsdad chog (B: [b]sdad ... [b]sdad) 'I would spend (the entire life)'.

93.

SP1: *92. [B: 88 / SP2: 93 / L: —]

lcang gling kham ltar 'bol la¹ Soft like a peach in the willow
snying sdug dung² sems che garden,
ba<'i> | | The sweetheart with the great
gzhon pa³ lha mchod⁴ byed loving heart,
pa'i [Please,] do not try to obstruct the
lam bu⁵ bkag pa ma gnang⁶ | | way

Of the young man's making
offerings to gods.

¹ B: ba; ² B: [g]dung; ³ SP2: pa'i; ⁴ B/SP2: chos 'religion'; ⁵ SP2: po; ⁶ SP2: mdzad.

94.

SP1: *93. [B: 89 / SP2: 94 / L: —]

nub phyogs ri bo'i rtse nas	From the top of the mountains in
sprin [dkar] gnam la lang	the west
ling ¹	The white cloud drifts slowly in
nga la yid 'dzin lha mo[s]<'i> ²	the sky.
lha bsangs gtang ³ ba min	Isn't it [because] Yidzin Lhamo
[nam] ⁴	Has made incense offering for my
	[sake]?

¹ B: long long, SP2: lang long; ² B/SP2: dbang mos (Yidzin) Wangmo (probably, the generic name of the poet's beloved one, see Sørensen 1990: 170–171); ³ B/SP2: bsang (B: bsang[s]) btang; ⁴ B: los yin.

95.

SP1: *94. [B: 90 / SP2: 95 / L: —]

rlung po ga ¹ nas lang ² kyang ²	From wherever the wind raised,
pha yul phyogs nas lang	[It] has raised from the side of
byung ³	[my] fatherland.
chung 'drid ⁴ byams pa'i lus	The aroma of the body of my
dri ⁵	beloved one, the childhood friend,
ma nor rlung pos ⁶ 'khyer	Without doubt, has been brought
byung	by the wind.

¹ B/SP2: gang; ² B: lang[s] lang[s], SP2: langs ba; ³ B: lang[s] byung, SP2: yin pa '(it) is'; ⁴ B/SP2: 'dri; ⁵ B: (lus) po 'body'; ⁶ SP2: gis.

96.

SP1: *95. [B: 91 / SP2: 96 / L: —]

chu dang 'o ma 'dres pa	The separator of the mixture of
dbye ¹ mkhan gser gyi rul ²	water and milk
sbal	[Is] the golden turtle.
snying sdug sha sems 'dres pa	The mixture of [my] flesh and
su yis dbye do ³ ma	thoughts with the sweetheart's
[mthong]<mthing> ⁴	[Can] be separated by whom? —
	[I] cannot see.

¹ B: 'byed; ² B/SP2: rus; ³ B: dbye mkhan su yang, SP1: sus kyang phyed pa; ⁴ B/SP2: mi 'dug 'there is none'.

^97.

SP1: —. [B: 92 / SP2: 97 / L: —]

nga dang byams pa'i¹ mo² According to the *mo*-divination
nas | | about me and the beloved one,
gab rtse'i steng nas³ snol⁴ [The combination] from the upper
bas | | part of the astrological chart
lo⁵ la bdun zur *thug pas*⁶ | | turned out suitable,
rim gro sgrub dgos *babs* [But] there was a contradiction
*byung*⁷ | | regarding [our] years [of birth],
So [it] turned out to be necessary
to perform a series of rituals [to
avoid the harm].

[All: B]¹ pa; ² smos 'named (for the purpose of prognosis)'; ³ du; ⁴ sbol ?; ⁵ mo 'mo-divination'; ⁶ bab nas; ⁷ byung[ng]o.

98.

SP1: *96. [B: 93 / SP2: 98 / L: —]

lha khang [*phug*]*<phur>* ron For [what] the pigeon dismissed
*brdza[ng]s*¹ par [in] the temple
[*zhim*]*<zhom>* bu [*snyi la*] The cat should not be caught in a
*<snyigs gis>*² ma 'dzin³ | | trap.
sbyor lhad⁴ gzhan gyi[s] *byas* For what was done by another
*par*⁵ lover
*kha g.yogs*⁶ *bdag*⁷ la ma Do not put the blame on me.
*bzhag*⁸ | |

¹ B: [ang gus brdzangs]*<'un khus rdzas>*, SP2: bong kus [brdzangs]*<brjad>* 'the donkey dismissed'; ² B: zhi<m> mi snyi la, SP1: zhi mi rnyi la; ³ B: ma zin, SP2: mi 'dzin; ⁴ B: ba; ⁵ B: byas pa'i, SP1: brtsams pa'i; ⁶ B/SP1: mi kha 'slander, gossip'; ⁷ B/SP1: nga; ⁸ B: mi 'jog, SP2: ma 'jog.

99.

SP1: *97. [B: 94 / SP2: 99 / L: 58]

shi de¹ dmyal ba'i yul gyi After death, the mirror of karma
chos rgyal las kyi me long | | of the Dharma King (Yama)
'di na <'>*khrig khrig*² mi 'dug³ [That is kept] in the infernal
de nas *yag po gzigis shigs*⁴ | | realms, [please!] —
[What] occurred improperly in
this [life]
Let be secured good in the
following one.

¹ SP2: dus; ² B: krig krig; ³ SP2: ma byung; ⁴ B/SP2: gzigis pa (SP2: yag) gngang zhu

'monitor (it), please', L: khrig khrig gnang zhu 'arrange properly, please'.

100.

SP1: *98. [B: 95 / SP2: 100 / L: —]

chung 'drid ¹ byams [pa'i]	[Trying] to fawn over the beloved
phyogs su	one, [my] childhood friend,
ngo bsrung dar <i>dkar g.yogs</i>	[I] put on a white silk cloth,
<i>kyang</i> ²	But the beloved one's attachment
byams pa phyi thag thung ³	[proved] short,
bas ⁴	[Her] shameless and cruelty
khrel med ⁵ 'tshé ma mngon ⁶	became clear.
song ⁷	

¹ B/SP2: 'dri; ² B/SP2: gyi[s] g.yog (SP2: g.yogs) pas; ³ B: 'thung; ⁴ B/SP2: nas; ⁵ B: (khrel) gzhung 'conscience'; ⁶ B: tsher mas <bzhad>[bshad] 'thorns mocked (conscience)'?, SP2: tsher ma<i> [b]zhad 'thorns (of shamelessness) came out'; ⁶ SP2: byung.

101.

SP1: *99. [B: 96 / SP2: 101 / L: —]

rang sems kha dar ¹ dkar po	My thoughts are a white silk
ma nog[s] <i>pa zhig</i> ² zhu ³ yod	scarf —
gzhan ⁴ sems snag tsha'i ri<s>	[I] ask about one without stains.
mo	The other person's thoughts are
['bri]<dri> 'dod yod <i>kyang</i>	an ink picture:
['bri]<dri> shog ⁶	If [they] want to draw [it], let
	[them] draw.

¹ B: btags, SP2: (kha) dog 'of (white) color'; ² SP2: sa zig; ³ B/SP2: zhus; ⁴ B: mi; ⁵ B: na bris shog, SP2: na bri chog.

102.

SP1: *100. [B: 97 / SP2: 102 / L: 38]

brag dang rlung po [L:	A rock and a wind assembled
sdebs]<stobs> ¹ nas	And battered the vulture's
rgod po'i sgro<s> la <i>zin gis</i> ²	feathers.
g.yo can [<i>rdzu bag</i>] can gyi[s] ³	Cheating and deceitful [people]
nga <i>yi sems la zin pa'i</i> ⁴	Battered my mind.

¹ B: 'thab 'fought', SP2: bsdongs 'accompanied'; ² B: gzan gis, SP2: gzan gi, L: zan byung; ³ B: des; ⁴ B/L: la gzan (L: zan) po (L: pos) byas byung 'brought damage to (me)', SP2: la bzang po ma byung 'nothing good to (me) happened'.

103.

SP1: *101. [B: 98 / SP2: 103 / L: —]

phar ¹ sems byams dang snying	My feelings to the other person,
rje ²	love and mercy,
sprin dkar ³ gsar du 'khrigs ⁴	[Like] a white cloud got newly
kyang	assembled.
tshur sems gdug ⁵ pa'i rlung	The other person's feelings to me
gi[s] ⁶	are [like] a hostile wind
<i>sprin gsar chags re mi 'dug⁷ </i>	Due to which every newly formed
	[white] cloud is gone.

¹ SP2: rang; ² B: rjes, SP2: rje'i; ³ B/SP2: phung 'accumulation (of clouds)'; ⁴ B: 'khrig[s], SP2: dkrigs; ⁵ B: sdug; ⁶ B: pos; ⁷ B/SP2: yang nas yang du gtor byung 'over and over again disperse (clouds)'.

104.

SP1: *102. [B: 99 / SP2: 104 / L: 39]

sprin pa kha ser gting nag	The cloud with yellow rims and
sad [dang] ser ba'i gzhi ma	black inside
<i>ban <s>de¹ skya min ser min</i>	[Is] the basis for cold air and hail.
sangs rgyas bstan pa'i dgra	The Paṇḍita, neither a layman nor
bo	a monk,
	[Is] the foe of the Buddha's
	Teaching.

¹ B/SP2: ba+nde, L: ban dhe.

105.

SP1: *103. [B: 100 / SP2: 103 / L: 45]

sa <i>bcud sa la dbang ba'i¹</i>	Ruling over the earth and earth
dam can rdo rje chos	fertility,
<i>skyong² </i>	The vow-bound Dorje Chökyong,
mthu dang nus pa yod na	If [you] have might and abilities,
bstan <i>dgra 'dul la phebs³</i>	Come and tame the foe of the
dang ⁴	Doctrine!

¹ B: bcu'i steng na gnas pa'i 'abiding on the ten (stages)', SP2: bcu'i sprin la gnas pa'i 'abiding on the cloud of the ten (stages)', L: bcu'i dbyings su bzhugs pa'i 'residing in the realm of the ten (stages)'; ² SP2: legs pa 'Dorje Lekpa' (Vajrasadhu); ³ B/SP2/L: pa'i dgra bo sgröl 'liberate the foe of (the Doctrine)'; ⁴ B: mdzod, SP2: [mdzod]<mdzad>.

106.

SP1: *104. [B: 101 / SP2: 106 / L: —]

rlung po nang nas	<i>langs par</i> ¹	The wind rose from the inside,
<i>sgo [lcags]<cha></i> ²	phyi la ³ ma	No lock is hanged on the outside.
<i>rgyag</i> ⁴		The dust storm of gossip
mi kha ⁵ thal ba'i ⁶ bu yug		Cannot be extinguished this time.
sang ba'i ⁷ dus ni ⁸ mi 'dug		

¹ SP2: lang bar; ² B: go cha 'armor; weapon', SP2: sgo bcad 'the closed door'; ³ B/SP2: nas; ⁴ B: bsdam[s] song 'was restrained, confined', SP2: bsdams kyang; ⁵ SP2: kha'i; ⁶ SP2: ba; ⁷ SP2: sangs pa'i; ⁸ B/SP2: tshod.

107.

SP1: *105. [B: 102 / SP2: 107 / L: —]

dus gsum thams cad mkhyen		The all-knowing in regard of the
pa		three times,
drin can rtsa ba'i bla m[a]		[My] merciful Root Teacher,
spyi gtsug nyi zla'i <i>gdan la</i> ¹		On the throne of the sun and
'bral med <i>brtan par</i> ² bzhugs		moon [on] the crown of [my] head
shig<s>		Abide inseparably, firmly!

¹ B: steng du 'upon'; ² SP2: rgyun du 'eternally'.

108.

SP1: *106. [B: 103 / SP2: 108 / L: —]

chu lbu[r] mig ngor shar ba'i		The defilements of impure
ma dag snang ba'i dri ma		phenomena
'gal 'khrul <i>nongs pa ci mchis</i> ¹		That appear before eyes [like]
ye shes <i>spyan lam</i> ² bshags so		water bubbles,
		Stubbornness, confusion and
		mistakes [of the mind], whatever
		there have been [made] —
		I confess [all] in the presence of
		the [Omni]scient.

¹ B/SP2: nyams chag (SP2: chags) 'dug na 'if there is [any] corruption'; ² B: dbyings nas 'from the realm', SP2: dbyings la 'to the realm'.

109.

SP1: *107. [B: 104 / SP2: 109 / L: —]

gangs dkar shel la skyes ¹ pa'i		Milk [water] of the glacial stream
seng [lcam]<lce> dkar mo['i] 'o		Born in the crystal-white snowy
ma		mountains
ro bcud che [ba]<na> <i>grag</i> ² nas		[Has] great potency [as] is known,

snod kyi[s] ma ['chun] No vessel can tame [it], [they] say.
<mchun>³ zer gyis⁴ | |

¹ B: gnas (pa'i) '(that) takes place'; ² B/SP2: rang grags (B: grag[s]); ³ B: chun; ⁴ B/SP2: na 'if, when'.

110.

SP1: *108. [B: 105 / SP2: 110 / L: —]

gnas gsum zhing na *bzhugs* The [divine] mother(s) and
*pa'i*¹ Jñānaḍākinī(s)
ma dang *ye shes*² mkha' 'gro | | Who abide in the field of the three
snying³ nas *gsol ba btab po*⁴ states of existence,
thugs rje⁵ *lcags kyus bzung*⁶ [I] make a request [to you] from
zhig⁷ | | the heart —
Seize [me] with the hook of
compassion!

¹ B/SP2: rgyu ba'i (SP2: pa'i); ² SP2: yab yum '(divine) father and mother'; ³ B: dbyings 'the realm'; ⁴ B/SP2: bshags pa 'bul lo '[I] offer the confession'; ⁵ B: rje'i; ⁶ SP2: brtse pa'i gzigs 'a look full of love'; ⁷ B: shig, SP2: zhu '[I] ask about'.

111.

SP1: *109. [B: 106 / SP2: — / L: —]

yon tan sbas pa'i gang zag A person with hidden merits
nor bu gang ba'i rgya mtsho | | [Is] the sea full of jewels.
*tshub ston*¹ rlung *gis skyod*² Even being stirred by the stormy
kyang autumn wind,
nga ni [bskur]<bku> ba mi I will not revile [him].
'debs | |

¹ B: mchod rten 'the stūpa'; ² B: gi[s] bskyod.

112.

SP1: *110. [B: 107 / SP2: 111 / L: —]

mar¹ bcud 'o *mar gab pa'i*² The essence of butter is hidden in
gsang ba dam³ pa'i lha chos | | milk,
ma rig<s> log lnga'i⁴ sgrib nas⁵ The secret Sublime Divine
*nyams su rtogs pa mi 'dug*⁶ | | Dharma [is like that]:
When defiled by the five wrong
[views] of ignorance,
[One] does not have [its] inner
understanding.

¹ SP2: ro (bcud) 'potency'; ² B: ('o) mas gang ba 'replete with milk', SP2: [mar]<mor> kab pa'i; ³ SP2: gdams (pa'i) 'revealed'; ⁴ B: pas, SP2: (log) ltas 'by wrong

views';⁵ B: na; ⁶ snying nas 'gyod pas bshags so 'expresses remorse'.

113.

SP1: *111. [B: 108 / SP2: 112 / L: —]

rang sems nam mkha'i ¹	My mind, [like] the essence of
<i>[gshis]<shigs> la²</i>	space,
rang bzhin 'gyur ba ³ med	Has no intrinsic changes by its
kyang	nature,
nyon mongs sprin <i>gyis sgrib</i>	But, being defiled by the cloud of
<i>nas⁴</i>	afflictions,
snaŋ <i>bar⁵</i> 'gyur [ldog] ⁶ ston	[It] displays illusory changes as
byung ⁷	visible phenomena.

¹ SP2: mkha'; ² SP2: shes pa 'knowing'; ³ B: ('gyur) mdog 'color/appearance of changes'; ⁴ B: ltar 'khrugs pa'i 'stirring like', SP2: dang ['khrugs nas]<khrug snas> 'due to fighting with' ?; ⁵ B: ba'i, SP2: ba; ⁶ B: ('gyur) mdog 'color/appearance of changes'; ⁷ SP2: gi.

^114.

SP1: —. [B: 109 / SP2: 113 / L: —]

tsho[r] ¹ drug dbang po'i spyod	The experiential domain of sense
yul	faculties that relate to the six types
snaŋ ba sems kyi dri ma	of feelings
dag dang ma dag dbye ba[s]	[Consists of] the apparent
'khor 'das <i>dbye 'tshams 'byed</i>	phenomena, the defilement of the
<i>gt³ </i>	mind.
	Differentiation between pure and
	impure
	Make the difference between the
	samsāra and the nirvāṇa.

(All: B) ¹ tshogs '(six) aggregates of consciousness'; ² gyes mtshams byed gis.

115.

SP1: *112. [B: 110 / SP2: 114 / L: —]

sbrang bu <i>skye ba<r> sngas</i>	The life [flourishment] of the bee
<i>song¹</i>	took place earlier,
me tog <i>shar ba²</i> physis song	The arising of the flower took
las 'phro<d> med pa'i snying	place later.
sdug	[I] appeared [here] too early to [be
mjal [<i>'dzoms</i>] ³ <i>byed par sngas⁴</i>	able to] encounter
song	

The sweetheart [with whom]
there is no karmic connection.

¹ SP2: rgya la chug 'dra 'as if got to the net'; ² SP2: skyes pa 'born'; ³ SP2: 'ja' tshong '[like] a rainbow'; ⁴ B: (mjal 'dzom[s]) byed pa 'gyang[s] '[the sweetheart] delayed [her coming] to meet', SP2: shar ba physis 'appeared [too] late'.

116.

SP1: *113. [B: 111 / SP2: 115 / L: —]

spang mdog ¹ ser por ² lang	The [green] color of the meadow
song	turned yellow,
spang rgyan sbrang bu[s] dor	The bee abandoned the Gentiana
song	flower.
na so rgas pa'i mi pho	The man drifting from youth to
chung 'drid ³ byams pas dor	old age
song ⁴	Was abandoned by the beloved
	one, known from childhood.

¹ B/SP2: mgo 'top, summit'; ² SP2: bos; ³ B/SP2: 'dris; ⁵ B/SP1: skyur byung.

117.

SP1: *114. [B: 112 / SP2: 116 / L: —]

nam dus ¹ sa bcud ² dro[s] song ³	The fertile season turned hot,
glang chung rog po'i ngu	The black young bull [started
sgra	making] weeping sounds.
smin ⁴ shar bde dro[d] rgyas	The ripened girl started radiating
song ⁵	bliss-warmth,
skyo glu ⁶ sems pa'i ⁷ dran	A sad song took over [my]
blong ⁸	thoughts.

¹ B: zla, SP2: zla<s>; ² SP2: (sa) chu '(earth) and water'; ³ SP2: pa'i; ⁴ dman; ⁵ B/SP2: pa'i; ⁶ SP2: rog; ⁷ B: la; ⁸ B: byung, SP2: yod.

118.

SP1: *115. [B: 113 / SP2: 117 / L: —]

mi med lung pa'i phu [la] ¹	At the upper end of the
byis pa'i ² skyo glu blangs	uninhabited valley
pa'i ³	A boy's song of sorrow is sung,
glu la glu len bslog ⁴ mkhan	That song is responded with a
ri zur 'jag ma'i ⁵ sdong po ⁶	song whose performer [is]
	The stalks of grass on a mountain
	slope.

¹ SP2: nas; ² SP2: pas; ³ B: lhang lhang 'clear, vivid', SP2: 'then pas 'drags on'; ⁴ B/SP2: lan slog; ⁵ B/SP2: ma; ⁶ B: ssub stong 'hollowness', SP1: stong ba 'emptiness'.

119.

SP1: *116²⁺². [B: 114²⁺² / SP2: 118^{2+<2>} / L: —]

brag la ku¹ zhig² rgyab³ pa'i⁴ A cry sent to a rock
 lan la tshig 'bru mi 'dug | | Gets not a single word in
⁵snying gtam pha⁶ la bshad response.
 pa'i⁷ Telling [a girl's] father about
 gros 'go⁸ 'don mkhan mi innermost feelings
 'dug | | Does not lead to a discussion.

¹ SP2: ki; ² B: gcig, SP2: cig; ³ SP2: brgyab; ⁴ B: pas; ⁵ SP2 lacks the second two verses;
⁶ B: phar; ⁷ B: pas; ⁸ B: mgo.

120.

SP1: *117. [B: 115 / SP2: 119 / L: —]

lus po chu la bkru¹ nas² If, having washed the body in
 sems kyi sdig sgrib³ dag⁴ na | | water,
 chu nang gser mig nya mo[s] [One] purifies the afflictions of the
 thar ba thob pa 'dug gam⁵ | | mind,
 Does not the golden-eyed fish
 [who lives] in water
 Attain the liberation?

¹ B: yi[s] dkrus, SP2: yis bkrus; ² SP2: pa'i; ³ B/SP2: pa'i sgrib pa; ⁴ SP2: 'dag; ⁵
 B/SP2: go.

121.

SP1: *118. [B: 116 / SP2: 120 / L: —]

ngur smrig mdog gi¹ bsgyur If [one] can become a lama,
 ba'i² Having changed the color [of the
 bla ma yong rgyu yin na | | clothes] into saffron,
 mtsho stod gser bya ngang³ [Then,] the goose, the golden bird
 pa[s]<i>⁴ from the upper lake,
 'gro ba 'dren pa⁵ 'dug gam⁶ | | Is the leader of the sentient beings,
 isn't it?

¹ B: gi[s], SP2: gis; ² SP2: bas; ³ SP2: (mtsho) bya ngur ba ser 'the (lake) bird, golden
 duck'; ⁴ SP2: pos; ⁵ SP2: chos 'khor bskor ba<r> 'the one who turns the wheel of
 Dharma'; ⁶ B/SP2: go.

122.

SP1: *119. [B: 117 / SP2: — / L: —]

gzhan zer tshig bzlos 'khyol If holding the Doctrine [means]
 ba'i¹ giving instructions

*slob bshad*² bstan pa 'dzin Through [mere] repeating words
na | | of the others,
'dabs³ chags a bo⁴ ne tsos Does not the bird, [my] dear
chos 'khor bskor ba 'dug parrot,
gam⁵ | | Turn the Wheel of Dharma, [too]?

[All: B] ¹ (tshig) zlos khyer bas 'carrying on words'; ² bslab gsum '(Doctrine) of the three teachings'; ³ 'dab; ⁴ ba<r>; ⁵ go.

123.

SP1: *120²+². [B: 118²+²] / SP2: 121²(XX) / L: —]
gang gsung rjes *bzlos skad* If [they] obtain the empowerment
*kyi[s]*¹ By [simple] repeating someone's
dbang bskur thob rgyu yin speeches,
na | | Does, [then,] the empty mindless
²sems med brag cha<gs> stong echo
pa[s]<'i> Accomplish the four bodies [of the
sku bzhi 'grub par ['dug] Buddha, too]?
*gam*³ | |

¹ B: zlos gsung bas, SP2: zlos bskyar bas; ² SP2 lacks the last two verses; ³ B: 'dug[
g]o.

124.

SP1: *121²+². [B: 119²+²] / SP2: 121^(XX)2 / L: —]
¹dgra 'dul gnyen skyong If the one who fights enemies and
*mkhan gyi[s]*² supports friends
sangs rgyas thob rgyu yin [Can] acquire the Buddhahood,
[na] | | [Will not, then,] the herd of the
gcan gzan dud 'gro³ khyu⁴ beasts of prey and [other] animals
yi[s]⁵ Get the perfection in [this] one life,
tshe gcig *mngon par rdzogs*⁶ [too]?
*pa'i*⁷ | |

¹ SP2 lacks the first two verses; ² B: 'dzom[s] pas '(the one who) combines'; ³ SP2:
'gro'i; ⁴ SP2: khyi 'dog'; ⁵ SP2: yang; ⁶ SP2: rdzogs sangs rgyas 'get the enlightenment';
⁷ B: pa, SP2: so.

125.

SP1: *122. [B: 120 / SP2: 122 / L: —]
'dod yon longs [spyod] che If [one can] obtain the
ba[s]<'i> enlightenment
*byang chub*¹ thob rgyu yin By the great enjoyment of all
na | | desirable qualities,

nor bdag klu yi dbang po [Then,] the Owner of Wealth, the
 sku *gsung 'grub par gda' 'o*² | | Lord of the Nāgas (=Kubera)
 Will be [able to] accomplish [his]
 body and speech, [too].

¹ B: dbang bskur 'the empowerment'; ² B: (sku) gsum rnyed pa 'dug[g]o 'will obtain the three (bodies)', SP2: gsum brnyes pa gda'o.

^126.

SP1: —. [B: 121 / SP2: 123 / L: —]
 mon yul sa gnam¹ dro pas² | | Thanks to the warm weather of
 mon mo brla sha dkar ba | | the land of Mön
 'dod chags drag po lhod³ nas | | The thighs of a Mön lady are
 mon mo[s] gzhon nu⁴ khrid whiter.
 byung⁵ | | The passion being overly intense,
 The Mön lady led away a young
 man.

[All: B] ¹ (sa) mams 'lands'; ² la; ³ byung; ⁴ (gzhon) nus 'I] (was led away) by the young (Mön lady); ⁵ song.

^127.

SP1: —. [B: 122 / SP2: 124 / L: —]
 ljon shing lo ma¹ rgyas pa'i | | Atop the fruit on the bough
 yal ka² 'bras bu'i³ rtse mor⁴ | | [Among] the numerous leaves of
 khu byug⁵ sngon po⁶ lding the tree
 pa'i⁷ | | The soaring blue cuckoo's
 gsung *skad thos la<s>*⁸ snyan Voice [sounds] sweet to hearing.
 pa | | [But] the young man's love, the
 o lo'i chung 'dris byams pa'i | | childhood friend,
 gsung snyan *de las snyan* [Has] a voice sweeter than that.
 pa⁹ | |

[All: B] ¹ 'dab; ² ga; ³ [de] yi '(the tip) of [that] (bough)'; ⁴ nas; ⁵ bya[g]; ⁶ mo; ⁷ ba'i; ⁸ [skyur] skad kyi; ⁹ yid la dran byung 'came to mind'.

^128.

SP1: —. [B: — / SP2: 125^{2<+2?>} / L: —]
 sr[i]ng mo tshe dbang bu Sister Tsewang, the first-born
 khrid | | daughter,
 dran pa long la 'dug go | | Lingers in arresting the memory.

governor'; ⁶ B: khag khag; ⁷ B: [rang] la lang[s], SP1: so sor lang.

132.

SP1: *126²⁺². [B: 126²⁺² / SP2: 129^{2+<2>} / L: —]

*blta bar*¹ la mos *sgrib song*² A mountain pass has made an
la mo *chen mo*³ dgra red⁴ | | obstacle for the look —

⁵gro bar⁶ chu *bos sgrib song*⁷ The great mountain pass is the
chu *bo chen po*⁸ dgra red | | enemy.

A river has made an obstacle for
the goer —

The great river is the enemy.

¹ B: blta ba, SP2: rta pas 'a horseman'; ² B/SP1: ma mthong 'does not see'; ³ B: che ba, SP2: mtho ba; ⁴ SP2: de; ⁵ SP2: the last two verses are missing; ⁶ B: ba; ⁷ (chu) mos mi thar 'because of the river does not escape'; ⁸ B: mo che ba.

133.

1.

SP1: *127. [B: 9 / SP2: 130, see below / L: —]

pha yul sa thag ring ba The fatherland, being a very
sems pa yid kyi dgra red | | distant place,

snying sdug sha sems ma 'brel Is the disturber of the thoughts.

nyin mtshan gnyid kyi dgra Having no contact with the body
red | | and thoughts of the sweetheart

Is the disturber of sleep day and
night.

2.

SP2: 130

The song in SP2 and B combines lines of two nos.:

a–d: B: No. 127; SP1: No. *127; L: —.

d–f: B: No. 9^{b–d}; SP1: No. 9^{b–d}; L: No. 6^{b–d}.

pha yul kha¹ thag ring ba | | The fatherland, being a very
*sems pa yid*² kyi dgra red | | distant place,

byams pa [byes]<byis> la song Is the disturber of the thoughts.

*nas*³ | | The sweetheart has left far away,

*mtshan mo*⁴ gnyid *thebs gcog* There is no sleep at night.

*gi*⁵ | | Not getting [her] in the daytime

nyin mo lag du⁶ mi lon | | Is an assistant of disappointment.

yid thang chad rog yin pa | |

¹ B/SP1: sa; ² B: lus sems gnyis 'both body and mind'; ³ B: byams pa byes la song ba, SP1: snying sdug sha sems ma 'brel 'having no contacts with the body and thoughts of the sweetheart'; ⁴ SP1: nyin mtshan 'day and night'; ⁴ B (No. 127): theb[s] lcog gis, B

(No. 9): theb cog gis, SP1: kyi dgra red 'is the disturber';⁶ B: tu.

^134.

SP1: —. [B: 128 / SP2: 131 / L: —]

chu bo ¹ mar 'gro <i>shig shig</i> ²	The river flows and flows
yar 'gro yin na dga' ba	downwards.
ya [<i>gi</i>] <i><ki></i> ³ lchang ra ⁴ smug	If [it could] start flowing up, [I]
chung ⁵	would rejoice.
yab yum ⁶ yin na skyid pa	Up there [I see] a brownish poplar
	grove,
	Were it [my] father and mother, [I]
	would be happy.

[All: B] ¹ mo; ² shad shad; ³ ma gi 'down there'; ⁴ gling; ⁵ skyid 'happy, festive'; ⁶ pha gzhis 'ancestral estate'.

^135.

SP1: —. [B: — / SP2: 132 / L: —]

mda' mo spang la zug pa	An arrow has pierced a meadow —
mda' yi bdag pos bton 'gro	The owner of the arrow will come
mi sems mi la zug pa	and draw [it] out.
su gas 'don rgyu yin pa	A thought has pierced a man —
	Who will be able to extract it?

^136.

SP1: —. [B: 129 / SP2: 133 / L: —]

mda' mo spang ¹ la phog	The arrow hit the meadow,
song	The arrowhead got left in [the
mde'u [shul] <i><shal></i> du ² lus	earth].
song	[I] met with [you, my] beloved
chung 'dris byams pa 'phrad	one, the childhood friend,
byung	The thoughts started following
sems nyid <i>khyod rjes 'brang</i> ³	you [all the time.]
song	

[All: B] ¹ 'ben 'the target'; ² la; ³ rjes 'brang lang[s] 'started following [her]'.

137.

SP1: *128. [B: 130 / SP2: 134 / L: —]

spang dang spang brgyan ¹	The meadow and the meadow
'bral ² ba	ornament (=Gentiana flowers)
	have got separated,

nam zla'i <'>*phan* [*'dogs*] [It] is the benefit of the season.
 <*dugs*>³ yin pa'i⁴ | | I and the beloved one have
 nga dang byams pa bral⁵ ba parted —
 tshe sngon las zad⁶ yin pa'i⁷ | | [It] is the exhaustion of the karma
 [collected] in the previous life.

¹ B/SP2: rgyan; ² B: 'brel 'got connected', SP2: bral; ³ B/SP2: dus tshod 'the time';
⁴ B/SP2: pa; ⁵ B: 'bral; ⁶ B/SP2: 'phro 'the unfolding'; ⁷ B/SP2: pa.

138.

SP1: *129. [B: 131 / SP2: 135 / L: —]

chu bo¹ che ba'i sems nad The heart grief [about how to
 gru shan gnyen² pas sel cross] the great river
 yong³ | | Will be expelled by a friend with a
 snying sdug shi ba'i *sems nad*⁴ ferry.
 su yis⁵ sel *ngo ma mth[ong]*⁶ | | The heart grief because of the
 sweetheart's death
 By whom will be expelled? — [I]
 cannot see.

¹ B: mo; ² B: gnyan / SP2: mnyan (pas) 'the boatman'; ³ B: song, SP2: 'gro; ⁴ B/SP2:
 mya ngan 'the pain'; ⁵ B: gas; ⁶ B: (sel) rog[s] byed pa 'will help to (expel)?', SP2: (sel)
 rgyu yin pa 'will cause the expelling?'

139.

SP1: *130. [B: 132 / SP2: 136 / L: —]

shing de rtsa ba gci g la The tree [has] one root and
 rtse mo *nyis stong lnga* Two thousand and five hundred
*brgya*¹ | | tips.
 nga yi a ma *chang ma*² My "mother", the inn-keeper,
 blo sna nyis stong lnga [Has] two thousand and five
 [brgya] | | hundred ideas.

¹ B/SP1: sum brgya drug cu 'three hundred and sixty'; ² B: byams par / SP2: byams
 pa'i 'the beloved one'.

^140.

SP1: —. [B: 133 / SP2: 137 / L: —]

pha¹ ma'i sdig *pu drug* Although [I] wanted to attach to
*dkar*² | | [her] head
 dbu la rgyag³ dgos bsam [My?] parents' blue-pale turquoise
 kyang | | little scorpion,
 bu mo blo sna mang nas | | The girl had many [own] ideas

g.yu chung 'dog⁴ ngos ma [And] rejected to wear the small
[']dod | | turquoise.

[All: B] ¹ a (ma) 'the mother's'; ² [pa'i] g.yu [chung] 'the small turquoise'; ³ sgron
'to put on'; ⁴ 'dog[s].

^141.

SP1: —. [B: 134 / SP2: 138 / L: —]

rgyal khams spyi lo nyes na¹ | | If the year [is] bad in the entire
sems khral yong ba state,
[khag]<khyag> khyag | | Anxieties will surely appear.
zhing chung sger mo nyes [When our] private little field
*pa'i*² | | [turns] bad,
sdug bsngal [thol]<thod> la Sufferings will get [manifested]
'dug go³ | | suddenly.

[All: B] ¹ pa; ² snying sdug lkog la shi ba'i 'when the secret beloved one dies'; ³
byung[nglo 'appear'.

^142.

SP1: —. [B: — / SP2: 139 / L: —]

drin can pha ma 'das pa'i | | [I] was not carried away by the
mya ngan khur bas mi chog | | pain
snying sdug [lkog]<khog> la [Caused by] the death of merciful
shi ba'i | | parents.
sems sdug khog pa rul song | | [My] chest got rotten by the
depression
[Caused by] the death of the secret
sweetheart.

143.

SP1: *131. [B: 135 / SP2: 140 / L: —]

nga dang byams *pa* ['dres Although I and [my] beloved one
pa]'<dri ba>¹ kept
shi [g]sang ro [g]sang *byed* [Our] connection in the strictest
*kyang*² | | secret (*lit.* 'until death, until a
gtam gsum mi kha ngan pa[s] corpse'),
dmag brta' rgyag rgyag byed Evil gossip, the sundry talks
*byung*³ | | ("talks of three kinds")
[Like] a growing army attacked
[us].

¹ B: pa'i lkog grib 'the secret stain', SP2: pa'i khog 'dres 'interior connection'; ²

B/SP2: gsang byas pas; ³ B: sa steng kun la khyab song 'pervaded the entire earth',
 SP2: bag chags ngos la lang song 'raised karmic residues to the surface'.

144.

SP1: *132²⁺². [B: 136²⁺² / SP2: 141^{<2>+2} / L: 322⁺²]

<i>¹rang sems zug pa'i [snying sdug]</i>	When the sweetheart who torments my thoughts
<i>mi yi bag mar song na² </i>	Became [another] man's bride,
<i>khong na[ng] sems kyi<s> [gcong]<bcong> gis</i>	The pain [that hit my] mind in its depth
<i>gzugs po'i³ sha yang skam⁴ song </i>	Dried up even the flesh of [my] body.

¹ SP2 does not have the first two verses; ² B: la dga' ba'i snyung sdug / mig gi bar la lang[s] song 'the sweetheart whom (I) love appeared before my eyes', L: la dga' ba'i byams pa / gzhan gyi mdun mar blangs song 'the beloved one whom (I) love became somebody else's wife'; ³ B: [nang]<dang> byams pa'i <l>cong gi[s] / lus kyi 'the pain from love deep within (dried the flesh) of the body', SP2/L: nang sems (L: [b]sams) pa'i gcong (L: cong) gis / lus po'i; ⁴ L: rkam.

145.

SP1: *133. [B: 137 / SP2: 142 / L: —]

<i>zhim po za rgyu med par¹ na rgyu 'bun la longs so[ng]² </i>	Not letting [me] eat tasty [food], A sickness made [me] feel dizzy
<i>nga dang byams pa'i dbye mtshams³</i>	(?). The line of division between me
<i>sgam po'i⁴ phyag gis [byas]<byed>⁵ song </i>	and the beloved one Was made by the hand of the wise [force?].

¹ B/SP2: po'i bza' btung skyug pa; ² B: nang ro'i bun long yin pa, SP2: na rgyu'i spu long yin pas; ³ SP2: 'bral 'tshams; ⁴ B/SP2: bu; ⁵ B: chag[gi[s] bkod, SP1: phywa yis byas.

146.

SP1: *134. [B: — / SP2: 143 / L: —]

<i>gshong zhing lo yag ljang sra 'ong ba'i gseb tu¹ phyin pa'i² </i>	The field on the plain [had] good seedlings, green and firm.
<i>dang po snga mor 'jal ba'i snying sdug khong dang 'jal ba'i³ </i>	Entering the depth of the harvest, [I] met [my] former [sweetheart] for the first time, Met the sweetheart's true feelings.

[All: SP2] ¹ (lo) tog yag pa'i / spang sdebs sa la 'the place of meeting, the meadow with good harvest'; ² pas; ³ (snga) ma'i snying sdug / glo bur gdong [thug]<thub>

rgyab byung 'I] suddenly met [my] former sweetheart'.

147.

SP1: *135. [B: — / SP2: 144 / L: —]

kham[s] bzang skad cha dris	When asked "how do you feel?",
pa'i ¹	[She] failed to give an answer.
gtam lan <i>bslog tu mi 'dug</i> ²	Out of the small sparkling eyes
khra chung mig gi nang nas	A flood of tears streamed.
[mchi ma'i]<mchil ma> rba	
<i>rlabs g.yos byung</i> ³	

[All: SP2] ¹ pas; ² 'jal rgyu med par 'without returning (a reply)'; ³ (rba) klong 'khrug song 'waves (of tears) streamed'.

148.

SP1: *136. [B: — / SP2: 145 / L: —]

¹ sha 'jam lus la sbyar nas ²	[I] joined with the tender body
<i>mi sems [r]<d>ang</i> ³ sems ma	[but]
'dres	The other person's mind and my
bal po mkhas pa'i lugs la	mind did not get blended.
gser dang ra<g> gan 'brel ⁴	The Nepalese "skillful" tradition
song	[of making statues]
	[Learned how] to mix gold and
	brass.

[All: SP2] ¹ In SP2 the order of verses is reversed: first *cd*, then *ab*; ² nas; ³ rang sems mi (sems) 'my mind [and the other] person's mind'; ⁴ dris.

149.

SP1: *137. [B: — / SP2: 146 / L: —]

sha ba <i>la mo rgyab</i> ¹ song	The stag conquered a pass,
sha khyi[s] <i>kho thag chod</i>	The hunting dog lost hope [to
<i>song</i> ²	catch him].
<i>snying sdug dpon pos bzhes</i>	The sweetheart was taken by the
<i>song</i> ³	governor,
rang sems kho thag chod	My mind lost hope [to get her].
song	

[All: SP1] ¹ ri la lang[s] 'got up to mountains'; ² zin pa mi 'dug 'cannot grasp'; ³ byams pas la mo bryab pas 'the sweetheart conquered a pass'.

150.

SP1: *138. [B: — / SP2: 147 / L: —]

phu yi ¹ g.ya' <i>spang por</i> ² song	Stones from the mountain above
gshong zhing ³ lo <i>thog sngas</i>	got onto the alpine meadow —
<i>song</i> ⁴	The harvest of the field died early.
nga dang chung 'drid ⁵ byams	The force of the karmic connection
pa'i	between me
las 'gro ⁶ 'phen pa rdzogs	And my beloved one, known from
song	childhood, ran out.

[All: SP1] ¹ nas; ² gangs zhu[s] 'the snow melted'; ³ gi; ⁴ tog snga gi; ⁵ 'dris; ⁶ 'phro'i.

^151.

SP1: —. [B: — / SP2: 148^{2<+2?>} / L: —]

'dab stong me tog grangs	Flowers with thousand petals are
med	innumerable,
s[b]rang bu'i 'deb[s] ngo ma	The bee's head farming [them]
dod	does not come out.
<...>	<...>

152.

SP1: *139. [B: — / SP2: 149 / L: —]

shing de spa ¹ ma'i <i>sne mo</i> ²	The top of this tree, the juniper,
gang ³ la bkug kyang <i>gug</i>	When bent to some [direction],
<i>gis</i> ⁴	[stays] bent [like that].
<'>khrel med byams pa'i <i>sems</i>	The thoughts of the shameless
<i>pa</i>	beloved one,
<i>gang khug zhus kyang ma</i>	When asked to be turned to
<i>khug</i> ⁵	someone, do not [stay] turned.

[All: SP1] ¹ lchang (ma'i) 'the willow'; ² sna lcu[g] 'trunk and branches' ?; ³ ga; ⁴ khug gi; ⁵ phyogs su / lus sems khug pa mi 'dug 'towards (the shameless beloved one) [my] body and thoughts do not turn'.

153.

SP1: *140. [B: — / SP2: 150 / L: 40]

sa de kha zhur ¹ gting 'khyag ²	The earth whose surface is melted
rta pho rgyugs ³ ⁴ [sa ma red]	but the depth [still] frozen
gsar ⁵ 'grogs byams pa'i phyogs	Is not the place for a male horse to
su	run about.
snying gtam <i>bshod sa</i> ⁶ ma	Near the beloved one, who is a
mdzad ⁷	new friend,

[One] should not find a place to
talk about innermost feelings.

¹ SP2: zhu; ² L: khyag; ³ SP2: rgyug, L: gtong; ⁴ SP1: the end of the verse is missing;
⁵ SP2: ring 'long, old', L: [g]sang 'secret'; ⁶ SP2: shod pa, L: shos sa; ⁷ SP2: (ma) 'dzad
'(do not) exhaust'; L: (ma) red 'is not'.

154.

SP1: *141. [B: — / SP2: 151 / L: —]

se<r> 'bru<m> ¹ phyi nas smin	Though a briar fruit is ripened
yang	from the outside,
nang du<de> rus pas<pa'i>	It is full of the nucleus (<i>lit.</i> bone)
khengs 'dug	inside.
byams pa zhal ngo<sgo>	Though the face of the beloved
mtshar yang	one is marvelous,
nang na dgongs<gdong>	The thoughts inside cannot be
tshad ² mi 'dug	measured.

¹ This word is often translated as 'a pomegranate' but at least here it is not the case;
² SP2: [na]ng la [b]dud rtsi<s> '(there is no) ambrosia inside'.

^155.

SP1: —. [B: — / SP2: 152 / L: —]

snying sdug a sar can ma	The fickle-minded sweetheart [is
spang ri'i log gi 'ja' tshon	like]
phral gang dung ba che ba	A rainbow near the hill covered
phugs la gtad so mi 'dug	with grass.
	Presently, [she shows] great
	tenderness,
	[But] in the future [its] resource
	will be out.

156.

SP1: *142. [B: — / SP2: 153 / L: —]

las 'gro ¹ mthun pa'i byams pa	The beloved one, harmonious
dri med dngul dkar ² me	with the karmic prospect,
long	[Is like] a stainless mirror of white
'phyi zhing dangs su ³ 'gro gi	silver.
'grog shing nyer du gtang ⁴	[She] would appear late and pure,
gi	Would start a relationship and get
	very dear [to me].

[All: SP1] ¹ [las]<lam> smon 'karma and aspiration'; ² dkar mo'i 'white'; ³ physis
shing dwangs tu; ⁴ nye ru 'gro 'become close'.

157.

SP1: *143. [B: — / SP2: 154 / L: —]

khu byug mon la thegs ¹ song	The cuckoo left for Mön,
nam zla sa bcud ² 'khyag	The fertility of the weather is
song ³	frozen.
ngang pa ⁴ nga yang mi sdod ⁵	I, the wild goose, will not remain
lho rong phyogs la ⁶ chas 'gro	either,
	[I] will set out in the direction of
	Lhorong.

[All: SP2] ¹ thal; ² (nam zla sa) chu '(the weather, earth [and]) water'; ³ 'dug; ⁴ pha; ⁵ 'dug; ⁶ su.

^158.

SP1: — (?). [B: 138 / SP2: 155 / L: —]

bod yul sa yi lte ba	The navel-center of the land of
dpal gyi chos 'khor lha sa	Tibet
nga dang byams pa'i gnyen	[Is] Lhasa, the glorious Wheel of
'dun	Dharma.
ma cig ¹ dpal lhas sgrub ²	The relationship between me and
song	[my] love
	Was established by Machik Pel-
	lha [the Protectress of Lhasa].

[All: B] ¹ gcig; ² sgrigs 'arranged'.

^159.

SP1: — (?). [B: 139 / SP2: 156 / L: —]

me tog snga yal phyi yal	Flowers wither earlier or later,
chung 'dris byams pa rgas ¹	The beloved sweetheart gets aged.
'dug	Maiden, please, reveal the petals,
[dman]<sman> shar 'dab ma	In human life there is nothing else
[']byed grogs ²	to do.
mi tsh[e[r] kha ³ med byung	
ngo	

[All: B] ¹ (byams) par dgos '[I] need the beloved one'; ² 'drar 'like'; ³ (mi) byed ka (med) '[you] have no choice but to (reveal)'.

^160.

SP1: — (?). [B: 140 / SP2: 157 / L: —]

do nub mjal ¹ ba'i snying sdug	A sweetheart [I] meet tonight —
sang zhog[s] khag khag so so	

chags zhen med pa'i byams [We will] get separated tomorrow
 pa | | in the morning.
 chos 'khor lha sar 'dug go | The love that is free of attachment
 and clinging
 Is found in Lhasa, the Wheel of
 Dharma.

[All: B] ¹ mdza' (ba'i) 'I was] close with'.

^161.

SP1: — (?). [B: 141 / SP2: 158 / L: —]
 shar nas nyi ma<r> shar From the east the sun appeared,
 byung | | [Hence] no story about a star.
 skar ma'i lo rgyus mi 'dug | The owner of the owned [woman]
 bdag yod bdag po 'byor arrived,
 byung¹ | | The sweetheart [said:] "Go away
 snying sdug ga le thal shig | slowly (=good bye)!"

¹ B: song.

^162.

SP1: — (?). [B: 142 / SP2: 159 / L: —]
 bu mo dung¹ sems can ma | | A girl with the candid heart
 rmi lam ngos² la 'char gi³ | Appears [to me] in the state of
 shi dus⁴ bar do'i 'phrang la | | dream.
 bag chags btab⁵ pa 'dug go | After death, on the perilous path
 of the bardo,
 Karmic predispositions get
 imprinted.

[All: B] ¹ [g]dung; ² — [nang]; ³ yong gis; ⁴ nas; ⁵ rgyugs 'rush (into)'.

^163.

SP1: — (?). [B: 143 / SP2: 160 / L: —]
 dung¹ dung sems kyi snang [I] got tied to the stake of the
 ba'i² | | blessing
 byin rlabs³ stod phur rgyab Of [passions] appearing to the
 phyung⁴ | | wavering mind.
 gdam⁵ ngag bla ma'i ra[l] The lama's sword, his
 [gris]<pris> | | instructions,
 zhen pa'i thag pa chod dang | | Cut the cord of the clinging!

[All: B] ¹ da (dung) 'now, yet'; ² bas; ³ 'khor ba'i 'the saṃsāra'; ⁴ byung; ⁵ gdams.

^164.

SP1: — (?). [B: 144 / SP2: 161 / L: —]

tshe 'di'i snang ba 'byed	The way to disclose the
thabs ¹	phenomena of this life,
byis pa'i ² skyo glu lhang	The boy's sad song [sounds]
lhang	clearly.
skyo cig skyo na khams	If [one] is sad with one sadness, [it
gsum	is] the sadness
'khor ba'i gnas ³ la skyo bas ⁴	About abiding in the circle of the
	three realms.

[All: B] ¹ 'khrid lugs 'the way (the phenomena) are carried out'; ² byams [pa'i]<pas> 'about the beloved one'; ³ ('khor) ba 'di (la) 'about this circle'; ⁴ ba.

^165.

SP1: — (?). [B: 145^{1{XX}+3} / SP2: 162^{1+[2]+3} / L: —]

mdang ¹ sum nyal ba'i rmi	When sleeping last night, [I] had a
lam ²	dream [in which]
dgra gnyen skye ba'i grogs	The foes and friends gathered as
'dus	good fellows.
da nang bltas pa'i yul du	This morning in the place [that I
byung ba i ³ shul yang mi 'dug	can] see
tshe 'di'i ⁴ bden bden 'dra	There is no trace of [that]
ba<i> ⁵	appearance.
chags sdang ⁶ rmongs pa'i 'du ⁷	What reminds the truth in this life
tshogs	[Is just] the gathering of
	defilements, affections and
	aversions.

[All: B] ¹ mdangs; ² rjes la 'after (falling asleep)'; ³ [b]sdad [pa'i]<ba'i>'of [that] staying'; ⁴ 'di; ⁵ yang; ⁶ (chags) sgo 'calamities'; ⁷ rus (tshogs) 'the gathering of all that belong to'.

166.

SP1: — (?). [B: 146^{[2]+4} / SP2: 163^{{XX}3<+1>} / L: —]

mdzes pa'i ¹ rang byung sha	Due to the corporeal nature of
yis ²	beauty,
lang tsho'i gdong ³ la chags	[I] felt passion to the face of a
song ⁴	youthful one.
spang nas dben pa'i ri khrod	Having expelled [it], to the
⁵ [gnas mchog [de] la e thad ⁶]	mountain solitary retreat,

The very best place, [I am now]
directed!

[All: B] ¹ ma'i; ² yi; ³ me tog [de] 'to the flower'; ⁴ pas; ⁵ SP2 lacks the last verse; ⁶ Sørensen suggests reading theg[s] 'go'.

^167.

SP1: —. [B: 147 / SP2: 164 / L: —]

<i>'phral gang</i> ¹ nyams su <i>dga'</i>	If in the present life [one] practices
<i>ba'i</i> ²	The Divine Dharma, [the source]
lha chos <i>nyams su blang na</i> ³	of joy,
tshe rab ⁴ kun tu bskyid pa'i	In all the next lives [one will see]
'od [gsa]l nyi ma shar	the rise of the sun
byung ⁵	Of the clear light, [the source] of
	happiness.

[All: B] ¹ [']phral phug[s] 'in] the present and future [lives]'; ² blangs pa'i 'practiced'; ³ sems la bzhag nas 'having held in mind'; ⁴ (tshe) 'di 'in] this life'; ⁵ song.

^168.

SP1: —. [B: 148^{4[XX]+2} / SP2: 165^{4+[2]+2} / L: —]

'dod <i>yon reg</i> ¹ pa'i bza' btung	Eating and drinking connected
<i>byol song phyug[s] [kyi]<gi></i>	with the sensuous pleasures
<i>spyod yul</i> ²	Are the field of experience for the
zag med ting ³ 'dzin bdud	cattle [and other] animals.
rtsi'i	When the amrita of the undefiled
ro mchog myong rgyu byung	samadhī
na	Causes the experience of the
zag bcas dga' ba'i bde ba	sublime taste,
yin par yid la ma sems	No thought [arises] about getting
zag bcas dbang po <i>sbyor</i>	The happiness of the defiled joys,
<i>ba'i</i> ⁴	[Due to] the meditative
bde ba yin par <i>snyoms 'jug</i> ⁵	[realization that] the happiness
	[Caused by] the sensual
	connections is [all] defiled.

[All: B] ¹ yul rigs; ² spyod yul gyi [ni] me tog 'flowers of the field of experience'; ³ rig<s> ('dzin) 'holding of pure awareness'; ⁴ [s]myos pa'i 'intoxicated'; ⁵ ma shes 'no knowledge (in the happiness)'.

^169.

SP1: —. [B: 149⁴ / SP2: 166^{<1+>3} / L: —]

¹ [zag med dga' bzhi'i snyoms	The meditative absorption of the
'jug]	four undefiled joys

<p>'dzad med gtan gyi bde ba dgra gnyen chags sdang spangs pa'i btang snyoms yid kyi sa gzhi<r> </p>	<p>[Provides] the inexhaustible, constant happiness. The equanimity that expels attachment and aversion regarding the foes and friends [Is] the [virtuous] basis for the mind.</p>
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¹ SP2 misses the first verse.

^170.

SP1: —. [B: 150 / SP2: 167 / L: —]

<p>rang gzhan¹ kun la phan pa'i byang sems² me tog 'khrungs nas don gnyis³ m[ng]ar ba'i s[b]rang <i>rtsi</i><r> 'dzad med longs su <i>spyad</i> <i>nas</i>⁴ gdul bya'i rkang drug grangs [med]<dang> [snyan]<mnyam> pa'i chos gar bsgyur ro </p>	<p>Having generated the flower of bodhicitta That brings help to all, oneself and others, Having enjoyed the inexhaustible Amrita of sweet two kinds of benefit, The innumerable six-footed (bees) to be tamed Will perform the pleasant Dharmic dance.</p>
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[All: B] ¹ (rang) sems 'my mind'; ² (byang) chub 'bodhisattva'; ³ snying 'the essential meaning'; ⁴ spyod na.

^171.

SP1: *147. [B/SP2/L: —]

<p>[']phral phug[s] nyams su dga' ba'i lha chos nyams su blangs nas 'di phyi kun tu skyid pa'i 'od gsal nyi ma shar yong </p>	<p>Thanks to the practice of the divine Dharma That [brings about] temporary and ultimate joy, There rises the sun of the Clear Light That [brings] all happiness now and afterwards.</p>
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^172.

SP1: *148. [B/SP2/L: —]

<p>rang sems kun la phan pa'i</p>	<p>When [in] my mind the flower of the awakening</p>
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byang chu[b]<ng> me tog That brings help to all [the beings]
 'khrung nas | | is born,
 don gnyis mngar ba'i bdud rtsi [I] will enjoy the inexhaustible
 'dzad med longs su spyod Amrita of the sweetness of the
 do | | Two Truths.

^173.

SP1: *149. [B: 447 /SP2: — / L: —]²⁴

rgya gar shar gyi rma bya The peacock from Eastern India
*lho rong gting gi*¹ ne tso | | [And] the parrot from the depths
 [']khrung sa [']khrung yul mi of Lhorong
 gcig Do not share the place of birth,
 'dzom[s] sa chos 'khor lha sa | | region of birth,
 [But] their meeting point is Lhasa,
 the Wheel of Dharma.

[All: B] ¹ kong yul mthil gyi 'from the middle of the Kongpo region'.

^174.

SP1: *150. [B: 450 /SP2: — / L: —]²⁵

mi tsho nga la lab lab¹ People talk and talk about me.
*dgongs pa*² dag pa *yod do*³ | | I am sorry [about it].
 nga la byams pa *mang nyung* The amount of love I [have had]
*mtsho mtha'i*⁴ [? las mang [Exceeds?] the limits of the sea.
 ba | |

[All: B] ¹ (lab) pa 'talk'; ² —; ³ B: khas theg '[I] witness'; ⁴ mtsho kha'i / sbrang ma [de] las mang ba '(lovers) are more numerous than bees on the lake's shore'.

<...>

²⁴ It is one of the songs that are often added to the 58 songs of the block print; Lev Savitsky assigned no. 60 to it (Savitsky 1983).

²⁵ One more song added to the 58 songs of the block print: no. 61. The entire second half is completely different: o lo'i gom gsum phra mo gnas mo'i nang la thal song.

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Corrupted, Reconstructed and Forgotten
The Third Karmapa's *Comprise Verses (bsTan bcos)* on
the *Saddharmasmṛtyupathāna* and the *bsTan bcos' *ṭikā*
by Shes rab Rin chen

Introduction*

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The Third Karmapa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339), hardly needs any introduction. As a proto-type scholar-practitioner, his intellectual activity did not seem to have many limits. This is reflected in the great width and diversity of his interests. This paper will focus on one his rather neglected, but by no means less epical works, the *Dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i bstan bcos* (henceforth *bsTan bcos*), together with its 14th century commentary by Shes rab rin chen (henceforth '*Grel pa*'). It can be counted among the most remarkable writings within the Third Karmapa's oeuvre, bearing testimony to Rang byung rdo rje's non-sectarian interest in Buddhist writings in general, in this case a rather unique *abhidharmic* discourse about the three realms.

The *Saddharmasmṛtyupathānasūtra* (henceforth *Sūtra*) was corrupted and incomplete in Sanskrit already at Rang byung rdo rje's time. What marks the *bsTan bcos* as outstanding is Rang byung rdo rje's eclectic approach in view of the sources he chose to complete, or, in his terms, to 'restore' this text, as well as his choice to work on this *Sūtra* in the first place. His work, besides the '*Grel pa*', marks the only known scholarly activity involving the *Sūtra*, while the *bsTan bcos*'s short history is itself an unusual curiosum within Tibetan literature and scholarly practice. It is equally a witness of the (re-)establishment of scholarly tradition, as it is to its disappearance. The only discourse in relation to which the *bsTan bcos* ever has appeared, is marked by Shes rab rin chen's commentary. Being as much a summary of the original Sanskrit

* This introduction was first prepared for a talk given at the 16th IATS. The contents of the paper have been prepared over several years. I would like to thank my friends Kamilla Mojzes, Mirek Hrdina and Vladislav Ermolin together with who I have translated the *bsTan bcos* and '*Grel pa*'.

work as being a commentary, it never seems to have gained any attention either.

All this makes this unnoticed triple gem of *Sūtra*, *bsTan bcos* and '*Grel pa* an outstanding example of early 'Indo-Tibetan eclectic and neglected scholarship' aimed at restoring incomplete Indian works and to re-establish unique but lost traditions, that never attracted any notable interested or caused any noteworthy scholarly interaction. I will highlight how Rang byung rdo rje, even though claiming the *bsTan bcos* to be the completion of an incomplete original (much like his *Jātakamālā*-completion), composed a treatise that in fact established a new discourse. I will analyse the *bsTan bcos*'s unique character and humble place within scholarly discourse, it's relation to the *Sūtra* and the '*Grel pa*, and, finally, paraphrase the many unique facets of this neglected triad.

The Author

The marvellous life of Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339),¹ whose broad interests undoubtedly qualify him as one of the most outstanding scholar-practitioners (*mkhas grub*) within Tibetan history is marked by his interests in, at least during his times, non-standard literature, and his rather unique scholastic activity within his subbranch of the bKa' brgyud distinguishes him within and beyond his Ka rma bKa' brgyud school. He was, in some sense, a beacon prior to the dawn of scholastic activity in the Ka rma bKa' brgyud sect and, besides that, an especially interesting figure for the Tibetan literary history as such, a fact to which also the *Hundred Jātakas* bears witness. Prior to Rang byung rdo rje, there was no significant scholastic tradition in the Ka rma bKa' brgyud and it took, after his death, another century until such traditions were established by the Seventh Karmapa Chos grags rGya mtsho (1454–1506), and his contemporaries.² Even though such scholastic activities took place in other sub-branches of the bKa' brgyud and other main schools, already during the Third Karmapa's times, he showed, moreover, another unique interest of distinguishing character, namely his inclination towards unfinished but monumental Indian works. Among those are two that deserve special attention: His completion of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, and his synthesis of the *Sūtra*, "*Treatise on Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma*" (hereafter: *bsTan bcos*).

¹ Seegers 2009 and 2020, Gamble 2018 and 2020, and Gardner 2011.

² While other schools among the *Kagyü*, as well as the other two schools Sakya (Tib. *Sa skyas*) and Geluk (Tib. *dGe lugs*) already had established scholastic traditions, the *Karma Kagyü* had only established these during later generations and mainly based on religious and political pressure.

The *Jātakamālā* is amidst the earliest and most distinguished scriptures of life-writings, and is thus, together with others of its kind, such as the *Buddhacārīta*, at the core of this literary genre. As it is, unfortunately, the case with many texts of Indian origin, also Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* — at least as far as Tibetan historical accounts are concerned — remained incomplete and it was the Third Karmapa who took it upon himself to complete this great collection of poems, i.e., to compose another 66 previous birth stories, completing the collection to a hundred. That this work was well-known and recognized as such throughout Tibet as it is unambiguously proven by the great number of copies that were made and circulated.³ Such somewhat unfinished, otherwise incomplete, or corrupted Indian scriptures of epochal proportions, so it seems, must have had some special appeal for the Third Karmapa, whether for historical, personal, or any other reasons, remains to be seen. That this seemed to be some kind of “nerd hobby” of his is indicated by the fact that we know of, at least, one other Indian work originally composed in Sanskrit that was “completed” by Rang byung rDo rje: The *bsTan bcos*. This work, however, differs substantially from the *Jātakamālā*. It is a much less famous non-biographical scripture that deals mainly with *abhidharma* related content that, unlike the *Jātakamālā* which is commonly portrayed as a work that remained unfinished by its author Āryaśūra, has been corrupted in course of its transmission, with substantial parts of it having been lost entirely. By these very different works, it is evident that the Karmapa's interests were extremely broad and show his diverse interests in relation to both widespread and known scriptures, as well as those that fell out of the grid of the common interest.⁴ As remarkable as the Karmapa's interest in the completion of unfinished and re-working corrupted works, are the means with which he did so. He was not only diversely interested but even more so diversely and well-read as can be shown by the sources he had used to complete these incomplete works. Yet, the accompanying socio-cultural and historical circumstances, i.e., our speculations about the Third Karmapa's reasons and intent to compose certain works, namely, the information needed to make sense of his writings within the range of his life and works, remain somewhat oblique, especially in view of the *bsTan bcos*.⁵

³ Jackson 2000; See especially Dell and Galasek-Hul 2022.

⁴ The *Hundred Jātakas* is referred to in Gamble 2020 (on pp. 17 and 57), the *Treatise on Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma* is not mentioned in the entire book. Therein the author *Hundred Jātakas* are mentioned as a possible scriptural means to authority the idea of the Tibetan reincarnation system.

⁵ Although a theory for the purpose of composing the *Hundred Jātakas*, namely, to institutionalize reincarnation has been postulated, such theory or other possible

Previous Studies

To our present knowledge the *Sūtra* itself did not survive in its entirety in Sanskrit, its original Indian language.⁶ Also in all the major canonical editions of the *bKa' 'gyur* the text is incomplete,⁷ which points towards a corruption of the transmission at a relatively early stage. A great part of the *Sūtra* is also available via the *Dharmasamuccaya* of Avalokitasimha,⁸ which appears to be a sort of "rearranged" *Sūtra*. However, especially since the emergence of a very important manuscript, has been studied more intensively in the recent years. Mitsuyo Demoto studied and described the third chapter in 2009⁹ and Daniel M. Stuart translated and edited the second chapter in his dissertation of 2012, which appeared in a revised form as a monograph in 2015.¹⁰ In 2020, Robert Kritzer published an article on the seventh chapter.¹¹ Currently, the first chapter is being edited and studied by Vesna Wallace,¹² while Xiaoqiang Meng, a PhD student at Leiden University, is preparing the 5th fifth chapter as parts of his dissertation. Most recently, a translation of the entire text has been made available in 2021 via the [84000 project](#) by Thomas Doctor, for which he primarily relied on the Tibetan translation as preserved in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur*. Finally, it shall be mentioned that no correspondences to the name-wise corresponding *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* of the Pāli tradition have been mentioned.

The *bsTan bcos* and its accompanying commentary the '*Grel pa*, on the other hand, have, besides being mentioned in Manfred Seegers' dissertation submitted to the University of Hamburg in 2020,¹³ and in the introduction to the aforementioned translation of the *Sūtra* for the 84.000 project, not been subject to academic studies. Neither have the corresponding parts of *bsTan bcos* and '*Grel pa* to the second up to

agendas behind the *Hundred Jātakas*, remain to be verified and hitherto still in the realm of speculation. For the time being, aim and purpose of the *Hundred Jātakas* and texts like the *bsTan bcos* remain uncertain.

⁶ Stuart 2012: 25-26.

⁷ Tōh. 287. It should be noticed that in the *dPe bsdur ma* are two other short explanatory texts concerning this *sūtra*: The *Dam chos dran pa nye bzhas gi bsdur mchan* and the *Dam chos dran pa nye bzhas gi bsdur 'bras re'u mig*. Both of those do not to be important for the studies of *sūtra* and *bsTan bcos*.

⁸ De Jong 1976: 69. Avalokitasimha's *Dharmasammuccaya*, as prepared by [Lin Li-kouang \(1902-1945\)](#), is frequently mentioned in discourses of the *Sūtra*. This work is available via [GRETIL](#), based on the edition by Vijayasankar Caube (Varanasi: Sampurnanda Sanskrit University. 1993. pp. 1-278.) See also Stuart 2012.

⁹ Demoto 2009.

¹⁰ Stuart 2012 and 2015.

¹¹ Kritzer 2020.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 4.

¹³ Seegers 2020: 199.

chapter six of the *Sūtra* been investigated or any way referred to in the other previous studies mentioned.

The *bsTan bcos*: Contents and Aim

The *bsTan bcos* was completed either during 1308 or 1332¹⁴ in the hermitage of *bDe chen steng gi ri khrod*. Following the 3rd Karmapa's composition, Shes rab Rin chen wrote his explanatory commentary '*Grel pa* for the parts of the *bsTan bcos* that find some correspondence in the *Sūtra* (see Table II). Its colophon does only mention Ka rma dgon pa as the place of composition.¹⁵ That the *Sūtra* must have been corrupted at a very early stage of its transmission, i.e., before its translation into Tibetan, is underlined by the fact that the only surviving witness of the Sanskrit original shows the exact same loss of the text as all the canonically transmitted editions of its Tibetan translation. The *bsTan bcos*'s colophon and the close rendering thereof in the introductory part of Sherab Rinchen's '*Grel pa*¹⁶ both refer to the same fact, namely, that the *Sūtra* has not been transmitted in its entirety and that parts of it have been lost:

From the great *sūtra* of *Establishing Mindfulness on the Genuine Dharma*, previous translators and scholars translated [the part] up to "Gods of

¹⁴ The colophon *spre'u'i lo zla ba lnga pa la bde chen steng gi ri khrod tu sbyar ba'o* ||, simply says that the text was composed in a monkey year. Those in the lifetime of the 3rd Karmapa are: 1284, 1296, 1308, 1320, and 1332, the first two of which possibly can be ruled out on account of the relatively early age of the Karmapa at that times, which leaves a possible time frame of 1308 to 1332.

¹⁵ *shes rab rin chen zhes bya bas* | *gdan sa chen po karma'i gtsug (lag) khang du sbyar ba 'di* | *re zhis yongs su rdzogs so* | | ('*Grel pa*: 234). The phrase *gdan sa chen po karma* is here likely to be understood as referring to Ka rma dgon pa, for which the alternative name Ka rma gdan sa seems plausible.

¹⁶ *de la mdo chen po dran pa nye bar bzhaq pa 'di nas dmyal ba | yi dwoags | dud 'gro | 'dod lha ris drug | gzugs khams dang gzugs med kyi lha rnam kyi rgyu 'bras zhib par ston pa yin pa la | sngar gyi Lo pañ rnam kyis sum cu rtsa gsum gyi lha'i rgyu 'bras bar bsgyur | dus phyis pa tshab Lotsāba Nyi ma Grags kyis thab bral gyi lha'i rgyu 'bras bar du bsgyur | gzhan rnam rgya gar gyi dpe la chad nas bod du ma 'gyur bas | mdo 'di yi tshig don | 'ga' zhis ma tshang ba yin no* || "Among them, in the Great *Sūtra* "Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma" are explained in detail the causes and results of [B.2.1] hell beings, [B.2.2] hungry ghosts, [B.2.3] animals, six levels of [B.2.5] gods of the desire realm, gods of [B.2.6] the form and [B.2.7] formless realms. At first, lotsābas and pañditas translated [this sutra] until (*bar*) [the section explaining] causes and results of *trayatrīṃśika* [gods] [B.2.4.2.2]. Later Patsab Lotsāwa Nyi ma Grags translated until [the section explaining] causes and results of the *yāma* [gods] [B.2.4.2.3]. [And] since [all] the rest was missing in the Indian textual [tradition], the [remaining parts] could not be translated into Tibetan. Thus, some words and meaning of this *Sūtra* is incomplete." ('*Grel pa*, pp. 8–9).

Thirty-three." Later, Patshap Lotsāwa¹⁷ translated it until [the heaven] "Without Fighting."¹⁸ The remaining parts are missing from the Sanskrit texts and therefore not extant. However, having looked at the treatises and *sūtras* composed [by] the Noble Ones, with respect, thorough investigation and without creating anything on my own, [L] Rang byung rDo rje have summarized/compiled these words for the sake of easy understanding. Thus, here end the verses elucidating the meaning of [the text called:] "Establishing Mindfulness on the Genuine Dharma."¹⁹

The *bsTan bcos* is organized into a total of ten chapters, comprising no less than 420 verses, accompanied by the 'Grel pa consisting of 230 pages (~115 double pp. of the *dpe cha* block printing format), mostly written in prose, commenting up to and including the section *dga' bar gnas* (B.2.5.2.2.4.8), i.e., until approximately the middle of the sixth chapter, the exact same point where also the *Sūtra* ends. The ten chapters of the main body of the text (*gzhung gi don*) are labelled as follows:

Chapter	Title	Realm
1.	Summary, incl. Doctrinal Points (<i>mdor bstan pa</i>)	1. Desire Realm
2.	Hells (<i>dmyal ba</i>)	
3.	Hungry Ghosts (<i>yi dwags</i>)	
4.	Animals, Nāgas, and Asuras (<i>dud 'gro klu lha min</i>)	
5.	Humans (<i>mi</i>)	
6.	Gods of the Desire Realm (<i>'dod khams kyi lha</i>)	
7.	Form Realms (<i>gzugs khams</i>)	2.
8.	Formless Realms (<i>gzugs med pa'i khams</i>)	3.

¹⁷ Pa tshab Lotsāba Nyi ma Grags pa was, according to the *Blue Annals* (Book IV: 327 ff.), primarily connected with the transmission of the "Five Treatises of Maitreya" and Madhyamaka. Said to be born in 1055 he presumably lived in the second half of 11th and the first half of the 12th (BDRC Resource ID: P5651) and must be counted among the rather famous translators and scholars of the "new translation period." I was unable to verify his involvement in the translation of the *sūtra* could be found.

¹⁸ This corresponds to sections two and following. The commentary of Shes rab Rin chen is up to and including B.2.5.2.2.4.7, i.e., chapter 6.2, sub-point 8.

¹⁹ *dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i mdo chen po las* | | *sngon gyi lo paN rnams kyi sum cu rtsa gsum gyi gnas bar du bsgyur* | *dus phyi pa tshab lo tsA bas 'thab bral bar bsgyur zhing gzhan rgya dpe la chad nas mi bzhugs kyang* | *'phags pa rnams kyi bsdu pa'i bstan bcos dang* | *mdo sde rnams las gus pas rnam dpyod ldan par bltas te* | *rang bzo med par go bde ba'i ngag tu rang byung rdo rjes bsdu pa dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa la ji snyed pa rdzogs so* | | (*bsTan bcos*, pp. 622–623).

9 & 10.	Universe Structure and The Intermediate State (<i>'jig rten gyi khams dang bar do'i khams</i>)	<i>n.a.</i>
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Table I: *bsTan bcos* – Table of Contents

This table, obviously, is only a very simplified version of the actual outline of contents (*sa bca'd*), titled *bsDus don*, which is a supplementary composition of the 3rd Karmapa that functions as an outline and provides a much more elaborated scheme whereof it can be used as the structural guide to navigate through *bsTan bcos* and *'Grel pa*. It is given in the appendices and referred to throughout the paper given in round brackets for the easier identification of texts passages and contents.

The title *Dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i don snang bar byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa*²⁰ seems directly related to the *Sūtra* itself and the above translated colophon suggest that the main motivation for the Third Karmapa to compose his treatise was precisely the *Sūtra*'s incomplete state. The actual analysis of the *bsTan bcos*, as will be shown below, suggests otherwise. In fact, and contrary to what title and colophon might suggest, the *bsTan bcos* is not an exposition of the *Sūtra* per se and only one part of the corrupted *Sūtra* has actually been restored by the 3rd Karmapa, namely, the missing parts of the *Sūtra*'s third chapter, in which the hell realms are described (see Content Overview and Description: Chapter three). The 3rd Karmapa, besides other sources that will be discussed below, rather uses only those parts of the *Sūtra*, although these parts are substantial in length, that deal with the descriptions of the three realms but by no means all the *Sūtra*'s content. Thus, the title is, in some sense, misleading since it did not seem to have been the 3rd Karmapa's intention to provide a condensed version and reconstruction of the entire *Sūtra*, but rather to use selected information provided in it for his own presentation of the tree realms. Reading the above translated extract from the colophon in this light, the formulation that “[I,] Rang byung rDo rje have summarized / compiled these words for the sake of easy understanding” can thus not be taken to refer to the *Sūtra* alone, but has to be understood in the sense of “[I,] Rang byung rDo rje have summarized and compiled words [from various sources and foremost those from the *Sūtra*] for the sake of easy[ly] understanding [the three reams model].”²¹

²⁰ See Stuart 2012: 22–25, where the title is discussed. He chose to translate it as: “The Presence of Awareness of the True Dharma(s).”

²¹ Also the so-called *bshad par dam bca'* (A.3) “Promise to write [the Treatise]” seems to indicate this text to be a commentary on *Sūtra* rather than indicating that several sources are being used or that the purpose of the treatise in any other than

This more general approach, i.e., that of composing a scripture that provides an overview of a certain topic, here that of taking rebirth in any of the three realms and the necessary doctrinal background information regarding that, namely, a lengthy guide on death, rebirth and *karman*, is reflected in those passages that should be consulted in view of the general intent of the work. I have aimed to reflect these in my translation of the *bsTan bcos*'s title. I chose to render the Sanskrit compound *saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna* as a *dvitīyātatpuruṣasamāsa* the first part of which is a *śaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*, that is, *saddharmasya smṛtim upasthānaṃ yasmin tat sūtraṃ*, which translates into "the *Sūtra* establishing mindfulness of genuine *dharma*." The *Sūtra* implies that with "*dharmas*" not phenomena in their widest sense are meant but that mindfulness or attention should be paid particularly towards what is wholesome and unwholesome:

Which aspect (*rnam grangs*) of Dharma is meant in the [expression] "establishing mindfulness of Genuine Dharma"? The following: seeing in the Dharma (i.e., virtue) only Dharma, as well as in the Non-Dharma (i.e., non-virtue) only Non-Dharma, constantly resting mindful in [that understanding] and also not raising doubts about it.²²

According to the presentation of Karmapa's *bsTan bcos* and therein primarily chapter one, which deals with what can be called ethical behaviour (*śīla*) – a more meaning-wise translations of *saddharma* could be "establishing mindfulness on (1) right conduct, (2) on what is right, (3) on the good." Be that as it may, important here is that *dharmas* refer to what is virtuous and unvirtuous and not to Buddhist teachings or doctrine in general. Neither do *dharmas* have some ontological or special

commenting on the *Sūtra*: bdag tu lta ba'i mun pa rab sel cing || 'khor ba'i 'dam rdzab rab tu skems byed pa || dam chos dran pa nye bzhag 'od zer ni || spro bar bya phyir bstan bcos 'di brtsam mo || "[I] bow down to the sun of the Lord of the Victorious Ones, Illuminating [everything with] the perfect disk of [its] wisdom. [It] radiates the light elucidating the way things are/ the nature of things (*shes bya'i gnas lugs*) And completely removes the dark jungle [of] confusion!" (*bsTan bcos*, p. 522)

²² In the beginning of the *Sūtra*, the following explanation of the title is found: *dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar gzhag pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs de gang yin zhe nal 'di lta stel' chos la'ang chos nyid du/ chos ma yin pa la'ang chos ma yin pa nyid du mthong ba'i dran pa rtag tu nye bar gnas par 'gyur zhing 'di la the tshom yang mi skye* (Tōh. 287: D, 84v₂₋₄). This notation is further underlines by the following passage found in the 'Grel pa (B.1.3, p. 18) in which it is explained: *'khrul rtog 'di 'khor ba'i rgyu yin pa des na 'khor 'das kyiis [read kyi] rgyu 'bras kyi don 'di ma nor bar blo la gsal bar byed 'dod pa gang la la zhiḡ chos dge ba dang chos min pa mi dge ba dang tshul bzhin du yid la byed pa'i shes rab rnams [...]* ("Since deluded projection is the cause of *saṃsāra*, the one who wants to clearly understand the mechanism (*don*) of causes and results for *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, one needs to properly make up one's mind about what is positive/virtuous [i.e., Dharma] and what negative/unvirtuous [i.e., non-Dharma].").

philosophical meaning. This notion is made clear by the statement that:

Relying on this [Treatise], students think: 'That are unvirtuous actions, and if committing them, [one] will be born in three lower realms and suffers. But if [one] acts virtuously, [one] will be born in the higher realms and experience happiness. If [one] practices the path of the three vehicles, [one] obtains the results of liberation and omniscience;' such an understanding is the aim of this Treatise.²³

In the colophon of Shes rab Rin chen's *'Grel pa*, the word *dharma* (*chos*) is moreover used in the sense of "what is to be adopt and what to discarded (*blang dor*)" and so rather clearly validates the above stated notion:

This *Treatise on the Discourse "Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma"* is a method of how to intelligently engage in the teaching on what to adopt and what to abandon for those with strong conviction in the teachings of the Victorious One in [this] dark age.²⁴

Now, in the explanatory commentary it is further explained that:

In general, there are many ways to give the title [to a treatise]. [It can be according to:] an example, the size or place of a text, the one who requested [it], the purpose, or the meaning. [The Treatise] described here, is illuminating, and clarifying the meaning of the great *Sūtra* "Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma" taught by the Bhagavān. It is named according to [its] meaning." The Words [of this Treatise] are composed in distinct chapters, [expressing] the detailed analysis of the actions, causes and results of each [type of sentient beings throughout the three realms].²⁵

A few paragraphs later the *'Grel pa* elaborates that:

²³ 'di la brten nas gdul bya rnams kyis 'di ni mi dge ba'i las de | 'di ltar byas na ngan song gsum du skye nas sdug bsngal myong | dge ba'i las 'di dang 'di byas na mtho ris su skye nas bde ba myong | theg pa gsum gyi lam 'di lta bu bsgrub na 'bras bu thar pa dang thams cad mkhyen pa thob par 'dug | snyam du go ba ni/ bstan bcos 'di yi dgos pa yin no || ('*Grel pa*, p. 9).

²⁴ rtsod dus rgyal ba'i bstan la mos pa gang || blang dor chos la blo gros 'jug pa'i thabs || dam chos dran pa nyer bzhag bstan bcos 'di || ('*Grel pa*, p. 233).

²⁵ mtshan brjod pa ni | de yang mtshan la 'dogs lugs mang du yod de | dpe dang gzhang tshad dang | gnas dang | zhu ba po dang | byed pa dang | don la mtshan du btags pa yod de | 'di ni spyi la'o || de bshad pa ni | dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa zhes don la mtshan du btags pa'i mdo chen po bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa'i don snang zhing gsal bar byed pa'o || las rgyu 'bras so sor 'byed pa'i tshig rnams ma 'dres par le'ur byas pa'i thog mar | ('*Grel pa*, 11–12).

The light rays of words and meanings of the great *sūtra* “Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma” thus dries out completely the swamp of *samsāra* – clinging to the [idea of a permanent] self and negative karma. To extend [it] by elaborating in words which are easier to understand for the disciples, [Karmapa] composed this treatise that collects the scattered [meanings], arranges [those which were in] disorder, clarified what was not clear and supplementing what was missing.²⁶

Not only allude these statements to purpose and mission of the treatise (B.1.2.3.3), they further supply the framework for incorporating the *Sūtra* title “Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma” into the main title of the work, the *Dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i don snang bar byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa*. In order to capture the general notion of the *bsTan bcos* in the light of the above passages, the title could be rendered as: “[Treatise] composed in chapters, illuminating the meaning of [the general discourse] “Establishing Mindfulness of Genuine Dharma [i.e. virtuous behaviour].”²⁷ The addition of the word “discourse” (as a deliberate translation of *sūtra*), not only seems clearly implied by the phrase *dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i don snang bar byed pa*, but it further alludes to the fact that the *bsTan bcos* is not – as discussed above – a treatise focused exclusively on the the *Sūtra*, but on the larger discourse of *karman*, ethics, and rebirth for which the information found in the *Sūtra* play an important role.

Relation of the Texts and Related Writings

As already implied, *bsTan bcos* and, consequentially, also the '*Grel pa* are based not only on the *Sūtra*. The *bsTan bcos*, moreover, does not follow the *Sūtra*'s narrative but is directed towards a different aim (see next table).²⁸ The verses of the *bsTan bcos* are much too cryptic to be properly understood and translated on its own. The '*Grel pa* on its part, although meant to explain the *bsTan bcos*, can often only be properly understood by consulting the *Sūtra* of which the '*Grel pa* is as much a very condensed exposition, as it is a commentary of the *bsTan bcos*. This is, on one hand, owed to the fact that also the '*Grel pa* is often too

²⁶ *bdag 'dzin dang las ngan rab tu skems par byed pa 'di mdo chen po dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i tshig don gyi 'od zer ni gdul bya rnam kyi go bde ba'i ngag tu spro zhing rgyas par bya ba'i phyir ro || 'thor ba bsdus 'khrug pa sdebs mi gsal ba gsal ba ma tshang ba kha bskangs pa'i bstan bcos 'di brtsams so ||* ('*Grel pa*, 14).

²⁷ The choice to render *tshig le'ur byas pa* as “[Treatise] composed in chapters” is simply to adhere to the style and structure of the present work. Yet, it should not be forgotten that it similarly refers to the style of the composition, namely that of verse. This ambiguity could, however, not been reflected in the translation of the title.

²⁸ For a summary of the chapters of the *Sūtra* itself see Stuart 2012: 35-69.

abbreviated to be understood without more context and, on the other hand, due to the 'Grel pa's style of writing and its often unclear and unusual use of grammar. Hence, the overall quality of the Sherab Rin chen's composition as transmitted is, if at all, mediocre. In this context it should also be noted, however, that Shes rab Rin chen's commentary only exists for chapters one up to, roughly, the middle of chapter six, i.e., Karmapa's own composition of the doctrinal background in chapter one and those parts of the *bsTan bcos* for which a corresponding part in the *Sūtra* exists, that is, the eighth sub-point within the second among the six heavenly realms within the description of the Gods of the Thirty-Three (*Trāyastriṃśā*). It is unclear why Shes rab Rin chen only commented on those parts of the *bsTan bcos* for which correspondences exist in the *Sūtra*. Chapter five draws content from the 'Jig rten gzhag pa'i mdo,²⁹ while chapters six to eight follow closely parallel passages in the *bKa' thang sde lnga*.³⁰ The last two chapters, i.e., nine and ten, are roughly equivalent to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*'s third chapter, which, of course, has shared and overlapping descriptions throughout the *bsTan bcos*.

²⁹ The 'Jig rten gzhag pa'i mdo,²⁹ also called *Maudgalyāyanasūtra*, constitutes additional information to the discourse of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, and is listed among the 'Seven main works of the *abhidharmic corpus*' (*mNgon pa sde bdun*). The **Maudgalyāyanasūtra*'s content is related to the so-called *dharmaskandha* discussion by Maudgalyāyana, precisely speaking, this treatise provides additional and more detailed information about, for instance the information of the first *kalpa* and the status of humans and its origin, whereof it apparently has been used by Rang 'byung rDo rje and Shes rab Rin chen to complement the information provided in the *sūtra* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* for commenting on the fifth chapter.

³⁰ *Bka' thang sde lnga* is a *gter ma* text discovered by O rgyan gling pa. If, though certainly more research about the life of O rgyan gling pa is needed, the most popular biographical dates are correct, Rang 'byung rDo rje dictated the relevant passages first. According to the colophon, the *bsTan bcos* was put to writing in a Monkey year. In the life of the 3rd Karmapa the Monkey years were: 1284, 1296, 1308, 1320 and 1332. O rgyan gling pa, however, is said to have started discovering *gter ma*'s at the age of 23, that would leave *Bka' thang sde lnga* earliest dating to 1346 if assuming his birthdate to be 1323 since then all the Monkey years in Rang 'byung rDo rje's lifetime would have been well before that, the text would have originated with Rang 'byung rDo rje. Yet, the above translated colophon also mentions that nothing was written based on individual creation. If we suppose this to be true and if one, moreover, accepts another secondary but earlier date for O rgyan gling pa's birth, namely, the year 1263 [sic 1623], then the work would be quoted by the Rang 'byung rDo rje rather than to have originated with him. At present and before closer studies of sources and life data have not been conducted, it is not possible to decide which of the sources is to be dated earlier. Concerning the reading variants found in the *Bka' thang sde lnga*, it appears that those only rarely, though regularly, improve the *bsTan bcos*. This, as should be kept in mind, is not all surprising considering that the version of the third Karmapa's *gsung 'bum* are all rather recent and the text studied here not of the best quality.

The following table outlines structure and content of *bsTan bcos*, *'Grel pa* and *Sūtra*. The grey cells show shared content, while parts that belong exclusively to either *bsTan bcos* or *Sūtra* are kept transparent. Combined cells below *bsTan bcos* and *'Grel pa* indicate that those chapters are commented upon in the *'Grel pa*. The chapters without commentary are labelled *omitted*.. The cell "Others" indicates the chapters for which sources other than the *Sūtra* were used.

Chapter	Tenchö	Drelpa	Others	SSU
1.	Doctrinal Introduction		<i>not applicable</i>	Ethics
2.	-----			Meditation
	Hell beings			
3.	Hungry Ghosts			Hell Beings
4.	Animals, Nāgas, Asuras			Hungry Ghosts
5.	Humans		✓	Animals, Nāgas, Asuras
6.	Gods of the Desire Realm		✓	Gods
7.	Form Realm	<i>omitted</i>	✓	Observations on the Body
8.	Formless Realm	<i>omitted</i>	✓	
9 & 10.	Universe & Bardo	<i>omitted</i>	✓	

Table II: Content and structure comparison of *bsTan bcos* and *'Grel pa* with the *Sūtra*

The table below shows the relation of the *bsTan bcos* to the aforementioned texts and in which parts these are employed: the *Sūtra* in chapters two to six, the *bKa' thang sde lnga* in six to nine, the *'Jig rten gzhang pa'i mdo* in five and the *Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya* (ADKB below) in one, nine and ten.

Chapter	<i>Sūtra</i> & Drelpa	<i>bKa' thang sde lnga</i>	<i>'Jig rten gzhang pa'i mdo</i>	ADKB
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1.				✓
2.	✓			
3.	✓			
4.	✓			
5.	✓		✓	
6.	✓	✓		
7.		✓		
8.		✓		
9.		✓		✓
10.				✓

Table III: Relation of the *bsTan bcos* to other texts

The entire textual situation, i.e., the three related source *bsTan bcos*, 'Grel pa and *bsDus don* and their relation to the actual sutra and other canonical texts can be visualized as follows:

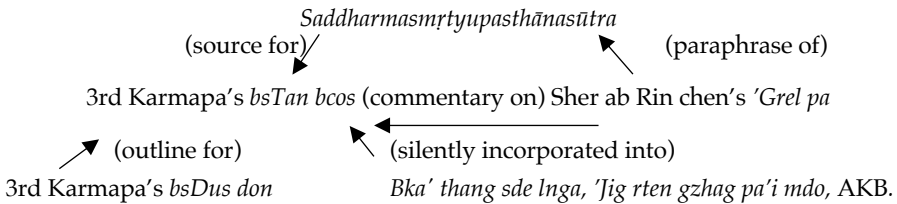


Figure I: Relation of the sources

It should be kept in mind that neither organization nor content of these sources are entirely consistent. The *bsTan bcos* is not concerned with the doctrinal background, i.e., the overall narrative of the *Sūtra*, but rather with its unique presentation of the six kinds of rebirth. Hence, the *bsTan bcos* is neither an exposition of the whole *Sūtra*, nor is the 'Grel pa a paraphrase of the entire *Sūtra*. In this respect it is clear that any overall discourse of the *bsTan bcos* must be differentiated from the overall discourse of the *Sūtra* and the other sources related to the *bsTan bcos*, respectively.

Content Overview and Description

The descriptions of the six kinds of rebirth, in both *Sūtra* and *bsTan bcos*, are classified according to five realms model, an alternative to the more common sixfold classification. In the fivefold model, *asuras* (i.e.,

half-gods) are counted among the animals. In the sixfold model they are a separate class:

Realm	Six Realm Model	Five Realm Model
1.	Hell beings	Hell beings
2.	Hungry Ghosts	Hungry Ghosts
3.	Animals, Serpent Spirits	Animals, Serpent Spirits
		Asuras
4.	Humans	Humans
5.	Asuras	Gods
		<i>na</i>
6.	Gods	<i>na</i>

Table IV: Classification Model of Five and Six Realms

Additionally, it should be kept in mind that both models, once the intermediate state (*bar do, antarabhava*) is included, might be extended

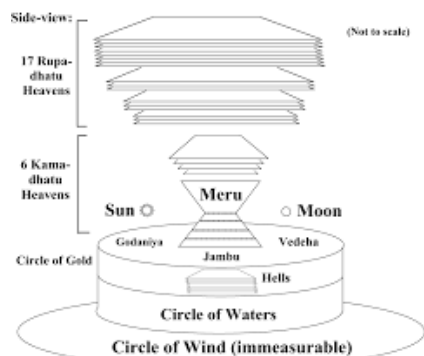


Figure II



Figure III

with a sixth or seventh class / realm, respectively. Before the summary of chapters, a very brief introduction to the cosmological system, i.e., the world view according to traditional Buddhist belief, is necessary. Even though the basic information about the locations of various realms and their subdivisions are given in the *'Grel pa*, and partially also in the *bsTan bcos*, those are not sufficiently serving a general overview since a substantial knowledge about the cosmological system has certainly been presupposed by the 3rd Karmapa and Shes rab Rin chen. Though the ninth chapter (B.2.8) provides an account of the main structure including major elements of the universe, such as the supports of wind, water, and gold etc. (B.2.8.2.1), the following presentation will provide some basic framework necessary to for the universal structure described in this text, which generally

is in accordance with what can be called *abhidharmic* cosmology³¹ and which are to be distinguished from the worldview as taught in the *kālacakra* system.³² Further elements, such as the earth's foundations etc. (B.2.8), surroundings, or questions of how the "solar system" is embedded within and relates to larger cosmological systems, their systematic arising and cessation, etc., will not be discussed.

The descriptions of the five or six realms follow a vertical order, starting with the description of hells up to the 35 abodes described within the so-called three realms.³³ In the desire realm, the hells (*narakaloka*) are located³⁴ within the 80.000 *yojanas*³⁵ beneath Mount Meru³⁶ on top of the golden foundation that bears the earth surrounded by circles of wind and water. The hells are vertically heaped up on each other (B.2.5.2)³⁷ until the realm of hungry ghosts (*pretaloka*) located 500 *yojanas* beneath the surface of the earth and the four continents (B.2.5.3). The lower ring in the left figure II comprises hell beings and hungry ghosts. On the sea level are the four continents and subcontinents, one set in each of the cardinal directions, the area of humans (*manuṣyaloka*; B.2.5.5), animals, *nāgas* (serpent spirits) and other demons (*tiryakloka*, *pretaloka*; B.2.5.4). Those, as visible on the blow figure (III), are located outside of seven (square) mountain ranges and within an iron fence (circular iron mountain wall that marks the end of the

³¹ Various works describing *abhidharmic* cosmology can be found. However, it is certainly useful to refer directly to the third chapter of the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *bhāṣya* from which most of what is taught in this volume might have originated. See Pruden 1988: Vol. II, who translated Louis de La Vallée Poussin's French translation (1869-1938) of Vasubandhu's work. Further a very helpful and structured overview may be found in Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mTha' yas's (1813-1899) *Treasury of Knowledge* (See Kongtrul 2003).

³² See Kongtrul 2003: 147-170. See also Wallace 2001; Berzin, Alexander "Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma and Kalachakra," Study Buddhism by Berzin Archives, accessed February 27, 2019 <https://studybuddhism.com/en/advanced-studies/abhidharma-tenet-systems/time-the-universe/buddhist-cosmology-in-abhidharma-and-kalachakra>

³³ Those are the four realms of *ārūpyadhātu*, the sixteen realms of *rūpadhātu*, and the fifteen realms of *kāmadhātu*:

³⁴ The location of the so-called eight cold hells (see B.2.1.3.9. *grang dmyal*) and of the Indeterminate hells (see B.2.1.3.10. *nye tshé ba*) is specified as north from the hot hells, or anywhere in Jambudvīpa respectively.

³⁵ A *yojana* is an old Indian measure, about 12,8 km, i.e., 8 miles in length.

³⁶ Here it should be noted that in the 3rd Karmapa's text, in accordance with the *Sūtra*, the height of Mount Meru is given as 84.000 *yojanas* (B.2.5.2.1.1), whereas in the *Abhidharmakośa* 80.000 *yojanas* are given. Mount Meru, the seven mountain ranges and seas in between and described on pp. (B.2.8.2.1.7).

³⁷ The exact measures and placements of the hells are varying among the sources. In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, however, the lowest and most horrible among the hells is placed 20.000 *yojanas* above the earth's foundation, and as well 20.000 *yojanas* in length and width. Thus, we can suppose that the hells are getting respectively smaller from level to level (B.2.8.2.2.).

world system, *cakravāḍa*; B.2.5.2.1.1). They are shaped like a circle: Aparagodānīya in the West (*ba lang spyod*, Enjoying Bountiful Cows), like a square: Uttarakuru in the North (*sgra mi snyan*, Unpleasant Sound), like a semicircle: Pūrvavideha in the East (*lus 'phags po*, Superior Bodies) and like an equilateral triangle: Jambudvīpa in the South (*'dzam bu gling*, Rose Apple Island).³⁸ In the last, according to traditional Buddhist belief, the humans of our kind live and is ruled by the force of cause and effect (*karman*). Within the seven golden mountain ranges and the seven seas of enjoyment (B.2.5.2.1.1) up to the top of Mount Meru live *asuras*, *nāgas* and all gods of the *kāmadhātu* (*devaloka*; B.2.5.6). *Asuras* and *nāgas* live in the seas beneath the earth's surface that lay in between each of the seven mountain ranges enclosing Mount Meru, depicted by the seven quadrangular lines shown in the above figure III. The four great kings and the gods of the thirty-three (*trīyastrīṃśa*) dwell on the lower slopes of Mount Meru (also called the four terraces) and respectively up to its summit at 80.000 *yojanas* high, which is inhabited by Indra, Lord of the Thirty-Three. Above those are – in an ascending order – the heavens: Without Fighting (*yāma*), Joy (*tuṣita*) from which the historical Buddha is said to have descended to earth, (Of those who) Enjoy Magical Creation (*nirmāṇarati*), and (Of those who) Control Others' Magical Creations (*parinirmitavaśavartin*). Those, together with the Four Great Kings and the Thirty-Three are also called the six desire-realm heavens (*devaloka*; B.2.5.6). They are shown by the blue trapeze and the golden-coloured disk on top of it in the above figure III. This is the description of the six existences of the desire realm, which stretches 80.000 *yojanas* both, from the bottom of the world, i.e., its foundations up to the surface and from the surface up to the summit of Mount Meru. This is the part where Shes rab Rin chen's commentary ends within the sixth chapter (B.1.2.2 & B.1.2.3.3) of the Thirty-Three (B.2.5.2.2.4.8 = *dga' bar gnas*). The *rūpadhātu* is located above the Heaven (of those who) Control Others' Magical Creations, and the *arūpyadhātu* on top of the form realm (B.2.5.7–8). The sizes (both high and width) of each stage within each realm is the double of its preceding. Thus, each realm is stretching over the one that precedes it as seen in figure II. Hence, one may visualize the arrangement of the three realms as two cones standing on each other, touching each other with their tips roughly at the high of sun and moon as seen in Figure III. The form realm is to be distinguished from the desire realm by a certain subtlety, the sense of which becomes stronger with each stage, whereas the formless realm is entirely non-physical (B.2.5.2.1.1), a mere sphere of “meditative concentration and absorption.” In this sense, their sizes should not be taken in a three-

³⁸ B.2.8.2.1.8. for the size and shape of The Four Continents.

dimensional sense, but rather as indicating the spiritual dimension of this realm, which does not have a physical location.

Chapters One to Ten: A Brief Summary

The work can, besides its obvious division into ten chapters, also be structured meaningfully according to its *sa bca'd* into two parts, a brief explanation (*mdor bstan pa*) and an extensive explanation (*rgyas par bshad pa*). The first part (B.1), the brief explanation (chapter one) provides the structural outline and doctrinal background for the second part (B.2), chapters two to ten, the *extensive explanation*. It should be noted that the whole text presents a didactic narrative or outline because each realm – in an ascending order – is characterised by less suffering than the previous one, while the reasons for being born in any of the respective realms presupposes an according accumulation of either destructive actions (sins) or positive actions (merit). Thus, the higher the rebirth – vertically speaking – the more positively distinguished the actions. In other words, the depth or heights a being dwells on – on the vertical scale – is directly linked to the “depth or heights” of that being’s achievements.

Chapter one

This chapter provides outline and doctrinal background for chapters two to eight. Several of the doctrinal points mentioned here, such as the five paths and five wisdoms, relate, however, to the last chapter (C ‘The final words of the treatise’). It starts, as common for exegetical works³⁹ preceded by some introductory verses of homage, purpose of writing etc., comprising of about a third of the first chapter. The initial verses of the *bsTan bcos* seemed to have had inspired the commentator Shes rab Rin chen to introduce the whole work with an abbreviated life story of the historical Buddha, followed by purpose and aim to the *bsTan bcos*.⁴⁰ Hereafter the texts continue with the philosophical elements of *karma* and *karmic* results, namely, the two components which are most decisive for one’s course of rebirth in any state. The discussion of *karma* mainly consists of the ten positive and negative actions, and related doctrinal concepts. The explanation of the ten Negative actions (B.1.4.2), however, constitutes a major part of this chapter. The second major feature in the presentation decisive to rebirth is the discussion on the five kinds of results, providing the theoretical background for

³⁹ The Tibetan word *bstan bcos* is the translation of Sanskrit *śāstra*, often used when referring to exegetical works.

⁴⁰ To this initial section of the texts refer the points of *bsDus don*, the *sa bca'd* of the work, labelled as ‘A.’

the idea of *karma* relevant for the treatises. This presentation is completed by an explanation of the underlying processes by which *karma* is accumulated and due to which one gets reborn in a particular realm, respectively. This process is summarised by a presentation of the twelve links of dependent origination (*pratityasamutpāda*) and the presentation of further features that are of elementary importance to the twelve links (B.1.4.4 'Causes and results of all phenomena'), such as the five *skandhas*, etc. The points listed below, following the 'Grel pa's structure, summarize the doctrinal aspects of this chapter:

- General teaching on contaminated and uncontaminated (*sāsrava* & *anāsrava*, *zag bcos* & *zag med*; B.1.4.1)
- Teaching on cause and effect of negative actions (*las nag po'i rgyu 'bras*; B.1.4.2)
- Taking the life, taking what is not given and sexual misconduct are the three [negative] activities of the body. Lying, divisive speech, harsh words and idle chatter re the four [negative] actions concerning speech. Greed, harmful intention, and perverted (wrong) views are the three [negative activities] of the mind, [those are which makes] the ten non-virtuous [actions]. (This verse, outlining the ten negative actions is taken from the *bsTan bcos*)
- Teaching on positive cause[s of actions] (B.1.4.3)
- Teaching on the cause of all *dharmas* (in the sense of phenomena) (B.1.4.4)
- This part basically constitutes an explanation of the so-called Eighteen Factors of Sensual Perception (Eighteen *Dhātus*; B.1.4.4.3), Five Aggregates (Five *Skandhas*; B.1.4.4.7.3), and Twelve Links of Dependent Origination (B.1.4.4.7.1), all of which are used to explain the process of rebirth in cyclic existence (*samsāra*), i.e., in any of the Three Realms.
- Teaching on establishing examples and benefits and qualities (B.1.4.5)

The presentation and understanding of those require an at least intermediate study of the *abhidharma*, with frequent references to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* and its *bhāṣya*. The idea behind the first chapter, in its larger context and in relation to the following presentations of the various states, can be seen as the means by which the practitioner or "meditator" can develop the antidote for being born in *samsāra* (B.1.4.5.5 'Explanations on the connection to the antidote') since the various afflictions (*kleśa*, *nyon mongs*) and their connection to the ten negative Actions (B.1.4.2) are reason for taking rebirth (explained in chapter ten) in any of the realms described in chapters two to eight.

Chapter two

This is by far the largest among the ten chapters. It takes up roughly 30% of the whole text. The hells are vertically structured into eight levels, on each level is a main hell with sixteen subsidiary or neighboring hells. This, including the brief mentioning of eight cold hells in the end



Figure IV

of the chapter, makes up a total of 144 hells⁴¹ that are described in this second chapter.⁴² The description of each hell follows the same pattern or systematic description. First, the causal part, i.e., the *karmic* reason for being born in a certain hell is explained. Second, the archetypical suffering, which (in most cases) corresponds to the name of the respective hell, is described. Moreover, the suffering in most cases reflect previous actions having led to rebirth in a particular hell, e.g. "Having killed animals [by slitting their throats], after rebirth in the Hell 'Dissected by Iron [Blades]' (1.2), [one] is dissected by a rain of blades [...], and [then] roasted. Moreover, there is a forest [of trees with] sword-like leaves [...]." Numerous of those descriptions and according art etc. are found in all kinds of cultures within which Buddhism had considerable influences, such as Thailand, China, Cambodia, and the like, such as displayed in the upper Figure (IV).

Moreover, the structure and terminology used in the hells presupposes the reading of section 'B.1.4.2.4 Explanation of the results' in the first chapter. There four different aspects of *a* result are distinguished in terms of personal and environmental tendencies of experiences and behaviour. A further pattern is that each of the eight levels of hells has a "guiding theme," i.e., the rebirth in one of the eight levels follows a specific category of negative actions. While killing is the main reason to be reborn in the first level of hells, stealing is the main reason to be reborn in the second level of hells and so forth, while the sixteen neighboring hells in each level are depicting different variations of the main

⁴¹ For a study on the transmission of the 128 sub-hells in the *Sūtra* see Demoto 2009. In *Sūtra* due to its incompleteness, not all hells are found. Therefore, the presence of these missing parts in the *bsTaan bcos* has particular value of the study of the hell systems.

⁴² It should be noted that often it is referred to the so-called eighteen hells, though this is well a generic term not denoting to the actual number of hells: "These eight hot hells, eight cold hells, the neighboring hells [previously (pp. 66-76.) said to be either four, sixteen or more] and the indeterminate hells are together called the eighteen hell realms." (Patrul 2011: 71.)

negative action. Further, it is important to note that the negative actions add up. Hence, stealing alone is not enough to be reborn in the second level of hells, but the reason for rebirth in the second level is killing and stealing. Hence, killing is always the primary cause for rebirth in hell. It is simply the last in the list of items which is the decisive element for rebirth in the respective level. The pattern is as follows:

Level and Name	Cause for Rebirth there
1. Reviving hell	killing
2. Black Lines	killing and stealing
3. Crushing	killing, stealing and sexual misconduct
4. Howling	killing, stealing, sexual misconduct and alcoholism
5. Great Howling	killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, alcoholism, and lying
6. Heating	killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, alcoholism, lying, and wrong views
7. Intense Heating	killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, alcoholism, lying, wrong views, and sex with a nun
8. Ultimate Torment	killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, alcoholism, lying, wrong views, sex with a nun, and the Five Acts with Immediate Retribution (<i>mtshams med pa lnga</i>)

Table V: Hells – Causes for Rebirth in the Eight Levels

The idea of negative actions adding up is further reflected in the lifespan which is always at least double of the previous hell-level. In each calculation of the lifespan (*tshé tshad*) the reference to the lifespan in the different heavens is used, starting from the Gods of the Four Great Kings and ending with the timespan of one intermediate *kalpa*.

The overall organization of the hell chapter is rather disorganised and appears to be corrupted in course of its transmission already in Sanskrit. The entire second hell and parts of the first, i.e., 1.9-11, and 1.13-16 are missing in the *Sūtra*,⁴³ but found in the *bsTan bcos*. The fifth hell level is the overall most disorganized, having eighteen neighboring hells in the *Sūtra*, an inconsistency which has been attempted to be standardized in the *bsTan bcos*. This chapter, in fact, constitutes the only part which actually has been reconstructed by the Karmapa. These inconsistencies are somewhat reflected in the relation of *bsTan bcos* and *'Grel pa*, for which in case of the hells, several discrepancies between root text and commentary (particularly in their order) can be

⁴³ Demoto 2009: 66, 72. and Stuart 2012: 49n125.

observed. *bsTan bcos* and *'Grel pa*, however, add in their description the so-called eight cold hells (B.2.1.3.9 '*grang dmyal*') and the so-called indeterminate hells (B.2.1.3.10 '*nye tshe ba*'), both of which, though discussed only briefly, are missing in the *Sūtra*. The exact decisive actions for rebirth in the cold and indeterminate hells are not specified.

Chapter three

This chapter, though much shorter than the previous, is analogue in its systematic description of a causal and a resultative part. Like hells,



Figure V

also the names of the various hungry ghosts are largely corresponding to the archetypal suffering that is experienced. The didactic element found in the hell descriptions, namely, that cause for rebirth and respective suffering are corresponding to each other, cannot be observed in the hungry ghost descriptions. Among the 36 kinds of hungry ghosts described in the third chapter, two main kinds are distinguished. The first kind live in the realm of hungry ghosts, the kingdom of Yama. These are the kinds which are mostly associated with archetypal hungry ghosts, e.g., those having needle like throats and big bellies, such as depicted in the left figure (V). The second kind are those who live among humans. The primary cause for rebirth among any of 36 kinds is greed or stinginess. Another feature belonging to the provisional introduction of the hungry ghosts is that this class is a superordinate category, within which various forms of beings are included. Hence the term hungry ghost can be sued as both, a class of beings and a category with further subordinates. Unfortunately, the commentary does not clearly state which among the 36 different descriptions fall under which group. The main outline of chapter three, however, is as follows:

Kinds	Dwelling Place	Number
Common hungry ghosts (<i>yi dwags</i>)	Yama's Kingdom	1-10
Various hungry ghosts (<i>yi dwags</i>) (harmful, they live in isolation, and mostly of various impure substances etc.)	human realm	14, 16-17, 19-35
Local spirits (<i>gnod sbyin</i> , <i>mthu che ba</i> ; <i>yakṣa</i>)	human realm	11, 15

Hungry ghosts of great magical powers (<i>yi dwags rdzu</i>) Regional demons (<i>'phrul chen po</i>) (Both are to be counted to the class of <i>asuras</i>)	human realm	12, 13, 18
<i>Māra's</i> helpers (<i>yi dwags</i>)	?	36

Table VI: Hungry Ghosts – Outline of their Different Kinds

Chapter four

The fourth chapter, though entitled “animals,” describes three kinds of beings. These are: (1) animals, (2) *nāgas* (serpent spirits) and (3) *asuras* (demons, half- or demi-gods).⁴⁴ The *asuras* hold a special position among the various classes of beings since the *asuras'* descriptions are found in chapters three (Table VI) and four (Table VII). *Asuras* are found in three distinct locations, whereas at least two main groups of *aruras* are to be distinguished. However, the archetypical descriptions of the *asuras*, as titans attempting to fight or rebel against the gods in epic wars, is explained in detail in this chapter. The four levels of *asuras* are:

Level and Name	Inhabitants	Ruler	Capital
1. Rāhubhūmi (once called *Ābhāsin)	Rāhu- <i>asuras</i>	Rāhu	Jyotiṣmatī
2. Candramāla	Dānakaṅṭhaka- <i>asuras</i> (*Sthira- <i>asuras</i>) ⁴⁵	Dānakaṅṭhaka *Sthiras	Yamakriḍā
3. Sunābhā	Kriḍāvahārin- <i>asuras</i>	Puṣpamāla	Gambhīra

⁴⁴ It should be noted that in the description of *asuras* a few variations can be observed, which suggest that, though the four realms of *asuras* are usually explained via the names of king, realm, capital, and people, in each realm several kings, cities etc. seem to be situated. (B.2.3.2.3.2, and particularly B.2.3.2.3.2.4 'Explanation [of the realm of] Śobhavanā (Having Gold)'). Like the descriptions of the hell realms, also in the descriptions of the *asuras* several inconsistencies and possible corruptions seem to have taken place.

⁴⁵ The name of this kind of *asuras* is not given, they are, however, named after their ruler who appears under two names. In the section B.2.3.2.3.3.2 'Stages of the war,' it is being referred to those *asuras* by the term *gnyis brtse*, for which I could not find any Sanskrit equivalent.

4. Acalā	Sarvasaha- <i>asuras</i> ⁴⁶	Prahāsa Vemamitra	Sobhavanā
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Table VII: *Asuras – Outline of the Four Levels*

Moreover, after the description of their realms, several paragraphs talk about the main reasons for being born in any of the four realms, which in case of the first, Rāhu, is rather lengthy. After that, the chapter continues with the war (B.2.3.2.3.3) between gods (*devas*) and *asuras* (*adevas*). Essentially, the war is described as a succession of battles among the four realms of gods and *asuras* (including the so-called white and black, i.e., good, and bad *nāgas*) with each other in their respective ascending order. All starts with the black *nāgas* attacking humans, because of which the black *nāgas* are getting repelled by the white *nāgas*.⁴⁷ Therefore, the black *nāgas* resort to the *asuras* of the first level for help. Reacting to that, the white *nāgas* go for help to the gods of the first realm, which in turn makes the *asuras* of the first realm to call for help to the *asuras* of the second realm and so forth. This process continues until the Lord of Gods, Indra himself joins the final battle.

The descriptions of animals and *nāgas* is short and straight forward.⁴⁸ The cause of being reborn as an animal, a *nāga* or an *asura* is ignorance in a mixture with various afflictions (B.2.3.2.1.2.3), whereas their different kinds are distinguished on account of the so-called four types of birth and the four sustenances (B.2.3.2.1.2.4). The basic outline of chapter four is as follows:

Type of Beings	Descriptions
animals	four types of birth, how those live etc.
<i>nāgas</i>	description of the white and black <i>nāga</i> kings, how and where they live, and how they act
<i>asuras</i>	description of the four levels description of how the <i>asuras</i> fight with the gods in successive stages involving the <i>nāgas</i>

Table VIII: *Animals – Outline of the Chapter*

⁴⁶ The name of the inhabitants is not entirely certain. The 'Grel pa mentions *Sarvasaha* as well as a city name.

⁴⁷ On the narrative background of the war see Stuart 2012: 56. This war is largely depending on Hindu mythological descriptions. Its closer study presupposes readings in various scriptures.

⁴⁸ Strictly speaking, animals can also be found in hell realms, though there they appear to be mere manifestations according to an individual's karma (B.2.3.2.1.1 'Abiding in hells and general explanation').

Chapter five

While the previous three chapters basically paraphrase the *Sūtra's* content according to its structure, the fifth chapter summarizes and collects information on humans that are contained in various places and chapters and not only in the *Sūtra*, but as well in other sources such as the aforementioned **Maudgalyāyanasūtra* (B.1.2.3.2). In the *Sūtra*, the chapter on humans is interwoven with the description of meditation practices and thus follows a different narrative framework.⁴⁹ The *bsTan bcos* leaves aside contemplative practices oriented towards the understanding of the law of *karma*, the ten stages (*bhūmi*) of meditative concentration and absorption (*dhyāna*) as found in the *Sūtra*. The only theoretical/ethical framework given is a brief statement on human rebirths and their accordance to the respective *karmic* circumstances leading to them (B.2.4.10–11). The chapter starts with a summary of the doctrinary content concerning humans, basically by going through its “technicalities,” listing the various qualities of humans of the four different continents and within the different aeons (*kalpas*) together with the mythological stories of men's origin (“first humans”) and the development of these into the caste system. Further and in a comparatively lengthy description which takes up almost half of the entire chapter, the seven major and minor royal emblems (*saptaratna*), not to be confused with the eight auspicious symbols, are explained as parts of the description of a *cakravartin* – a universal monarch or world ruler (B.2.4.9). The following table outlines the chapters contents:

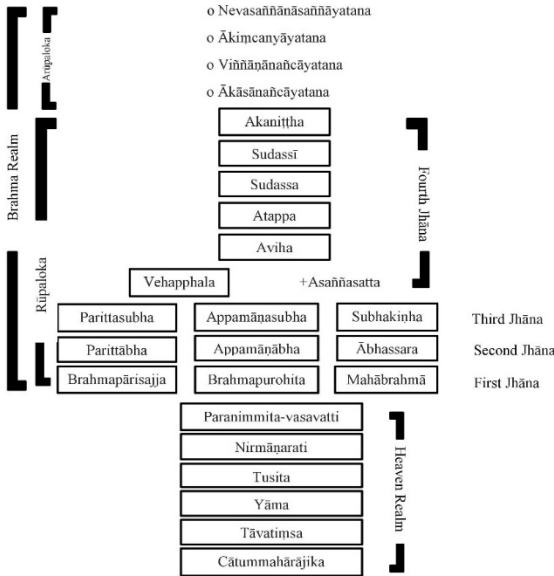
Category	Contents
technicalities	Superior and inferior rebirths on the Four Continents (B.2.4.2) Different life conditions including living place, physical and economic conditions, and the different castes. (B.2.4.1-7) Description of the vanishing of humankind on Jambhudvīpa (B.2.4.8)
cakravartin	Description of the Seven major and minor Royal Possessions (B.2.4.9)
miscellaneous	Result of being human, Suffering as a human, Alternative description of continents (B.2.4.10-12)

Table IX: *Humans – Outline of the Chapter*

⁴⁹ Stuart 2012: 46 ff. (1.5.3 Overview of Chapter Two of the Saddhsu: The Core Meditation Practice and The Human Realm). The second chapter is described in Stuart's study in detail in the following chapters of his dissertation.

Chapter six

The sixth chapter, the last for which Shes rab Rin chen's commentary is extant (Table II), concludes the description of the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*) by explaining the six heavens, namely, six abodes in which



the gods of the desire realm are dwelling. Within the first, i.e., the gods of the four great kings (*cāturmahārājikakāyikas*) Shes rab Rin chen provides a rather detailed description of the locale and measurements of the heavens, which are situated along Mount Meru and within the abodes stretching over the seven mountain ranges (B.2.5.2.1.1). The

first level is consisting of four sub-levels

Figure VI

within each are another ten subclasses. They are briefly described on account of the actions leading to rebirth in this specific realm. The four heavenly kings themselves, i.e., Dhṛtarāṣṭra (east), Virūḍhaka (south), Virūpākṣa (west), and Vaiśravaṇa (north), are explained as part of the fourth level of gods, the *viñāṭṛṭṭiyakas*. Each king is ruling over any of those four levels, according to their cardinal position situated on the top of Mount Meru. The second level is that of the so-called gods of the thirty-three (*trāyastriṃśikas*), describing 33 subclasses within this second level, hence the name. The ruler of this second level of gods within the desire realm is Indra. The third level is that of the *yāma* gods (“Without Fighting”), which is distinguished from the previous two in as much as it is counted among the four heavens which exceed Mount Meru, i.e., which do not belong to the world system by a physical relation. It is distinguished in the *bsTan bcos* by eighteen different kinds, whereas the *Sūtra* distinguishes 32,⁵⁰ making up a large portion of the discourse. The last three levels comprise of the *tusita* gods (“Joy”), the

⁵⁰ Stuart 2012: 66-68.

nirmāṇaratins and *parinirmitavaśa-vartins*. This level is well known from Buddha's life story as the heaven in which he is said to have resided before having taken rebirth. The latter two constitute the last two among the so-called desire realm. The following table outlines the six abodes in its ascending order:

Level	Name of the Heaven
1.	Gods of Four Great Kings (<i>cāturmahārājikakāyikas</i> ; B.2.5.2.1); incl. Measurements of the Seven Mountain Ranges and the Seas (B.2.5.2.1.1)
1.2	<i>Mālādhārīnkas</i>
1.2	<i>Karoṭapāṇis</i>
1.3	<i>Sadāmattas</i>
1.4	<i>Vīṇātrītyakas</i> (<i>Mahārājikas</i>) including the so-called Four Great Kings
2.	Gods of the Thirty-Three (<i>Trāyastriṃśiks</i> ; B.2.5.2.2)
3.	"Without Fighting" (<i>Yāma</i> ; B.2.5.2.3) or "Twins" (cf. B.2.5.2.3.12)
4.	"Joy" (<i>Tuṣita</i> ; B.2.5.2.4)
5.	"Enjoying One's Own Magical Creations" (<i>Nirmāṇarati</i> ; B.2.5.2.5)
6.	"Controlling Others' Magical Creations" (<i>Parinirmitavaśavartin</i> ; B.2.5.2.6)

Table X: Gods of the Desire Realm – Outline of the Chapter

Just as in the hells, in which agglomerations of the various categories of negative actions are decisive for the level in which a being takes rebirth (Table V), in the same way the agglomeration of positive actions is decisive for rebirth in the respective heaven.⁵¹ That is to say, the more positive actions conducted, the higher (vertically speaking) the rebirth will be (B.1.4.3 'Causes and results of positive actions').

Chapter seven

As initially mentioned, the *Sūtra*, and accordingly the 'Grel pa's commentary, breaks up within the description of the gods of the thirty-Three. Thus, the *Bka' thang sde lnga* (B.1.2.3.2, Table II,III) is the only textual support for this and the following chapter. The seventh chapter is rather short in its presentation and is basically consisting of four (when describing them in terms of meditative concentrations, *dhyānas*) or five (when describing them in terms of levels of heavens) divisions

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 56-58.

within each of which further classifications are found, consisting in total of the so-called seventeen abodes of the form realm, a number which may vary according to the respective system. It should, contextually speaking, be read together with chapter eight, since the meditative stages described here and in the next chapter are building up on each other, constituting the 'four levels of meditative concentration' (*dhyāna*) and the 'four absorptions' (*samāpatti*). This basically follows the eights chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, is not based on the *Sūtra* but finds a correlation in the *Bka' thang sde lnga*. The form realm, as the name denotes, is still physical and distinguished via four levels of meditative concentrations (*bsam gtan bzhi*), each of which is subdivided into three sublevels. The last level is further divided into two, both of which are summarized within the fourth *dhyāna*. The five levels are named according to the highest of its sublevels and each sublevel denotes a more stable as well as subtle level of meditative concentration. These are as follows:

Abode	Dhyāna	Level, "Heaven"	Sublevel	Name
1	1 st	Brahmā	1.1	Brahmapāriṣadya
2			1.2	Brahmapurohita
3			1.3	Mahābrahmaṇa
4	2 nd	Ābhāsvara	2.1	Parīttābha
5			2.2	Apramāṇābha
6			2.3	Ābhāsvara
7	3 rd	Śubhakṛtsna	3.1	Parīttāśubha
8			3.2	Apramāṇaśubha
9			3.3	Śubhakṛtsna
10	4 th	Bṛhatphala	4.1	Anabhraka
11			4.2	Puṇyaprasava
12			4.3	Bṛhatphala
13		Śuddhāvāsa	5.1	Avṛha
14			5.2	Atapa
15			5.3	Sudṛśa
16			5.4	Sudarśana
17			5.5	Akaniṣṭha

Table XI: Form Realm – List of the "17 Heavens"

The last among the five levels, the *Śuddhāvāsa* heaven ("Pure Abodes") is called *Āryadeva* ("Heaven of the noble ones") in the *bsTan bcos* and is distinct from the previous twelve, since these last five abodes are

reserved for the so-called non-returners (*anāgāmins*), i.e., *arhats* or *bodhisattvas*.

The following overview lists the attributes (for *aṅga* "limb") qualifying each of the four *dhyānas* as explained in sections B.2.6.3.3–4. The description follows a successive order in which the so-called opposition, i.e., developed quality (*pratipakṣāṅga*) and the excellences by which a certain *dhyāna* is defined (*anūsamṣrāṅga*), are gradually abandoned. In addition, also those attributes are listed, which when missing, indicate the defilement of a *dhyāna*. Following that, the text describes what should be counted among the so-called three kinds of absorptions, i.e., those that are afflicted, unafflicted, and pure, in sections B.2.6.3.5–7. Among these, however, only the first is mentioned explicitly:

<i>Dhyāna</i>	<i>pratipakṣāṅga</i> (opposition)	<i>anūsamṣrāṅga</i> (excellence)	<i>kliṣṭa</i> (afflicted)
	B.2.6.3.5.3-4.		B.2.6.3.5.5.
ADhKo	8.7-9, 11.		8.10
1 st	5 Limbs <i>vitarka</i> & <i>vicāra</i> (1-2, <i>rtog dpyod</i> "Gross and subtle analysis") are opposed to the "bad minds" of <i>Kāmadhātu</i>	<i>prīti</i> & <i>sukha</i> (3-4, <i>dga' bde</i> "joy [of mind] and [bodily] bliss") are obtained through <i>vitarka</i> & <i>vicāra</i> . <i>samādhi</i> (5, <i>rtse gcig brtson byas</i> "concentration") comes about through the other four.	Does not contain <i>prīti</i> (3) & <i>sukha</i> (4)
2 nd	4 Limbs <i>adhyātmasamprasāda</i> (1, <i>nang du rab tu dang ba</i> "complete inner clarity") is opposed to <i>vitarka</i> & <i>vicāra</i>	<i>prīti</i> , <i>sukha</i> & <i>cit-taikāgratā</i> 2-4, <i>rtse cig pa</i> "one-pointedness") are obtained	Does not contain <i>adhyātmasamprasāda</i> (1)
3 rd	5 Limbs <i>upekṣa</i> , <i>smṛti</i> & <i>samprajanya</i> (1-3, <i>rtog dpyod bde sdug bral dran shes</i>	<i>sukha</i> (4, ≈ <i>dbugs rngub pa dang dbugs 'byung ba</i> "bliss") and <i>sthiti</i> (5, <i>rtse cig</i>	Does not contain <i>smṛti</i> & <i>samprajanya</i> (2-3)

	<i>bzhin</i> “equanimity, mindfulness and alertness”) are opposed to <i>prīti</i>	<i>pa</i> “one-pointedness”) are obtained	
4 th	4 Limbs <i>upeksaparisuddhi</i> & <i>smrtiparisuddhi</i> (1-2, <i>btang snyoms dran pa dag pa</i> “pure equanimity and pure mindfulness”) are opposed to <i>sukha</i>	<i>aduhkhasukhavedana</i> & <i>samādhi</i> (3-4, ≈ <i>rtog dpyod bde dang sdug bsngal dang / yid bde mi bde dbugs 'byung rngub / skyon brgyad med cing mi g.yo ba</i> / “sensation beyond pleasures and pains ≈ undisturbed with the eight faults... and concentration”) are obtained	Does not contain <i>upeksaparisuddhi</i> & <i>smrtiparisuddhi</i> (1-2)

Table VI: Form Realm – The four *dhyānas*’ Attributes

Chapter eight

The formless realm consists of purely mental states in which any clinging to or conceptualisations regarding form in any physical sense are overcome. The *bsTan bcos*’s description mainly consists of the so-called four absorptions (*catuḥsamāpatti*; B.2.7.2):

1. *Ākāśānantyāyatana* (Infinite Space)
2. *Vijñānānantyāyatana* (Infinite Consciousness)
3. *Ākiñcanyāyatana* (Without Whatsoever)
4. *Naiवासamjñānāsamjñāyatana* (Neither Discriminating nor Non-discriminating).

Then follows the Buddhist practitioners’ viewpoint on the danger of attachment towards such meditative absorptions (B.2.7.10).

Chapter nine

The ninth chapter provides information of measurements in time and space and the major elements of the *abhidharmic* world system (B.2.8.2.1 ‘Summary of the realms of the world’). It also includes a few

lines on how the world system relates to the individual's sense perceptions (B.2.8.2.2) and how the world disappears and reappears (B.2.8.2.3), a point of particularly importance for the fifth chapter (B.2.4.2 'Supreme and inferior human rebirths'). It also includes descriptions of the different humans and their lifespans in view of the different cycles within a *mahākalpa*. The basic time frame is as follows:

- *Antarakalpa* (*chung bskal*) = intermediate / small aeon consisting of four *yugas* (B.2.4.2.)
- *Gnas pa'i bskal pa* = aeon of abiding (quarter of a great aeon)
- *Mahākalpa* (great aeon = a complete world cycle = 80 small aeons (B.2.6.3.5.11, B.2.8.2.3.4))
- *Asamkhyeyakalpa* (uncountable aeon = 64 great aeons = 5120 small aeons)⁵²

Chapter ten

The tenth chapter concludes with the 3rd Karmapa's take on the intermediate state (*bar do*; *antarabhava*), in relation to which he discusses, again rather brief, various points in regard to the *bar do* experiences and in which way those influence future rebirth. All these points are in accordance with the initial verses of the third chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Also, the chain of events leading towards a next rebirth, i.e., death (B.2.9.2.3) and the distinct moments following death (B.2.9.4) until the next rebirth, are explained. This section is best paraphrased using the 3rd Karmapa's own words:

For him, despite the varieties of the three realms, one has concepts, attachment, and form in all [of them]. Although these do not exist, yet the three types of *karma*, bind begins to the waterwheel of birth and death. (B.2.9.2.1) [...] The period between, when life ceases and one gets reborn in one of the six realms, is [called] bardo. After that, one is reborn and due to the power of [the twelve links] the cycle of ignorance is completed again. (B.2.9.4.13).⁵³

⁵² B.2.8.2.3.2–4. The destruction by fire is the normal type of destruction that occurs at the end of the *saṃvartakalpa*. But every eighth *mahākalpa*, after seven destructions by fire, there is a destruction by water. This is more devastating, as it eliminates not just the *brahmā* worlds but also the *ābhāsvara* worlds. Every sixty-fourth *mahākalpa*, after fifty-six destructions by fire and seven destructions by water, there is a destruction by wind after another seven destructions by fire. This is the most devastating of all, as it also destroys the *śubhakṛtsna* worlds. The higher worlds are never destroyed. ((7 (fire) + 1 (water) × 7) + (7 (fire) + 1 (wind))) = 64.

⁵³ *de la khams gsum sna tshogs kyang* || *kun rtog chags dang gzugs ldan pa* || *de med las gsum 'du byed pas* || *skye 'chi zo chu ltar 'khor byed* || (*bsTan bcos*, p. 617) and *srog*

In the last part of this tenth chapter, before the concluding words and the colophon (C), the 3rd Karmapa devotes a few short paragraphs on the exposition of the perfect path (B.2.9.5) which mainly is a description of the most important and basic philosophical and serological aspects in non-tantric *mahāyāna* Buddhism, comprising of: 1) the understanding of twelve links of dependent origination (B.2.9.5.1), 2) abandoning the view of the self as real (B.2.9.5.2), 3) the four noble truths (B.2.9.5.3), 4) the six *pāramitās* (B.2.9.5.4.), 4) compassion (B.2.9.5.5), 5) a short reference to the ten bodhisattva levels and the ten *pāramitās* (B.2.9.5.6), and 6) the teaching on reaching great enlightenment (B.2.9.5.7), namely, the antidote for cyclic existences as explained in chapter one (B.1.4.5.5).

Conclusion

The *bsTan bcos*, in some sense, comes in the disguise of being a summarising and complementing paraphrase-like exegetical work on a specific *Sūtra*, yet – in fact – being a work that is devoted to a very specific topic, namely, the comprehensive description of the various degrees of positive and negative results of karma in form of the detailed presentation of the three realms. The *bsTan bcos* thus establishes a “new discourse” and probably provides one among the most condensed and yet structured overviews over the three realms. Although the *Sūtra* was undoubtedly the main source for the 3rd Karmapa's treatise and Shes rab Rin chen's commentary, it is not the general narrative but rather the specific descriptions, i.e., the thorough and unique presentations of the various realms, states, and beings therein, that must be emphasised as the 3rd Karmapa's interest in the *Sūtra*. The *bsTan bcos* is thus an outstanding example of early 'Indo-Tibetan eclectic scholarship' aimed at partial restoration of incomplete Indian works, to (re)-establish unique but lost scholarly tradition aimed at establishing new discourses. Yet, it is a discourse that, besides Shes rab Rin chen's commentary, did not seem to have gained any form of recognition, attracted any notable interested or caused any noteworthy scholarly interaction. It is thus equally a witness of the (re)-establishment of scholarly tradition, as it is to its disappearance. That Shes rab Rin chen did not comment on the entire text is likewise curious and one can only speculate about his reasons not to comment upon to the

'gags pa nas rigs drug gi || nying mtshams la sbyar de bar do || de nas skye bar 'grub pa ste || ma rig dbang gis 'du byas nas || rnam shes de ltar mtshams sbyor zhing || de las ming gzugs skye mched drug || reg dang tshor ba sred len [p. 621] dang srid pa 'grub byed mngal du brgyad || skye dang rga dang 'chi ba yis || yang ni ma rig rdzogs byed de || (*bsTan bcos*, p. 620–621).

remaining text. One reason may be that supplementary sources on which he could rely were simply missing. Yet, no reasons are mentioned and too little is known about this figure based on which reasons might be drawn that could explain this oddity. Unlike for the 3rd Karmapa's *Jātaka*-completion, for which at least a hypothesis has been provided that could explain the place of the treatise in the literary oeuvre of the 3rd Karmapa as well as possible aims that could have motivated its composition, no such reasons are apparent for the *bsTan bcos*, nor is clear why this text is presented as being a sort-of commentary on the *Sūtra* although most of its intriguing and special features were consequently neglected. Here, one can only speculate until further information may come to light and the 3rd Karmapa's works and especially the *bsTan bcos* will have been studied in more detail. Notwithstanding this lack of knowledge, it seems fair to state that the 3rd Karmapa was only interested in those aspects of the *Sūtra* that were of use for his endeavour, namely, to provide a very condensed yet complete overview over the three realms and its various states and beings. Therefore, and since the *Sūtra* must have provided him with the respective descriptions, he may simply have adopted the title of his most important source without, however, to have felt any discrepancy regarding (or without caring about) the possibility of there being a discrepancy in the association the title of the work might wrongly create. In either case, it seems that for the 3rd Karmapa the title of work connects it to a general discourse rather than to a specific scripture whereof – and following aim and content of the work discussed before – one is left to assume that one among the main purposes of the treatise was the establishment of a pedagogically oriented discourse about morals and conduct. This, although the perhaps most obvious solution for the above-described situation, remains likewise suspicious since one wonders why the 3rd Karmapa chose to write his text in a manner very difficult to be comprehended without additional reading and consultation.

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Appendix: Visual outline of the *sa bcad*

The following is visual outline of the *bsDus don*, i.e., the *sa bcad* composed by the 3rd Karmapa. For the sake of a better orientation and for the sake of reference, page numbers are given for *bsTan bcos* and '*Grel pa* (according to the dPal brtsegs edition 2013). Pagination is provided throughout this outline in square brackets for the *bsTan bcos* and in round ones for the '*Grel pa*.

[Dedication of the '*Grel pa*, not part of the *sa bcad*, pp. 1–11]

A. rtsom pa la 'jug pa'i klad don

- A.1. mtshan brjod pa [522] (12–13)
 - A.2. mchod brjod pa (14)
 - A.3. bshad par dam bca'
- B. gzhung gi don
 - B.1. mdor bstan pa – Short Explanation (equals chapter one)
 - B.1.1. ston pa'i gsung pa'i tshul
 - B.1.1.1. ston pa gang gis (15)
 - B.1.1.2. gnas gang du (16)
 - B.1.1.3. dus gang gi tshe
 - B.1.1.4. dgos pa gang gi phyir
 - B.1.1.5. chos gang bstan pa (17)
 - B.1.2. ma rtogs pa sems can gyi gzhi ngos bzung ba [523] (18)
 - B.1.3. gnyen po go rim dang bcas pa
 - B.1.4. de'i rgyu 'bras rnam dbye (19)
 - B.1.4.1. zag bcas zag med spyir bstan pa
 - B.1.4.2. las nag po'i rgyu 'bras
 - B.1.4.2.1. spyir bstan pa (20)
 - B.1.4.2.2. rtsa ba'i rgyu rkyen
 - B.1.4.2.3. rnam dbye rgyas bshad
 - B.1.4.2.3.1. srog gcod pa
 - B.1.4.2.3.1.1. ngo bo (21)
 - B.1.4.2.3.1.2. yul gyi rnam dbye
 - B.1.4.2.3.1.3. dus
 - B.1.4.2.3.1.4. rkyen kun slong gi rnam dbye dgu bstan pa
 - B.1.4.2.3.1.5. sdig par mi 'gyur ba lnga ngos bzung ba (22)
 - B.1.4.2.3.2. ma byin pa [len pa]
 - B.1.4.2.3.2.1. ngo bo [525]
 - B.1.4.2.3.2.2. len lugs kyi dbye ba
 - B.1.4.2.3.2.3. gzhan dbye ba dgu shugs la bstan pa (23)
 - B.1.4.2.3.3. 'dod log 2:
 - B.1.4.2.3.3.1. ngo bo
 - B.1.4.2.3.3.2. (dbye ba)⁵⁴ (24)
 - B.1.4.2.3.4. rdzun
 - B.1.4.2.3.4.1. ngo bo
 - B.1.4.2.3.4.2. dbye ba (25)
 - B.1.4.2.3.5. phra ma
 - B.1.4.2.3.5.1. ngo bo
 - B.1.4.2.3.5.2. (dbye ba)
 - B.1.4.2.3.6. (no number) tshig rtsub
 - B.1.4.2.3.6.1. ngo bo
 - B.1.4.2.3.6.2. dbye ba

⁵⁴ The name of this subpoint is not given explicitly.

- B.1.4.2.3.7.⁵⁵ ngag 'khyal
 B.1.4.2.3.7.1. ngo bo
 B.1.4.2.3.7.2. dbye ba (26)
 B.1.4.2.3.7.3. bdun po'i lci yang
 B.1.4.2.3.8. [yid kyi mi dge ba bshad pa]
 B.1.4.2.3.8.1. brnab sems
 B.1.4.2.3.8.2. gnod sems (27)
 B.1.4.2.3.8.3. log lta'i ngo bo
 B.1.4.2.3.8.4. log lta'i dbye ba [526] (28–29)
 B.1.4.2.4. 'bras bu bshad
 B.1.4.2.4.1. ['bras bu bzhi bstan pa]
 B.1.4.2.4.1.1. rgyu mthun ['bras bu ngos bzung ba]
 B.1.4.2.4.1.2. rnam smin ['bras bu ngos bzung ba] (30)
 B.1.4.2.4.1.3. dbang 'bras/ skye bu byed pa ['bras bu ngos bzung ba] (31)
 B.1.4.2.4.1.4. bral 'bras ngos bzung ba
 B.1.4.2.4.2. las kyi mu bzhi bstan pa (32)
 B.1.4.3. dkor ba'i rgyu 'bras
 B.1.4.3.1. ngo bo bjod pa (33)
 B.1.4.3.2. rnam dbye
 B.1.4.3.3. dge bcu so so'i rnam smin gyi 'bras bu [527] (34)
 B.1.4.3.4. 'bras bu gzhan snga ma dang sbyar ba (35)
 B.1.4.3.5. chung 'bring chen po'i go rims
 B.1.4.3.6. zhar la zag med dang mtshungs ldan bstan pa
 B.1.4.4. chos thams cad kyi rgyu 'bras
 B.1.4.4.1. dge mi dge 'dod khams kyi rgyur bstan (36)
 B.1.4.4.2. gzugs khams dang gzugs med khams kyi rgyu sems pas phyi rol du rtog pa
 B.1.4.4.3. phyi nang bar gsum gyi khams bco brgyad la rtogs pa (37)
 B.1.4.4.4. khams kyi rkyen gyis tshor ba la sems pa [528]
 B.1.4.4.5. 'dus te reg pa la rtogs pa (38)
 B.1.4.4.6. bsam gtan dang gzugs med pa la rtogs pa
 B.1.4.4.7. 'jig rten la 'da' bar byed pa'i chos la rtogs pa
 B.1.4.4.7.1. rten 'brel bcu gnyis kyi yan lag la rtog pa (39)
 B.1.4.4.7.2. rtsa ba mthong ba
 B.1.4.4.7.3. phung po lnga'i ngo bo (40)
 B.1.4.4.7.4. phung po dang rten 'brel gyi byed las [529] (41)
 B.1.4.5. dpe bkod pa gdams phan yon dang bcas pa
 B.1.4.5.1. spyi bstan pa (42–43)
 B.1.4.5.2. rgyas bshad [530]
 B.1.4.5.3. las 'brel ba'i don (44)
 B.1.4.5.4. nyon mongs dang 'brel pa spang ba

⁵⁵ Probably mistaken, written as 'six.'

B.1.4.5.5. gnyen po dang 'brel ba bsten pa (45)

B.2. rgyas par bshad pa – Extensive Explanation (equals chapters two to ten)

B.2.1. dmyal ba – Hells

B.2.1.1. dmyal ba'i rigs gsum mdor bstan pa

B.2.1.2. bye brag tu tsha dmyal brgyad spyir bstan pa

B.2.1.3. rgyas bshad

B.2.1.3.1. yang sos (46)

B.2.1.3.1.1. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras

B.2.1.3.1.2. 'khor bcu drug gi ming [531]

B.2.1.3.1.3. 'khor bcu drug gi rgyu rtso bo

B.2.1.3.1.4. 'khor rnam smin dang dbang 'bras [532]

(47–51)

B.2.1.3.1.5. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun

B.2.1.3.1.6. tshe tshad (52)

B.2.1.3.2. thig nag

B.2.1.3.2.1. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras [533] (53)

B.2.1.3.2.2. 'khor bcu drug gi ming

B.2.1.3.2.3. rgyu'i las

B.2.1.3.2.4. rnam smin dang dbang 'bras [534] (54–58)

B.2.1.3.2.5. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun

B.2.1.3.2.6. tshe tshad [535] (59)

B.2.1.3.3. bsdus gzhom

B.2.1.3.3.1. gtso bo

B.2.1.3.3.2. 'khor gyi ming (60)

B.2.1.3.3.3. rgyu'i las gtso 'khor gyi sdug bsngal [536]

B.2.1.3.3.4. rnam smin dang dbang 'bras (61–67)

B.2.1.3.3.5. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun

B.2.1.3.3.6. tshe tshad [537]

B.2.1.3.4. ngu 'bod

B.2.1.3.4.1. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras

B.2.1.3.4.2. 'khor gyi ming

B.2.1.3.4.3. rgyu'i las [538]

B.2.1.3.4.4. gtso 'khor gyi rnam smin [539] (68–74)

B.2.1.3.4.5. gshin rjes chang gis nyes pa brjod pa [540] (75)

B.2.1.3.4.6. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun

B.2.1.3.4.7. tshe tshad (76)

B.2.1.3.5. ngu 'bod chen po

B.2.1.3.5.1. gtso bo

B.2.1.3.5.2. 'khor gyi ming

B.2.1.3.5.3. gtso 'khor rgyu'i 'bras [541–542] (77–82)

B.2.1.3.5.4. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun (83)

- B.2.1.3.5.5. tshe tshad
- B.2.1.3.6. tsha ba'i dmyal ba
 - B.2.1.3.6.1. gtso bo'i rgyu [543]
 - B.2.1.3.6.2. 'khor gyi ming
 - B.2.1.3.6.3. shin tu sdug bsngal ba (84)
 - B.2.1.3.6.4. 'khor gyi rgyu 'bras bshad pa [544] (85–90)
 - B.2.1.3.6.5. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun [545]
 - B.2.1.3.6.6. tshe tshad
- B.2.1.3.7. rab tu tsha ba
 - B.2.1.3.7.1. gtso bo
 - B.2.1.3.7.2. 'khor gyi ming
 - B.2.1.3.7.3. gtso bo'i sdug bsngal [546] (91–94)
 - B.2.1.3.7.4. 'khor gyi rgyu 'bras [547] (95–102)
 - B.2.1.3.7.5. tshe tshad
- B.2.1.3.8. mnar med
 - B.2.1.3.8.1. mdor bstan
 - B.2.1.3.8.2. gnad gcod gyi sdug bsngal (103)
 - B.2.1.3.8.3. bar do'i sdug bsngal [548] (104–105)
 - B.2.1.3.8.4. gtso bo'i sdug bsngal [549] (106–114)
 - B.2.1.3.8.5. 'khor gyi ming
 - B.2.1.3.8.6. [not identified]
 - B.2.1.3.8.7. rgyu 'bras [550]
 - B.2.1.3.8.8. tshe tshad (115)
 - B.2.1.3.8.9. chos spangs ba'i sdug bsngal [551]
 - B.2.1.3.8.10. de la bzlog par gdams pa
- B.2.1.3.9. grang dmyal
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- B.2.1.3.11. skye gnas kyi don bsdu ba
- B.2.2. yi dwags – Hungry ghosts
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 - B.2.2.3. gshin rje'i rgyal po (118)
 - B.2.2.4. rigs sum cu so drug gis mdor bstan
 - B.2.2.5. rgyu 'bras (rgyas) bshad
 - B.2.2.5.1. ldog gu
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- B.2.2.5.3. skyugs pa za
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- B.2.2.5.8. chu 'thung (123)
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- B.2.2.5.11. 'phreng ba za (125)
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- B.2.3. dud 'gro klu lha min dang bcas de sum cu zla ba gcig – Animals, Serpent Spirits and Half gods
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 - B.2.3.2. rgyas bshad
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- B.2.3.2.1.3. mi yul gyi dud 'gro
 - B.2.3.2.1.3.1. spyir bstan
 - B.2.3.2.1.3.2. skye gnas (144)
 - B.2.3.2.1.3.3. nyon mongs dang ldan tshul [558] (145–146)
 - B.2.3.2.1.3.4. zas bzhi bshad pa (147–148)
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 - B.2.3.2.2.2. dkar po (151)
 - B.2.3.2.2.3. nag po gtso bo
 - B.2.3.2.2.4. gnas
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 - B.2.3.2.2.6. 'khor spyi'i grangs dang gzhan yang bshad pa
 - B.2.3.2.2.7. tshe tshad
- B.2.3.2.3. lha min (153)
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 - B.2.3.2.3.2. rgyas bshad
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 - B.2.3.2.3.2.1.2. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras (155)
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 - B.2.3.2.3.2.1.4. tshe tshad
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 - B.2.3.2.3.2.2. brtan pa bshad pa
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.2.1. gnas [561] (157)
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.2.2. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.2.3. 'khor gyi rgyu 'bras
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.2.4. tshe tshad (158)
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.3. rtser gnas bshad pa
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.3.1. gnas
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.3.2. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras (159)
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.3.3. 'khor gyi rgyu 'bras
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.3.4. tshe tshad
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.4. gser ldan bshad pa
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 - B.2.3.2.3.2.4.2. gtso 'khor gyi rgyu 'bras (161)
 - B.2.3.2.3.2.4.3. tshe tshad
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- B.2.3.2.3.3.1. rgyu gnyis bshad pa [563] (163–164)
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 - B.2.5.2. bye brag tu bshad pa
 - B.2.5.2.1. rgyal chen bzhi'i lha
 - B.2.5.2.1.1. ri rab ri bdun mtsho dang bcas pas gnas bshad pa [570] (201–205)
 - B.2.5.2.1.2. mdor bstan pa
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.1.1.3. 'bras bu nyer 'tsho
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.1.1.4. dkar po spyod (207)

- B.2.5.2.1.4.1.1.5. thams cad dgar gnas
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- B.2.5.2.1.4.1.1.8. 'dod la chags
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.3.2. [gnas] bcu po rgyu dang bcas pa
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.3.2.3 pad dkar spyod
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.3.2.4 dmar po spyod [573]
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.3.2.8 yul la 'dod
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.3.2.9 chu bsil gnas
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.3.3. spyi'i longs spyod (215)
- B.2.5.2.1.4.4. pi wang can gsum pa
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.1. mdor bstan pa (216)
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2. rgyu 'bras rgyas bshad
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2.1. dris dga' [574]
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2.2. sgra snyan
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2.4. skyor chus skyes (218)
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2.5. lus dkar
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2.6. phan tshun dga'
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.2.7. yang dag chags spyod (219)
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 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.4.3. zhor la zla ba 'phel 'grib gyi nges pa
 - B.2.5.2.1.4.4.4.4. bye brag gi rgyu [576] (223)
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- B.2.5.2.2. sum cu rtsa gsum
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 - B.2.5.2.2.4.3. ri rtser gnas (227)
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 - B.2.5.2.2.4.6. shing gseb gnas
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 - B.2.5.2.2.4.9. rnam mdzes
 - B.2.5.2.2.4.10. yongs 'du'i tshal
 - B.2.5.2.2.4.11. 'dres pa'i 'gram
 - B.2.5.2.2.4.12. tshang tshing 'gram [580]
 - B.2.5.2.2.4.13. nor bu'i snying po
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 - B.2.5.2.2.4.23. zla ba'i gnas ltar rgyu ba
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 - B.2.5.2.2.4.27. nor bu 'chang gnas [585]
 - B.2.5.2.2.4.28. rigs mthun pa
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- B.2.5.2.2.5.3. rnga bo che [587]
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- B.2.5.2.3. 'thab bral
 - B.2.5.2.3.1. spyir bstan
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 - B.2.5.2.3.6. skye ba'i tshul
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 - B.2.5.2.3.10. 'chi ba'i tshul
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- B.2.5.2.4. dga' ldan
 - B.2.5.2.4.1. spyir bstan [595]
 - B.2.5.2.4.2. dbye ba
 - B.2.5.2.4.3. thun mongs gi rgyu bshad pa
 - B.2.5.2.4.4. longs spyod rgyas bshad
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 - B.2.5.2.4.4.5. bza' btung
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.6. rdzing bu
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.7. me tog
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.8. bya
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.9. khang bzang
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.10. lha mo'i 'khor [597]
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.11. gzhon pa
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 - B.2.5.2.4.4.13. skye ba'i rgyu gzhan bstan pa
 - B.2.5.2.4.4.14. bag yod la gdams pa
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- B.2.5.2.5.2. gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras
- B.2.5.2.5.3. 'phrul dga'i don bshad pa [599]
- B.2.5.2.5.4. longs spyod kyi khyad par
- B.2.5.2.5.5. chos kyi dga' ston
- B.2.5.2.5.6. 'pho ba'i tshul
- B.2.5.2.5.7. srid pa gzhan gyi rgyu mthun
- B.2.5.2.5.8. tshe tshad [600]
- B.2.5.2.6. gzhan 'phrul dbang byed
 - B.2.5.2.6.1. spyir bstan
 - B.2.5.2.6.2. skye ba'i rgyu
 - B.2.5.2.6.3. rnam dbye
 - B.2.5.2.6.4. bdud rigs kyi gtso bo'i rgyu 'bras gtam rgyud dang bcas pa
 - B.2.5.2.6.5. longs spyod khad 'phags bshad pa
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.1. gzhan 'phrul dbang byed kyi don
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.2. gzhal med khang [601]
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.3. mda' lnga'i don
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.4. lha mo'i tshul
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.5. sil snyan la sogs pa'i longs spyod [602]
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.6. me tog
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.7. sa phyogs kyi khyad par
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.8. de la chags na bdud nyid du 'gyur ba'i tshul [603]
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.9. ma chags pa'i yon tan
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.10. rgyu la gdams pa
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.11. tshe tshad
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12. rgyu 'bras gzhan rgyas bshad
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.1. nyin mtshan gyi khyad par [604]
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.2. lus tshad
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.3. mi dge ba brgyad spangs ba'i 'bras bu
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.4. sbyin pa so so'i 'bras bu
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.5. sbyin gnas lnga'i dbye ba
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.6. mchog dman gyi dbye ba [605]
 - B.2.5.2.6.5.12.7. bsam pa'i khyad par bstan pa
- B.2.6. gzugs khams [kyi lha] – Gods of the form realm
 - B.2.6.1. khams gong ma'i don
 - B.2.6.2. rnam dbye spyir bstan pa [606]
 - B.2.6.3. so sor bshad pa
 - B.2.6.3.1. bsam gtan dang po'i gnas gzhan gsum bshad pa⁵⁶
 - B.2.6.3.1.1. rgyu
 - B.2.6.3.1.2. chung ngu dang 'bring dang chen po'i 'bras bu
 - B.2.6.3.1.3. bsam gtan gyis rigs gsum bshad

⁵⁶ According to the *bsdus don* this should be nine sub-points.

- B.2.6.3.1.4. zhing khams
- B.2.6.3.1.5. gzhal med khang gi yon tan
- B.2.6.3.1.6. spyod pa dang bral ba'i longspyod [607]
- B.2.6.3.1.7. skye ba'i tshul yon tan
- B.2.6.3.1.8. gtso bo'i bshad pa
- B.2.6.3.2. bsam gtan gnyis pa'i lha gnas gsum bshad pa
 - B.2.6.3.2.1. rgyu
 - B.2.6.3.2.2. chung 'bring chen po'i dbye ba
 - B.2.6.3.2.3. 'og ma las khyad par 'phags pa
- B.2.6.3.3. bsam gtan gsum pa'i lha gnas gsum bshad pa
 - B.2.6.3.3.1. rgyu
 - B.2.6.3.3.2. chung 'bring chen po'i dbye ba [608]
 - B.2.6.3.3.3. yon tan gyi khyad par
- B.2.6.3.4. bsam gtan bzhi pa'i gnas gzhan gsum bshad pa
 - B.2.6.3.4.1. rgyu
 - B.2.6.3.4.2. chung 'bring chen po'i dbye ba
 - B.2.6.3.4.3. khyad par
- B.2.6.3.5. zag bcas dang zag med kyis zin pa'i rnam dbye gtsang ma rigs lnga dang bcas pa
 - B.2.6.3.5.1. byis pa nyer spyod kyi bsam gtan thob kyang ldog pa'i tshul
 - B.2.6.3.5.2. don rab 'byed pa bsngags pa
 - B.2.6.3.5.3. de nyid kyis bsam gtan bzhi bshad pa [609]
 - B.2.6.3.5.4. zhar la de bzhin nyid kyi bsam gtan bshad pa
 - B.2.6.3.5.5. bsam gtan nyon mongs can dang nyon mongs med pa'i rnam dbye
 - B.2.6.3.5.6. shes rab kyis ma zin pa'i bsam gtan bzhi pa la 'du shes bkag nas bsgoms pas lha tshe ring por 'gro ba'i tshul
 - B.2.6.3.5.7. shes rab kyis zin pas gtsang ma rigs lngar 'gro tshul [610]
 - B.2.6.3.5.8. de dag gi gtso bo
 - B.2.6.3.5.9. spyi'i don
 - B.2.6.3.5.10. lus kyi tshad
 - B.2.6.3.5.11. tshe tshad
 - B.2.6.3.5.12. tha gru'i tshad bstan pa [611]
- B.2.7. gzugs med pa'i khams [kyi lha] – Gods of the formless realm
 - B.2.7.1. nam mkha' mtha' yas
 - B.2.7.1.1. mdor bstan pa
 - B.2.7.1.2. bsten pa
 - B.2.7.1.3. dmigs pa khyad par
 - B.2.7.2. bzhi ga'i nyer bdogs
 - B.2.7.3. rnam shes mtha' yas
 - B.2.7.4. ci yang med pa

- B.2.7.5. 'du shes med 'du shes min
- B.2.7.6. kun gzhi nyon yid gnas pa'i tshul
- B.2.7.7. gnas gang du ngo bo gang thob pa [612]
- B.2.7.8. tshe tshad
- B.2.7.9. shes rab kyis ma zin pa'i skyon
- B.2.7.10. byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyis tshul bshad pa
- B.2.8. 'jig rten gyi khams – Worldly realms
 - B.2.8.1. mdor bstan pa
 - B.2.8.2. rgyas par bshad pa
 - B.2.8.2.1. 'jig rten gyi khams chags tshul bshad pa 9:
 - B.2.8.2.1.1. rlung [613]
 - B.2.8.2.1.2. chu
 - B.2.8.2.1.3. gser
 - B.2.8.2.1.4. de dag gi 'khor yug
 - B.2.8.2.1.5. rkyen
 - B.2.8.2.1.6. ri gling mtsho
 - B.2.8.2.1.7. de rnam kyis tshad
 - B.2.8.2.1.8. gling bzhi'i tshad dang dbyings
 - B.2.8.2.1.9. dus ci tsam gyis chags pa
 - B.2.8.2.2. yul dang 'brel ba bshad pa
 - B.2.8.2.2.1. dmyal ba la sogs pa'i gnas gzhan rnam zhor la bstan pa [614]
 - B.2.8.2.2.2. brtan g.yo ltar snang ba'i rgyu rkyen
 - B.2.8.2.2.3. kha dog dang dbyibs kyis khams
 - B.2.8.2.2.4. de gzugs yin pa
 - B.2.8.2.2.5. sgra dang dri ro
 - B.2.8.2.2.6. reg bya
 - B.2.8.2.2.7. thun mong dang thun mong ma yin pa'i rnam rig gi dbye ba [615]
 - B.2.8.2.3. rnam grangs gzhan bshad pa⁵⁷
 - B.2.8.2.3.1. zhor la ming gzhi bstan pa
 - B.2.8.2.3.2. bskal chung gi grangs
 - B.2.8.2.3.3. snod bcud 'jig pa'i tshul [616]
 - B.2.8.2.3.4. rgyu'i nges pa
 - B.2.8.2.3.5. bsam gtan bzhi pa'i chags 'jig
 - B.2.8.2.3.6. rang snang yin pa'i tshul
 - B.2.8.2.3.7. bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i tshul
 - B.2.8.2.3.8. bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i don
 - B.2.8.2.3.9. dag pa'i zhing khams bstan pa
 - B.2.8.2.3.10. bka' dang bstan chos (*bcos*) rnam la sbyar ba [617]

⁵⁷ According to the *bsDus don*, here are only nine sub-points.

B.2.9. [bar do dang khams] lus dang 'brel tshul/ lam dang bcas pa
bstan pa – Bardo and view

B.2.9.1. nang du rtog pa mdor bstan

B.2.9.2. skye 'chi'i tshul bshad pa

B.2.9.2.1. khams gsum 'du byed pa

B.2.9.2.2. skye rgas 'chi ba'i ngo bo

B.2.9.2.3. 'chi tshul rgyas bshad

B.2.9.3. sems can gyi gnas bshad pa [618]

B.2.9.3.1. khams kyi don

B.2.9.3.2. sems can gyi gnas pa bdun

B.2.9.3.3. gnas bzhi bshad pa

B.2.9.3.4. mu bzhir 'gyur tshul

B.2.9.4. bar do bshad pa

B.2.9.4.1. bar do mtshams sbyor byed

B.2.9.4.2. bar do'i lus kyi mtshan nyid

B.2.9.4.3. 'dren byed rgyas bshad [619]

B.2.9.4.4. bar do'i lus rigs drug gang du 'gro ba'i kha dog

B.2.9.4.5. dbyibs

B.2.9.4.6. dus

B.2.9.4.7. mgo gang du bstan pa

B.2.9.4.8. gos yod med

B.2.9.4.9. srid pa'i nges pa

B.2.9.4.10. mngal du 'jug kha'i snang ba [620]

B.2.9.4.11. zhugs dus kyi snang ba

B.2.9.4.12. shes bzhin dang ldan mi ldan

B.2.9.4.13. don bsdu ba [621]

B.2.9.5. yang dag pa'i lam bshad pa

B.2.9.5.1. lam gyi gzhi rten 'brel mthong ba

B.2.9.5.2. bdag lta spong ba

B.2.9.5.3. 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi rig pa

B.2.9.5.4. pha rol tu phyin pa drug bsgrub pa

B.2.9.5.5. snying rje chen po mthong ba

B.2.9.5.6. lam sbyang pa

B.2.9.5.7. byang chub chen po thob par bstan pa [622]

C. rtsom pa mthar phyin pa'i bya ba – The end of the composition (last third of chapter ten) (229–234)

C.1. rgyal ba'i yon tan la gus pa bskyed pa

C.2. brtsams pa don dang ldan mi ldan brjod pa

C.3. bsngo ba smon lam dang bcas pa

C.4. ji ltar du bsdu pa [623]


C.5. bzod gsol tshigs bcad



Atiśa's System of Twenty-One Tārās

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Introduction

his paper provides an English translation and Tibetan edition of Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna's (982–1054 CE) *The Means for the Attainment of the Twenty-One Tārās* (*sgrol ma nyi shu rtsa gcig gi sgrub thabs*; hereafter, *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana*) based on evidence of newly recovered Tibetan manuscripts. No Indian who visited Tibet in the past one thousand years had a greater impact on the Buddhism there than Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054). Atiśa is renowned for his devotion to the goddess Tārā who appeared in his dreams and visions, and bestowed predictions upon him throughout his life. His charismatic devotion to the goddess was the impetus for the faithful worship of Tārā in Tibetan Buddhist culture since the mid-eleventh century. Atiśa's lineage tradition of Tārā is the most distinguished among the five teaching traditions of Tārā in Tibet. The entire ritual edifice of worshipping Tārā in Tibet is built upon Atiśa's major works on the goddess. Atiśa's praise of the "Twenty-One Tārās" is iconographically one of the most popular in Tibetan painting, yet textual evidence for Atiśa's systematic ritual evocation of these forms of Tārā has yet to be documented in publication. The following study, translation, and Tibetan edition furnishes for the first time Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana*. This study also provides the earliest extant Tibetan edition of *The Praise to Tārā with Twenty-One Verses of Homage*.¹

The Buddhist Goddess Tārā

The Buddhist goddess Tārā, as is well known, is a bodhisattva savior who develops into a female buddha. The name Tārā means literally "star" and a common derivation of her name is also from the

¹ Tib. *Sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal nyi shu rtsa gcig gis stod pa*, Skt. *Namastāraikaviṃśatistotra*. See Lhasey Lotsawa Translations 2020 for a recent English translation; Willson (1986, 353-358) for a Tibetan critical edition of the verses alone.

verbal root “to cross” ($\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$).² Yet, her historical beginnings are difficult to trace. There is no solid evidence for Tārā in Buddhist practice before the fifth century and the primary inspiration for her worship may have derived from the Brahmanical Devī or Durgā.³ In the seventh-century ritual compendium *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Tārā appears as a personification of Avalokiteśvara's compassion. Tārā assimilates the qualities of an advanced bodhisattva in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and develops into a Saviouress from the eight dangers (*aṣṭamābhaya-tārā*). She also inherits the maternal qualities of the *Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā)* and comes to be known as the “mother of the Buddhas” (Skt. *sarvabuddhamātā*).⁴ The worship of Tārā becomes formative in India during the seventh century with the *Tārāmūlakalpa*, a four hundred folio ritual compendium devoted to her iconographic forms and rites. In this compendium she is called the Blessed Queen of Awakened Awareness (*Bhagavatī Mahāvidyā-rājñī*) and is associated with *vidyās*, sequences of sacred syllables to evoke female deity's appearance (Landesman 2020). As Landesman (2008, 55) explains, associating Tārā as a *mahāvidyā* signifies the personification of “the awareness capable of liberating the practitioner who identifies with her in meditation.” With the development of esoteric Buddhist literature, Tārā appears in Mahāyoga and Yoginī Tantras as a consort of the tathāgata Amoghasiddhi of the “action” family (*karmakula*) and represents the wind element.⁵ The development and worship of Tārā in Indian Buddhism, similar to the worship of the female buddha Vajrayoginī (see English 2002), takes on a plethora of forms with a wide range of rituals and evocations. By the time of the twelfth century *Sādhanamālā* (T. *Sgrub thabs rgya mtsho*), Tārā embodies up to twenty-five forms.⁶ In brief, during Atiśa's lifetime the Buddhist goddess Tārā is a full fledged feminine force that may be worshipped and esoterically evoked for apoptraic and soteriological functions among others. In his seminal study on Tārā, Arènes (1996, 121) identified five major groups for the diverse forms of Tārā found in Indian Buddhism that were brought to Tibet. His listing of the major forms of Tārā include:

² Monier-Williams, 1899 (Reprint 1988), p. 443c: *tāra*, mfn. ($\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$) carrying across, a saviour, protector;... (f.) (g. *bhidādi*) a fixed star...; Ghosh 1980, 7-8; Willson 1986:13-14; Kumar 1992, 6; Shaw 2006, 310; Landesman 2020, 5-6; Lhasey Lotsawa Translations 2020, note 1.

³ For advocacy of Durgā influence see Ghosh (1980, 27); Shaw (2006, 313); Landesman (2020, 21) argues against this position.

⁴ Willson 1986, 39-43; Shaw 2006, 313-323; For eight dangers (*aṣṭamābhaya-tārā*) see Mitra 1957; Willson 1986, 87-93; Arènes 1996, 35-39.

⁵ See, for example, *Guhyasamājatantra*, Chapter 14 (Matsunaga 1978, 60-61), Chapter 17, vs. 51 (Matsunaga 1978, 104).

⁶ Cf. Bhattacharyya 2009 [1925], Volume 1, pp. 176-244.

1. Tārā without specification
2. Green Tārā (*sgrol ljang*) and White Tārā (*sgrol dkar*)
3. Eightfold Tārā protecting from eight fears (*aṣṭamābhayatārā* ≈ 'jigs pa brgyad las skyob pa'i sgrol ma)
4. Twenty-One Tārās (*sgrol ma nyi shu rtsa gcig*)
5. Specific manifestations

The fourth grouping which enumerates twenty-one forms of Tārā is the focus of the present study. According to recent research, there are a total of five systems of twenty-one forms of Tārā found in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. These include the systems of: Sūryagupta, Atiśa, the *Sādhana-samuccaya*, 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1729-1798) based on the *Klong chen snying thig* (which descends from Klong chen rab 'byams pa dri med 'od zer, 1308-1364), and the system of Mchog gyur gling pa (1829-1870) (Watt 2011). Atiśa's system is the earliest evocation practice of the twenty-one forms brought to Tibet and is revealed, according to tradition, to Atiśa during his life by Tārā herself.

Tārā in Atiśa's life and works

The goddess Tārā appeared to Atiśa in his dreams and visions, and bestowed predictions upon him throughout his life. In the traditional biographies of Atiśa she appears to him in his childhood, advises him later in life to travel to Tibet, predicts his meeting with the primary lay Tibetan disciple 'Brom ston rgyal ba'i byung gnas, and foretells his rebirth in Tuṣita heaven (see Apple 2019). In fact, the following *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana* will be transmitted to Atiśa based on a prediction he receives from Tārā while travelling to Tibet. This episode of Tārā's prediction may be related to an autobiographical statement that Atiśa makes in his *Open Basket of Jewels* concerning revelations from Tārā while circumambulating in Bodh Gayā (Apple 2018, 92).

With regard to Atiśa's extant canonical scholarship on the goddess, as noted by Beyer (1973, 12), out of the roughly 117 canonical works attributed to Atiśa only four are specifically devoted to Tārā while only six among seventy-seven translations of Indian Buddhist works focus on the goddess. Yet, as Beyer (1973, 11) stresses, the whole ritual structure of Tibetan Buddhist worship of Tārā is based on these works. Among Atiśa's works devoted to the goddess as preserved within Tibetan Kangyurs, such as the brief *Praise to Tārā as Three Jewels* (Apple 2019, 233-234) or the *Abridged Clear Realization of Noble Tārā* (Apple 2019, 241-244), Tārā clearly is considered a Buddha who bestows protection and powers of realization.

Atiśa's system of twenty-one Tārās is found in the following two works:

- “The Means for Attainment of the Twenty-One Tārās, the System of the Princely-Lord [Atiśa]” (*sgrol ma nyi shu rtsa gcig gi sgrub thabs jo bo rje'i lugs so*; Manuscript A in the critical apparatus);
- “The Cycle of Prophecies granted by Tārā to Atiśa” (*sgrol mas lung bstan pa'i skor*; Manuscript B in the critical apparatus).

The following translation and edition of Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana* is based on these two works which are derived from a shared source. However, only “The Cycle of Prophecies granted by Tārā to Atiśa” (Manuscript B) contains a colophon that outlines a lineage of transmission. The colophon states:

The lineage of this [practice] is Venerable Tārā, Princely-Lord [Atiśa] (982–1054), 'Brom ston (rgyal ba'i byung gnas, 1005–1064), Pu to ba (Rin chen gsal, 1027–1105), Sha ra ba (Yon tan grags, 1070–1141), 'Brom ston dbang phyug grags (11th–12th century), Sang ston shākya gzhon nu, Zla grags gsar ma, Rong ston shākya rgyal mtshan (a.k.a Rong ston shes bya kun rig, 1367–1449), Mkhan chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (15th century), then myself. Alternatively, Zla grags gsar ma, Slob dpon shes rab dpal (13th century), Rong ston blo bzang pa, then myself.

After Tārā's revelation to Atiśa on the twenty-one praises, the lineage begins with Atiśa's foremost Tibetan disciple 'Brom ston rgyal ba'i byung gnas. The biographies of Atiśa's life record that 'Brom ston translated the twenty-one praises at Snye thang toward the end of Atiśa's life (Apple 2019, 68). The colophon to Manuscript B does not state a translator and neither manuscript begins with an Indian-language title that traditionally authenticates a work to be included among official translations of Buddhist works into Tibetan.⁷ Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana* was never included in any Tibetan Tengyur (*bstan 'gyur*) or any other official register of Tibetan Buddhist canonical texts. According to the accounts among recent Tibetan traditions, Atiśa's teachings that were not included in the Tibetan Tengyur were transmitted orally among his Tibetan disciples (Beyer 1973, 320).

If the Tibetan text found in these two manuscripts of Atiśa's

⁷ See Apple 2018, 140 for an example of this practice explained in a Kadampa commentary. See Roesler 2018 on this cultural practice and Halkias 2014 for an overview in Tibetan Buddhist history.

Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana were translated into Tibetan by Atiśa and 'Brom ston circa 1050 CE, then this would make them the earliest extant Tibetan edition of *The Praise to Tārā with Twenty-One Verses of Homage* as well as the earliest Tibetan ritual text on the twenty-one Tārās. This is because, until now, the canonical Tibetan translation of *The Praise to Tārā with Twenty-One Verses of Homage* is attributed to Gnyan lo tsā ba dar ma grags (late 11th century), a colleague of Rwa lo tsā ba (1016-1128) and the five commentarial works on the twenty-one Tārās of Sūryagupta were all translated into Tibetan after the 11th century (Willson 1986). Along these lines, most, if not all, studies on the twenty-one Tārās are based on the commentarial exegesis of Sūryagupta's system, whether the study is traditional, as with the First Dalai Lama dGe 'dun grub dpal bzang po (1391-1475) and Tāranātha Kun dga' Snying po (1575-1634), or modern as found in Willson (1986, 117-166).

After 'Brom ston, the lineage of this teaching was transmitted among well-known bKa' gdams pa figures up to Shākya gzhon nu (13th century), an abbot at gSang phu ne'u thog monastery. Up to this point, the lineage outlined in this colophon closely matches the primary lineage of reading transmission (*lung brgyud*) of the 5th Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–82) for the twenty-one Tārās.⁸ The lineages are near parallel up to the time of Rong ston shākya rgyal mtshan (1367–1449) preserved in Manuscript B, with the 5th Dalai Lama lineage diverging beginning with Chos rje shes rab dpal ldan bzang, an abbot of gSang phu monastery. Both of the lineages recorded by Manuscript B and the 5th Dalai lama mention Zla grags gsar ma, "new Candrakīrti" which some scholars have identified as Zhang Thang sag pa (1100–1180?). However, due to the

⁸ The primary lineage transmission, with two alternatives, outlined by Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (2009, 105.12-106.2) reads: *rjes gnang legs par nos pa'i brgyud pa ni / rje btsun sgrol ma / jo bo chen po a ti sha / 'brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas / rgyal sras po to ba / bshes gnyen sha ra ba / gtum ston dbang phyug grags / bang ston shākya gzhon nu / zla grags gsar ma / chos rje shes rab dpal / rong ston blo bzang grags pa (15th century) / mkhas btsun yon tan rgya mtsho / thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1476 – 1542) / blo dpon skal bzang rgya mtsho / rdo rje 'chang pha bong kha pa dpal 'byor lhun grub (1561 – 1637) / drin can bla ma 'jam dbyangs chos dbyings rang grol / des bdag za hor bande la'o (1617 – 1682) / / yang na sha ra ba nas / bya 'chad ka ba ye shes rdo rje / skyer sgang pa / sangs rgyas dgon pa ba / mchims nam mkha' grags / ze'u sku mched / mchims blo bzang grags pa / gro ston kun dga' rgyal mtshan / mkhan chen grub pa shes rab / thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun grub / gnas rnying chos rje kun dga' bde legs / thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1476 – 1542) man gong bzhin no / / yang na 'brom ston nas / spyen snga tshul khirms [106] 'bar / bya yul ba gzhon nu 'od / 'chad ka ba man gong ltar ro / / nye brgyud ni rje btsun sgrol ma / thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1476 – 1542) man 'dra'o / /*

time gap between this epithet and Rong ston shes bya kun rig (1367–1449), the epithet may refer to followers of Candrakīrti who resided at Thang sag chos grwa where Rong ston pa studied in his youth (Koboyashi 2005, 30). In any case, the primary listed lineage in Manuscript B ends with the an unidentified figure receiving the practice from Mkhan chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (15th century).⁹

Atiśa's System of Twenty-One Tārās: Colors, Functions, and Mantras

As an Indian Buddhist master trained in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scholasticism and ritual, Atiśa was intimately familiar with the theory and practice of Tārā as an esoterically evoked tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*). The *Praise to Tārā with Twenty-One Verses of Homage* is preserved in Sanskrit as a *dhāraṇī-mantra* (*gzungs sngags*) in the Tibetan canonical translation of the third chapter of *The Tantra on the Origin of All Rites of Tārā, Mother of All the Tathāgatas* (hereafter *The Tārā Tantra*).¹⁰ Atiśa must have been familiar with *The Tārā Tantra* and its rites as well as *Tārā's Fundamental Ritual Text* (*Tārāmūlakalpa*).¹¹

The beginning of *The Tārā Tantra* describes how Tārā is considered as “a mother who gives birth to the buddhas of the three times” who is beyond *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. Tārā is described in terms like *Prajñāpāramitā*, being unproduced and unceasing, without decrease or increase, by nature in *nirvāṇa*, synonymous with Realm of Reality (*dharmadhātu*). This is similar to the description of the Realm of Reality that Atiśa describes in the initial verses of his *The Song with a Vision for the Realm of Reality* (Apple 2019, 133-158).

Atiśa sees Tārā as a hypostasis of Mother Wisdom in visions during the latter portion of his life and refers to her as the “Mother of the Perfect Buddhas” in his *sādhanas* devoted to her (Apple 2019, 70-71, 236). Tārā as a liberating feminine force for Atiśa is the embodiment of perfect awakened wisdom. Tārā as a Buddha for Atiśa manifests her activities based on the realm of reality (*dharmadhātu*), according to the principles of awakened activity

⁹ Mkhan chen blo gros rgyal mtshan, also known as Nyang stod bye phu ba mkhan chen blo gros rgyal mtshan pa, Mkhan chen blo rgyal ba, or Sngags 'chang blo rgyal appears to have been the thirteenth abbot of Tshogs pa dge 'dun sngang (Heimbel 2013, 226, 229).

¹⁰ The full title is *De bzhiṅ gshegs pa thams cad kyi yum sgrol ma las sna tshogs 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud* (Skt. *Sarvatathāgatamātrī-tārāviśvakarmabhavanāmatantra*). For a recent English translation see Lhasey Lotsawa Translations 2022.

¹¹ Notably, Atiśa brought the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Tārāmūlakalpa* to Tibet. The manuscript was deposited in Radreng monastery after Atiśa's death and was not translated into Tibetan for three centuries until Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) translated the work (see Landesman 2020, 15-16).

(*'phrin las*) outlined in the *Mahāyānasamgraha*.¹²

Inspired by the lady he met at the base of the Bodh Gayā stupa, Atiśa is thinking with *The Praise to Tārā with Twenty-One Verses of Homage* in the Sanskrit language that is preserved in the third chapter of the *The Tārā Tantra*. This may be inferred from the fact that not only is Atiśa a fully trained Indian Buddhist Bengali *paṇḍita*, but also because he closely follows the Sanskrit of the verses in the names that he applies to each of the twenty-one Tārās in his brief ritual evocation instructions. For example, Atiśa names the ninth form Triratna-mudrāṅkā (vs. 9a) rather than Varadatārā (Willson 1986, 140), the tenth form Māralokavaśaṅkarī (vs. 10d) rather than Śokavinodana-tārā (Willson 1986, 141), or the sixteenth form Vidyāhūṃkāradīpita (vs 16d) rather than Rāganiṣūdanatārā (Wilson 1986, 152) (see Appendix II).

Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana* begins with the instruction to visualize a green colored (*sku mdog ljang khu*) Tārā in the space before one. This confirms the later textual and oral Tibetan tradition that the twenty-one forms of Tārā arise from a green colored Tārā. Green is associated with the performance of all activities as mentioned by Buddhaguhya in his description of Tārā within his commentary to *The Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra*:

Light green is a mixture of white, blue and yellow. The symbolism of these colours is as follows: White signifies pacifying, yellow signifies enriching and blue signifies subduing, and their mixture into one colour signifies the performance of all these activities.¹³

Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana* follows this symbolism as Atiśa states at the end of the *sādhana*, "Thus, all accomplishments, including pacifying, increasing, magnetizing/subjugating, and destroying will be bestowed." These activities correspond to the four activities (Skt. *caturkarman*, T. *las bzhi*) presented in esoteric Buddhist literature that classify ritual events in terms of these functions that are often correlated, as with the above citation, with colors and directions. In this manner, pacifying rites are white and

¹² Arènes 1996, 217-218.

¹³ Hodge 2003, 108. On green color being the source of the twenty-one Tārās see Wayman and Tajima, 1992, p. 147, note 45, v.140-2-5. The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (2009, 104) mentions *seng ldeng nags kyi sgrol ma* ("Khadira Tārā") as the basis and Jayapaṇḍita does so as well (Landesman 2020, p. 41, note 145). The Sanskrit basis of Atiśa's focus on a "green colored Tārā" is confirmed in the *Sādhanamālā*, (Bhattacharyya, Vol. 1, 2009 [1925], p.40.10: ...*tārā śyāmā*.... This is contrary to the claim of Shaw (2006, 325) that *śyāmā* is not attested in a Sanskrit source.

performed facing North, increasing rites are yellow and performed facing East; destroying rites are black and performed facing South; and magnetizing/subjugating are red and performed facing West.

In Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana*, the colors of the forms of Tārā are distributed with four orange (or reddish/gold) forms and seven that are red signifying, in general, "magnetizing/subjugating," while three forms are gold signifying increasing and five are white signifying pacification. Only two forms of Tārā are associated with destructive rites (see Appendix I). Along these lines, all the forms of Tārā have the same bodily shape with one face and two arms, but differ as to individual color and the different-colored vase that each Tārā holds in her outstretched hand. This pattern of color and form matches the system associated with the name of Nāgārjuna as described and translated by Beyer (1973, xiii, 333-335, 470). Be that as it may, the manuscripts of Atiśa's *Twenty-One Tārās Sādhana* also furnish visualization instructions and mantras.

Until recently, the mantras for evoking the twenty-one Tārās have not been published.¹⁴ However, two manuals for contemporary practice of the twenty-one Tārās recently published by two Tibetan monastic teachers (*bla ma*), Khenpo Lama Migmar Tseten (2015) and Lama Zopa Rinpoche (2022), have provided mantras for each of the twenty-one Tārās. As Atiśa's rendition of these mantras often differ from later sources, I have noted in the annotations to the Tibetan critical edition variant readings of the mantras from both manuscripts, as well as a later manuscript attributed to Pañchen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570–1662), for comparison. A good example of the differences between Atiśa's rendition of the mantras and other editions is the mantra for the Noble Tārā Victorious Over the Three Words found in verse 6. The mantra given in later sources is: *om tāre tuttāre śatrūn ucchaṭaya svāhā*. The main verbal phrase in this sequence is *ucchaṭaya*, "to drive away."¹⁵ On the other hand, Atiśa provides the mantra: *om tāre tuttāre śatruṃ gacchata svāhā*. The main verbal phrase here is *gacchata*, the second person imperative plural from *√gam*, "go (away)." In brief, the mantras in Atiśa's system have less syllables and are in second person imperative forms.

A Note on the Translation and Transcription

"The Means for Attainment of the Twenty-One Tārās, the System of the Princely-Lord [Atiśa]" (*sgrol ma nyi shu rtsa gcig gi sgrub thabs jo bo*

¹⁴ Shaw 2006, 504, note 178: "I have seen the mantras in a typescript *sādhana* but not in a published source know to me."

¹⁵ Monier-Williams, 1899 (Reprint 1988), p. 173a: *uc-√caṭ*, P. *-caṭati* (Pf. *cacāṭa*), "to go away"; caus.p. *-cāṭayati*, "to drive away, expel, scare."

rje'i lugs so, pp. 1003-1009) and "The Cycle of Prophecies granted by Tārā to Atiśa" (*sgrol mas lung bstan pa'i skor*, 982-987) are located in the *Jo bo rje dpal ldan a ti sha'i gsung 'bum*, 2006, Vol. 1, in *dbu can* script. The English translation of the verses are from Lhasey Lotsawa Translations, 2020. However, the numbering of the verses follows the sequence in Blonay (1895), Wayman (1984), and Willson (1986, 113-116 English, 354-356 Tibetan). The Roman transliteration of Tibetan follows the Wylie System proposed in Wylie (1959).

Translation

The Means for Attainment of the Twenty-One Tārās, the System of the Princely-Lord [Atiśa]

[1003.11] The Means for Attainment of the Twenty-One Tārās, the System of the Princely-Lord [Atiśa]

[Preface]

I pay homage to the Venerable Noble Tārā!

A yogin who wishes to achieve the Venerable Lady [Tārā], should visualize in the space before one a green colored Venerable Lady [Tārā], whose right hand is in the gesture of giving boons, the left hand holding a blue lotus, with right foot extended, left foot drawn back, seated on a lotus, sun, and moon seat. Present mental offerings to her. [1003.15] Praise and make supplications. With a mental prostration for each and every homage, a light ray emerges from the heart of that particular Tārā.

[The light rays] touch one's body, touches the speech purifying the obstructions of the body, and touches the heart purifying the obstructions of speech, purifying the obstructions of mind, and cleansing the latencies of clinging and attachment. Afterwards, visualize the Venerable Lady [Tārā] becoming indistinguishable with oneself, like a dream illusion. Then, however much one recites praises, [such as] three times, or seven times, and so forth, the former Venerable Lady [Tārā] dissolves into the crown of one's head. Contemplate one's own body [1003.20] becoming transparent and empty like the vanishing of a rainbow. Loosen the body and mind with the mind becoming luminous and clear. Recognize this and meditate for a while. Then, dedicate three times by stating "With my roots of virtue may I attain buddhahood for the benefit of all sentient beings." Accordingly, arising all the virtuous qualities which are explained from the text of the *Praises* is to achieve the praise. Tārā

became a heartfelt spiritual deity prophesized to the Princely-Lord [Atiśa] and he gained accomplishments. Gradually, she became a heartfelt spiritual deity for all of the Kadam tradition. [1004] She dispels obstacles. There is nothing greater than this accomplishment and blessing.

[Homage]

I pay homage to the Venerable Noble Tārā!

[Introduction]

At the time when the divine Princely-Lord [Atiśa] was travelling to Tibet, having come to circumambulate in Vajrāsana, he was lauding the twenty-one praises to the Lady [Tārā] while circumambulating, where he met an actual Lady at the foot of the stupa who was predicted by Tārā. Atiśa received a prophecy to at once depart for Tibet, [the Lady said,] “You will be beneficial in Tibet, [1004.5] through your spiritual deity within this twenty-one praises, the heartfelt spiritual deity, hindrances will not arise.” Having said as such, twenty-one *ślokas* were bestowed [to Atiśa] to append to the twenty-one praises.

[Atiśa's System of Twenty-One Tārās]

Homage to Tārā, quick and heroic,
Whose glance is instantaneous like lightning.
You arose from the heart of the blossoming lotus
That is the face of the lord of the three worlds. [1]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to pacify enemies, hindrances and harmfulness, he should supplicate the swift and heroic Noble Tārā. In the space before one, [visualize] a red colored Venerable [Tārā] with one face, [1004.10] two arms, she holds a vase for controlling in the palm of her right hand, the left hand holding a blue lotus, supplicate and instantly cultivate.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture vāśaṃ kuru svāhā /

Thus, by reciting one will fully subdue all enemies, hindrances, and the misguided.

Homage to you whose face resembles

One hundred autumn full moons gathered;
Your brilliant radiance blazes,
Like a thousand clusters of stars. [2]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to pacify sickness and obstructing forces, he should supplicate the Venerable White Tārā [1004.15]. Instantly in the space before one, visualize and supplicate the Venerable Tārā white like the Autumn moon, with her right hand turned upward she holds a white vase for pacifying, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat with right foot extended, left foot drawn back.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture śāntiṃ kuru svāhā /

Thus, by reciting one will pacify all disease, misfortune, obstructing forces, and unharmonious factors. All peaceful actions will be achieved.

Homage to you, Golden One,
Whose hand is adorned with a blue lotus flower. [1004.20]
Whose field of activity is generosity, diligence, austerities,
Serenity, patience, and concentration. [3]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to increase longevity, power, and resources, he should visualize the Venerable [Tārā] who has the color of gold, with her right hand turned upward she holds a golden vase for increasing, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat with right foot extended, left foot drawn back.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture puṣṭiṃ kuru svāhā /

Thus, by reciting all longevity, good fortune, and resources will increase.

Homage to you, whose triumphs are endless, [1004.25]
Jewel on the Tathāgata's crown.
You are well attended to by the sons of the Victorious One,
Who have attained all the perfections. [4] [1005]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to achieve long life, he should supplicate the Venerable Tārā who is completely victorious, Jewel on the Tathāgata's crown. Instantly in the space before one, visualize a Venerable Tārā with golden color, with her right hand turned

upward she holds a golden vase for long life, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture āyujñāna svāhā /

Thus, [1005.5] by reciting one's lifespan will increase to a hundred from ten years.

Homage to Tuttārā, who with *hūṃ*
Fulfills all wishes to the bounds of space.
You trample the seven worlds underfoot.
And possess the strength to summon all. [5]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to influence and seduce a woman, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who utters *hūṃ*. Instantly in the space before one, visualize a Venerable [Tārā] with an orange colored body, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase for enchanting, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing in the 'half-cross legged' position on a lotus and moon seat. [1005.10] Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture so-and-so ākarṣaya hrī svāhā /

Thus, by reciting one will influence the object of one's awareness.

Homage to you, praised by Śakra,
Agni, Brahmā, maruts, and Śiva.
The hosts of bhūtas, vetālas, gandharvas,
And yakṣas pay tribute to you. [6]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to tame all the harmful spirits, he should visualize the Noble [Tārā] who is completely victorious over the three worlds, [1005.15] with dark red color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which intoxicates harmful spirits, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture śatrūṃ gacchata svāhā /

Thus, by reciting, harmful spirits, Śiva, gods, earth spirits, and so forth, all the great forces, will become your servant.

Homage to you, with *traṭ* and *phaṭ*

Crush the magical devices of other traditions.
 With your right leg bent and your left leg extended,
 You shine amid flames blazing wildly. [7]

Thus, [1005.20] if a certain yogin wishes to turn back another's sorcerer spell, he should supplicate the Noble [Tārā] who conquers others. One should visualize a Venerable Tārā called "Conquering Others," black color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which turns back sorcerer spells, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture rbod zer sarva zlog bhyo svāhā /

Thus, by reciting all contemptable sorcerer spells will be overturned.

Homage to Turā, the fearsome lady,
 Destroyer of the most powerful demons. [1005.25]
 With your lotus face and stern frown,
 You are the slayer of each and every foe! [8]

Thus, [1006] if a certain yogin wishes to slay enemies, he should supplicate the Noble [Tārā] who conquers Māras and enemies. Instantly in the space before one, visualize a Venerable Tārā who conquers Māras and enemies, having a dark red color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which destroys enemies, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture so-and-so amukaṃ marāya phaṭ /

Thus, [1006.5] by reciting all māras and enemies will be overturned.

Homeage to you, who fingers grace your heart,
 Displaying the mudrā of the Three Jewels.
 Graced by wheels in all directions,
 Your natural radiance overwhelms all. [9]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to be protected from all fears, he should supplicate the Noble [Tārā] whose mudrā displays the Three Jewels. Instantly in the space before one, visualize a Venerable [Tārā] having a white color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which protects from all fears [1006.10], the left hand holding a

blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture "all the harm to so-and-so" sarvarakṣa svāhā /

Thus, by reciting one will be protected from all rebirth in the three lower realms in future lives and from all harm in this life from māras and hostile spirits.

Homage to you, supremely joyous,
Your splendorous crown spreading garlands of light.
Tuttārā, smiling and laughing,
You bring demons and worlds within your control. [10]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to tame māras and hindrances, he should supplicate the Venerable [1006.15] [Tārā] who brings māras and hindrances under her power. Instantly in the space before one, visualize a Venerable [Tārā] who brings māras and hindrances under her power having a red color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which conquers over māras, the left hand holding a blue lotus, with right foot extended, left foot drawn back, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvapapāṇi mārāya hūṃ phaṭ

Thus, by reciting one will bring all non-Buddhists and those with wrong view under your power.

Homage to you, who can summon
The hosts of earthly guardians. [1006.20]
Knitting your quivering brows, with the syllable *hūṃ*
You deliver from every misfortune. [11]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to clear away the suffering of poverty, he should supplicate the Noble Tārā who clears away poverty and misfortune. One should visualize a Venerable Noble Tārā who is reddish gold like unalloyed purified gold, refined gold, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which protects against poverty, the left hand holding a blue lotus, residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture dhara svāhā.

[1006.25] Thus, by reciting one will increase wealth, domestic

animals, and precious substances and is protected against poverty.

Homage to you, [1007] so brightly adorned,
 With a sliver of moon as your crown,
 Your locks always graced by Amitābha,
 Whose bright light streams forever forth. [12]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to actualize auspiciousness, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who bestows all auspiciousness. Instantly in the space before one, visualize Venerable [Tārā] who bestows auspiciousness, having a golden color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which bestows auspiciousness, [1007.5] the left hand holding a blue lotus, residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā.

Thus, by reciting one will receive all auspicious things, happiness and well-being, and achieve all accomplishments.

Homage to you, seated amid blazing flames
 That resemble the fire that ends an eon.
 Immersed in joy, your right leg extends, and the left is bent.
 Thus, you crush legions of foes. [13]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to be protected against hindrances and obstacles, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who blazes like fire. [1007.10] Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] who blazes like fire, red color like fire, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which protects against obstacles, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture pota yasmi kuru svāhā.

Thus, by reciting one will paralyze, be protected against, and destroy all enemies and armies.

Homage to you, who on the earth's surface
 Strike your palms and stamp your feet;
 The hūṃ that is formed by your frown
 Smashes the seven netherworlds to nothing but dust. [14] [1007.15]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to strike against hindrances, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who is wrathfully frowning. Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] who is

wrathfully frowning, having a black color with a slight frown, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which strikes against hindrances, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat. Supplicate her with the following:
Om tāre tuttāre ture vajra mahāpada bhasmīṅkuru svāhā.

Thus, by reciting all enemies, obstacles, and hindrances will be pacified.

Homage to you, [1007.20] blissful, gracious, and tranquil,
 Whose domain is the peace of nirvāṇa.
 In perfect union with svāhā and om,
 You lay to waste every terrible evil. [15]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to pacify sinfulness, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] she of supreme peacefulness. Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] she of supreme peacefulness, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase for pacifying sinfulness, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat.

Om tāre tuttāre ture sarvapāpaṃ praśamanāye svāhā.

Thus, by reciting, all sinfulness, obscurations, and impure unwholesome tendencies [1007.25] will be pacified.

Homage to you, who, immersed in rapture,
 Shatter the bodies of all foes.
 You shine with the knowledge-syllable hūṃ, [1008]
 As your mantra's ten syllables are set forth. [16]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to increase one's intelligence, wishes to be victorious over the speech of others in debate, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who arises from the *hūṃ* of awareness. Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] having a red color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase for increasing knowledge mantras, the left hand holding a blue lotus, residing on a lotus and moon seat. [1008.5]

Om tāre tuttāre ture sarvadharmā pratipariśodhaya svāhā.

Thus, by reciting, one will destroy all capabilities of the knowledge mantras of others and increase one's own wisdom and intelligence.

Homage to Turā, your feet stomping,
 Formed from the seed of the syllable hūṃ.
 The mountains of Meru, Mandara, and Vindhya,
 And all the three worlds—you cause them to quake. [17]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to subdue all māras and hindrances, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who causes the three realms to tremble. In the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] having a reddish gold color, [1008.10] with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which subdues knowledge mantras, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarva stambani tare svāhā

Thus, reciting one will subdue all others knowledge mantra actions and subdue all enemies and robbers.

Homage to you, who hold in your hand
 A deer-marked moon like a divine lake.
 With *tāra* uttered twice and then with *phaṭ*,
 You eliminate all poisons. [18]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to pacify the poison of the multitude of Nāgas, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who pacifies poison and sickness. [1008.15] Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] who pacifies poison and sickness having a red color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which neutralizes poison, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvani śintam kuru svāhā.

Thus, by reciting one will be liberated from sickness, poison, and harm of Nāgas.

Homage to you, sovereign of divine hosts,
 Served by gods and kinnaras.
 Your resplendence, an armor of joy,
 Pacifies strife and clears away nightmares. [19] [1008.20]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to clear away disputes and bad dreams, he should supplicate the Venerable Tārā who clears away all suffering. Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable

[Tārā] who clears away all suffering having a white color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which clears away suffering, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture mocana svāhā.

Thus, by reciting one will be freed from quarrels and being placed in prison. [1008.25]

Homage to you, whose two eyes shine brightly
Like the sun and the moon when it's full.
Tuttārā, with twice uttered *hara*, [1009]
You pacify the most intractable ills. [20]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to be protected from infectious disease, and so forth, he should supplicate Tārā who clears away infectious disease. Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] who clears away all infectious disease, having an orange color, with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which clears away infectious disease, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat.

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture visarata hūṃ hā. [1009.5]

Thus, by reciting all infectious disease and pestilence will be pacified.

Homage to you, who have the power to pacify,
You display the three true natures.
Turā, supreme lady, you destroy
The hordes of grahas, vetālas, and yakṣas. [21]

Thus, if a certain yogin wishes to fully complete miraculous activities, he should supplicate the Venerable [Tārā] who fully completes all miraculous activities. Instantly in the space before one, visualize the Venerable [Tārā] having a white color, [1009.10] with her right hand turned upward she holds a vase which accomplishes various magical feats, the left hand holding a blue lotus, while residing on a lotus and moon seat with right foot extended, left foot drawn back. Supplicate her with the following:

Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarva sādhana svāhā.

Thus, all accomplishments, including pacifying, increasing,

magnetizing/subjugating, and destroying will be bestowed. This [practice] was given to the Princely-Lord from a prophecy by the Noble Lady.

[Colophon]

The lineage of this [practice] is Venerable Tārā, Princely-Lord [Atiśa] (982–1054), 'Brom ston (rgyal ba'i byung gnas, 1005–1064), Pu to ba (Rin chen gsal, 1027–1105), Sha ra ba (Yon tan grags, 1070–1141), 'Brom ston dbang phyug grags (11th–12th century), Sang ston shākya gzhon nu, Zla grags gsar ma, Rong ston shākya rgyal mtshan (a.k.a Rong ston shes bya kun rig, 1367 – 1449), Mkhān chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (15th century), then myself. Alternatively, Zla grags gsar ma, Slob dpon shes rab dpal (13th century), Rong ston blo bzang pa, then myself.

Tibetan Edition

sgrol ma nyi shu rtsa gcig gi sgrub thabs jo bo rje'i lugs so //

[1003.11] / *sgrol ma nyi shu rtsa gcig gi sgrub thabs jo bo rje'i lugs so //*

[Preface]

\$ // rje btsun ma 'phags ma sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo /

/ rnal 'byor pa gang zhid rje btsun ma bsgrub par 'dod pas / mdun gyi nam mkha' la rje btsun ma sku mdog ljang khu / g.yas mchog sbyin / g.yon utpal bsnams pa / zhabs g.yas brkyang g.yon bskum pa / padma dang nyi zla'i gdan la bzhugs par sgoms / de la yid [1003.15] kyi mchod pa phul / bstod cing gsol ba 'debs / phyag 'tshal re re la yid kyi phyag 'tshal bas sgrol ma de'i thugs kha nas 'od zer byung /

*bdag gi lus la phog pas / lus kyi sgrub pa dag ngag la phog pas ngag gi sgrub pa dag snying khar phog nas yid kyi sgrub pa dag mngon zhen dang chags zhen gyi bag chags sbyangs nas /^{***16} de yang rje btsun ma dang bdag tha mi dad pa rmi lam sgyu ma ltar sgoms / de nas bstod pa gsum mam bdun la sogs pa ji tsam thon pa bton la / gong gi rje btsun ma spyi bo nas mar stim mo // bdag gi lus la 'ja' [1003.20] tshon yal ba bzhiin stong sangs te song bar bsams nas / lus sems lhod la sems gsal la dwangs pa cig 'ong ba de ngo shes par byas nas dar cig bsgom / de nas bdag gi dge ba'i rtsa ba 'di yis ni / 'gro la phan phyir sangs rgyas 'grub par shos // zhes lan gsum bsngo'o // de ltar bstod pa gzhung nas bshad pa'i yon tan thams cad 'byung*

¹⁶ The text has a *rin chen spungs shad* with three dots at this point.

*bas 'di bstod pa grub pa yin no // jo bo rje la sgrol mas lung bstan thugs dam du mdzad /*** dngos grub brnyes / rim pas bka' gdams pa thams cad kyi thugs dam mdzad / bar [1004] chad sel / dngos grub dang 'byin brlabs 'di las che ba med gsungs so /*

[Homage]

¹⁷/ rje btsun ma 'phags ma sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo /

[Introduction]

/ jo bo rje lha gcig bod du 'byon pa'i dus su / rdo rje gdan du bskor ba la byon nas jo mo la bstod pa nyi shu rtsa gcig gi bstod cing bskor ba byas pas / sgrol mas lung bstan gyi mchod rten gyi rtsar jo mo dngos dang mjal te / bod du bzhud cig par lung bstan nas / bod la khyod kyis phan thogs pa yod pas [1004.5] bstod pa nyi shu rtsa gcig po 'di la yid dam gyis¹⁸ / thugs dam la bar chad mi 'byung gis¹⁹ gsungs nas sha lo ka nyi shu rtsa gcig bstod pa nyi shu rtsa gcig dang sbyar nas gnang ngo²⁰ /

[Atiśa's System of Twenty-One Tārās]

*/ phyag 'tshal sgrol ma myur ma dpa' mo /
/ spyan ni skad gcig glog 'dra ma /
/ 'jig rten²¹ gsum mgon²² chu skyes zhal gyi /
/ ge sar phye ba las ni byung ma / [1]*

zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig dgra bgegs dang rnam par 'tshes ba zhi bar 'dod na 'phags ma sgrol ma myur zhing dpa' ba la gsol ba gdab ste / rang gi mdun gyi nam mkha' la rje btsun ma sku mdog dmar mo zhal gcig phyag [1004.10] gnyis ma g.yas mchog gyi²³ phyag mthil²⁴ na dbang sdud pa'i bum pa bsams pa / g.yon utpa la bsams pa / skad cig gis bskyed la²⁵ gsol ba gdab po /

/ om̐ tā re tuttā re tu re ba sham̐ ku ru svāhā²⁶ /

¹⁷ B begins at this point.

¹⁸ B *yid dam gyis shig*

¹⁹ B *omit gis*

²⁰ B *'di gnang ngo*

²¹ Emended to *'jig rten*; A reads *'ji rten*.

²² B *mgon*; A *gon*

²³ A *gyi*; B *gyis*

²⁴ A *phyag mthil*; B *steng*

²⁵ A *skad cig gis bskyed la*; B *skad cig la bsam te*

²⁶ Panchen, fol. 4b3; Zopa 2022:78

ces bzlas pas dgra dang bgegs log par²⁷ 'dren pa thams cad dbang du 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal ston kha'i zla ba kun tu /***
/ gang ba brgya ni²⁸ brtsegs pa'i zhal ma /
/ skar ma stong phrag 'tshogs pa rnams kyis²⁹ /
/ rab tu phye ba'i 'od rab 'bar ma / [2]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor 'ga' zhig³⁰ nad dang bgegs³¹ zhi bar 'dod na / rje btsun ma³² sgrol [1004.15] ma dkar mo la gsol ba gdab ste / rang gi mdun gyi nam mkhar³³ skad cig gis rje btsun³⁴ sgrol ma ston ka'i zla ba ltar dkar ba / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi phyag na³⁵ zhi bar mdzad pa bum pa dkar po bsnams pa³⁶ / g.yon utpala la bsnams pa / padma dang zla ba'i gdan la³⁷ brkyang bskum du bzhugs par sgoms la gsol ba gdab ste /

om̄ ta re tuttā re shintang ku ru svāhā³⁸ /

zhes bzlas pas nad dang sdig pa dang bgegs dang³⁹ mi mthun pa'i phyogs⁴⁰ thams cad zhi bar 'gyur ro / / zhi ba'i las thams cad⁴¹ 'grub par 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal ser sngo chu nas skyes kyi /
/ pad mas phyag ni rnam par rgyan ma /*** [1004.20]
/ sbyin pa brtson 'grus dka' thub zhi ba /
/ bzod pa bsam gtan spyod yul nyid ma⁴² / [3]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig⁴³ tshe dang dbang dang⁴⁴ longs spyod

²⁷ A log par; B log

²⁸ A ni; B omit ni

²⁹ A kyis; B kyi

³⁰ B 'ga' zhig; A gang zhig gi

³¹ A bgegs; B gdon bgegs

³² A rje btsun ma; B omit rje btsun ma

³³ A nam mkhar; B nam mkha' la

³⁴ A rje btsun ma; B omit rje btsun ma

³⁵ A gyi phyag na; B gyis steng na

³⁶ A mdzad pa bum pa dkar po bsnams pa; B mdzad pa'i bum pa dang

³⁷ B g.yon utpala la bsnams pa / padma dang zla ba'i gdan la; A g.yon utpala gdan pad zla la

³⁸ Panchen, fol. 5b4: om̄ tā re tu ttā re tu re shānti ku ru svāhā; Zopa 2022:78

³⁹ A bgegs dang; B om. bgegs dang

⁴⁰ A mi mthun pa'i phyogs; B mi mthun phyogs

⁴¹ A thams cad; B rnams

⁴² B nyid ma; A nyi ma

⁴³ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

⁴⁴ A dang; B thang

'phel bar 'dod na / rje btsun⁴⁵ gser mdog can⁴⁶ g.yas mchog sbyin gyi phyag
na⁴⁷ rgyas pa'i bum pa gser mdog can bsnams pa⁴⁸ / g.yon utpa la bsnams
pa / gdan⁴⁹ padma dang zla ba la brkyang bskum du bzhugs par sgom mo⁵⁰
/

om ta re tutta re tu re puṣṭimku ru svāhā⁵¹ /

/ zhes bzlas pa⁵² tshe dang dbang thang dang⁵³ longs spyod thams cad 'phel
bar 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug gtor⁵⁴ / [1004.25]
/ mtha' yas rnam par rgyal bar spyod ma /
/ ma lus pha rol phyin pa thob pa'i /
/ rgyal ba'i sras kyis shin tu brten [1005] ma /*** [4]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig⁵⁵ tshe sgrub par 'dod na / rje btsun ma
de bzhin gshegs pa⁵⁶ gtsug gtor⁵⁷ rnam par rgyal ma la gsol ba gdab ste / /
mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig ma las⁵⁸ rje btsun ma⁵⁹ gtsug tor rnam par
rgyal ma⁶⁰ sgröl ma⁶¹ gser mdog can / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi phyag na⁶²
tshe'i bum pa ser po bsnams pa⁶³ / g.yon utpa la bsnams pa⁶⁴ / padma dang
zla ba'i gdan la bzhugs par sgoms la⁶⁵ / de la gsol ba gdabs pa ni⁶⁶ /

om ta re tuttā re tu re ā yu jñā na svāhā⁶⁷ /

⁴⁵ A rje btsun; B om. rje btsun

⁴⁶ A gser mdog can; B gser mdog

⁴⁷ A phyag na; B steng na

⁴⁸ A bsnams pa; B om. bsnams pa

⁴⁹ A gdan; B om. gdan

⁵⁰ A sgom mo; B sgoms la

⁵¹ Panchen, fol. 6b: om tā re tu ttā re tu re puṣṭim ku ru svāhā; Zopa 2022:79

⁵² A bzlas pa; B bzlas pa'i

⁵³ A dang; B om. dang

⁵⁴ A gtor; B tor

⁵⁵ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

⁵⁶ A de bzhin gshegs pa; B de bzhin gshegs pa'i

⁵⁷ A gtor; B tor

⁵⁸ A skad cig ma las; B skad cig gis

⁵⁹ A rje btsun ma; B om. rje btsun ma

⁶⁰ B gtsug tor rnam par rgyal ma; A om. gtsug tor rnam par rgyal ma

⁶¹ A sgröl ma; B om. sgröl ma

⁶² A phyag na; B steng na

⁶³ A ser po bsnams pa; B om. ser po bsnams pa

⁶⁴ B g.yon utpa la bsnams pa; A g.yon utpa la

⁶⁵ B sgoms la; A sgoms

⁶⁶ A de la gsol ba gdabs pa ni; B om. de la gsol ba gdabs pa ni

⁶⁷ Panchen, fol. 7b5: om tā re tuttā re tu re ā yujñā na puṣṭim ku ru svā hā; Zopa (2022,79): om tare tuttare ture ayur-jyana pushtim kuru svaha.

zhes [1005.5] bzlas pas tshe lo bcu pa las⁶⁸ brgyar 'phel bar 'gyur ro /

*/ phyag 'tshal tuttā ra hūṃ yi ges⁶⁹ /
/ 'dod dang phyogs dang nam kha' gang ma /
/ 'jig rten bdun po zhabs kyis⁷⁰ mnan te /
/ lus pa med par 'gugs par nus ma / *** [5]*

*/ *** zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig⁷¹ bud med dbang du bya zhing 'gugs
par⁷² 'dod na / rje btsun ma hūṃ sgrogs ma⁷³ la gsol ba gdab ste / mdun
gyi nam mkhar skad ma las⁷⁴ rje btsun ma⁷⁵ sgrol ma⁷⁶ sku mdog dmar ser /
g.yas mchog sbyin gyi phyag na⁷⁷ yid 'phrog pa'i bum pa dang⁷⁸ / g.yon
utpa la snams pa⁷⁹ / padma zla ba'i steng na skyil krung phyed [1005.10]
pas bzhugs par sgoms la gsol ba gtab ste⁸⁰ /*

om̐ ta re tutta re tu re che ge mo a karṣa ya hri: svāhā⁸¹ /

zhes bzlas pas gang la dmigs pa de dbang du 'gyur ro /

*/ phyag 'tshal brgya byin me lha tshangs pa /
/ rlung lha sna tshogs dbang phyug mchod ma /
/ 'byung po ro langs dri za rnams dang /
/ gnod spyin tshogs kyis mdun nas bstod ma / *** [6]*

*/ *** zhes pas rnal 'byor pa 'byung po thams cad 'dul bar 'dod na / 'phags
ma 'jig rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ma la gsol ba btab ste / skad gcig ma
las mdun gyi nam mkhar⁸² rje btsun ma⁸³ 'jig rten gsum [1005.15] las rnam
par rgyal ma sku mdo dmar nag g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na⁸⁴ 'byung po*

⁶⁸ A om. yang tshe lo; B yang tshe lo

⁶⁹ A yi ges; B gi yi ge

⁷⁰ B kyis; A kyī

⁷¹ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

⁷² A 'gugs par; B dgug par

⁷³ A sgrogs ma; B sgrogs pa

⁷⁴ A skad ma las; B skad cig gis

⁷⁵ A rje btsun ma; B om. rje btsun ma

⁷⁶ B sgrol ma; A om. sgrol ma

⁷⁷ A phyag na; B steng na

⁷⁸ B dang; A bsname

⁷⁹ B bsname pa; A la

⁸⁰ B reads: gdan la bzhugs par sgoms la

⁸¹ Panchen, fol. 8b3: om̐ tā re tu ttā re tu re che ge mo ā karṣa ya hrī svāhā; Zopa (2022:80): om̐ tare tuttāre shtri akarshaya hrih svaha.

⁸² A skad gcig ma las mdun gyi nam mkhar; B mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig gis

⁸³ A rje btsun ma; B sgrol ma

⁸⁴ A mthil na; B steng na

*myos par byed pa'i bum pa dang⁸⁵ / *** g.yon utpa la bsnam pa⁸⁶ / / gdan
pad zla⁸⁷ la bzhugs par sgoms nas⁸⁸ de la gsol ba gdab ste⁸⁹ /*

om ta re tutta re tu re sha trum gatstsha ta svāhā⁹⁰ /

*zhes pas 'byung po dang dbang phyug chen po dang lha dang sa bdag la sogs
dbang chen thams cad bran du 'gyur ro /*

*/ phyag 'tshal traṭ⁹¹ ces bya dang phaṭ kyis /
/ pha rol 'khrul 'khor rab tu 'joms ma /
/ g.yas bskum g.yon brkyang zhabs⁹² kyis mnan te /
/ me 'bar 'khrug pa shin tu 'bar ma / / [7]*

*/ zhes [1005.20] pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig⁹³ gzhan gyi rig sngags bzlog
par 'dod na / 'phags ma gzhan 'joms ma la gsol ba gdab ste / mdun gyi
nam mkhar skad cig gis⁹⁴ rje btsun ma⁹⁵ sgröl ma gzhan 'joms ma zhes bya
ba⁹⁶ sku mdog nag mo g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na⁹⁷ rig sngags bzlog
pa'i bum pa dang⁹⁸ / g.yon utpa la bsnam pa⁹⁹ / padma dang zla la bzhugs
par sgoms pa la gsol ba btab ste¹⁰⁰ /
om ta re tutta re tu re rbod zer¹⁰¹ sarva zlog bhyo svāhā¹⁰² /*

*zhes pas¹⁰³ rig sngags kyi smod mo dang sbod gzer thams cad zlog par 'gyur
ro /*

⁸⁵ B *dang*; A *bsnam*

⁸⁶ B *bsnam pa*; A om. *bsnam pa*

⁸⁷ A *gdan pad zla*; B *pad zla'i gdan*

⁸⁸ A *bzhugs par sgoms nas*; B *bzhugs par sgoms la*

⁸⁹ A *de la gsol ba gdab ste*; B om. *de la gsol ba gdab ste*

⁹⁰ A *om ta re tutta re tu re sha trum gatstsha ta svāhā*; B *om ta re tutta re tu re bhā ta trum
u tsa ta ya svāhā*; Panchen, fol. 9b2: *om tā re tuttā re sarva vigha nān shatrum u tsa tra
ya svā hā*; Zopa (2022:81): *om tare tuttare shatrum ucchataya svaha*.

⁹¹ B *traṭ*; A *ṭa*

⁹² B reads: *'bus*

⁹³ A *gang zhig*; B om. *gang zhig*

⁹⁴ B *mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig gis*; A om. *mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig gis*

⁹⁵ A *rje btsun ma*; B om. *rje btsun ma*

⁹⁶ A *sgröl ma gzhan 'joms ma zhes bya ba*; B *sgröl ma*

⁹⁷ A *mthil na*; B *steng na*

⁹⁸ B *dang*; A *bsnam pa*

⁹⁹ B *bsnam pa*; A om. *bsnam pa*

¹⁰⁰ A *bzhugs par sgoms pa la gsol ba btab ste*; B *bzhugs par sgoms la*

¹⁰¹ A *rbod zer*; B *sbod gzer*

¹⁰² Panchen, fol. 10b2: *om tā re tu ttā re tu re rbod gser sarva bzlog bhyoh svāhā*; Zopa
(2022:81): *om tara tuttare ture sarva vidya apara varanaya svaha*.

¹⁰³ A *zhes pas*; B *zhes bzlas pas*

/ phyag 'tshal tu re'i 'jigs pa chen mo¹⁰⁴ /
 / bdud kyi dpa' bo [1005.25] rnam par 'joms ma /
 / chu skyes zhal gyi khro gnyer ldan mdzad /
 / dgra bo¹⁰⁵ thams cad ma lus gsod ma / [8]

/ zhes pas [1006] rnal 'byor pa gang zhig¹⁰⁶ dgra gsod par 'dod na¹⁰⁷ 'phags
 ma¹⁰⁸ sgröl ma bdud dang dgra 'joms ma la gsol ba gdab ste / mdun gyi
 nam mkhar skad cig ma las¹⁰⁹ rje btsun ma¹¹⁰ sgröl ma bdud dang dgra 'joms
 ma sku mdog dmar nag / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na¹¹¹ dgra 'joms pa'i
 bum pa dang g.yon utpa la la bsname pa¹¹² / padma dang zla¹¹³ la bzhugs
 par sgoms la gsol ba btab ste¹¹⁴ /

om̄ ta re tutta re tu re che ge mo a mu ka ma rā ya phat̄¹¹⁵ /

ces [1006.5] pas¹¹⁶ bdud dgra thams cad bzlog par 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal dkon mchog gsum mtshon phyag rgya'i¹¹⁷ /
 / sor mos thugs kar rnam par brgyan ma /
 / ma lus phyogs kyi 'khor los brgyan pa'i /
 / rang gi 'od kyi¹¹⁸ tshogs rname 'khrugs ma / [9]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor gang zhig¹¹⁹ 'jigs pa thams cad bsrung bar 'dod na /
 'phags ma¹²⁰ sgröl ma dkon mchog gsum mtshon phyag rgya ma la gsol ba
 gdab ste / mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig ma las¹²¹ rje btsun ma¹²² sgröl ma
 dkon mchog gsum mtshon phyag rgya ma¹²³ sku mdog dkar mo / g.yas

¹⁰⁴ A mo; B po

¹⁰⁵ B reads: 'o

¹⁰⁶ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

¹⁰⁷ A na; B pas

¹⁰⁸ A 'phags ma; B om. 'phags ma

¹⁰⁹ A las; B gis

¹¹⁰ A rje btsun ma; B om. rje btsun ma

¹¹¹ A mthil na; B steng na

¹¹² B dang g.yon utpa la la bsname; A bsname pa / g.yon utpa la

¹¹³ A padma dang zla; B pad zla

¹¹⁴ A gsol ba btab ste; B om. gsol ba btab ste

¹¹⁵ Panchen, fol. 11a5: om̄ tā re tu ttā re tu re che ge mo mā ra ya phat̄; Zopa (2022,82): om̄
 tare tuttare ture sarva mara shatrun maraya phat̄ svaha.

¹¹⁶ A ces pas; B ces bzlas pas

¹¹⁷ A rgya'i; B ga'i

¹¹⁸ B kyi; A kyis

¹¹⁹ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

¹²⁰ A 'phags ma; B om. 'phags ma

¹²¹ A las; B cig gis

¹²² A rje btsun ma; B om. rje btsun ma

¹²³ B sgröl ma dkon mchog gsum mtshon phyag rgya ma; A om. sgröl ma dkon mchog gsum
 mtshon phyag rgya ma

*mchog sbyin gyi mthil na 'jigs pa thams cad*¹²⁴ *skyob pa'i bum* [1006.10] *pa bsnams pa / g.yon utpa la / padma dang zla ba'i steng na*¹²⁵ *bzhugs par bsgoms nas*¹²⁶ *de la gsol ba btab ste*¹²⁷ /

om ta re tutta re tu re che ge mo la gnod pa thams cad sarva rakṣa svāhā /¹²⁸

zhes pas ngan song gsum du tshe phyi ma la gnod pa dang bdud dang 'byung po tshe 'di la gnod pa thams cad bsrung bar 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal rab tu dga' bar brdzid pa'i /
/ dbu brgyan 'od kyi phreng bas spel ma /
/ bzhad pa rab bzhad tutta ra yis /
/ bdud dang 'jig rten dbang phyug mdzad ma / [10]

*/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig*¹²⁹ *bdud dang bar chad 'dul bar 'dod na / rje btsun* [1006.15] *ma*¹³⁰ *bdud dang bar chad dbang du bsdus ma*¹³¹ *la gsal ba gdab ste / skad cig gis*¹³² *mdun gyi nam mkhar rje btsun ma*¹³³ *bdud dang 'jig rten dbang du bsdus ma sku mdog dmar mo / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na*¹³⁴ *bdud 'joms pa'i bum pa bsnams pa / g.yon utpa la / pad dang zla la zhabs brkyang bskum du bzhugs par sgoms nas*¹³⁵ *de la gsol ba btab ste*¹³⁶ /

*om ta re tutta re tu re sarva pā pam mā ra ya hūṃ phaṭ*¹³⁷ /

*ces bzlas pas*¹³⁸ *bdud dang mu stegs dang log par lta ba thams cad dbang du 'dus par*¹³⁹ *'gyur ro /*

¹²⁴ A *thams cad*; B *om. thams cad*

¹²⁵ A *steng na*; B *zla la*

¹²⁶ A *nas*; B *la*

¹²⁷ A *de la gsol ba btab ste*; B *om. de la gsol ba btab ste*

¹²⁸ A *om ta re tutta re tu re che ge mo la gnod pa thams cad sarva rakṣa svāhā*; B *om ta re tutta re tu re che ge mo la gnod pa sarva rakṣa rakṣa svāhā*; Panchen, fol. 12a: *om tā re tu ttā re tu re che ge mo la gnod pa sarva rakṣa svāhā*; Zopa (2022, 82): *om tare tuttare ture man upakrama raksha raksha svaha*.

¹²⁹ A *gang zhig*; B *om. gang zhig*

¹³⁰ A *rje btsun ma*; B *'phags ma*

¹³¹ A *bsdus ma*; B *sdud ma*

¹³² A *skad cig gis*; B *om. skad cig gis*

¹³³ A *rje btsun ma*; B *sgrol ma*

¹³⁴ A *mthil na*; B *steng na*

¹³⁵ A *nas*; B *la*

¹³⁶ A *de la gsol ba btab ste*; B *om. de la gsol ba btab ste*

¹³⁷ B *om ta re tutta re tu re sarva pā pam mā ra ya hūṃ phaṭ*; A *om ta re tutta re tu re sarva pa pā mā ra ya phaṭ*; Panchen, fol. 13a2: *om tā re tu ttā re tu re sarva pā pam mā ra ya hūṃ phaṭ*; Zopa (2022, 83) differs: *om tare tuttare sarva mara pramardhani svaha*.

¹³⁸ B *bzlas pas*; A *bzlas pa'i*

¹³⁹ A *'dus par*; B *om. 'dus par*

/ *phyag 'tshal sa gzhi skyong ba'i tshogs rnam* /
 / *thams* [1006.20] *cad mgugs*¹⁴⁰ *par nus pa nyid ma* /
 / *khro gnyer g.yo ba'i yi ge hūm gyis* /
 / *phongs pa thams cad rnam par sgrol ma* / *** [11]

/ *** *zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig*¹⁴¹ *dbul ba'i sdug bsngal sel bar 'dod*
*pas*¹⁴² / *'phags ma sgrol ma*¹⁴³ *'gugs shing 'phongs*¹⁴⁴ *pa sel ba la gsol ba*
gdab ste / *rje btsun ma 'phags ma sgrol ma sku mdog gser gtso ma ltar*
*dmar ser du 'dug pa*¹⁴⁵ / *g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na*¹⁴⁶ *'phongs pa*
skyobs pa'i bum pa bsnam pa / *g.yon utpa la* / *padma dang zla ba'i gdan*
*la bzhugs pa de la gsol ba btab ste*¹⁴⁷ /

*om ta re tutta re tu re dha ra svāhā*¹⁴⁸ /

[1006.25] *zhes bzlas pas nor dang 'bru dang rkang 'gros dang rin po che*
*'phel ste*¹⁴⁹ *phongs pa skyob pa yin no* /

/ *phyag 'tshal* [1007] *zla ba'i rtse mos*¹⁵⁰ *dbu rgyan* /
 / *brgyan pa thams cad shin tu 'bar ma* /
 / *ral pa'i khrod nas 'od dpag med las* / ***
 / *rtaq par shin tu 'od rab mdzad ma* / [12]

/ *zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig*¹⁵¹ *bkres pa 'byin par*¹⁵² *'dod na* / *** / ***
*rje btsun ma bkres pa thams cad 'byin pa*¹⁵³ *la gsol ba gdab ste* / *mdun gyi*
*nam mkhar skad cig ma*¹⁵⁴ *la rje btsun ma bkres pa 'byin pa*¹⁵⁵ *sku*¹⁵⁶ *dog gser*
mdog can g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na bkres 'byin gyi bum pa [1007.5]
bsnam pa / *g.yon utpa la* / *padma dang zla ba'i gdan la gzhugs par*

¹⁴⁰ A *mgugs*; B *'gugs*

¹⁴¹ A *gang zhig*; B *om. gang zhig*

¹⁴² A *'dod pas*; B *'dod na*

¹⁴³ A *sgrol ma*; B *om. sgrol ma*

¹⁴⁴ A *'phongs pa*; B *phongs pa*

¹⁴⁵ A *ser du 'dug pa*; B *ser du yod pa*

¹⁴⁶ A *mthil na*; B *steng na*

¹⁴⁷ A *bzhugs pa de la gsol ba btab ste*; B *bzhugs par sgoms la*

¹⁴⁸ A *om ta re tutta re tu re dha ra svāhā*; B *om ta re tutta re tu re dha re svāhā*; Panchen, fol. 14a1: *om jambhi ni mo hi svāhā*; Zopa (2022, 83): *om tare tuttare ture vasubharini svaha*.

¹⁴⁹ A *rin po che 'phel ste*; B *nor 'phel te*

¹⁵⁰ A *rtse mos*; B *rtse mo'i*

¹⁵¹ A *gang zhig*; B *om. gang zhig*

¹⁵² A *bkres pa 'byin par*; B *bkris par*

¹⁵³ A *bkres pa thams cad 'byin pa*; B *bkris 'byin ma*

¹⁵⁴ A *skad cig ma*; B *skad cig gis*

¹⁵⁵ A *bkres pa 'byin pa*; B *bkris thams cad 'byin ma*

¹⁵⁶ A *sku*; B *om. sku*

*bsgoms la gsol ba btab ste*¹⁵⁷ /
/ *om̄ ta re tutta re tu re svāhā* /¹⁵⁸

*zhes bzlas pas bkres pa*¹⁵⁹ *dang bde legs thams cad 'byin pa dang / dngos grub thams cad 'grub par 'gyur ro*¹⁶⁰ /

/ *phyag 'tshal bskal pa*¹⁶¹ *tha ma'i me ltar /*
/ *'bar ba'i phreng ba'i dbus na gnas ma /*^{***}
/ *g.yas brkyang g.yon bskum kun nas bskor dga'i /*
/ *dgra'i dpung ni rnam par 'joms ma*¹⁶² / [13]

/ *zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig bgegs dang bar chad*¹⁶³ *bsrung bar 'dod na / rje btsun ma me ltar 'bar ma la gsol [1007.10] ba gdab ste / skad cig gis mdun gyi nam mkhar*¹⁶⁴ *rje btsun ma me ltar 'bar ma sku mdog me*¹⁶⁵ *ltar dmar ba / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na bar chad bsrung ba'i bum pa bsnams pa / g.yon utpa la / padma dang zla ba'i gdan la bzhugs par sgoms la gsol ba btab ste*¹⁶⁶ /

*om̄ ta re tutta re tu re po ta ya smi ku ru svāhā*¹⁶⁷ /

*zhes bzlas pas*¹⁶⁸ *dgra dang*¹⁶⁹ *dpung thams cad rab tu 'joms shing bsrung ba dang rengs par 'gyur ro /*
/ *phyag 'tshal sa gzhi'i ngos la phyag gi /*
/ *mthil gyis bsnun cing zhabs kyis brdungs ma /*
/ *khro gnyer can mdzad yi ge hūm̄ gis /*
/ *rim pa bdun po rnam ni 'gems*¹⁷⁰ [1007.15] *ma /*^{***} [14]

/^{***} *zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig bgegs la bsnun par 'dod pas*¹⁷¹ / *rje*

¹⁵⁷ B reads: *sngags phyogs sgyu lus gtso bor ston pa'i skor bzhugs so / utpa la bsnams pa / pad zla la bzhugs par sgoms la*

¹⁵⁸ Panchen, fol. 14b3: *om̄ mang la puṣṭim ku ru svāhā*; Zopa (2022, 84): *om̄ tare tuttare ture mangalam svaha*.

¹⁵⁹ A *bkres pa*; B *bkris*

¹⁶⁰ A *'byin pa dang / dngos grub thams cad 'grub par 'gyur ro*; B *'grub par 'gyur ro*

¹⁶¹ A *bskal pa*; B *bskal pa'i*

¹⁶² B *ma*; A *pa*

¹⁶³ A *bar chad*; B *bar chod*

¹⁶⁴ B *skad cig gis mdun gyi nam mkhar*; A *skad cig ma las*

¹⁶⁵ A *me*; B *ser*

¹⁶⁶ A *padma dang zla ba'i gdan la bzhugs par sgoms la gsol ba btab ste*; B *pad zla la bzhugs par sgoms la*

¹⁶⁷ Panchen, fol. 15a4: *om̄ sva ta bhas mi ku ru svā hā /*; Zopa (2022, 84): *om̄ tare tuttare ture bhaya bhasmin kuru svaha*.

¹⁶⁸ B *zhes bzlas pas*; A *zhes pas*

¹⁶⁹ A *dang*; B *dang bar chod kyī*

¹⁷⁰ A *'gems*; B *'gengs*

*btsun ma khro gnyer can la gsol ba gdab ste / skad cig ma las¹⁷² mdun gyi
nam mkhar rje btsun ma¹⁷³ khro gnyer can¹⁷⁴ ma / sku mdog nag mo khro
gnyer cung zad yod pa / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi steng¹⁷⁵ na bgegs la bsnun
pa'i bum pa bsnams ma / g.yon utpa la /*** padma dang zla ba'i gdan la
bzhugs pa bsgoms la gsol ba btab ste¹⁷⁶ /
om̄ ta re tuttā re tu re vajra mahā pa ta ya smi ku ru svāhā¹⁷⁷ /*

zhes bzlas pas dgra dang bgegs dang bar chad thams cad zhi bar 'gyur ro /

*/ phyag 'tshal [1007.20] bde ma dge ma zhi ma /
/ mya ngan 'das shing spyod yul nyid ma /
/ svā hā om̄ dang yang dag ldan ma /
/ sdig pa chen po 'joms pa nyid ma /¹⁷⁸ [15]*

*/ zhes pas rnal 'byor gang zhig¹⁷⁹ sdig pa zhi bar 'dod na / rje btsun ma zhi
ba chen mo la gsol ba gdab ste / mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig ma las¹⁸⁰ rje
btsun ma zhi ba chen mo sku mdog dkar mo¹⁸¹ / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi
mthil na sdig pa zhi bar byed pa'i bum pa dang g.yon utpa la la bsnams pa¹⁸²
/ padma dang zla ba'i gdan la bzhugs par bsgoms pa la¹⁸³ /*

om̄ ta re tutta re tu re sarva pā paṃ pra sha ma ne ye svāhā¹⁸⁴ /

*zhes bzlas pas sdig pa dang sgrib pa bag chags ngan pa mi gtsang ba thams
cad [1007.25] zhi bar 'gyur ro /*

*/ phyag 'tshal kun nas bskor rab dga' ba'i /
/ dgra'i¹⁸⁵ lus ni rab tu 'gems¹⁸⁶ ma /*

¹⁷¹ A pas ; B na

¹⁷² A ma las; B la

¹⁷³ A rje btsun ma; B rje btsun

¹⁷⁴ A khro gnyer can; B khro gnyer

¹⁷⁵ A steng; B mthil

¹⁷⁶ A zla ba'i gdan la bzhugs pa bsgoms la gsol ba btab ste; B zla ba la bzhugs par sgoms la

¹⁷⁷ A om̄ ta re tuttā re tu re vajra mahā pa ta ya smi ku ru svāhā; B om̄ ta re tutta re tu re vajra mahā po ta ya smi ku ru svāhā; Panchen, fol. 15b5-16a1: om̄ vajra tā re vajra ma hā pa ha [16a1] yasmi ku ru svāhā /; Zopa (2022, 85): om̄ tare tuttare ture vajra maha pada bhasmim kuru svaha.

¹⁷⁸ B sdig pa chen po 'joms pa nyid ma; A om. sdig pa chen po 'joms pa nyid ma

¹⁷⁹ A rnal 'byor gang zhig; B rnal 'byor pas

¹⁸⁰ A skad cig ma las; B skad cig ma la

¹⁸¹ B sku mdog dkar mo; A om. sku mdog dkar mo

¹⁸² B dang g.yon utpa la la bsnams pa; A bsnams pa / g.yon utpa la

¹⁸³ A padma dang zla ba'i gdan la bzhugs par bsgoms pa la; B reads: padma dang zla ba la bzhugs par sgoms la

¹⁸⁴ Panchen, fol. 16b2: om̄ tu re sarva pā paṃ pra sha ma na ye svāhā; Zopa (2022, 86): om̄ tare tuttare ture sarva papam prashamanaya svaha.

/ yi ge bcu [1008] pa'i ngag ni bkod pa'i /
/ rig pa hūṃ las sgrol ma nyid ma / [16]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig¹⁸⁷ blo 'phel bar 'dod pa dang pha rol gyi
ngag rtsod pa las rgyal bar 'dod na¹⁸⁸ / rje btsun ma rigs pa hūṃ las sgrol
ma la gsol ba gdab ste / skad cig ma las¹⁸⁹ mdun gyi nam mkhar rje btsun
ma sgrol ma sku mdog dmar mo g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na rigs sngags
'phel bar 'byed pa'i bum pa dang g.yon utpa la bsnam pa¹⁹⁰ / / padma
dang zla ba la bzhugs [1008.5] par sgoms la /

om̐ tā re tutta re tu re sarba dharma pra ti pa ri sho dha ya svāhā¹⁹¹ /

/ zhes bzlas pas¹⁹² gzhan gyi rigs sngags kyi nus pa thams cad 'joms zhing
rang gi shes rab dang blo 'phel bar 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal tu re'i zhabs ni brdabs pas / ***
/ hūṃ gi rnam pa'i sa bon nyid ma /
/ ri rab man dha ra¹⁹³ dang 'bigs byed /
/ 'jig rten gsum rnams g.yo ba nyid ma / [17]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig¹⁹⁴ bdud dang bar chad¹⁹⁵ thams cad¹⁹⁶
gnon par 'dod na / rje btsun ma¹⁹⁷ 'jig rten gsum g.yo ma la gsol ba gtab¹⁹⁸
ste / mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig la¹⁹⁹ rje btsun ma sku mdog dmar gser
[1008.10] g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na rigs sngags²⁰⁰ gnon pa'i bum pa
bsnam pa / g.yon utpa la / padma dang zla ba la²⁰¹ bzhugs par sgoms la /

¹⁸⁵ A dgra'i; B dgra yi

¹⁸⁶ A 'gems; B 'gengs

¹⁸⁷ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

¹⁸⁸ A blo 'phel bar 'dod pa dang pha rol gyi ngag rtsod pa las rgyal bar 'dod na; B shes rab
dang blo 'phel ba dang ngag gi rtsod pa las rgyal bar 'dod na /

¹⁸⁹ A skad cig ma las; B skad cig gi

¹⁹⁰ B dang g.yon utpa la bsnam pa; A bsnam pa / g.yon utpa la

¹⁹¹ B om̐ tā re tutta re tu re sarba dharma pra ti pa ri sho dha ya svāhā; A om̐ ta re tutta tā re
tu re dharma pa ti pa ri sho dha ya svāhā; Panchen, fol. 17b1: om̐ tu re sarva dharma
pajā pra ti pā ri sho dha ni svāhā /; Zopa (2022, 86): om̐ tare tuttare ture sarva dharmāḥ
pratiparishodhaya svaha.

¹⁹² B zhes bzlas pas; A om. zhes bzlas pas

¹⁹³ A man dha ra; B manta dha ra

¹⁹⁴ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

¹⁹⁵ A bar chad; B bar chod

¹⁹⁶ A thams cad; B om. thams cad

¹⁹⁷ A rje btsun ma; B sgrol ma

¹⁹⁸ A gtab; B gdab

¹⁹⁹ B mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig la; A mdun gyi nam mkhar

²⁰⁰ A rigs sngags; B rig sngags

²⁰¹ A padma dang zla ba la; B zla ba'i gdan la

*om ta re tutta te tu re sarva stam ba ni ta re svāhā*²⁰² /

/ zhes bzlas pas gzhan gyi rig sngags kyi las thams cad gnon pa dang²⁰³ /
dgra dang chom rkun thams cad gnon par 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal lha'i²⁰⁴ mtsho yi rnam pa'i /
/ ri dwags rtags can phyag na bsnam ma /
/ tā²⁰⁵ ra gnyis brjod phaṭ kyi yi ges²⁰⁶ /
/ dug rnam ma lus par ni sel ma / [18]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig klu'i tshogs kyi²⁰⁷ dug zhi bar 'dod na /
rje btsun ma dug [1008.15] nad rab tu zhi bar byed pa la gsol ba btab²⁰⁸ ste
/ mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig gis rje btsun ma dug nad zhi zhing sel bar
byed ma sku mdog dkar mo g.yas mchog sbyin gyi phyag rgya'i mthil na
dug sel ba'i²⁰⁹ bum pa bsnam pa /*** g.yon utpa la / padma dang zla ba'i
gdan la bzhugs par sgoms la²¹⁰ /
*om ta re tutta re tu re sarva ni shintam ku ru svāhā*²¹¹ /

zhes bzlas pas klu'i nad dang dug dang gnod pa²¹² las srol bar 'gyur ro /

/ phyag 'tshal lha'i²¹³ tshogs rnam rgyal po /***
/ lha dang mi'am ci yis brten ma /
/ kun nas go cha dga' ba brjid kyi²¹⁴ /
/ rtsod dang²¹⁵ rmi lam ngan pa sel [1008.20] ma /*** [19]

/*** zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig²¹⁶ rtsod pa dang rmi lam ngan pa gsel

²⁰² A *om ta re tutta te tu re sarva stam ba ni ta re svāhā*; B *om ta re tuttu re tu re sarba tamba ni ta re svāhā* /; Panchen, fol. 18a5: *om tu re che ge mo sarva stamba ni tū re svāhā* /; Zopa (2022, 87): *om tare tuttare ture sarva stambhani tare svaha*.

²⁰³ B *gnon pa dang*; A *gnon*

²⁰⁴ A *lha'i*; B *lha yi*

²⁰⁵ B *tā*; A *ta*

²⁰⁶ A *ges*; B *ge*

²⁰⁷ A *kyi*; B *kyis*

²⁰⁸ A *btab*; B *gdab*

²⁰⁹ A *dug sel ba'i*; B *dug nad sel ba'i*

²¹⁰ B *bzhugs par sgoms la*; A *bzhugs par*

²¹¹ A *om ta re tutta re tu re sarva ni shintam ku ru svāhā*; B *om tā re tustu re tu re nā ga shān ho ku ru ye svāhā*; Panchen, fol. 19a3: *om tu re sarva nā ga shantim ku ru svāhā*; Zopa (2022, 87): *om tare tuttare ture naga visha shantim kuru svaha*.

²¹² A *klu'i nad dang dug dang gnod pa*; B *klu'i dug dang nad dang gnod pa*

²¹³ A *lha'i*; B *lha yi*

²¹⁴ A *kyis*; B *kyi*

²¹⁵ B *dang*; A *om. dang*

²¹⁶ A *gang zhig*; B *om. gang zhig*

bar 'dod pas²¹⁷ / rje btsun ma sdug gi bsngal thams cad sel ba'i sgrol ma²¹⁸
la gsol ba btab²¹⁹ ste /

mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig ma las²²⁰ rje btsun ma sdug bsngal thams cad
spel ma²²¹ sku mdog dkar mo / g.yas mchog sbyin gyi mthil na sdug bsngal
sel ba'i bum pa²²² bsnams pa / g.yon utpa la / padma dang zla ba'i gdan²²³
la bzhugs par bsgoms²²⁴ la /

om ta re tutta re tu re mos tsa na svāhā²²⁵ /

zhes bzlas pas phan tshun bcad pa dang 'khrugs pa²²⁶ dang / khri mun du
bcug pa²²⁷ las thar bar 'gyur [1008.25] ro /^{***}

/ phyag 'tshal nyi ma zla ba rgyas pa'i /
/ spyan gnyis po la 'od rab gsal ma /
/ ha re gnyis brjod tuttā [1009] re²²⁸ yis / /
/ shin tu drag po'i rims nad sel ma / [20]

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig²²⁹ rims nad la sogs pa²³⁰ bsrung bar 'dod
na / rims nad sel ba'i sgrol ma la gsol ba btab²³¹ ste / mdun gyi nam
mkhar²³² skad cig gis rje btsun ma rims nad²³³ thams cad sels ma sku mdog
dmar ser / g.yas mchog sbyin²³⁴ gyi mthil na rims nad sel ba'i bum pa
bsnam pa / g.yon utpa la / padma dang zla ba'i gdan²³⁵ la bzhugs par
bsgoms pa²³⁶ la /

²¹⁷ A gsel bar 'dod pas; B bzlog par 'dod na

²¹⁸ A sdug gi bsngal thams cad sel ba'i sgrol ma; B sdug bsngal thams cad sel ba'i sgrol ma

²¹⁹ A btab; gdab

²²⁰ A skad cig ma las; B skad cig la

²²¹ A spel ma; B sel ma

²²² B sdug bsngal sel ba'i bum pa; A sdug bsngal ba'i bum pa

²²³ B padma dang zla ba'i gdan; A padma dang zla ba

²²⁴ A bsgoms; B sgoms

²²⁵ A om ta re tutta re tu re mos tsa na svāhā; B om tā re tutta re tu re sarva mos tsa na ye
svāhā; Panchen, fol. 19b5-20a1: om tu re mo [20a1] ca na svā hā /; Zopa (2022, 88): om
tare tuttare mocana svaha.

²²⁶ A 'khrugs pa; B 'brugs pa

²²⁷ A khri mun du bcug pa; B rtsod pa dang khri mon du bcug pa

²²⁸ A tuttā re; B tuttā ra

²²⁹ A gang zhig; B om. gang zhig

²³⁰ A la sogs pa; B om. la sogs pa

²³¹ A btab; B gdab

²³² A nam mkhar; B nam mkha' la

²³³ A rims nad; B rims nad sel

²³⁴ A mchog sbyin; B mchod sbyin

²³⁵ A padma dang zla ba'i gdan; B pad zla'i gdan

²³⁶ A bsgoms pa; B sgoms

*om tā re tuttā re tu re bi sa ra ta hūṃ hā*²³⁷ / [1009.5]

*zhes bzlas pas rims nad dang yams nad*²³⁸ *thams cad zhi bar 'gyur ro /*

/ phyag 'tshal de nyid gsum rnam bkod pa'i /
/ zhi ba'i mthu dang yang dag ldan ma /
*/ gdon dang ro langsgnod sbyin tshogs rnam / ****
*/ 'joms pa tu re*²³⁹ *rab mchog nyid ma / [21]*

/ zhes pas rnal 'byor pa gang zhig 'phrin las yongs su rdzogs par 'dod na /
*rje btsun ma 'phrin las thams cad yongs su rdzogs pa*²⁴⁰ *la gsol ba gdab ste /*

*mdun gyi nam mkhar skad cig ma las*²⁴¹ *rje btsun ma sku mdog dkar mo*
*g.yas mchog spyin gyi phyag rgya'i mthil na*²⁴² *dnegos grub sna tshogs pa'i*
bum pa bsnams pa / g.yon [1009.10] utpa la / gdan padma dang zla ba la
zhabs brkyang bskum du bzhugs pa gsal bar sgoms la / de la gsol ba btab
*ste*²⁴³ */*

*om tā re tutte re tu re sarba svā dha na svāhā*²⁴⁴ */*

zhes pas zhi ba dang rgyas pa dang dbang dang mngon spyod dang / dnegos
*grub*²⁴⁵ *thams cad rab tu sbyin par 'gyur ro / / jo bo rje la btsun mas lung*
bstan nas gnang ba yin no / / /

[Colophon]

246 *'di'i brgyud pa ni / rje btsun sgrol ma / jo bo rje / 'brom ston / pu to ba*
/ sha ra ba / 'brom ston dbang phyug grags / sang ston shAkya gzhon nu
/ zla grags gsar ma / rong ston shAkya rgyal mtshan / mkhan chen blo
gros rgyal mtshan / des bdag la'o / / yang na zla grags gsar ma / slob
dpon shes rab dpal / rong ston blo bzang pa / des bdag la'o / / /

²³⁷ B *om tā re tuttā re tu re bi sa ra ta hūṃ hā*; A *om ta re tutta re tu re vi sa re svāhā*; Panchen, fol. 21a1: *om tu re vi sa ra ta svā hā /*; Panchen, fol. 21a1: *om tu re vi sa ra ta svā hā /*; Zopa (2022, 88): *om tare tuttare ture visarata svaha*.

²³⁸ A *nad*; B *om. nad*

²³⁹ A *re*; B *re'i*

²⁴⁰ B *rje btsun ma 'phrin las thams cad yongs su rdzogs pa*; A *rje btsun ma la*

²⁴¹ A *skad cig ma las*; B *skad cig gis*

²⁴² A *mthil na*; B *steng na*

²⁴³ A *de la gsol ba btab ste*; B *om. de la gsol ba btab ste*

²⁴⁴ B *om tā re tutte re tu re sarba svā dha na svāhā*; A *om ta re tutta re tu re pad svāhā*; Panchen, fol. 21b2: *om tu re sa ta pa svāhā /*; Zopa (2022, 89): *om tare tuttare ture sarva siddhi sadhanam svaha*.

²⁴⁵ A *mngon spyod dang / dnegos grub*; B *mngon spyod kyi dnegos grub*

²⁴⁶ Lineage listed only in B.

Appendix I. Table of Atiśa's System of Twenty-One Tārās

Gold	White	Reddish-Gold	Red	Black
(#3)	(#2)	(#5)	(#1) (#6) (#8)	(#7)
(#4)	(#9) (#15)	(#11)	(#10) (#13)	
(#12)	(#19) (#21)	(#17) (#20)	(#16) (#18)	(#14)
Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
3	5	4	7	2

Appendix II. List of Atiśa's Twenty-One Tārās with Attributes and Functions

1. Noble Tārā, swift and heroic

Indian Name: Ārya Tārā

Tibetan Name: *'phags ma sgröl ma myur zhing dpa' ba*

Color: Red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture vāśaṃ kuru svāhā*

Function: Subjugation

2. Venerable White Tārā

Indian Name: Sītātārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma sgröl ma dkar mo*

Color: White

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture śāntiṃ kuru svāhā*

Function: Pacifying

3. Venerable Tārā, color of gold

Indian Name: Kanakavarṇa Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun gser mdog can*

Color: Gold

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture puṣṭiṃ kuru svāhā*

Function: Increasing

4. Venerable She who is completely victorious, Jewel on the Tathāgata's Crown

Indian Name: Uṣṇiṣavijaya Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma de bzhin gshegs pa gtsug gtor rnam par rgyal ma*

Color: Gold

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture āyujñāna svāhā*

Function: Increasing

5. Venerable Tārā who utters hūṃ

Indian Name: Hūṃsvaranādinī Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma hūṃ sgrogs ma*

Color: Orange

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture so-and-so ākarṣaya hrī svāhā*

Function: Subjugating

6. Noble Tārā Victorious Over the Three Worlds

Indian Name: Trailokya-Vijaya Tārā

Tibetan Name: *'phags ma 'jig rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ma*

Color: Dark Red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture śatrūṃ gacchata svāhā*

Function: Subjugating

7. Noble [Tārā] who conquers others

Indian Name: Vādiṣṭardaka Tārā

Tibetan Name: *'phags ma gzhan 'joms ma*

Color: Black

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture rbod zer sarva zlog bhyo svāhā*

Function: Subjugation

8. Noble [Tārā] who conquers Māras and enemies

Indian Name: Mārasūdana vaśittamadatārā

Tibetan Name: *'phags ma sgrol ma bdud dang dgra 'joms ma*

Color: Dark red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture so-and-so amukaṃ marāya phaṭ*

Function: Subjugating

9. Noble [Tārā] whose mudrā displays the Three Jewels

Indian Name: Ārya Tārā Triratnamudrāṅkā

Tibetan Name: *'phags ma sgrol ma dkon mchog gsum mtshon phyag rgya ma*

Color: White

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture "all the harm to so-and-so" sarvarakṣa svāhā*

Function: Protection

10. Venerable [Tārā] who brings Māras and hindrances under her power

Indian Name: Māralokavaśaṃkarī

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma bdud dang bar chad dbang du bsdus ma*

Color: Red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvāpapāṇi mārāya hūṃ phaṭ*

Function: Subjugation

11. Noble [Tārā] who clears away poverty and misfortune

Indian Name: Ārya Tārā

Tibetan Name: *'phaḡs ma sgrol ma 'gugs shing 'phongs pa sel ba*

Color: Reddish gold

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture dhara svāhā*

Function: Increasing

12. Venerable [Tārā] who bestows all auspiciousness

Indian Name: Sarvakalyānada [Tārā]

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma bkres pa thams cad 'byin pa*

Color: Gold

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*

Function: Increasing

13. Venerable [Tārā] who blazes like fire

Indian Name: Hutabhugjvālā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma me ltar 'bar ma*

Color: Red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture pota yasmi kuru svāhā*

Function: Protecting

14. Venerable [Tārā] who is wrathfully frowning

Indian Name: Bhṛkuṭī Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma khro gnyer can*

Color: Black

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture vajra mahāpada bhasmīṅkuru svāhā*

Function: Subjugating

15. Venerable [Tārā], she of supreme peacefulness

Indian Name: Mahāśānti Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma zhi ba chen mo*

Color: White

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvāpapāṇi praśamanāye svāhā*

Function: Pacifying

16. Venerable Tārā who arises from the Hūṃ of Awareness

Indian Name: Vidyāhūṃkāradīpita [Tārā]

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma rigs pa hūṃ las sgrol ma*

Color: Red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvadharmā pratipariśodhaya svāhā*

Function: Increasing

17. Venerable [Tārā] who causes three worlds to tremble

Indian Name: Bhūvanatrayacālīnī [Tārā]

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma 'jig rten gsum g.yo ma*

Color: Reddish gold

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarva stambani tare svāhā*

Function: Subjugating

18. Venerable [Tārā] who pacifies poison and sickness

Indian Name: Aśeṣaviṣanāśani

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma dug nad rab tu zhi bar byed pa*

Color: Red

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarvani śintaṃ kuru svāhā*

Function: Pacifying

19. Venerable [Tārā] who clears away all suffering

Indian Name: Duḥkhadahana Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma sdug gi bsngal thams cad sel ba'i sgröl ma*

Color: White

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture mocana svāhā*

Function: Pacifying

20. Tārā who clears away infectious disease

Indian Name: Viṣamajvaranāśani

Tibetan Name: *rims nad sel ba'i sgröl ma*

Color: Orange

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture viśarata hūṃ hā*

Function: Pacifying

21. Venerable [Tārā] who completes all activities

Indian Name: Parīpuraṇa Tārā

Tibetan Name: *rje btsun ma 'phrin las thams cad yongs su rdzogs pa*

Color: White

Mantra: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture sarva sādhana svāhā*

Function: Completing

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Polemical Abhidharma: The Eighth Karmapa's *Abhidharmakośa* Commentary's Unique Characteristics, Context, and Reception ¹

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Introduction

The Eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje's (1507–1554) *Abhidharmakośa* commentary the *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel pa rgyas par spros pa grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, henceforth *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* [A Detailed Commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa: The Spontaneous Accomplishment of Glory*] has not been studied academically until now.² The *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* is one of the most extensive Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries with many unique characteristics and deserves academic attention. Therefore, this paper seeks to study this commentary by discussing its unique characteristics along with its context and reception. In this way, this paper will help provide a better overview of the largely neglected but significant Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentarial literature.

Authored by Vasubandhu around the fourth or fifth century,³ the *Abhidharmakośa* is considered the highest achievement of the Vaibhāṣika school and presents its philosophical theories.⁴ It is also considered to be the quintessence of the seven scriptures of Abhidharma (*mngon pa sde bdun*).⁵ Furthermore, the *Abhidharmakośa* is the

¹ I am grateful to my primary supervisor Dr. Jim Rheingans for giving me encouragement to write this paper and providing constructive feedback which improved the paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to Khyentse Foundation for financial support in my study for a Master of Philosophy at the University of Sydney to write a thesis related to this topic.

² From the title of the commentary, it is also possible that the Eighth Karmapa could have also meant his commentary to serve as a commentary to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, not simply the *Abhidharmakośa*. Therefore, the title of the commentary can also be translated as *A Detailed Commentary on the Abhidharmakośa: The Spontaneous Accomplishment of Glory*. He also asserts that he has drawn materials from *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and elaborated on them. This is discussed below.

³ See Cox (2004).

⁴ Mejer (1991: 5–6).

⁵ Seven scriptures of Abhidharma according to Sarvāstivāda are *Jñānaprasthāna* by Kātyāyanīputra, *Prajñāptiśāstra* by Maudgalyāyana, *Prakaraṇapāda* by Vasumitra, *Sangītiparyāya* by Mahākauṣṭhila (Tibetan tradition) or by Śāriputra according to

main and most widely studied Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika treatise in the Tibetan monastic institutes.

The *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) composed by 'Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) reports that the *Abhidharmakośa* was translated into Tibetan in the period of early diffusion (*bstan pa snga dar*) in Tibet, but its teachings began to be promulgated only in the eleventh century during the later diffusion by Paṇḍita Smṛti.⁶ Consequently, the composition of its Tibetan commentaries appears to have started in Tibet after the 11th century and includes mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs' (13th century) commentary, arguably the most authoritative *Abhidharmakośa* commentary.⁷ Intensive study of the *Abhidharmakośa* is also likely to have started towards the end of the 11th century in Tibet at scholastic seats such as gSang phu.⁸

The Author and Textual sources

A Brief Information of the Eighth Karmapa

Living in the 16th century during the era of scholastic efflorescence in Tibet, the Eighth Karmapa has been regarded by the followers of the bKa' brgyud pa school both as a scholar and highly realised master (*mkhas sgrub*). Furthermore, he was recognised by all religious traditions as a major scholar who engaged in intellectual debate with scholars of other schools including the dGe lugs pa scholar Se ra rJe btsun.⁹

Mi bskyod rdo rje was born in 1507 which corresponds to the year of the fire hare of the Tibetan calendar. He is believed to have said 'I am the Karmapa' immediately after his birth although various sources report differently the number of repetitions and words spoken.¹⁰ The

Chinese tradition, *Vijñānakāya* by Devakṣema, *Dharmaskandha* by Śāriputra (Tibetan tradition or by Maudgalyāyana according to Chinese tradition, and *Dhatukāya* by Purna (Tibetan tradition) or Vasumitra (Chinese tradition). Frauwallner (1995) provides a summary of the seven scriptures of Abhidharma.

⁶ 'Gos lo tsā ba; Roerich, Goerge N. trans. (1976: 346). See mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs, trans. Coghlan (2018: 15–17) for the discussion with regard to the transmission of *Abhidharmakośa* in Tibet.

⁷ The first Tibetan commentator of the Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* is not yet ascertained although mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs was not the first one to comment on it. mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs, trans. Coghlan (2018: 20) also asserts that first Tibetan commentator of the *Abhidharmakośa* is not yet known.

⁸ Kapstein (2014: 64) notes that five major subjects including Abhidharma were studied at the Tibetan monastic center of learning Sangphu. One can assert with some certainty that Abhidharma mainly refers to *Abhidharmakośa* and *Abhidharmasamuccaya* in Tibetan scholastics tradition as observed by Kramer (2018: 310).

⁹ Rheingans (2017: 106), in the footnote, mentions the debate between them on the understanding of emptiness (*stong pa nyid*). Cf. Ruegg (1998:1271).

¹⁰ Rheingans (2017:73).

recognition of the Eighth Karmapa was rigorously undertaken beginning seven days after birth, and again after the emergence of a new claimant to the title of Karmapa in around 1508.¹¹ After resolving the controversy concerning the reincarnation, he was enthroned as the Eighth Karmapa in 1513.¹²

His early education started with rGyal tshab Rin po che.¹³ The Eighth Karmapa mentions that he had studied grammar, astrology, poetry, and philosophy from many masters with much persistence. He shares that he dreamt of alphabets and vowels (*dbyangs gsal*) with the rays of the sun and moon pervading the whole sky which he understood as an omen that he would obtain the capacity to teach the dharma in accordance with scripture.¹⁴

The Eighth Karmapa had four main masters who were known as *rje btsun chen po rnam pa bzhi*: (i) Sangs rgyas mnyan pa bKra shis dpal 'byor (1445/1457–1510/1525); (ii) bDud mo ma bKra shi 'od zer (b. 15th century, d. c.1545); (iii) mKhan chen Chos grub seng ge (b.15th century); and (iv) Karma 'phrin las pa I Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1456–1539).¹⁵ He received the teachings on the *Abhidharmakośa* and other Buddhist philosophical texts from Karma 'phrin las pa during his stay with him for three years.¹⁶ He was intelligent and so industrious that he barely took recess even for tea during his study.¹⁷

Rheingans suggests that, according to the colophon, Karma 'phrin las pa influenced the Eighth Karmapa to compose his own *Abhidharmakośa* commentary.¹⁸ In addition, the composition of commentaries on Vinaya is also reported to have been motivated by Karma 'phrin las pa.¹⁹

It was the motivation of the Eighth Karmapa to write a commentary on four of the five major subjects of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy.²⁰ One major motive behind this enterprise may have been to provide the bKa' brgyud pa school with scholarly texts of their own system when other scholastic traditions already had philosophical texts of their own.

¹¹ Rheingans (2017: 73,74).

¹² Rheingans (2017: 77).

¹³ Rheingans (2017: 84).

¹⁴ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII. *Karma pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i rnam thar rje nyid kyis rnam thos kyi ri bor mdzad pa* fol.5a–5b (p.338–339): *re zhig rang gi rmi lam gsal ba nal /dbyangs gsal yig gzug nyi zla'i 'od 'bar ba/ /nam mkha'i kham kun khyab pa gsal bar mthong / /deng sang gtsug lag gzhung la ma rmongs par/ /dam chos gsung rab bzhin du ston nus pa'il /stas su 'gyur ram snyam pa'i the tshom skyes.*

¹⁵ See Rheingans (2017: 86).

¹⁶ Reingans (2021: 95).

¹⁷ Rheingans (2017: 99)

¹⁸ Reingans (2021:124).

¹⁹ Reingans (2021:119).

²⁰ Rheingans (2017: 03). With the exception of Pramāṇa, he has commented on four other subjects: Abhidharma, Madhyamaka, Abhisamaya and Vinaya.

The dGe lugs pa, for example, had texts expounded principally by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419).

The Eighth Karmapa acknowledges the arousal of wisdom within him to unmistakably interpret the intended meaning of the *Abhidharmakośa* independent of other masters.²¹ From an emic point of view, this sort of statement by masters is made to subjects who have complete faith and who would receive them as truth though it may sound egotistical to outsiders.

Systematisation of the bKa' brgyud school is reported to have begun with the Third Karmapa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339), a process which appears to have been further strengthened by the Eighth Karmapa.²² The Eighth Karmapa can be placed alongside Mi pham and Tsong kha pa as a systematiser of his own philosophical system. This is corroborated by the number of his compositions,²³ and the reception of them by bKa' brgyud pa tradition. Rheingans concludes that the Eighth Karmapa's most outstanding contribution to the Karma bKa' brgyud is in the area of Buddhist scholarship as a highly accomplished scholar, equal only to the Third Karmapa in terms of output and impact.²⁴

Textual Information and Problems Surrounding Sources

In the bKa' brgyud pa tradition, the *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* of the Eighth Karmapa is the most extensive and appears to be the second *Abhidharmakośa* commentary after the first Karma 'phrin las pa's (1456–1539) *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi sbyor 'tik*.²⁵ Karma 'phrin las pa's commentary appears to have been lost. The author of the preface of the Sarnath edition of the Ninth Karmapa's commentary *gZhon nu rnam rol* states that the *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi sbyor 'tik* did not come to his notice.²⁶ However, Rheingans reports, in his publication on Karma 'phrin las pa

²¹ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII. *Karma pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i rnam thar rje nyid kyis rnam thos kyi ri bor mdzad pa* Ibid fol. 5b (p.339): *rang lo nyer bdun pa la chos mngon mdzod/ rnam par 'grel tshes slob dpon gzhan dring gil ngag la ltos pa med par bstan bcos de'i/ dgongs don 'khrul med 'byed pa'i shes rab skyes.*

²² Rheingans (2017:111).

²³ Rheingans (2017: 3) reports more than thirty volumes in various spheres of study.

²⁴ Rheingans (2017: 4).

²⁵ dBang phyug rdo rje, Karmapa IX, *gZhon nu rnam rol*, p. vi. The preface to this edition mentions a brief account of *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries by bKa' brgyud pa scholars. Also see Rheingans (2021: 118, 160).

²⁶ dBang phyug rdo rje, Karmapa IX, *gZhon nu rnam rol*, p. xiii: *rje karma phrin las dang / karma nges legs bstan 'dzin dang / khams sprul bzhi pa dang bdun pa'i chos mngon mdzod kyi 'grel pa de rnam phyag dpe dngos su mjal rgyu ma byung bas.*

(1456–1539), that a surviving copy of the treatise is suspected to be in Beijing.²⁷

The Eighth Karmapa's commentary, which took around twelve years to complete, was begun in Kong po in 1532 and completed in 1543.²⁸ He reports that he based his commentary primarily on mChims Nam mkha' grags' (1210–85) *Abhidharmakośa* commentary and on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.²⁹ It is also evident that he referred to the *Abhidharmakośa* commentary of Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) from the refutation of the latter's position on Abhidharma points in his commentary. He also refers on occasions to the *Abhidharmakośa* commentary of master Karma 'phrin las pa, who was one of his main teachers and had inspired him to complete his own commentary.³⁰ Rheingans argues that Karma 'phrin las pa influenced the importation of Sa skya pa scholarly knowledge into the Karma bKa' brgyud school.³¹

According to the colophon to Volume II of the commentary, the Eighth Karmapa started to compose his commentary at the age of twenty-six and completed it at the age of thirty-seven at Yar lha sham po mountain in Lo kha. A patron, bSam 'grub bde chen, is reported to have provided the necessities. He notes:

Thus this commentary is completed by the one who has realised the vital and secret points of the boundless aspects of the dharma of Three Baskets which consist of Three Vehicles and experienced the causal and resultant vehicle through mahāyānic ripening and liberation (*smin grol*); who has no hesitation in the explication [of teachings] to others; the subject of the venerable Triple Jewel; the Translator; and

²⁷ Rheingans (2021:118).

²⁸ Rheingans (2017: 101).

²⁹ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. I p. 628: *rang lo nyer drug par mchims nam mkha' grags kyi fi ka gzhir byas kyi dgongs pa btus nas*. Here one can speculate that the Eighth Karmapa could have meant the commentary of mChims 'Jam dpal dbyangs since he is also known as mChims Nam mkha' grags according to some scholars such as Nobuchiyo (1992: 193). Moreover, one cannot find surviving copy of mChims Nam mkha' grags's commentary. However, there are also some scholars such as Coghlan (2018:18) who suggests that they were two different personalities in the form of mChims Nam mkha' grags being the teacher of mChims 'Jam dpal dbyangs. Coghlan also believes that both of them composed a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*. Against this backdrop, further research is necessary to ascertain whether they were the same or different persons.

³⁰ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 39: *bdag nyid chen po Karma phrin las pa'i fi kar*. For Karma 'phrin las pa's scholarly works, also see Rheingans (2021: 109–122).

³¹ Rheingans (2021: 212) mentions that Karma 'phrin las pa studied under several Sa skya scholars. For instance, he studies under Sangs rgyas 'phel in 'Bras yul. See Reingans(2021: 56). Furthermore, he also suggests that Karmapa Chos grags rgya mtsho, Śākya mchog ldan, and Karma 'phrin las pa gained benefit from each other in Buddhist teachings. See Rheingans (2021: 71).

the Monk of Śākyamuni; [who is] blessed with the name of Lord Karmapa; Chos drub grags pa, who gained victory over all opponents throughout all time at the early age of thirty-seven starting from the age of twenty-six at the neck of Yar lha sham po mountain when the patron of founding the seat bSam 'grub bde chen connected with the necessities according to dharma.³²

The colophon of Volume I mentions that the Eighth Karmapa completed his commentary on the first chapter while in Kong po but suspended writing the commentary for a while, doubting that there would be people enthusiastic about the study of the *Abhidharmakośa*. However, he resumed his work after the advice from his master Karma 'phrin las pa during his visit to central Tibet. The Eighth Karmapa resumed writing his commentary from the second chapter at Nyug rgyal khang near g.Yas ru gtsang 'gram lha khang at the age of thirty-three.³³

According to the colophon to the dPal spungs print, the editor (Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan) was unable to obtain an original text of the Eighth Karmapa's commentary when the block for the print was being prepared. Therefore, the dPal spungs print had to rely on the two manuscripts from dPal spungs and mTshur phu which differed vastly in wording and meaning. However, the colophon says that the dPal spungs print relied mainly on mTshur phu's manuscript which suggests it to be more reliable than the one from dPal spungs. The colophon also mentions some minor additions made to the edition. The editor remarks:

When the block for Mi bskyod rdo rje's *mDzod t̄ik* was being prepared, an original print could not be obtained. Therefore, manuscripts were borrowed from dPal spungs and mTshur phu. However, they were not similar to any great degree in terms of general outline, meaning,

³² Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. II p. 815: *zhes bya ba 'di ni theg pa gsum gyis bsdus pa'i sde snod rin po gsum gyi chos tshul mthas yas pa'i gnad gsang rtogs shing / khyad par rgyu 'bras kyi theg pa chen po mtha' dag gis smin pa dang grol ba'i myong ba phar cher nyams su bstar nas gzhan la smra ba la 'jigs pa thams cad dang bral ba/ rje btsun dkon mchog gsum gyi 'bangs su gyur pa śākya'i dge slong lo tsā ba rgyal ba karma pa'i mtshan gyis byin gyis brlabs pa/ dpal chos grub grags pa phyogs thams cad las dus kun tu sna tshogs par rnam par rgyal ba mi bskyod bzang po dga' ba'i dbyangs kyis rang lo nyer drug pa nas mgo brtsams rang lo so bdun gyi ngo mthong ba na/ gnyan chen po yar la gsham po'i mgul du gdan chags pa'i sbyin pa'i bdag po bsam 'grub bde chen pas chos dang mthun pa'i 'tsho ba sbyar skabs su yongs su rdzogs par grub pa des.*

³³ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. I p. 628: *snyoms 'jug dang po'i 'grel pa rgyas bsdus 'tshams par kong po sdod dus grub pa las/ dus kyis dbang gi 'grel pa byas kyang don gnyen can gyi skye bo mi 'byung bar dogs pa las/ slar dbus su phyin pa na bde bar gshegs pa chen po karma phrin las pa zhabs kyi bkas bskul ba brten/ slar g.yus ru gtsang 'gram gyi lha khang dang nye ba/ hor sa skya pa yon mchod kyis gan pa'i pho brang du btab pa'i nyug rgyal khang du rang lo so gsum pa nas gnas gnyis pa'i snyoms 'jug gnyis pa phyin gyi 'grel par bgyis pa la.*

and word. Moreover, the fourth chapter onwards and the first and the second chapters, in particular, were utterly dissimilar and (I, the editor) did not know how great the merit [of the manuscripts] was. Nevertheless, those recognisable missing and excess [parts] were provided with minor additions. The print relied on the mTshur phu edition.³⁴

The colophon shows awareness by the editors of these textual problems. They found the manuscript of mTshur phu had retained the subject matter of the Eighth Karmapa:

However, this manuscript [of mTshur phu] seems to have retained the intended original subject matter without altering and [the manuscript] is extremely excellent. Therefore, the editor makes this supplementary remark for various reasons such as to request (*sgron pa*) [readers] that [this text] should not be taken as something trivial and so that (*ched du*) [its excellent nature] is noted (*shes par bya ba*) as a point (*gnas*) the intelligent people should understand.³⁵

Nevertheless, one is still in need of further evidence, if we ever even obtain such, to support the claim that mTshur phu's print has preserved the intended subject matters of the Eighth Karmapa's commentary. This kind of textual uncertainty is understandable since the print was prepared a few hundred years after the author's passing. Nevertheless, tradition accepts this as the valid words of the Karmapa.

Various Editions of the Commentary

The editions of the *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* are numerous. However, they appear to have been for the most part based on the dPal spungs print which was first prepared in 1925.³⁶ This section will discuss different

³⁴ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. II p. 816: *rgyal dbang bryad pa mi bskyod zhabs kyi mdzod t̄ig 'di nyid spar du brko ba'i gnas skabs su ma phyi spar ma 'dra ni ma rnyed stabs dpal spungs rang du yod pa'i bris ma zhid dang / mtshur phu'i phyang dpe'i khrod nas g.yar ba de gnyis kyang spyi don tshig don sogs gang thad nas khyad che ba lta bus mtshungs pa cher mi 'dug llhag don skabs bzhi pa yan chod dang / de'i nang nas kyang skabs dang po gnyis pa skor ni gtan nas mi mtshungs pa lta bu red 'dug pa bcas legs cha gang che ma shes rung chad lhag dmigs bsal ngo shes rigs kha sab(kha bsab?) phran bu byas te spar gyi ma gzhi ni mtshur phu'i steng nas gzhi bzahag rgyu red song.*

³⁵ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. II p. 816–817. *bris ma 'di' dang po'i skabs kyi rtsom gzhi thugs la gang dgongs ma bcos par gsungs pa lta bu'i shin tu ngo mtshar ba zhid tu 'dug pas 'gang chung du ma song ba dpyod ldan rnam kyis) shes par bya ba'i gnas so zhes ched du sgron pa sogs dgos pa du ma'i slad du zhu dag mkhan pos zhar byung gi 'phros su bgyis pa'o.*

³⁶ Rheingans (2017: 49).

editions, their scope, and context. The titles of the commentary differ slightly among editions.

dPal spungs Print

mNgon pa mdzod kyi 'grel chen grub bde'i dpyid 'jo. New Delhi: T. Tsepal Taikhang, 1975. (Reproduced from a dPal spungs print from Rumtek). The dPal spungs edition has two volumes which run to 1451 folios in total. Printed in 1925, as mentioned above, it is possibly the oldest block print and more reliable in terms of orthography compared to other editions such as the Nitartha International and Lhasa editions discussed below. This paper will mainly utilise this edition. The colophon of the text notes that it has relied on the two different manuscripts of the commentary as mentioned above in the section 'Textual Information and Problems Surrounding Sources.'

The dPal spungs print has also been reproduced at Khren tu'u bod kyi nang bstan dpe tshogs lte ba in Chengdu, the capital of China's Sichuan province.

Nitartha International Print

mDzod t̄ig grub bde'i dpyid 'jo. Kathmandu, Nepal. Nitartha International, 2009. This modern book edition was created under the supervision of dPon slob Rin po che in three volumes totalling 1706 pages.

The publishing note simply mentions that the edition was based on the Delhi edition although it is hard to determine if this is the case. The edition is plausibly based on the dPal spung print from Rumtek which was printed in Delhi. The publishing note also mentions making an emendation of text with corrections provided in parenthesis. However, these are barely noticeable in the text. Despite the addition of some explanations of the terms and footnotes on references, it is not as reliable as the dPal spung edition.

Lhasa Edition

Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel pa rgyas par spros pa grub bde'i dpyid 'jo (Vol.10 and 11 of the Collected Works of Mi bskyod rdo rje) Lhasa, 2004. Two volumes contain 888 folios or 1776 pages in total. The volumes were published with the funding from the Tsadra Foundation. There is no mention of the text upon which it relied. Moreover, the text has simple and avoidable orthographical errors.

Go che dharmakara Print

mNgon pa mdzod kyi 'grel chen grub bde'i dpyid 'jo. Nangchen, 2021. This edition in digital form was created by Go che dharma kara'i dpe tshogs in two volumes. It does not contain any editorial information including reliance on previous prints. However, it appears more reliable than the Lhasa edition and Nitartha International print in terms of orthography. The texts are also legible. One can assume that this edition might have also relied on the dPal spung print as in other later prints of the *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*.

Unique Characteristics of the Eighth Karmapa's Commentary

This section will explore some unique characteristics of the Eighth Karmapa's commentary in relation to other Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries such as the *mChims mdzod* and in some cases, the Tibetan and English translations of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. This will be discussed briefly in the following four points.

Presentation of the Vajrayāna Point of View

While Tibetan commentators present the philosophical positions of the four schools of Indian Buddhism in their *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries, the Eighth Karmapa goes beyond the general trend by presenting in his commentary some philosophical views of different schools including the Tibetan Vajrayāna system. Mahāyāna viewpoints, including Madhyamaka, are generally found in the Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries but interpretations from Vajrayāna thought are rare. For example, no tantric explanations are found in widely known Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries such as *mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs' Chos mngon mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa mngon pa'i rgyan*, henceforth *mChims mdzod* [A Commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa: The Ornament of Abhidharma*] and *dGe 'dun grub's* (1391–1474) *Dam pa'i chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi rnam par bshad pa thar lam gsal byed* [A Commentary on the Sublime *Abhidharmakośa* that Illuminates the Path of Liberation].

However, the Eighth Karmapa, apart from explicating the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika and sūtric Mahāyāna positions, occasionally presents interpretations from the standpoint of the Vajrayāna systems (although he refrains from going into detail saying that they should be left secret). For instance, (commenting on verse IV. 55) he explains that karma that could lead to rebirth in the six realms of cyclic existence (*'khor ba*) can be deliberately experienced by Vajrayāna practitioners in a visionary experience (*nyams snang*) for the duration of a dream

through yogic power and they can thus get rid the bad karma. The practitioner, the Eighth Karmapa argues, would in this way be prevented from taking rebirth in the six realms.³⁷

Moreover, in the discussion of the mental element (Tib. *yid kyi khams*, Skt. *manodhātu*) as an empowering condition (Tib. *bdag rkyen*, Skt. *adhipati*)³⁸ for the mental consciousness (Tib. *yid kyi rnam par shes pa*, Skt. *manovijñāna*), the Eighth Karmapa asserts that wind and mind (*rlung sems*) serve as an empowering condition for mental consciousness in the Vajrayāna teachings. However, he refrains from delving into detail saying that it should be held in secret from other than the fortunate ones (*skal ldan*).³⁹

In another instance, the Eighth Karmapa, while commenting on verse II. 43bcd, presents a Vajrayāna viewpoint regarding equipoise of cessation (Tib. *'gog pa'i snyoms 'jug*, Skt. *nirodhasamāpatti*).⁴⁰ He explains that equipoise of cessation of *śrāvakas* is attained even by ordinary beings (*so skye*) in the Vajrayāna tradition while it is attainable only by exalted beings (Tib. *'phags pa*, Skt. *ārya*) according to the non-Mahāyāna tradition.⁴¹ He argues that it is not necessary for the person who possesses equipoise of cessation to be a *śrāvaka* similar to a Vajrayāna practitioner who does not need to attain a bodhisattva level (Tib. *sa*, Skt. *bhūmi*) to see realms of Saṃbhogakāya.⁴²

There are instances in other chapters where the Eighth Karmapa provides Vajrayāna interpretations in addition to the Abhidharma

³⁷ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. p. 159–160: *'di dang mthun par sngags bla na med pa'i rdzogs rim gyi skabs su 'gro ba drug tu smin rgyu'i las 'bras thams cad mthong chos myong gyur du byas tel' 'gro ba drug gi gnas sbyong nyams snang la rmi lam gyi tshad tsam du myong nas/ 'gro drug gi skye ba len pa'i las thams cad zad par byed pa'i sngags kyi thabs khyad par can yang yod do.*

³⁸ dBang phyug rdo rje, Karmapa IX, *gZhon nu rnam rol*, p. 129 explains empowering condition as one that does not obstruct the generation of a result and serves as a condition.

³⁹ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p. 151: *gsang sngags su ni yid shes kyi bdag rkyen rtsa 'khor bzhi sogs kyi rlung sems na da sogs kyi byed par bzhed pa ni ches lkal ldan bdag gi spyod yul las gzhan du gsar bar bya'o.*

⁴⁰ Buswell, Robert E., and Donald S. Lopez (eds.) 2013 under entry '*nirodhasamāpatti*' explain the term as following: '*Nirodhasamāpatti* engenders a state of suspended animation: the meditator remains alive, but all physical and mental activities cease for a fixed, but temporary, period of time.'

⁴¹ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p. 308: *so skye la nyan thos kyi 'gog snyoms mi skye ba theg dman gyi lugs la yin kyang / gsang sngags bla med du ni so skye la nyan thos kyi 'gog snyoms kyi ting nge 'dzin skye ba yod de.*

⁴² Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p. 308: *gsang sngags bla med kyi rnal 'byor pa/ dang por yul lnga so so sdud nas de bzhin gshegs pa lnga'i stong gzugs la sems zin pa tsam na mchog gi spul sku dang longs sku'i zhing khams mthong bar bshad kyang gang zag de chos rgyun gyi ting nge 'dzin thob pa dang / sa thob pas ma khyab pa bzhin yin la.*

understanding. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to thoroughly examine the two large volumes in this regard.

Elucidation of the Tibetan *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya's* Condensed Points

With the extensive treatment of condensed points and the elucidation of ambiguous terms of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, it is clear that the Eighth Karmapa's commentary *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* did not shy away from engaging with points that seemed obscure or irrelevant to other Tibetan commentators. Although it warrants further research it appears that the *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* is even more detailed and polemical than the *mChims mdzod* in terms of refutation of others' positions, the establishment of one's standpoint, and elimination of objections to one's stance (*dgag bzhag spong gsum*).

As is often the case in Tibetan commentarial traditions, The Eighth Karmapa's commentary serves as a commentary on a commentary ('*grel pa'i 'grel pa*), namely Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, since he gives a fuller explanation of ideas expressed in a condensed manner in the *Bhāṣya*. He admits that he painstakingly strove to draw material from *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and elaborated on them:

Up to [this point] in the second chapter, the explanation of the first and the second chapter completed earlier are further explained elaborately, drawing a majority of the detailed content from the auto-commentary (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*). Moreover, disregarding the hardships [involved in doing it], [I] completed the explanation by extending the words of the two commentaries (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and *mChims Nam mkha' grags'* commentary) starting from the final parts of the second chapter.⁴³

The following juxtaposes explanations of sentient beings and the physical world created by karma at the beginning of the Karma Chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the Eighth Karmapa's *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* and shows how he elucidates the Indian material. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* reads:

If [the physical world and the inner sentient beings] are generated from karma, and if asked why the karma of sentient beings generate exceedingly and seemingly happy [states with] saffron and

⁴³ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p. 628: *de phyin gyi gnas gnyis par sngar gyi gnas dang po dang gnyis pa'i 'grel pa gang zin las/ rgyas par 'grel zhing rang 'grel gyi don zhib cha phal mo che drangs te legs par bshad yod cing / gnas gnyis pa'i gsham tsam nas dka' tshogs la ma bsams par 'grel bshad gnyis kyi tshig sna bsrings te legs par bshad zin pas.*

sandalwood, but not with their bodies, [I answer] a mixture of karma of sentient beings creates forms which are similar to a wound with seemingly pleasurable wealth as its counteragent. Both [sentient beings and the physical world as results of] a non-mixture [of karmas] of gods are seemingly pleasurable.⁴⁴

The above-mentioned explanation, which appears somewhat obscure in Tibetan, is further elucidated by the Eighth Karmapa as follows:

An inferior body of a leper in a good dwelling where saffron is grown and a superior body in a bad dwelling full of poison and thorns are the results of the mixture of wholesome and unwholesome karma. And seemingly happy sentient beings and the physical world of the Form Realm are the results of wholesome [action] while both the [bad] body and the dwelling in lower realms are the results of unwholesome [action].⁴⁵

In the Eighth Karmapa's explanation of the creation of the physical world and inner sentient beings, the idea that a mixture of good and bad karma produces mixed results is further explained. For example, the result of mixed karma presented in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is provided with the illustration of a leprous body and a pleasant environment by the Eighth Karmapa. This point is further elucidated by the analogy of a superior body in an environment covered with poison and thorns. However, the *mChims mdzod* avoided the use of these metaphors and treatment on this issue.

As noted above, the Eighth Karmapa's commentary in the form of two volumes in 1451 folios appears more extensive than the *mChims mdzod* which is widely regarded as authoritative in the Tibetan scholastic traditions. To cite an instance, the Eighth Karmapa discusses at length the refutation of the Vātsīputrīya thesis of revealing action as a movement. It is argued that action cannot move from one point to another since it momentarily perishes as a result of being impermanent. The Eighth Karmapa's discussion of this is more elaborate than that of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *mChims mdzod*.

⁴⁴ Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Tibetan), p. 331: *gal te las las skyes nas (na?) ci'i phyir sems can rnams kyi las dag gis gur gum dang / tsan dan la sogs pa ches dga' dga' lta bur skyes bar 'gyur la/ de dag gi lus ni mi yin zhe na/ sems can 'dren mar byed pa rnams kyi las de lta bu dag kho na gang rma lta bur gyur pa'i lus dag dang de'i tshe gnyen por gyur pa longs spyod dga' dga' lta bu dag kyang skye'i' lha 'dren mar byed pa ma yin pa rnams kyi ni gnyi ga yang dga' dga' lta bu dag yin no.*

⁴⁵ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 3–4: *de'ang snod gur gum la sogs skye ba'i yul legs po la/ lus dman pa mdze can lta bu dang / yang lus bzang po la snod dug dang tsher mas gang ba lta bu ni 'dres ma'i las bsags pa dang / snod bcud thams can dga' dga' lta' dug pa gzugs na spyod pa rnams ni ma 'dres par dge ba kho na'i 'bras bu dang / ngan song gi lus dang yul gnyis ka ma 'dres par mi dge ba'i 'bras bu'o.*

The Eighth Karmapa further deals with the metaphors used in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* to establish the point that phenomena (*dnegos po*) perish on their own and do not need to depend on other causes of destruction ('*jig rgyu don gzhan*) to perish. However, the Vātsīputrīyas argue that some things, such as firewood, are destroyed upon contact with fire, not by themselves. Hence, other causes of destruction are proposed.

To counter this argument, Vasubandhu responds by asking Vātsīputrīyas whether their position is similar to a lamp and the wind and to the sound of a bell and a hand. However, Vasubandhu does not explain these metaphors further and they remain obscure to some extent. The Eighth Karmapa elaborates and argues that a lamp stops burning on its own and is not extinguished by wind. A lamp stops burning, it is argued, due to a mere cessation of the later continuum of the lamp. In a similar fashion, the sound of the bell also ceases on its own, failing to produce a later continuum of the sound, while a hand serves merely as an obstructive condition for it.⁴⁶ Therefore, the Eighth Karmapa appears to suggest that if things do not have an inherent quality of self-disintegration, then they would not be destroyed even by outer destructive circumstances.

Furthermore, with regard to stealing property from a dead monk, the Eighth Karmapa provides a detailed description of how to determine an owner of property in contrast to Vasubandhu. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* explains:

To take the goods, the robes, etc, of a deceased monk, is to take what is not given by the Sangha of the parish, in the case when an ecclesiastical action has not been done; in the opposite case, this is to take what is not given by all the disciples of the Buddha.⁴⁷

The Eighth Karmapa further remarks:

If [property] is stolen from the dead monk [and] if the [monk] had performed ordination-related activities (*gsol ba'i las*), [it is] stolen

⁴⁶ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 8–9: *slob dpon gyis dpyad pa 'di ltar mdzad del gang zhig yod na 'byung ba de ni de'i rgyu can yin pa'i ma khyab pa'i phyir/rlung dang 'brel bas mar me 'jig mod kyil 'jig pa de ni rlung dang 'brel bas byas pa min te/ mar me skad cig ma nyid du khas blang pa'i phyir 'jig pa rgyu med can du 'dod pa yin pas/ mar me de ni skyes nas 'jig pa'i phyir/ rang zhig pa yin la/rlung dang 'brel ba'i phyir skad cig ma phyi ma gzhan ma skyes na mi snang ba yin gyil/ des bshig pa'i phyir ni ma yin no/ de bzhin du dril bu'i sgra skad cig mar 'dod pa yang lag pa dang 'brel bar yod na 'jig mod kyil/ de ni des byas pa ma yin gyil/ skad cig ma yin pa'i phyir/ dril bu'i sgra ni rang zhig la/ des gegs byas pa'i phyir gzhan ma skyes nas mi snang ba yin gyil/ des shig pa'i phyir ni ma yin no.*

⁴⁷ Vasubandhu; Poussin, La Vallee; Pruden, Leo M. (trans.) 1991. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, vol. II p. 651.

from the spiritual community inside [the community demarcated by one] boundary. This is because the Teacher (Buddha) commanded that [the property] be owned by the spiritual community belonging inside the boundary. Moreover, if the death [of the monk] happens in between the boundaries [of communities], [the property is] owned by [by the community] which is closer [to the monk's body]. If the distance is equal [from the two boundaries where the monk's body lies], [it is] owned by the [community] towards which the head [of the monk's body] is pointing. If a [person] has not performed ordination-related activities, [the property] would be [considered] stolen from all the disciples of the Buddha.⁴⁸

The Eighth Karmapa also elucidates some terminologies which appear ambiguous in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. With regard to the former or latter letters that become an actional path (Tib. *las kyi lam*, Skt. *karmapatha*) in lying, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* identifies only letters or syllables of a word.

2. Discourse (ii.47a-b) is sometimes made up of numerous syllables. Which will be the course of action? Which will be lies? The last syllable, which is *vijñapti* and which is accompanied by *avijñapti*. Or rather, the syllable whose hearing causes the meaning to be understood. The preceding syllables are a preparation for the lie.⁴⁹

However, the Eighth Karmapa recognises both words and syllables. Adding 'words' by the Eighth Karmapa arguably makes sense since the understanding of meaning usually arises from words, not letters alone. He remarks:

If asked which of the former or latter words become the actional path since a word is formed by many letters, [response:] a revealing form of a final word along with a non-revealing form becomes the actional path. Because former words and letters are the preparatory [phase]. Or the actional path would be a word from which the meaning is understood since the actional path is established with regard to the [arousal] of understanding in the listener. Former letters are

⁴⁸ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 194–195: *dge slong shi ba'i nor 'phrog na gsol ba'i las byas pa yin na chos can/ mtshams kyi nang du gtogs pa'i dge 'dun las 'phrog pa yin tel/ mtshams nang du gtogs pa'i dge 'dun gyis dbang bar ston pas bcas pa'i phyir/ yang mtshams gnyis kyi bar du shi na/ gang nye ba de dbang ba yin/ nye ring mnyam na mgo nang du bstan pa de dbang ba yin no/ lgsol ba ma byas pa zhig yin na ni sangs rgyas kyi slob ma thams cad las ma byin par blang pa yin no.*

⁴⁹ Vasubandhu; Poussin, La Vallee; Pruden, Leo M. (trans.) 1991. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, vol. II p. 652.

preparatory and latter [letters] along with non-revealing forms are [part of the] concluding phase.⁵⁰

In this way, some points, which are left brief in the *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya*, are elaborated further and treated more extensively by the Eighth Karmapa allowing for a more accessible interpretation. This treatment of points in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* indicates that the Eighth Karmapa, as admitted, certainly consulted the *Bhāṣya*. Due to the limited transmission of Abhidharma materials to Tibet and available Tibetan translations, one can assume that many of the more obscure Indian contexts were not applicable or not readily understandable to Tibetan interpreters and scholars.⁵¹

Polemical Nature of the Commentary

The Eighth Karmapa's commentary is highly polemical in nature and engages in refutation of others' points and in defense of his own position (*dgag sgrub*) on Abhidharma concepts. This is especially the case with the Sa skya scholar Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) who composed an *Abhidharmakośa* commentary *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa'i bstan bcos* [*A Commentary on the Explanation of the Difficult Points of the Abhidharmakośa*].

Cabezón and Dargyay argue that polemical writing serves to make a sectarian distinction among philosophical systems in order to place one's philosophical system in an unrivalled position through the refutation of the positions of others.⁵² While this could be applicable to some extent in the context of the Eighth Karmapa's polemical *Abhidharmakośa* commentary since he wrote it in an era marked by sectarian divisions, the Eighth Karmapa does cite other reasons such as concern with the understanding of the *Abhidharmakośa* in Tibet. The Eighth Karmapa asserts that he composed the commentary to preserve the *Abhidharmakośa* teachings. He declares:

⁵⁰ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 196–197: *yi ge mang po las tshig tu 'gyur na tshig snga phyi gang las lam du bzhag ce nal ngag tha ma rig byed dang rig byed min pa dang bcas pa las lam du bzhag ste/ tshig dang yi ge snga ma rnams sbyor ba yin pa'i phyir/ yang na don gang las go ba'i ngag las lam du 'gyur tel/ nyan pa pos rtogs pa la bltos nas las lam du 'jog pa'i phyir rol yi ge snga ma sbyor ba dang / phyi ma rig byed min pa dang bcas pa mjug yin no.*

⁵¹ Kragh (2002: 124, 143) is of the view that Tibetans had to depend on the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentaries to understand Abhidharma since earlier Abhidharma texts such as Seven Scriptures of Abhidharma (*mNgon pa sde bdun*), with the exception of the *Prajñāptiśāstra* (Tib. *gDags pa'i bstan bcos*) by Maugalayana, were not translated into Tibetan. Moreover, one is in need of further research as to whether Tibetans had used Indian Abhidharma materials.

⁵² Cabezón and Dargyay (2007: 6).

Alas, this precious teaching is the refuge of sentient beings.
Concerned that [it] would be lost, [I] analysed this Abhidharma text...⁵³

In general, engaging in debates on Abhidharma theories among Tibetan commentators of the *Abhidharmakośa* appears uncommon. The Eighth Karmapa's commentary stands apart in the way that he engages in a debate over the Abhidharma understanding with Tibetan scholars, particularly Śākya mchog ldan. The polemic way of writing seems to have been a trait of the Eighth Karmapa's as is evident from his commentaries on other treatises such as the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*.⁵⁴ The Eighth Karmapa is generally polemical in his Madhyamaka commentary as well and known for his strong language. Instances of the Eighth Karmapa's polemics are reported in the discussion of Vajrayāna points directed towards rNying ma pas as well.⁵⁵

Debates of the Eighth Karmapa presented in his commentary follow the three aspects of a syllogism (*tshul gsum*) that are used in the Tibetan debate (*rtsod pa*). Even some explanations are presented in the form of debate and dealt with extensively.

The Eighth Karmapa's refutation of Śākya mchog ldan's interpretation of Abhidharma theories is spread throughout his commentary. For instance, the Eighth Karmapa refutes Śākya mchog ldan's understanding that the Buddha obtained the vow of concentration (*bsam gtan gyi sdom pa*) only during his six years of austerity before his enlightenment. The Eighth Karmapa argues that the Buddha was said to have obtained it from Ālāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra who were his non-Buddhist teachers even before he started his six years of austerity. He rebukes Śākya mchog ldan by saying that it simply demonstrates his failure to have even heard of the Buddha's life story of twelve deeds (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*).⁵⁶ This kind of harshly critical language is not generally found in the Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries although one can see them frequently in the debate of other theories such as Madhyamaka.

⁵³ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 50: *kye ma/ bstan pa rin chen 'di ni 'gro ba'i mgon/ lhub par 'phangs nas dben pa'i ri sul du/ rnam g.yeng spangs nas blo gros nus pa mchog ldad pas gsos nas mngon pa'i gzhung 'dir dpyad*. It appears that the mountain referred to is Yar lha sham po which he mentions in his colophon. See the translation of colophon.

⁵⁴ This was pointed out by Brunhölzl (2010:72).

⁵⁵ Rheingans (2017:16). See Brunhölzl (2004) for Madhyamaka commentary.

⁵⁶ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 81: *gzhan yang dka' ba spyad pa'i tshes bsam gtan gyi sdom pa thob bya ba de ni bdag nyid sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa bcu gnyis rnam thar tsam yang ma thos so zhes gzhan la gsal bar ston pa'i gdam stel/ rengs byed bu lhaq spyod las bsam gtan gyi sems thob par bshad pa dang/ sgyu rtsal shes kyi bu ring 'phur las srid rtse'i sems thob par bshad pas dus de dang de rnams su bsam gtan gyi sdom pa thob pa yin la*.

The Eighth Karmapa expresses his dissatisfaction towards Śākya mchog ldan's understanding of *Abhidharmakośa* in these words:

Śākya mchog ldan, who is a great Paṇḍita
[and who] has become old, also engaged in the strenuous activity of
[study and composition] of this *śāstra*.
However, [his] eye of seeing accordingly [the meaning of the *Abhidharma-*
kośa] has become weak.
If I [the Eighth Karmapa] explain with my honest mind,
[understanding] would arise in the mind of the knowledgeable one [Śākya
mchog ldan].
Others do mere reading,
and although [they] put efforts in analysing the [*Abhidharmakośa*'s] mean-
ing of root text and commentary,
the *Abhidharmakośa* has become merely a name since the darkness that cov-
ers it is thick.⁵⁷

The Eighth Karmapa adopts a dialectical tone throughout his commen-
tary. He uses the patterns of Tibetan courtyard debate (*rtsod pa*) with
the explicit mention of the basis of debate (*rtsod gzhi chos can*), predicate
(*bsgrub bya'i chos*), and reason (*rtags*) and explicitly utters '*khor gsum* (a
logical term to indicate an opponent's inability to defend his thesis). In
the following argument, he presents the components of debate:

A mother and a child who is in the womb (basis of debate) would
possess non-dharma (predicate) since both of them turn into a cause
of suffering for each of them (reason).⁵⁸

In the refutation of the opponent's position, he also adopted the
method of dialectical consequence (Tib. *thal ba*, Skt. *prasaṅga*).⁵⁹ In these

⁵⁷ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 87: *pañ chen chen por gyur pa śākya mchog /bgres por gyur pa des kyang bstan bcos 'di'i/ /phyogs la ngal zhing dub pa'i las mdzad kyang / lji bzhin phyed pa'i spyen ni btang snyoms gyur/ /bdag blo gzu bos cung zad brda sprad na/ /mkhyen can de yi thugs la 'char bar 'gyur/ /gzhan dag rnams kyis rtsa 'grel klog tsam las/ /don la dpyod pa'i ngal ba bsten na yang / /de la sgrub pa'i mun pa stug pa'i phyir/ /chos mngon mdzod ces ming gi lhag mar gyur. The Eighth Karmapa appears to imply that Tibetan commentators of the *Abhidharmakośa* have failed to understand it properly although he does not specify and mention their names.*

⁵⁸ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 193: *ma dang bu lto na yod pa dag kyang chos can/ chos ma yin pa dang ldan par 'gyur tel phan tshun sdug bsnal gyi rgyu mtshan du gyur pa'i phyir.*

⁵⁹ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 193: *gcer bu pa rnams gsud de ma zhu bas shi na yang chos can/ zas sbyin pa la srog gcod kyi ltung ba dngos 'byung bar thal/ gsod pa'i blo sngon du ma song yang 'chi bar bya ba chos min gyi rgyu yin pa'i phyir*

ways, he maintains a dialectical tone throughout his commentary in contrast to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, and the *mChims mdzod*.

Presentation of bKa' brgyud pa Positions

The Eighth Karmapa also presents the viewpoint of bKa' brgyud pa school in his commentary. Apart from some mention of *rang lugs* by Śākya mchog ldan in his commentary indicating presentation of some Sa skya pa standpoints, it is arguably not a norm in Tibetan *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries, including the *mChims mdzod*, for scholars to present the viewpoints of their own philosophical system.⁶⁰ Their own interpretations of emptiness, for instance, are strongly posited resulting in debates among Tibetan scholars of different traditions. However, while the presentation of their own position (*rang lugs*) by Tibetan scholars is widely found in Madhyamaka and Vajrayāna treatises, it is uncommon in other commentarial genres such as in the case of the *Abhidharmakośa*.

In contrast to the general trend, the Eighth Karmapa presents many positions of the bKa' brgyud scholastic tradition. Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug highlights the positions of the bKa' brgyud pa sect expounded by the Eighth Karmapa's commentary such as the identification of the object of offering (*mchod yul*) in the verse of offering (*mchod brjod*) in the *Abhidharmakośa*. This is discussed in the following paragraphs of this section.⁶¹ He also mentions that the Eighth Karmapa offers his unique interpretation with regard to the *prātimokṣa* vow and its aspect of revealing and non-revealing form among others.⁶²

Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug goes on to mention that the Eighth Karmapa has offered interpretations that are beyond the intellectual domain of Tibetans.⁶³ His assertions sound plausible when one considers the unique interpretations presented by the Eighth Karmapa. For instance, the Eighth Karmapa argues that the *prātimokṣa* vow should have both the aspect of revealing and non-revealing form. Other commentators, such as mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs, do not state

⁶⁰ Śākya mchog ldan. *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa'i bstan bcos bye brag tu bshad pa'i mtsho chen po*, vol I, p. 425: *rang lugs rnam par dag pa ni*. Here he presents his explanations and understanding on Buddhist cosmology.

⁶¹ Chos kyi dbang phyug, Zhwa dmar VI, *mNgon pa mdzod kyi spyi don dbyig gnyen bzhed pa*, p.461: *mchod brjod skabs su mchod yul ston pa dang*.

⁶² Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 461: *so sor thar dang de yi sdom pa dang // de yi steng nas rnam rig yin min dang*.

⁶³ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 462: *de dag so so'i skabs su bod spyi yil /spyod yul las brgal 'bur dod mang du mdzad*.

this explicitly.⁶⁴ Moreover, the Eighth Karmapa asserts that the *prātimokṣa* vows are not lost through death according to 'Dri gung 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217). He remarks that although Sakya Paṇḍita had made extensive attempts to refute this position of 'Dri gung 'Jig rten mgon po, a thought to cultivate seven abandonments (*spong bdun*)⁶⁵ remains even in successive lifetimes.⁶⁶ The thought to cultivate seven abandonments, according to the Eighth Karmapa, has causal potential to propel the rebirths of gods and humans with eighteen freedoms and possessions (*dal 'byor bco brgyad*) whether it is termed a vow or not.⁶⁷ The Eighth Karmapa seems to assert that the thought to cultivate seven abandonments that remains intact in successive lives fulfils the role of *prātimokṣa* vows.

The Eighth Karmapa also further contends that Vasubandhu has slightly hinted in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* that the *upāsaka* vow of exalted beings (*'phags pa*) would not be lost following death and would remain intact in successive lives. However, Vasubandhu denied it to be a vow obtained through formal undertaking (*yang dag par blangs pa*) fearing that this understanding could be beyond the intellectual capacity of the *śrāvaka* vehicle. The Eighth Karmapa concludes by asserting that, as is the case in exalted beings, the *prātimokṣa* vow should not be lost even in ordinary beings (*so so skye bo*) following death. He contends this understanding is the intention of Buddha and of 'Dri gung 'Jig rten mgon po, who was recognised as an emanation of Nāgārjuna.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 55: 'di pa rnams kyi 'dod pa spyod pa spong ba'i gtso bor gyur pa'i lhag pa'i tshul khrins 'di la sdom pa so sor thar ces bya'o// 'di la rig byed dang rig byed ma yin pa gnyis ka yod do.

⁶⁵ Three unwholesome actions of body and four unwholesome actions of speech.

⁶⁶ Sobisch (2002:40) mentions that the reason for Sakya Paṇḍita to declare that *prātimokṣa* vows are lost following death was a response to 'Dri gung 'Jig rten mgon po who understood otherwise.

⁶⁷ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p. 108–109: *skiyob pa 'bri gung 'jig rten gsum gyi mgon po'i zhal nga nas/ so sor thar pa'i sdom pa 'chi 'phos pas mi gtong zhes seng ge'i bsgrags pa las/ bdag nyid chen po sa skya paṇḍitas bkag rgya cher mdzad mod kyang / don la bye smras rtogs btags kyi sdom pa rnam rig min pa'i gzugs su yod bya ba ni don la mi gnas/ spong bdun spong ba'i sems pa rgyun chags bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba dang bcas pa tshe rabs brjes kyang dran pa dang shes bzhin gyis ma nyams par yod na.*

⁶⁸ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 2 p.109: 'phags pa la 'chi 'phos pas dge bsnyen gyi sdom pa mi gtong ba zhiig yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa yin pa de mkhas mchog dbyig gi gnyen gyis zur tsam 'grel pa mdzad kyang / yang nyan thos sde gnyis kyi blor ma shong dogs nas/ de'i sdom pa ni yang dag par blangs pa las byung ba'i sdom pa ni ma yin nol /zhes 'chad dgos byung ba yin nol /des na 'phags pa la tshe rabs brjes nas kyang so thar sdom pa mi gtong bar grub na so skye la 'ang 'chi 'phos pas so thar gyi sdom pa mi gtong bar grub pa 'di ni ston pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas dang mgon po klu sgrub kyi rnam par 'phrul pa skyob pa 'bri gung 'jig rten gsum gyi mgon po'i dgongs pa yin no. Sobisch (2002:329) mentions that the First

Although 'Dri gung and Karma bKa' brgyud are different traditions within the broader bKa' brgyud tradition with their own discrete ways of interpretation, the former is said to have some influence on the latter.⁶⁹ The acceptance of 'Dri gung 'Jig rten mgon po's position by the Eighth Karmapa can probably be taken as one example of influence. In what can be possibly taken as one evidence of influence, Rheingans reports that the Eighth Karmapa spent some time in 'Dri gung and engaged with the Single Intention (*dGongs gcig*), a popular teaching of the 'Dri gung tradition, by writing a commentary on it.⁷⁰

Moreover, the Eighth Karmapa identifies the teacher (Buddha) with the *dharma*kāya form of the Buddha as the object of offering (*mchod yul*) in the following verse of offering in the *Abhidharmakośa*.⁷¹ The *Abhidharmakośa* I, 1abc states:

The one who has destroyed all the darkness
and who liberated sentient beings from the swamp of saṃsāra
[I] pay homage to the teacher (*ston pa*) [who teaches] according to
the meaning...⁷²

The Eighth Karmapa reasons that the *saṃboga*kāya is not known to the Vaibhāṣika school while the body of Prince Siddhārtha is not accepted as a *nirmāṇa*kāya since it is considered the result of karma and afflictive emotions (*las nyon gyi rnam smin*).⁷³ This position is not discussed or held by the *mChims mdzod* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. However, Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700–1774) appears to suggest this understanding of the Eighth Karmapa as the intended meaning of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and other Indian *Abhidharmakośa* commentaries such as Pūrṇavardhana's commentary.⁷⁴

Karmapa saw 'Dri gung 'Jig rten mgon po as Nāgārjuna and narrates another story in which he was identified with Nāgārjuna.

⁶⁹ Sobisch (2002:329).

⁷⁰ Rheingans (2017: 102).

⁷¹ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p. 9: *ston par gyur pa ni yang dag pa rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas tel de yi rang bzhin yang nges par na chos kyi sku 'ba' zhig ste*.

⁷² Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośakārikā*, p. 2: *gang zhig kun la mun pa gtan bcom zhing // 'khor ba'i 'dam las 'gro ba 'drangs mdzad pa// don bzhin ston pa de la phyag 'tshal nas// chos mngon mdzod kyi bstan bcas rab bshad bya*.

⁷³ Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p. 9: *longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ni sde pa la ma grags shing / sde pas bdud rtsi gang la thob pa'i lus rten rgyal bu don grub kyi khog pa lta bu yang sprul pa'i skur mi 'jog ste las nyon gyi rnam smin du 'dod pa'i phyir ro*.

⁷⁴ Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *chos mngon pa mdzod kyi tshig don rnam par 'grel pa brgya byin thog pa'i nor bu'i 'od snang*, p. 4: *'di thad kyi kar fik grub bde ni shing rtar 'phros don du bye smra'i sde pas ston pa sangs rgyas kyi mtshan gzhi lam bden la byed pa dang / longs sprul khas mi len pa dang / _slob mi slob kyi dge 'dun yang lam bden la 'jog pa dang / shes sgrib khas len pa dang / de'i mtshan gzhi mi shes pa'i rgyu bzhi sogs la*

The Ninth Karmapa endorses this position and Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug further promotes it as their own tradition (*rang lugs*) in his analysis of the identification of the object of offering.⁷⁵ The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *mChims mdzod* simply identify the term 'teacher' with the Buddha and do not make the distinction of *dharma-kāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*. However, Śākya mchog ldan discusses this point in a way similar to the Eighth Karmapa's exposition.⁷⁶

Reception of the Eighth Karmapa's *Abhidharmakośa* Commentary

The Eighth Karmapa's commentary appears to be the most extensive available *Abhidharmakośa* commentary in the bKa' brgyud pa school. Its authority, at least in the Karma bKa' brgyud pa scholastic tradition, is supported by the fact that the following generation of scholars including the Ninth Karmapa and Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584–1630) speak of him highly in their commentaries. While veneration is an overall convention in most Tibetan traditions, a high degree of veneration can indicate some genuine appreciation as well.

The Ninth Karmapa praises the Eighth Karmapa's *Abhidharmakośa* commentary in the following verse:

The fearless lord and the conqueror Mi bskyod [rdo rje]
knows [the *Abhidharmakośa*] without relying on others
and composed this extensive commentary.
[I] praise every word and meaning [of his commentary] with im-
mense veneration.⁷⁷

Moreover, the Ninth Karmapa relied heavily on the Eighth Karmapa's commentary and he frequently quotes it in his *Abhidharmakośa* commentary.

Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug urges the followers of Karmapa to engage in the study of the Eighth and the Ninth Karmapa's

byed pa rnams bshad pa ni/ mdzod rang 'grel dang / gang spel sogs rgya 'grel rnams kyi dgongs pa ji lta ba bzhin du snang ngo.

⁷⁵ Chos kyi dbang phyug, Zhwa dmar VI, *mNgon pa mdzod kyi spyi don dbyig gnyen bzhed pa*, p.32: 'o na 'di skabs kyi mchod yul gyi ston pa de'i rang bzhin nam tshul ji lta bu zhig ce na/ 'di skabs kyi mchod brjod kyi yul du gyur pa'i rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas de'i tshul lam rang bzhin ni nges par chos kyi sku zhing tu 'jog pa yin te

⁷⁶ Śākya mchog ldan. *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa'i bstan bcos bye brag tu bshad pa'i mtsho chen po*, p. 4–5.

⁷⁷ dBang phyug rdo rje, Karmapa IX, *gZhon nu rnam rol*, p. 3: 'dir ni 'jigs bral ston pa mi bskyod rgyal// de yis gzhan dring med par mkhyen pa dang // brtse ba'i shugs kyis rgyas 'grel 'di mdzad de// tshig don kun la gus pa chen pos bstod.

commentaries.⁷⁸ He also rebukes intellectuals of his religious tradition for abandoning the intended meaning (*dgongs pa*) of commentaries such as the Eighth Karmapa's *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* and relying on various other texts.⁷⁹

The Sixth Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug profusely quotes the Eighth Karmapa's commentary and on many occasions simply uses verbatim whole polemical paragraphs from the Eighth Karmapa's commentary in his own commentary. For instance, he cites the whole rebuttal by the Eighth Karmapa directed towards Sakya Paṇḍita's refutation of the bKa' brgyud pa's contention that the *prātimokṣa* vow is not lost following the death of a person.⁸⁰ This rebuttal is discussed above in the section 'Presentation of bKa' brgyud pa Positions.' The quotation of the Eighth Karmapa's texts strongly indicates that the Sixth Zhwa dmar Chos kyi dbang phyug holds the commentary of the Eighth Karmapa in high regard. He also refers to the Eighth Karmapa's commentary for further analysis and refrains from transferring passages verbatim on occasion.

Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700–1774), one of the eminent 18th-century scholars of the Karma bKa' brgyud, refers to the Eighth Karmapa sparingly in his *Abhidharmakośa* commentary *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi tshig don rnam par 'grel pa brgya byin thog pa'i nor bu'i 'od snang* [Commenting on the Words and Meaning of *Abhidharmakośa: A Light of Jewel Wield by Indra*]. He simply says at some points without further elaboration, for instance, that discussion on certain points appears in the *Kar ṅik* (*Abhidharmakośa* commentary of the Eighth Karmapa). He directs the reader to refer to it for detail. This shows some acceptance of the Eighth Karmapa's exposition.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Chos kyi dbang phyug, Zhwa dmar VI, *mNgon pa mdzod kyi spyi don dbyig gnyen bzhed pa*, p. 462: *karma'i rjes 'jug shes 'dod skye bo rnams// rnam bshad so sor 'chad nyan rtsal du thon.*

⁷⁹ Chos kyi dbang phyug, Zhwa dmar VI, *mNgon pa mdzod kyi spyi don dbyig gnyen bzhed pa*, p. 462: *de lta na yang deng sang rang lugs kyi// mtshan nyid smra bar grags pa phal mo ches// rnam bshad rnams kyi dgongs pa bor nas kyang // sna tshogs yig sna rnams la blo rtse gtad.*

⁸⁰ Chos kyi dbang phyug, Zhwa dmar VI, *mNgon pa mdzod kyi spyi don dbyig gnyen bzhed pa*, p. 264: *kho bos bsams na/ skyob pa 'bri gung 'jig rten gsum mgon gyi zhal snga nas/ so sor thar pa'i sdom pa 'chi 'phos pas mi gtong zhes seng ge'i sgra chen po bsgrags pa las/ bdag nyid chen po sa skya paṇḍitas dgag pa rgya cher mdzad mod kyang...* The whole rebuttal is not mentioned here.

⁸¹ Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *chos mngon pa mdzod kyi tshig don rnam par 'grel pa brgya byin thog pa'i nor bu'i 'od snang* p.23: *kar ṅik du skabs 'dir gzugs rung gzugs kyi mtshan nyid du bshad pa dang rdzas rdul gzugs phung du bsdu ba sogs legs bshad mang du yod kyang 'dir ma smos la.* Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karmapa VIII, *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*, Vol. 1 p.109 discusses this topic as indicated by Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas.

While the Eighth Karmapa's *Grub bde'i dpyid 'jo* enjoys accolades in the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition, it is hard to say how scholars of other bKa' brgyud schools and beyond received it, since – as mentioned above – all other religious schools have their own commentaries.⁸² It is also plausible that later scholars might not have acknowledged the reference even if they had used the Eighth Karmapa's commentary since current academic conventions were not observed by traditional Tibetan scholars.

Conclusion

The uniqueness of the Eighth Karmapa's commentary in comparison to other Tibetan commentaries is evident in the presentation of Vajrayāna and bKa' brgyud pa viewpoints, in the polemical positions taken, and in the elucidation of points only presented in condensed form in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

Research on the variations in interpretation and the understanding of the *Abhidharmakośa*, among Tibetan scholars, is almost non-existent. While the Eighth Karmapa's interpretation appears to concur with the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *mChims mdzod* in general, some differences especially among religious schools exist. This is demonstrated by the Eighth Karmapa's commentary where he has presented many bKa' brgyud pa positions such as the non-relinquishment of *prātimokṣa* vow through death. Some disparity in the interpretation is also established by his refutations mainly directed towards Śākya mchog ldan. Also, the disputation of other scholars' philosophical positions in his commentaries through dialectics is a rather unusual feature. Given what is known about the Eighth Karmapa's life and his scholarly contributions, the tendency to strongly engage with different viewpoints appears to be an overall feature of his approach.⁸³

Furthermore, while the Eighth Karmapa endorsed the overall intent of the Indian *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, he made that formidable text more accessible to a Tibetan audience. This is illustrated in this article through the juxtaposition of some of the relevant textual material. In contrast to other Tibetan scholars, such as the Ninth Karmapa and dGe 'dun grub, who kept their commentaries concise, the Eighth Karmapa also did not hesitate to discuss cryptic, condensed, and ambiguous points of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and to elaborate on them. For instance, the Eighth Karmapa added 'words' that become the actional

⁸² Other scholars debating the Eighth Karmapa in relation to the Abhidharma theories have not come to my notice.

⁸³ Draszczyk and Higgins (2019: 28) also suggest that the Eighth Karmapa was an intellectual who did not show reluctance in engaging with any kind of opponents or doctrinal topics.

path of lying whereas the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* mentions 'letters' that cause understanding as an actional path of lying. The Eighth Karmapa's addition appears to make some sense since one usually makes meaning out of words. On this account, one can conclude that the Eighth Karmapa's commentary serves to some extent as a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* making it somewhat unusual in the Tibetan commentarial landscape in relation to Vasubandhu's Abhidharma texts.

The state of the source texts of the commentary presents some challenges for textual studies. We have seen that the available textual sources of Mi bskyod rdo rje's commentary rely on two significantly divergent editions.

Although Karma 'phrin las pa's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa* is likely to be one of the earliest in the Karma bKa' brgyud, the Eighth Karmapa's commentary seems to be the first extensive commentary in the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition. It sits alongside his other monumental commentaries on Madhyamaka, Vinaya, and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. The Eighth Karmapa's commentary appears to be the starting point of an independent *Abhidharmakośa* commentarial tradition in Karma bKa' brgyud school: the Ninth Karmapa summarises it and the Sixth Zhwa dmar in turn bases his commentary on the Ninth Karmapa's commentary. The Ninth Karmapa praised the commentary of the Eighth Karmapa and the Sixth Zhwa dmar extolled it as possessing many bKa' brgyud pa interpretations.

As a result, the Eighth Karmapa's commentary enjoyed a reputation as an authoritative text in the Karma bKa' brgyud, at least in the following few generations. The available prints stem from the 20th-century eastern Tibetan center dPal spungs. The great 18th-century scholar and chief hierarch of dPal spungs, Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700–1774), briefly mentions the Eighth Karmapa's commentary in his *Abhidharmakośa* commentary. Also in the 20th century, the Eighth Karmapa's monumental work was considered worthy of the substantial effort and funding required for its printing. Therefore, one can conclude that the two Karmapas' commentaries enjoyed unquestioned acceptance in the Karma bKa' brgyud pa school. The reception of these commentaries by the wider Tibetan Buddhist scholarly community requires further study.

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Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus: Rethinking Power Dynamics in Early Eighteenth Century Tibet

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Introduction

This article focuses on the dGa' ldan pho brang's¹ relations with Mongols² and the Qing³ in the early 18th century, or more

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- ¹ *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* briefly introduced the history of the dGa' ldan pho brang, "The residence, originally called the Rdo khang sngon mo, was given to him [the Second Dalai Lama] by the Sne'u dong princes in 1518, when he was the unquestioned leader of the major emerging Dge lugs monasteries. From this point, the Dga' ldan pho brang became the seat of the Dalai Lamas. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, the fifth Dalai Lama, enlisted the help of the Qoshot Mongols and their leader, Gushri Khan, to decisively crush the Karma pa and his patron, the King of Gtsang. From this point, the Dga' ldan pho brang came to designate not the residence of the Dalai Lama but the seat of the Dalai Lama's rulership of substantial regions of Tibet, from which he collected taxes. By extension, the term Dga' ldan pho brang has come to mean the government of Tibet during the reign of the Dalai Lamas. To consolidate Dge lugs power and prevent the large Dge lugs monasteries [*gdan sa gsum*] from usurping his power, the fifth Dalai Lama moved the Dga' ldan pho brang into the Po ta la palace, which then became the seat of the government he established" (Buswell and Lopez 2014). Additionally, throughout its history, the dGa' ldan pho brang kept changing its territory, political power structure, and foreign relations with neighbouring powers, including Mongols and Manchus. Therefore, the term "dGa' ldan pho brang" in this article is not a fixed entity but a malleable political organisation with shifting geographical boundaries and political power structure and leadership.
- ² The term "Mongol" or "Mongol tribe" used in this article refers to two significant Mongol groups of the 17th and 18th centuries, including Khalkha Mongols and Oirat Mongols. These two groups broadly shared their culture, history, language, and customs, although they have many minor differences. The Khalkha Mongols are mainly Eastern Mongols. Under the umbrella rule of the 40 Khalkha tribes, there are sub-Mongolian groups, including, among others, Chahars, Ordos and Tumed. Their leaders were traditionally regarded as direct descendants of Genghis Khan. The Oirats are Western Mongols, with four main tribes: Dzungar, Torghut, Dorbet and Khoshut. The Torghut and Dorbet Mongols gradually became subjects of the Dzungar Mongols. The Khoshuts migrated to the Amdo Kokonor region and Central Tibet. Their tribe leaders are not regarded as descendants of Genghis Khan, but they received their political titles, such as Khan, Noyon, and Jinong, from the Fifth Dalai Lama and his successors in the dGa' ldan pho brang. Etymologically, the term "Mongol" derives from Mugulü and Māmkuya, referring to nomadic tribal peoples living in Central Asia who share language and tradition. (Vaissière 2021, pp.262–270) Even during the medieval period, sometimes, sub-Mongol tribes addressed themselves with their clan names rather than the term "Mongol".
- ³ In this article, I use the term "Manchus" and "Qing" interchangeably to refer to the Manchu political organisation or the Qing Empire, which was in the hands of Manchu leaders. The Manchus were initially from the northeast of China, and they

precisely, from 1696 to 1700. This significant period began with the controversial enthronement of the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1697, commencing a new political chapter in Central Tibet. In due course, the political atmosphere turned in a new direction in 1700 with the internal political clash between the sDe srid, the Sixth Dalai Lama, the purist⁴ dGe lugs pas and the Khoshut Mongols in central Tibet.

ruled China proper from 1644 to 1912. *The Berkshire Encyclopaedia of China* explains, “The Manchus are descended from peoples of north-eastern Asia collectively called the ‘Tungus.’ The Manchus also claim descent from rulers of the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1125–1234). The Manchu tribes in the late sixteenth century were organised into a collective nation under the rule of their greatest chief, Nurhaci (1559–1626). Nurhaci’s successor, Abahai (1592–1643), changed the name of his people to Manchu to remove the historical memory that, as Jurchens, they had been under Chinese rule. The Manchus continued to increase military power in the border region northeast of the Great Wall and eventually overthrew the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) to establish China’s last imperial era, the Qing, or Manchu dynasty.” (Perrins and Cheng 2016) Rather than simply speaking of “China” to refer the Qing Empire in this context, it is essential to acknowledge the agency of the Manchus/Manchu people in shaping the unique features and history of the Qing Empire. See Rawski’s Presidential address on Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History. (Rawski 1996)

⁴ The term “purist” is my provisional English term referring to this specific faction of dGe lugs pa followers. Possible alternative terms would be “exclusivist,” “fundamentalist,” or “extremist.” This specific group of the dGe lugs pas promotes their claim of religious purity and exclusivity, expressed in their name, literally: the “odourless/stainless good tradition/system/school” (*lugs bzang dri ma med pa*) of rJe Tsong kha pa. The term “purist” is the closest equivalent to “odourless/stainless/without impurities.” An early example of this notion can be found in the *Biography of Tsong kha pa* by his main student dGe legs dpal bzang (1385–1438):

ལྷན་པའི་དམ་ཚཱ་མ་ལུས་པ་རྒྱལ་བའི་དགོངས་པ་འགྲེལ་བར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ལུང་བསྟན་བརྟེན་པའི་ཤིང་
 ཉེའི་སྐལ་འབྱེད་ཆེན་མོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཇི་ལྟར་བཀའ་བའི་དགོངས་དོན་འབྱེད་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་དྲི་མ་ཙམ་ཡང་མི་
 མང་བས་བསྟན་པ་འཇིག་པོ་ཆེ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཛིན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ནང་ན་སྟོན་པ་གཉིས་པ་ལྟ་
 ལུང་གྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ།

Because [Tsong kha pa] was completely free of any stain/odour (*dri ma*) of making mistakes in disentangling the intended meaning (*dgongs don*) of the complete noble doctrine of the Victorious [Buddha], [as contained in] the explanations by the great founders (*srol 'byed*) of the [Buddhist] vehicles, who had been prophesied by the Victorious [Buddha] himself as those who would explain the intentions of the Victorious One, [he] became like a second Buddha among those who uphold the unfailing victory banner of the precious doctrine. (mkhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang 2021, pp.99-100)

Since then, many dGe lugs pa scholars have described their tradition as “odourless/stainless/pure”. For example, in the 18th century, Thu’u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma used the term “odourless/stainless” (*dri ma med pa*) five times to describe the dGe lugs tradition in his Doxography. (Thu’u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma 1994, p. 237, 260, 303, 304, and 305.) The term “purist” has also been used to characterise the dGe lugs pa in modern academic works. In 1997, David

Between these two events, the dGa' ldan pho brang went through a series of significant social and political transformations that set the framework of relations between the dGa' ldan pho brang, the Mongol tribes, and the Qing for the following centuries.

By reading primary historical materials, I have developed the hypothesis that the Tibetan internal factions controlled and shaped the politics of the dGa' ldan pho brang until 1708. Neither Mongols nor the Qing outside of central Tibet were in a position to interfere directly in the internal political mechanisms of the dGa' ldan pho brang. The Tibetan and Manchu sources presented in this article highlight two aspects: First, Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus communicated and negotiated with each other in terms of a Tibetan Buddhist "preceptor-patron"⁵ diplomacy, which served the interests of all three neighbours.

Kay used the term "purist" in his article, "The New Kadampa Tradition and the Continuity of Tibetan Buddhism in Transition." He writes, "The original dGe lugs formulation was clerical and purist in that Tsong Kha pa, the 'reformer' of the monastic order, organised and 'essential teachings' into a single, structured and linear path which emphasised the gradual and philosophical understanding of the enlightened state within an academic and monastic context." (Kay 1997, p. 279) Similarly, Maher uses the term "pure Geluk" for those who opposed the idea of the Fifth Dalai Lama to accommodate non-dGe lugs schools under dGa' ldan pho brang. (Maher 2003, p. 20) The sDe srid, in his works, did not use the term "purist" referring to those who oppose him and his ideas but the purist themselves claimed that their notion of dGe lugs tradition is "pure" (stainless).

⁵ The notion of preceptor-patron (*mchod yon*) relations is a centuries-old Tibetan Buddhist approach to international relations in the Tibetan Buddhist world order. The term initially designated the relationship between religious leaders and their financial patrons in Tibet. However, in the 13th century, Sa skya lamas introduced the concept to explain their relationship with the Mongol Khans of the Yuan dynasty, which broadened the scope of this terminology to describe the relationship between a Tibetan Buddhist master (*mchod gnas* or preceptor) and a foreign political leader (*yon bdag* or patron). This became the standard approach of the Tibetan Buddhist government to their foreign relations policy. Throughout Tibet's medieval history, the government managed its ties with other states through preceptor-patron relations, in which the patron (i.e., the foreign political leader) was not only a financial supporter but also a protector. See also Ruegg's work (2000, pp.9–13). According to the *Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, preceptor-patron refers to the relationship between two influential leaders, Gushri Khan and bSod nam chos 'phel, serving under the fifth Dalai lama. The Fifth Dalai Lama regarded himself above this system of preceptor-patron. In the introduction of *The Illusive Play: The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, Karmay writes:

Lobzang Gyatsho addressed these two men [Gushri Khan and bSod nam chos 'phel] as the Prelate and Patron, in the sense of the Tibetan political concept *choyon*, which in turn put Lobzang Gyatsho himself in the position of supreme head of the country, not bound by the conflation of the *choyon* system. (2014.p.5)

Other scholars, such as Ishihama, regard *mchod yon* concept as a relationship between Tibetan Lamas and foreign ruler patrons. Ishihama explained *mchod yon* within the notion of "Buddhist Government" among Mongols, Manchus, and

Second, Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus during the early eighteenth century were formed and functioning through a complex yet dynamic social, political, and cultural structure. They did not consider themselves a “nation-state hood” within Eurocentric or Westphalia⁶ International relations. This rigid “nation-state hood” idea came to Inner Asia through European colonialism.

In the late 1690s, the force of Manchu military banners under the leadership of the Kangxi Emperor shook the great pastures of the Mongols while they were defeating and pursuing the Dzungar soldiers of dGa' ldan Khan. The dGa' ldan pho brang was unwillingly involved in this battle between the Qing and the Dzungars, which created many conflicts for the sDe sridd and his government.⁷ The Qing

Tibetans. (2000, pp.15–31). Both ideas are equally correct. One is the internal concept, and the other is the external approach. Sperling correctly pointed out that many modern Chinese writers ignored this “preceptor-patron” relationship and explained that Tibet was part of China. Sperling said, “One of China’s more well-known spokesmen of previous decades formulated the matter. ‘Is Tibet, after all, a part of China?’ History says it is.” (2004, pp.3–4) However, as we will read in this article, historically, the Qing’s relations with the dGa' ldan pho brang in the early 18th century was not that simple.

⁶ The “Peace of Westphalia” was named collectively after the treaties signed in 1648 to settle the war of eighty years between Spain, the Dutch, and the Germans. Under this treaty, the countries concerned confirmed their sovereignty over their territories, and their borders were delineated. The notion of political nation-statehood and sovereignty has been internationalised through these treaties, based on the European social, cultural, and political model. This notion was later applied to other parts of the world along with expanding colonial powers, often ignoring existing local models and interpretations of local government, statehood, and international relations. In his article “Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory”, Kayaoglu argued that this concept “was first developed by nineteenth century imperial international jurists and that the Westphalian narrative perpetuates a Eurocentric bias in international relations theory. This bias maintains that Westphalia created an international society, consolidating a normative divergence between European international relations and the rest of the international system.” (Kayaoglu 2010, p. 193) The issue is also discussed in Cutler’s work published in 2001.

⁷ Although this is discussed Perdue’s work, it is vital to comprehend the situation of the dGa' ldan pho brang in the Dzungar-Qing war in the 1690s. According to *Qing shilü zàngzú shilü* record dated in 1696, dGa' ldan Khan, the leader of the Dzungars, accused the Dalai Lama of inciting him to come to the eastern part of Mongolia and fight against the Qing:

据降人言：噶尔丹遁时，部众多出怨言，噶尔丹云：我初不欲来克鲁伦地方，为达赖喇嘛煽惑而来。是达赖喇嘛陷我，我又陷尔众人矣。

According to the surrendered [Dzungar] people: ‘when dGa' ldan was escaping, many soldiers complained. [Therefore, dGa' ldan] explained, ‘At first, I did not want to come to Kè lǔ lún (the upper part of the Heilongjiang River, Eastern Mongolia), but the Dalai Lama incited me to do. The Dalai Lama tricked me, and I

won the war, and the Amdo Kokonor Mongols appear to have been impressed by the Manchu military campaign. They began to consider an official relationship with the Qing under the guidance of Tibetan Buddhist lamas. Seizing the opportunity, the Manchus deployed various diplomatic strategies among Mongols to establish their dominance on the one hand and to undermine the authority of the dGa' ldan pho brang in Mongolian societies on the other. Moreover, the Qing also used many Tibetan Buddhist lamas, such as lCang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan (1642–1714),⁸ at the Qing court to enhance the authority of the Kangxi Emperor among Mongols and Tibetans.⁹

brought everyone else [with me]. (*Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p. 128)

In return, the Kangxi Emperor had issued a decree to block all correspondence from the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, and the Regent to dGa' ldan Khan (*Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p. 128). Inevitably, this made it harder for the sDe srīd to reveal the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama and convince the Mongols and Manchus. This situation opened an opportunity for internal power factions such as purist dGe lugs pa to criticise the sDe srīd.

⁸ lCang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan (1642–1714) was one of the most prominent lamas of dGon lung byams pa gling monastery in Amdo. This monastery has been the cultural and political centre to build relations between Mongols and Manchus and Tibetans. Read for more on dGon lung byams pa gling in Sullivan's work. (Sullivan 2021, pp. 52–55) lCang skya Nag dbang chos ldan became a significant Manchu-court lama in Peking and contributed to the Qing's political stability and foreign diplomacy. His autobiography is an essential historical source for the Qing's relations with the dGe lugs pa lamas at the Qing court. See Sagaster's work *Subud Erike, Ein Rosenkranz Aus Perlen: Die Biographie des 1st Pekingers lCang Skya Khutukhtu Nag Dbañ Blo Bzañ č'os Ldan*. (Sagaster 1967). Furthermore, read the second chapter of Marina Illich's thesis, *Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje), 1717–1786* published in 2006.

⁹ Oidtmann writes that for gaining the trust and loyalty of Tibetans and Mongols, the Qing "actively sought to remold its subjects' faith." (2018, p. 21) On the one hand, with the help of the Tibetan Buddhist lamas, the Kangxi Emperor portrayed himself as the protector or patron of Tibetan Buddhism to convince Mongols and Tibetans of his religious and political integrity. On the other hand, the Kangxi used Tibetan Lamas to present himself as the emanation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to enhance the authority of the Emperor. For example, upon the request, lCang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan composed a long-life prayer for the Kangxi Emperor entitled, *'Jam dbyangs gong ma chen po'i brtan bzhugs dge legs char 'bebs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. In this prayer, lCang skya Nag dbang chos ldan described the emperor as the emanation of Mañjuśrī:

ལྷུ་ལྷན་མཁུན་རབ་གཅིག་བསྐྱེས་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས། འཛིན་མའི་ཁྱེན་ལ་གནས་པའི་སྐྱེ་འགོ་ལྷན། བན་བདེ་དབལ་ལ་འགོད་ལྱུང་མའི་དབང་པོར། རབ་སྐྱལ་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞབས་བརྟན་གསོལ།

Mañjughōṣa, the embodiment of the wisdom of all buddhas, manifested as the Mi'i dbang po (Emperor) to establish happiness and benefit for all sentient beings all over the earth (*'dzin ma'i khyon*). May this great man live a long life. (lCang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan n.d.b, f. 1a)

Despite the unfavourable social and political scenario in Inner Asia, the sDe srid was determined to run the dGa' ldan pho brang according to the vision and legacy of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The sDe srid is the main force popularising the Fifth Dalai Lama and his ideas among the public. Schaeffer writes, "Sanggye Gyatso spent much of the 1690s melding a public vision of the 5th Dalai Lama."¹⁰ MacCormack analysed the state-building visions and strategies of the sDe srid based on the latter's intellectual works.¹¹ It is evident that the sDe srid made an outstanding contribution to the theological state-building of the dGa' ldan pho brang. However, it is imperative to recognise that most of his rhetoric and activities aimed to maintain the vision of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The Enthronement and Surrounding Conflicts

To ensure the continuity of the Fifth Dalai Lama's vision and legacy, the sDe srid was now keen to install the Sixth Dalai Lama on his throne in the Potala Palace. The death of the Fifth Dalai Lama had been kept secret for more than a decade; it was now time to reveal the identity of the reincarnated Sixth Dalai Lama to the public. Therefore, amidst rumours and speculations, sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho secretly planned the official enthronement ceremony of the Sixth Dalai Lama, fourteen years after his birth in 1683. He dispatched official representatives near and far to disclose the news of the new Dalai

However, scholars have debated to what degree the Kangxi Emperor himself identified with this Buddhist interpretation of his role. Spence, for example, said that the Kangxi had to spend much of his life for "offering prayers at the Temple of Heaven, attending lectures by court scholars on the Confucian *Classics*, performing sacrifices to his Manchu ancestors in the Shamanic shrines. (Spence 1974, p. xii) Scholars like Wáng yáo, on the other hand, think that Kangxi was a follower of Buddhism. In addition to his extraordinary support for Tibetan Buddhism, the Kangxi Emperor also had his own tomb carved with the 35 confessional Buddhas and other Buddhist deities. (Wáng yáo 1980.p.17)

¹⁰ Schaeffer 2005, p. 70. This is a vital topic is discussed along with MacCormack's thorough research on sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho elsewhere.

¹¹ Based on the works of the sDe srid, MacCormack explained the ideas of the "ideal Buddhist State" in the "Buddhist World" during a "Perfect Age". (MacCormack 2018, pp. 23–31). MacCormack's observations focus on the sDe srid's significant contributions to the dGa' ldan pho brang, including modelling public speaking, creating a holiday to commemorate the Fifth Dalai Lama, and building the red Palace at the Potala. Since MacCormack's work is not primarily a historical study, he does not discuss at length the politics of the different Mongol tribes and the battle between the Qing Empire and Dzungars. However, MacCormack traced the history of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet to legitimise the dGa' ldan pho brang's religio-political trope regarding the building of the Potala Palace and establishing the government in Lhasa, which made a good connection between the Fifth Dalai Lama and Srong btsan sgam po.

Lama to Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus.¹² The Qing official documents recorded how the dGa' ldan pho brang's representative Nyi thang zhabs drung (1640–1717)¹³ disclosed the secret of the death and reincarnation of the Dalai Lama to the emperor, and the latter's reaction.

Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào, the Qing Dynasty's Tibetan Historical Records, stated:

康熙三十六年 [一六九七·四·一一]
 谕领侍卫内大臣 索额图、内大臣 明珠、大学士伊桑阿：「前者，朕以达赖喇嘛身故已久，第巴隐之，附和噶尔丹行事，故差保住严诘第巴。预料第巴必自陈达赖喇嘛已故，乞为彼隐讳，向亦曾与尔等言之。今彼差尼麻唐胡土克图至，果密奏：[达赖喇嘛身故已十六年，再生之小达赖喇嘛已十五岁，乞皇上暂隐之，勿闻于众。]与朕昔语尔等之言略无少异。」（卷一八一·页一五上一一六上）

The Thirty-Sixth Year of Kangxi. (11th April 1697)
 [Kangxi told] interior minister Guānzhí Wéi and Suǒ Qé, and Míng Zhū and scholar Sāng ā: 'I knew already that the Dalai Lama had passed away a long time ago, but the Diba concealed this matter and acted according to the [benefit] of dGa' ldan. Therefore, I dispatched the guarantor to condemn the Diba severely. I expected that the Diba would take the initiative to tell the truth about the Dalai Lama's death and ask me to keep this secret. Now [the sDe srid's emissary], Nimatang Hutuktu, has

¹² Maher 2003, p. 130 and Rockhill 1910, pp. 29–30. The sDe srid reports how he sent representatives to Mongol areas and the Manchu court to disclose the news of the Sixth Dalai Lama. He also explains how his government explained the news to Tibetans in Lhasa and how they reacted to the news. This will be discussed later in this article.

¹³ Chos 'phel narrated the story of Nyi thang zhabs drung in his work *Gangs can bod kyi gnas bshad lam yig gsar ma*. The lengthy story can be summarised as follow: Nyi thang zhabs drung Ngag dbang gzhon nu, also known as Nimatang Hutuktu in Mongol and Manchu documents, is the first reincarnation of the Nyi thang zhabs drung. He was one of the main official diplomats of the dGa' ldan pho brang in Peking and Mongolian areas during the reign of the sDe srid. He was also the throne holder of the Nyi thang monastery, followed by his reincarnations. (Chos 'phel 2002, pp. 2–5)

arrived in the capital and disclosed that the Dalai Lama has been dead for sixteen years, and the reincarnated new Dalai Lama is fifteen years old. [He] also requested me to keep this secret from the public. This is not different from what I told you before.' (Volume 181, pp. 15–16)¹⁴

According to this passage, the Kangxi Emperor had already heard about the Fifth Dalai Lama's demise and dispatched his envoy to condemn the sDe srid. Upon hearing the same news from the official representative of the sDe srid, the emperor again sent his officer Bǎo zhǔ, working at the Lǐ fān yuán, an office to govern "Foreign Barbarians" in Xining,¹⁵ to Tibet to condemn the sDe srid. The dGa' ldan pho brang disclosed the news of the new Dalai Lama to the Qing and Mongols before its public announcement to keep peaceful relations with their patrons.

Using this opportunity, the Kangxi Emperor made four demands to the sDe srid to act in his favour: First, since the Panchen Lama repeatedly rejected the invitations of the emperor, Kangxi asked the sDe srid to send him to Peking. Second, the Fifth Dalai Lama sent Jilong Hutuktu (rje lung sprul sku) to resolve dGa' ldan Khan's conflict with Khalkhas. But, instead of solving the problem, Jilong Hutuktu helped dGa' ldan Khan to fight against the Khalkhas and the Qing. The emperor, therefore, wanted the sDe srid to kill Jilong Hutuktu or send him to Peking. Third, as dGa' ldan Khan's daughter had married a Khoshut prince in Amdo Kokonor and settled there, which might cause a problem in future, the Kangxi Emperor wanted the sDe srid to send the girl to Peking. Fourth, according to Perdue, on top of these

¹⁴ *Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào*, 1982, p. 151.

¹⁵ The *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China* comments on the Lǐ fān yuán during the Qing Empire:

Among the agencies supervising the tribute system and trade and the countries involved was the Lifan Yuan (Office to Administer Foreign Barbarians), established in 1638 and staffed by Manchu, that is, members of the multinational banners that constituted the core military and social groups of early Qing society. [...] Later the authority of the Lifan Yuan, along with Qing power itself, was extended more generally westward to take charge of virtually all relationships with the peoples of Inner Asia. (Buell 2009)

Modern Chinese historian, Liú hànchéng's work on Sino-Tibet relations *Xizàng zīgú yīlái jūn bùshì zhōngguó de yī bù fèn* critically discussed the power, influence, and mission of this office during the Qing and the dGa' ldan pho brang's relations with this office. Liú hànchéng argued that the sDe srid never regarded himself as a subordinate to the imperial representatives in the Lǐ fān yuán office. (Liú hànchéng 2019, pp. 430–431)

demands, Kangxi also asked the sDe srid to “let the Panchen Lama rule the Tibetan faith.”¹⁶ The sDe srid gave various excuses, and none of these demands were fulfilled.¹⁷ However, the Kangxi continued to build his relationship with the dGa’ ldan pho brang because he believed “that the influence of Lhasa was the most powerful he could command to re-establish peace among the Mongols and prevent the founding of a great and united Mongols empire.”¹⁸ Thus, he dispatched another team of emissaries to Tibet to reconcile with the sDe srid.

康熙三十六年[一六九七·四·二〇]

嗣后尔宜益加恭顺，勿违朕旨，朕尽弃尔前罪，嘉惠如初。如此，则尔土人民大蒙利赖，尔之荣贵可获长享矣。为此特遣正使理藩院主事保住、副使署主事萨哈连以降敕例，赐币六端。(卷一八一·页二七上一三〇上)

Kangxi 36th Year (20th April 1697)

[The Kangxi said,] ‘after this, you (the sDe srid) should be more respectful and obedient. Do not disobey my command. Instead of holding yourself accountable for your previous mistakes, I will honour you like before. In this way, the people of your land will significantly benefit. Your honour will be enjoyed for a long time. Therefore, I specially dispatched the chief of the imperial court, Bǎozhù, and the deputy chief of lǐ fān

¹⁶ Perdue 2005, p. 194 and *Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, pp. 157–158. *Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* mentioned that there are four demands made by the Kangxi Emperor, but it did not explicitly explain the fourth demand. However, Perdue found the fourth demand in other Manchu materials.

¹⁷ *Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, pp. 158–160. The primary Mongolian document “Ein mongolisches Textfragment über den Ölötenfürsten Galdan” translated by Heissig described this correspondence between the Kangxi and the sDe srid where the sDe srid politely and yet firmly rejected each demand of the Kangxi with various reasons. (Heissig 1941, pp. 123–124)

¹⁸ Rockhill 1910.p.28. Using Tibetan materials, Marina Illich thinks that the Manchu’s support of the dGa’ ldan pho brang and Tibetan Buddhism was not just for controlling Mongols:

Scholarship on the subject continues to reductively claim that the Manchus patronized Tibetan Buddhism solely to gain the submission of Buddhist Mongols and thus eliminate the perennial threat that a potentially united Mongol military front posed to Manchu hegemony. Though largely unexamined, Tibetan sources offer a different perspective. (Illich 2006, Abstract)

yuàn, Sà hā lián, to issue an edict and simultaneously give you six coins.' (Volume 181, pp. 27 — 30)¹⁹

These two Qing records regarding the sDe srid and the dGa' ldan pho brang explain two aspects: On the one hand, the sDe srid concealed the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama from the Qing for more than a decade and strategically supported the Dzungars in the name of the Dalai Lama. However, the emperor could not legally punish the sDe srid other than sending his representatives to condemn him verbally. On the other hand, the emperor knew that sending messengers to condemn the sDe srid would not change any practical power structure in the dGa' ldan pho brang. Therefore, nine days after his first dispatch, the emperor sent a second group of envoys with an edict and gift to reconcile with the sDe srid. Besides, the emperor also sent the Second lCang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan to represent him in the Sixth Dalai Lama's enthronement ceremony on 25th October 1697 to show his respect to the Dalai Lama and Buddhism.

According to the sDe srid himself, the news about the death of the Fifth and the identification of the Sixth Dalai Lama appears to have been met with general support among Central Tibet's population. They believed in the sDe srid's good intention and expressed deep gratitude toward the sDe srid for accomplishing this significant task. However, beneath this seemingly auspicious atmosphere, purist dGe lugs pas

¹⁹ *Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào*, 1982, p. 154. Surprisingly, a same official document issued on the same day stated:

但谓第巴曰：皇上统领大兵已临宁夏，因前事四款尔皆遵旨，皇上大悦，故不进兵。

[The Kangxi ordered Bǎozhù, the former's messenger:] 'Explain to the Diba that the emperor's army has almost reached Ningxia, but you [the Diba] have fulfilled the first four things (see the four demands above) according to the emperor's will. Therefore, he [the Kangxi] is delighted, he will not continue to march. (*Qīng shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p.154)

According to modern scholarship, the Kangxi Emperor did not come to Ningxia to launch his military expedition to Tibet but to fight against dGa' ldan Khan because Ningxia was a strategic place for its location and cheap food supplies. (Perdue 2005, p. 201, Rockhill 1910, p.29) If his military expedition to Tibet was a plan, why did the emperor send lCang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan to represent him in the enthronement ceremony of the Sixth Dalai Lama in Lhasa at the same time? Moreover, the sDe srid did not fulfil any of the Kangxi's demands, but this document recorded that the sDe srid had fulfilled the four orders. These cited passages demonstrate that the primary Qing official documents have two flaws: Their contents are inconsistent and sometimes contradict each other. Second, they often exaggerate the power of the Qing emperors. Thus, the documents need to be read cautiously.

and some aristocrats did not welcome the news. In his *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, the sDe srid recorded the Tibetans' reaction when the officers declared the news concerning the Dalai Lama's death and enthronement.

སྐང་སྤྱང་ཅན་ལ་ཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་བྱིངས་ཆེ་དགའ་སྐྱོའི་ཀུན་རྟོག་པན་ཚུན་
འགྲན་པས་མཆི་མ་དབང་མིད་དུ་བྱུལ་བར་སྤང་།

Except for a few with the heart of an ox, most were moved by competing emotions of joy and sorrow and appeared to shed tears without control.²⁰

Looking at the context, we can deduce that the opponents with the "heart of an ox" came from two groups: One group consisted of members of the aristocracy who did not like the sDe srid's authoritarian leadership style and thought this was a strategy of the sDe srid to maintain his power. The other group were the dGe lugs purists, who viewed this plan of the sDe srid as a way to dilute the dGe lugs tradition's virtuous qualities. For instance, sGo mang mKhan po 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's first encounter with the Sixth Dalai Lama was completely negative, as will be demonstrated later in this article. For these dGe lugs pas, the purity of the religious school should be at the top of the dGa' ldan pho brang's priorities. It seems for the dGe lugs purists, the dGa' ldan pho brang was a religious institute rather than a political entity.

During this time, the Manchus were still preoccupied with their Mongolian rivals and strengthening the empire's unification. The Khalkhas and the Dzungars became weak and divided through the Dzungar's war against the Khalkhas and the Qing. According to many

²⁰ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p. 323. The same text also described the people's reaction in Lhasa:

མི་དཔོན་ཞང་གོང་པ་དོ་རྗེ་དང་ཤར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མེ་རྟོག་ལྷུ་མ་འདི་ཐང་དུ་ལྷ་ས་བ་རྣམས་ལ་རྣ་བཅུད་
བཞགས་པར། ལྷུ་ས་དམན་ཚན་པ་ལ་ཅིག་གིས། སྐྱེ་བྱེད་ཆེ། དེ་ཅོམ་གྱི་བར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་མ་
བཞགས་པའི་ས་སྤྱང་མེད་ལྷུ་ག་བཞུལ་དང་ཚོས་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལུགས་ཁུར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྗེ་སྤྱང་སྐྱེ་ཞབས་གཅིག་
བྱས་བཞིས། དེད་ཚོས་ས་བྱབ་པ་མ་ཞེས་པར་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་མཐོང་བྱུང་སོགས་ལ་བ་སྤང་བཏང་འདུག།

Leader Zhang grong pa rDo rje and Shar bKra shis read the *rNa bcud* [the story of the transition from the Fifth to the Sixth Dalai Lama] to the people of Lhasa at the Flower Garden Ground. It has been told that some elderly ladies exclaimed, "Thank you, [sDe srid], for single-handedly carrying people's pain concerning the passing of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the political and religious duties for such a [long] time. We saw the sunrise without ever knowing nightfall. (sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p. 324)

primary documents cited in this article, the Khoshut Mongols in Kokonor and Central Tibetan submitted to the charismatic leadership of sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. The dGa' ldan pho brang entitled the Khoshut Mongols as "Government Mongols"²¹ to recognise their significance and closeness with the dGa' ldan pho brang.²² Therefore, at this point, neither the Manchus nor the Mongols dominated the events about to unfold in Central Tibet. It was primarily the factions within the dGa' ldan pho brang that would shape these political developments.

The Sixth Dalai Lama and the Purist dGe lugs pas

The turbulent and sometimes bizarre odyssey of early 18th-century politics of the dGa' ldan pho brang began with the appearance of the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683–1706) in the late 1690s. Regarding the Sixth Dalai Lama, many still find it puzzling and challenging to comprehend his seemingly wild and tragic life. Growing up amidst family and political conflicts in mTsho sna, the child faced several attempts of assassination by his spiteful relatives.

²¹ The term "Government Mongol" is the equivalent to the Tibetan term "gZhung sog". One can also translate this Tibetan term as "Mongols of the dGa' ldan pho brang." I have chosen the term "Government Mongols" to characterise them as Mongols (*sog po*) who had a special relationship with the dGa' ldan pho brang (*gzhung*). The term can be traced in the Fifth Dalai Lama's works (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 2014, p. 100), referring to the Khoshut Mongols in Central Tibet and the Kokonor region. These Khoshut Mongols were supporters of the dGe lugs pa school and played a key role in establishing the dGa' ldan pho brang. The Mongols in Central Tibet continuously served the dGa' ldan pho brang as a military force. They fought in many wars for the dGa' ldan pho brang. The Tibetan official document, *Tham deb long pa'i dmigs bu* compiled by Nor nang pa recorded:

དེ་དུས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་མོག་ཞེས་པ་འདི་རྣམས་ལྷན་པོ་བྲིན་འཇམ་གཏེང་ས་གཏོགས་དང་། ལྷོན་ལམ་རྟ་པའི་རྒྱབས་
རྒྱུ་པོ་ཡབ་སྐུ་འབོད་པའང་གནའ་བོའི་མིང་འཇགས་པ་བཅས་ཡིན་ནམ་སྟེ།

The "Government Mongols" at the time belonged to Gushri Khan, and [the author wonders] whether the title of the "king and prince" for the horsemen [*rta pa*] during the sMon lam festival is perhaps also a remnant of the old name. (Nor nang pa 1981. f.36a)

This passage seems to imply that the Mongol kings and princes had been taking part in the Lhasa sMon lam festival as horsemen, which later became a tradition even after the Mongol kingship was discontinued in the dGa' ldan pho brang. See rNam rgyal dbang 'dus's work, *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus*, one of the most extensive works on Tibetan military history available, published in 2003.

²² FitzHerbert and Travers said, "As is well-known, the military power which brought the Ganden Phodrang to power as the government of Tibet in 1642 was an alliance of Tibetans and Mongols." (FitzHerbert and Travers 2020, p. 11)

Due to miscommunication with the sDe srid, the Dalai Lama and his family were kept under house arrest and treated very strictly for many years.²³ Later his situation improved, but the young Sixth Dalai Lama still did not receive the same scholarly and religious training, guidance, and environment that previous Dalai Lamas had enjoyed. In this situation, the fourteen-year-old Dalai Lama was likely to have already been exposed to adult behaviour, including romantic experiences, before entering into the celibacy of monkhood, according to the adult lifestyle typical in Tibet at the time.²⁴ However, his childhood was filled with misery, trauma, and worldly desires, which “would later affect the boy’s [the Sixth Dalai Lama] perception of himself and his acceptance by the political public in Inner Asia.”²⁵

Within a month of his official recognition as the Sixth Dalai Lama

²³ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, pp. 200–203. The content of this lengthy passage can be summarised as follows: The sDe srid regrettably explains the problems that the Sixth Dalai Lama had to endure in his childhood. According to this account, the local officials strictly held the child and his parents in a house, blocked the windows with stones, and locked the door from the outside. Every night, an official servant watched the house with a guard dog. They were not even allowed to light a fire in the middle of freezing winter days and were not allowed to contact outside people without official permission. Their nutrition was so poor that they were ravished by hunger and thirst and lived in constant fear, but gradually their situation improved. The sDe srid admitted that he heard later that the officials tried to destroy the family of the Dalai Lama due to, among many reasons, the political rivalry between the dGa’ ldan pho brang, Bhutan, and the Sixth Dalai Lama’s family. In his article about the Sixth Dalai Lama, Kalsang Dhondup wrote, “Misunderstanding the purpose of Desi’s order for strict secrecy, the Tsona officials kept the boy [the Sixth Dalai Lama] and the parents under virtual house arrest for a long time.” (Dhondup 2003, p.34)

²⁴ Tshe ring dbang rgyal 2002, pp.48–51 and pp. 61–65. The content of this lengthy passage can be summarised as follows: During the time of Pho lha nas in central Tibet, lay people in Tibet would generally begin to engage in adult entertainments such as sexual encounters, alcohol and hunting as early as 13 to 14 years old. Narrating the Pho lha nas’ multiple encounters with young girls, Tshe ring dbang rgyal gave various examples which show how lay people engaged in sexual activities at the time. For example, on many occasions, as a teenager, Pho lha nas joined his male friends to engage in sexual activities with other local girls of similar ages or sometimes even younger ones. In his famous lecture at the University of Lhasa, Nor bu bsam ’phel, who specialised in the dGa’ ldan pho brang, said:

ངག་རྒྱན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་ན། མཚོ་ལྷོར་གོང་ས་མཚོག་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་མཛད་པོ་དང་ལུས་འབྲིས་བྱུང་བར་
བཤད།

According to the oral history, it is said that Gong sa mchog (the Dalai Lama) had sexual intercourse (*lus ’brel*) with many local girls in mTso sna. (Nor bu bsam ’phel 2022, Online)

²⁵ Schwieger 2015, p.105. In his critical edition of the Sixth Dalai Lama’s poems, Sørensen explained the childhood of the Sixth Dalai Lama. He wrote: “From the very outset, he [the Sixth Dalai Lama] was detained, shrouded in secrecy, together with his parents, in mTsho-sna rdzon, before being transferred to sNa-dkar-rtse.” (Sørensen 1988, p.258)

in 1697, his yogi father Rig 'dzin bkra shis bstan 'dzin, a forty-year-old rNying ma master, suddenly fell ill and passed away on their way to Lhasa. The sDe srid records that his sick and bedridden father whispered his last advice to his son, the Dalai Lama:

ཡབ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་དུས་གོང་ཞབས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡང་ཡང་ཚོས་རྣམ་ཐྱོན་གྱིས་བཀག་
 ཆ་ཞུས་འདུག་ཀྱང་ཕེབས་ཤིང་དེ་སྐབས་ཡབ་གྱིས་སྐྱུན་འབྱུང་གི་རིགས་ཞུས་
 དོགས་པའི་ཁོ་རང་སྣོད་ཚིས་ཁོ་ན་བྱས་འདུག་ཀྱང་སྐབས་སྐབས་སེང་དབར་
 དུ་ཕེབས་པར། ཁོང་རྣམ་པས་ལེགས་པོ་མ་ཞུས་པ་དང་། ཁོང་རྣམ་པར་
 གསན་ན་མི་ཡོང་འཕྲུལ་ཕྱགས་སུ་བྱེད་རང་ཡབ་སྐུ་གི་དབར་དུ་སེལ་
 འཇུག་ཡོང་།

While [his] father was sick, Gong zhabs rin po che (the Sixth Dalai Lama) visited, even though Chos rdor (an attendant of the Dalai Lama) repeatedly attempted to stop [him]. Suspecting that the father would inform [the Dalai Lama] of different issues at the time, Chos rdor always tried to be there. However, in the breaks [between the periods in which he was present], [the Dalai Lama] visited from time to time. [The father told the Dalai Lama] 'They [the attendants like Chos rdor] did not speak well. If you listen to them, now and in the future, it will bring a dispute between you two [the Sde srid and Dalai Lama], master and student (*yab sras*).²⁶

This significant advice suggests two things: To begin with, starting with his official recognition, it appears that there were already people in the Dalai Lama's inner circle planning to destroy his relationship with the sDe srid. In addition, father Rig 'dzin was not even allowed to meet his son freely. It seems the attendants tried to create distrust between the sDe srid, the Dalai Lama, and his father. Chos rdor, the main official attendant of the Dalai Lama, even attempted to stop him from visiting his dying father and suspected them of having a conversation behind his back. The sDe srid later stated that the deceased father's advice was a visionary premonition of the occurrences between the Dalai Lama and the sDe srid.²⁷ When he

²⁶ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p. 321.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 321. The text reads:

སྐྱུན་ཐོན་མང་བ་འབྱུང་གནང་བྱུང་འདུག་པ་ཕྱིས་སུ་བརྟགས་ན་མངོན་མཁྱེན་གྱིས་བཅད་པར་གོ།

arrived in Lhasa, the fourteen-year-old Dalai Lama had to face the aggressive purist dGe lugs pas and others who despised the sDe srid. The purists also disliked the fact that the Dalai Lama, the most important reincarnation of the dGe lugs pa school, was found in a rNying ma family. Besides, the sDe srid continued and extended the state-building visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama to include the other Tibetan religious schools, such as rNying ma and Bon po under the dGa' ldan pho brang.²⁸ The dGe lugs purists viewed this as a threat. In his thesis about the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa,²⁹ Maher writes:

Upon a later investigation of [his father's] ability to brief [the Dalai Lama] on many issues, it came to be understood [that he possessed] clairvoyance.

- ²⁸ The Fifth Dalai Lama embraced all Tibetan religious traditions and treated them equally along with the dGe lugs tradition. The Fifth Dalai Lama repeatedly emphasised the significance of having all Tibetan religious traditions under dGa' ldan pho brang in his autobiography. For example:

འདི་རིགས་དམ་ཚམས་སྐྱབ་པའི་བྲོགས་སུ་ནི་ག་ལ་འགྲོ་འོན་ཏེ་བོད་འདིར་མགོ་ཚེས་ཤིག་ཡོད་ན་དུས་བདེ་
ཞིང་། ས་ཀར་རྗེ་དག་སྐྱུ་སྐྱོགས་སྐྱབ་མཐའ་གཞན་རྣམས་དམིགས་པ་མེད་པའི་དབྱིངས་སུ་རྒྱས་མི་འདེབས་
པར་ཡན་ནམ་སྐྱམ་པ་བྱུང་།

[I thought] although, of course, these [political engagements] will not be beneficial for practising the Buddha dharma, Tibet will be peaceful if it has a leader. This might also help the Sa [skya], Kar (bKa' brgyud), and rNying [ma] schools from not being destroyed without a trace. (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 2014, p. 184)

To further comprehend the Dalai Lama's state-building visions, FitzHerbert concluded: "The Fifth Dalai Lama was an astute strategist in the domains of political and cultural symbolism." (FitzHerbert 2018, p.55)

- ²⁹ Maher's thesis comprehensively analyses the religious scholarship of the sGo mang mKhan po and its influence on the dGe lugs pa scholastic tradition. In his thesis, Maher argued, "the authority religious figures are able to wield is a reflection of the legitimacy they have been granted by their followers" (Maher 2003, Abstract). This is a significant feature of Tibetan Buddhist leaders at the time in Inner Asia to accumulate power and influence. Inevitably, dGe lugs pa Buddhist leaders during this time were often involved in politics, depending on their agenda and social context. There is no exception when it comes to 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa. Maher therefore had to analyse "the larger historical context in which he ['Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] lived in order to demonstrate some of the ways that he deployed his authority" (Maher 2003, Abstract) in religion. Since Maher's work is primarily focused on Buddhist philosophy, he did not write in detail about the political activities of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, although his role in politics dismantled the stability of the social and political system in Central Tibet. Thus, Tsyrempilov has argued that our understanding of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's political activities "still remains poor and incomplete" (Tsyrempilov 2003, p. 441). Interestingly, Maher highlights that one of the reasons for the internal disunity among the dGe lugs pas were "tensions [that] emerged between those in U and those in Amdo" (Maher 2003, p. 20) but I did not find any primary material evidence to support this argument. Comparing two biographies of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa by 'Jigs med dbang po, the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, and

“Additionally, there was a sense among some Gelukbas in the seventeenth century, including the Jamyang Shayba, that the integrity of their school was threatened from within by the syncretic inclination of some important figures, including the Fifth Dalai Lama.”³⁰

Because the Sixth Dalai Lama was born not only into a rNying ma family but to a famous rNying ma master and the sDe srid announced the birth of this new Dalai Lama after 15 years of secrecy, the purist dGe lugs pas thought that these were the plans plotted by the sDe srid to destroy the purity of the dGe lugs tradition. Their rejection of the new Dalai Lama is one of the many signs of disapproval that the purists expressed against the dGa' ldan pho brang under the leadership of the sDe srid in the name of protecting the “pure” dGe lugs tradition. Maher correctly recognises this conflict “between factions supporting the (Fifth) Dalai Lama’s syncretism and those preferring ‘pure’ Geluk.”³¹ This dispute sounds very much like religious conflict, however, because of the political position of the sDe srid and the dGa' ldan pho brang’s religio-political relationship with Se ra, 'Bras spungs, dGa' ldan, and bKra shis lhun po monasteries, it inevitably became a political game.

In this conflict, the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa became a voluntary leader who fearlessly raised his voice against the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama for accommodating non-dGe lugs traditions. The purists believed in the superiority of the dGe lugs tradition over the others and they would not tolerate the policy of the dGa' ldan pho brang, which treated all Tibetan religious schools equally.

In 1697, the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa attended the welcome ceremony of the Sixth Dalai Lama to check whether the boy was the real incarnation. During their first encounter, in his *Biography of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa*, bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis reported the following exchange:

ཆེབས་བསྐྱེད་སྐབས་གཟིགས་སྣང་མི་ལེགས་པ་གཅིག་བྱུང་གསུངས། དེ་དུས་
གཟིགས་སྣང་གང་བྱུང་ལྷན་པས། སྐྱེས་དེ་ལ་དབུ་མི་འདུག་པ་སྟམ་པ་ཡུན་

bSe ngag dbang bkra shis, Maher thought that both biographies “might have wanted to portray Jamyang Shayba as apolitical and uninvolved in the daily course of events” (Maher 2003, p. 169). One notable aspect is that Maher regards the biography of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa written by the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad as an autobiography (Maher 2003, Abstract). This biography of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa is the soft version of the biography written by bSe Nyag dbang bkra shis because the former biography excluded the provocative vocabularies and radical approaches of the latter biography. See further in the third chapter of Maher’s thesis (Maher 2003, pp. 112–168).

³⁰ Maher 2003, p. 35.

³¹ Maher 2003, p. 20.

རིང་གཞིགས་པས། མ་མཐོང་ཞིབ་ཏུ་ཡང་ཡང་གཞིགས་པས་རེ་ཞིག་ལ་མ་
ཤར་གསུངས། རོན་ལ་རླུན་མ་གཅིག་ཡིན་པའི་བརྗོད་པ་དང་།

[’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] said, ‘There occurred a bad apparition during the welcoming event.’ [He was] asked about the apparition, and [he responded,] ‘[I] saw the reincarnation (*sku skyes*) without his head for a long time. Even though [I] watched him closely again and again, [the head] did not appear for some time.’ This was, indeed, a sign that [the incarnation] is a fake one!³²

The purpose of this statement is to disprove the authenticity of the Sixth Dalai Lama. At the same time, this is also to display the supernormal knowledge of the First ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa to make a prophecy. Many similar records are found throughout this biographical work.

Despite the condemnation by the Qing and suspicion of the purist dGe lugs pas, the Dalai Lama’s enthronement ceremony was successful, and Mongols and Manchus diplomats attended the ceremony along with Tibetan dignitaries. Ngag dbang chos ldan

³² bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., f.70a. The last sentence is a comment on the part of the author of the biography. Similar passages can be found elsewhere in the same biography:

དེ་ནས་ངག་དབང་དོན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་ནས་ཡོངས་སྐབས་ཤིག་སྐྱོན་བོར་ནས་མི་འདུག་ཀྱང་ལམ་སྐབས་
དེར་ལྷ་མ་རྒྱས། དེ་རྒྱབ་འབྲས་སྤངས་ལ་ལེབས། ལྷ་བྲང་རྙིང་བར་བཞུགས་པའི་མཚན་མོར་སྐྱོན་བོར་སོང་
ཞུས་པས། ཅི་ཡང་མི་བཀྱིན། ད་ལོ་ན་ཚོས་གོས་གཅིག་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་ཚོས་གོས་གཅིག་བཙལ་ནས་
ལུལ་བས་བྱིན་ཐབས་གནང་ནས། རྟོན་འབྲེལ་མ་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་འདིས་བསྐབ་པ་མགོ་མི་ཐོན་པའི་ལྷས་ཡིན་
འདུག་གསུངས།

Then, Ngag dbang rdor rje was carrying the monastic robe (*sku chos*). On one occasion he lost it but [he] was not able to tell [’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] during the journey. That evening, they arrived at ‘Bras spungs and when they stayed in the old residence (*Bla rang*) for the night, Ngag dbang rdor rje said, “The monastic robe got lost.” [’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] did not scold him at all but said, “Find a way [to get a new] monastic robe!” Then, [Ngag dbang rdor rje] searched for a new robe and offered it. [’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] blessed it and said, “this is an inauspicious sign, an indication that this reincarnation [the Sixth Dalai Lama] will not be able to keep the precepts.” (bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., ff.69–70)

These excerpts show that the disapproval of the Sixth Dalai Lama among the purist dGe lugs pas like ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa was not a later development; it was there from the beginning of the young Dalai Lama’s arrival in Lhasa.

(1642–1714), the Second ICang skya incarnation, who played a vital diplomatic role in the interactions between Mongols, Manchus, and Tibetans, was at the ceremony to present the Kangxi Emperor.³³ ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan became very close with the sDe srid, and hence the officer at *lǐ fān yuàn* suggested the Kangxi Emperor punish ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan severely.³⁴ However, the Kangxi could not kill him because ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan was an important lama with a significant number of Mongol and Tibetan followers. Moreover, Nag dbang chos ldan was instrumental in building trust among the Amdo Kokonor Mongols toward the Qing Emperor and convinced the Amdo Mongols to meet the Kangxi Emperor in 1697.³⁵ This was the first diplomatic meeting between the

³³ ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan, n.d.a, f.19a. The text reads:

རྒྱལ་དབང་བླ་མ་པ་གནས་མཚེག་པོ་ཏཱ་ལམ། གསར་དུ་ཕེབས་ཉིན་གོང་མའི་གསེར་ཡིག་དང་། ཉེན་ཚས་ལུལ་
རྩིས་ཞལ་དཀར་རྩིས་རྩིས་སོགས། ཀ་ཅ་འགའ་ཞིག་མ་གཏོགས་ཕལ་ཆེ་བ། གསེར་དབུལ་གོས་དར་ལ་བཀགས་
བཟང་པོ་ལ། གཞི་བྱས་ཐོག་མར་ལེགས་འབུལ་ངོས་གཙང་ལུལ།

On the same day when the Sixth Dalai Lama arrived at the Potala Palace, [I] offered the golden edict of Gong ma [the emperor] and religious items (*rten chas*). After that, [I] made a pure offering, which consisted—except for a white porcelain cup, vajra, bell, and a few other things—primarily of gold, silver, silk, and good *kha btags*.

Rockhill highlighted an opposite narrative: the Qing sent envoys to Tibet to investigate the sDe srid and his misdeeds. However, he acknowledged that Tibetan histories have a different narrative. (Rockhill 1910, pp.26–27) According to the Manchu documents, the Kangxi Emperor dispatched three groups of emissaries to investigate the case, reconcile with the sDe srid, and represent the emperor in the enthronement ceremony, respectively. Each envoy had a different mission, and they are not the same group and same people.

³⁴ The officer at *lǐ fān yuàn* in Xining complained about ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan's relationship with the sDe srid to the Qing court and suggested that the court should kill ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan as a punishment. (*Qing shǐlù zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p.160) However, the Kangxi spared his life and restored his dignity after a short suspension of his title because of his diplomatic contribution to the Qing court, which we will discuss later. In his autobiography, ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan wrote:

ཟླ་བ་ལ་ཤས་སོང་ནས་ད་ནི་ཉེད། ཟླ་མ་ཆེ་འདི་གལ་ལ་ལྷར་བཞིན་དུ།
འགོ་འདུག་ལྗོད་ལམ་སློ་སེམས་བདེ་མོ་གྱིས། ང་ཡི་སེམས་ལ་ཅེ་ཡང་འཛིན་མི་བྱེད།

After a few months, [the Kangxi said,] 'now you (ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan) can go and stay with higher lamas like it before. Be happy/relieved. I will not keep any[grudge]in my mind.' (n.d.a, ff.23a–23b)

For further reading, see Klaus Sagaster's biographic work of ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan published in 1967.

³⁵ In 1693, ICang skya Nag dbang chos ldan was officially invited to Peking and became a first-ranking official royal lama. *The Autobiography of ICang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan* describes how the emperor treated him with respect (ICang skya Nag dbang chos ldan n.d.a, f.16a). In 1697, the emperor dispatched the ICang skya lama to Lhasa to represent the emperor in the enthronement ceremony of the Sixth

Amdo Mongols and the Kangxi Emperor, which opened the door to building strong Qing influence among the Amdo Mongols. As argued before, Tibetan Buddhist lamas influenced not only internal Tibetan politics but also the external affairs of Mongols and the Qing court. This has already been pointed out by Marina Illich, who at the same time expressed her “critique of how western academic constructions of Qing history have radically marginalised and often mischaracterised the influence of Tibetan Buddhism on Qing court culture and imperial policy.”³⁶

Theoretically, from that day he was enthroned, the new Dalai Lama became Tibet’s political and spiritual leader. However, the dGa’ ldan pho brang’s practical power was exercised by the sDe srid for years because the Dalai Lama was young and needed to focus on his studies. Gradually, the Dalai Lama began to control his power and ruled the dGa’ ldan pho brang in collaboration with the sDe srid. The sDe srid became the political mentor and religious teacher of the Sixth Dalai Lama as he had paved the way for the Sixth Dalai Lama for many years.³⁷ Unaware of this internal relationship and its complexity, some

Dalai Lama. In his autobiography, the Second lCang skya Nag dbang chos ldan recorded that while he was in Xining, the allies of the Kangxi Emperor asked lCang skya lama to advise Amdo Mongol leaders to pay a visit to the Kangxi Emperor, who was in Ningxia at the time. The Second lCang skya lama strategically convinced the Amdo Mongols to meet the Kangxi Emperor in 1697, a historic diplomatic victory for the Qing. (lCang skya Nag dbang chos ldan n.d.a, ff. 18–19a) This is a significant example of how Tibetan Lamas influenced the Qing’s relations with the Mongols. Illich acknowledged that the Second lCang skya Nag dbang chos ldan “convinced the Mongols of Kokonor to submit to Qing rule while en route through their territory.” (Illich 2006, p.364) In the early diplomatic history of the Qing with the Amdo Mongols, this is one of the most critical events which built long-lasting relations between the two groups, the Kokonor Mongols and the Qing. Considering the urgency of the political situation in Dzungar, central Tibet and Qing Empire, this is one of the most significant diplomatic contributions of the Tibetan lamas in bridging the gap between the Amdo Mongols and the Kangxi Emperor in the 1690s.

³⁶ Illich 2006, Abstract. Acknowledging the role of Tibetan Lamas in Peking to influence the religious and political affairs in the Qing court, Illich highlights the importance of including primary Tibetan materials in Qing studies. (Illich 2006, Abstract)

³⁷ Comparative analysis of the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* (1989) and the *Autobiography of the Fifth Panchen Lama* (2014) gives a clear sense that the sDe srid did his best throughout the Sixth Dalai Lama’s life. For example, since the young Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho was officially enthroned in Lhasa as the Sixth Dalai Lama, the sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho carefully looked after the young Dalai Lama’s growth, education, and political career. The sDe srid diplomatically established the recognition of the new Dalai Lama among Manchus, Mongols, and other neighbouring societies. He also wrote treatises including *lNga pa drug par ’phos pa’i gtan* (2007) and *Rab gsal gser gyi snye ma* (1989) to prove the authenticity of the Sixth Dalai Lama and encouraged other lamas and scholars in

scholars such as Perdue have assumed that the sDe srid was “forced to conciliate the furious Chinese Emperor by officially subordinating himself to the sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho.”³⁸ However, it is far more likely that the sDe srid willingly became the faithful follower of the Dalai Lama from the first day he was recognised. The fervent supporter of the Fifth Dalai Lama would naturally have been devoted to his incarnation, the Sixth Dalai Lama. However, as per tradition, the young Dalai Lama had to undergo a series of Buddhist educational training and ritual practices before taking on his full responsibilities within the dGa' ldan pho brang.

The Politics of Accusation and Sectarianism

In 1698, the Third Khoshut Khan Tenzin Dalai, who did not have much political power, officially invited the purist leader 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa to his residence, dGa' ldan khang gsar, in Lhasa. The Khan asked 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa to give him and his queen religious initiations and empowerment. At the end of this meeting, the Khoshut king and queen declared and requested:

ད་ནས་བཟུང་ཁྱེད་ལྷ་མ་ཁྱེད། ཡང་ཡང་མེད་སྐོས་དགོས་ལྷན།

From now onward, [we will] regard you ['Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] as [our] lama. Please visit [us] often.³⁹

Tibet to do the same. In his article about the Sixth Dalai Lama, Kalsang Dhondup vividly explained how the sDe srid protected the Sixth Dalai Lama until the former's sudden death in 1705. (Dhondup 2003, pp.32–41) Although it is true that the success of the Sixth Dalai Lama is essential for the sDe srid's political career and legacy, I am aware of any primary Tibetan materials claim that whatever the sDe srid did for the Sixth Dalai Lama was for his own benefit.

³⁸ Perdue 2005, p. 228. As we will see later, Perdue's work recorded many such cases where the Manchu court secretaries purposely exaggerated political occurrences to portray the authority of their emperor beyond its reality. If the Dalai Lama could not get legitimacy and religious recognition within Tibetan society, external powers, such as the Manchu emperors, could not force Tibetans to subordinate them. An example of this is the case of Ngag dbang ye shes rgya mtsho, the alternative claimant to the title of the Dalai Lama with recognition from lHa bzang Khan and Kangxi Emperor 1707, never gained public legitimacy among Tibetans and Mongols as the authentic Dalai Lama. (Petech 1972, pp.17–18) Thus, Tibetans discovered another Dalai Lama while Ngag dbang ye shes rgya mtsho was still in Potala Palace as the Sixth Dalai Lama.

³⁹ bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., f.71b. This meeting between the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and Khoshut Tenzin Dalai Khan paved way for the Purists in building their relationship with lHa bzang Khan. According to the *Biography of 'Jam dbyangs*

This meeting was a significant event in Central Tibet because it brought a new beginning to the purist dGe lugs pas' relationship with the Mongol leaders in Lhasa. The collaboration between the purist dGe lugs pas and the Khoshut Mongols became the central force to challenge the dGa' ldan pho brang under the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama. Subsequently, the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's relationship with the Amdo Mongols, such as the Ju nang tribe, also became strong and intimate.⁴⁰ This may partly have been because of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's birthplace and its historical connection with the Amdo Mongols. These newly forged diplomatic and religious relationships increased the influence of the purist dGe lugs pas and the Khoshut Mongols in the dGa' ldan pho brang political power struggle. The political dGa' ldan pho brang was still not established enough to be firmly connected with Tibetans, and the government's internal power structure was not strong and stable. The political factions and interest groups under this government were relatively new and fragile because they did not have historically inherited power bases in Lhasa. In this situation, the dGe lugs pa monastic leaders in Lhasa became leading figures of the new dGa' ldan pho brang government.⁴¹

bzhad, his social and political influence among Tibetans and Mongols visibly increased after this meeting.

⁴⁰ The Ju nang Mongol leader later invited the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa to Amdo and supported him in establishing Bla brang monastery in 1710. In his history of Amdo, Hor gtsang 'Jigs med explained how the Bla brang monastery became a big dGe lugs pa centre in the Amdo region. (Hor gtsang 'Jigs med 2009, pp.23–26) Since 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa became the prominent lama of the Khoshut Khan, he became popular among Mongol Ju nang tribes. Gradually he got close with many other Amdo Mongols. After the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa became the mKhan po, the frequency of his meeting with the Khoshut and the Dzungar Mongols suddenly increased. As we will see later, this indirectly strengthened his position in Lhasa.

⁴¹ The Lhasa region, previously known as sKyid shod lung pa, had been the political domain of the sKyid shod family for generations. They supported the dGe lugs pa schools and fought against the gTsang pa kings but the gTsang army defeated the sKyid shod sde pa in 1618. In this situation, sKyid shod sde pa leader Chos rje blo bzang bstan' dzin rgya mtsho (1593–1638) escaped to Amdo Kokonor. Since then, sKyid shod lung pa or Lhasa did not have any powerful ruler until the dGa' ldan pho brang government was established in 1642. Around this time, there was no powerful political authority anywhere in the Lhasa area to challenge the dGa' ldan pho brang. See the work of Yon tan rgya mtsho published in 2001. The dGa' ldan pho brang was a private religious institution that later became a political organisation in 1642. The leaders of the dGa' ldan pho brang decided to move their government from 'Bras spungs monastery to Lhasa and rebuilt the Potala Palace for strategic purpose. (Karmay 2016, Online and Schaeffer 2005, p.76) Therefore, the dGa' ldan pho brang was established during this power vacuum in Lhasa. In this situation, the leaders of the dGe lugs pa monasteries automatically became the leaders in this new government.

These monastic leaders were not professional politicians and they had other responsibilities to fulfil. For instance, the mKhan pos of the monasteries had to look after their monasteries financially and spiritually. Under these circumstances, it was not feasible for mKhan pos to attend all government assemblies. Therefore, the government created two assemblies known as the “large/greater assembly” (*rgyas 'dzoms*) and the “select/smaller/exclusive gathering” (*hrag bsdus*). The political power of the dGa' ldan pho brang at the time circulated among three internal parties: the Khoshut Mongols in Central Tibet, the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama, and prominent dGe lugs pa monasteries. Among these three, the Khoshut Mongols controlled most military power as per tradition. The dGe lugs pa monasteries dominated the two assemblies of the dGa' ldan pho brang because they were the majority.⁴² Considering the increasing tensions between the leaders of the powerful dGe lugs pa institutions and the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama, the increasingly growing intimate relationship between the Khoshut Mongols and the purist dGe lugs pas was not good news for the Dalai Lama and the sDe srid. These new developments made the dGe lugs purists their potential competitors.

Therefore, it seems that Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, as the sDe srid of the dGa' ldan pho brang, attempted to establish a better power balance between the political and religious parties within the dGa' ldan pho brang by accommodating all factions in a way that was meaningful to them. According to primary sources, De mo and Sems dpa' rin po che were neither scholars nor aristocrats, and they were also from 'Bras spungs sgo mang college and 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's close students.⁴³ However, they became the inner attendants of the Sixth Dalai Lama. This puzzle shows that the sDe srid purposely recruited

⁴² Monasteries under the leadership of the mKhan pos held the key positions in the decision-making process in both assemblies (*rgyas 'dzoms* and *hrag bsdus*) in the dGa' ldan pho brang political power structure. This unique feature emerged due to the specific social and political context in which the dGe lugs pas founded the dGa' ldan pho brang with the help of the Mongolian military force.

⁴³ For example, since the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa had student-master relationships with De mo and Sems dpa' rin po che, he scolded them for renouncing the monastic vows along with the Sixth Dalai Lama:

རྗེ་འདིས་དེ་མོ་སྐུལ་སྐུ་དང་སེམས་དབའ་གཉིས་ལ། སྐུ་ཕྱོགས་དེ་འདྲ་གནང་ནའང་ཉེད་གཉིས་འདི་འདྲ་ཉེད་
ལྷགས་ཡོད་དམ་ཞིས་བཀའ་བརྟུན།

rJe 'dis ['Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] scolded De mo lama and Sems dpa', "Even the sKu phyogs [the Dalai Lama] did that. How could you two do the same thing?" (bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., f.86b)

Although this event occurred in 1702, this shows the power of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa over the close attendants of the Sixth Dalai Lama. Historically, De mo rin po che and Sems dpa' rin po che belonged to the 'Bras spungs sgo mang college, which brought them into the purist circle dGe lugs pa group.

these two young lamas to please the purist dGe lugs pas and build his relationship with the sGo mang monastery through the Dalai Lama. Additionally, the sDe srid also began to invite the purist leader 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa on special occasions to observe and witness the debate of Buddhist scholars (*dge bshes*) with the Dalai Lama.⁴⁴ However, at the same time, the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama requested all religious masters, including the Bon pos, to perform nationwide rituals for the dGa' ldan pho brang and instructed all regional offices to do the same annually.⁴⁵ The performance of these state-sponsored rituals was considered very significant in accumulating common merit (*spyi mthun bsod nams*) and demonstrating the state's power, recognition, and legitimacy.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., f.73a. The text reads:

ལྷོན་དུས་ཚངས་དབྱངས་པ་འབྲས་སྦངས་གྲུ་ཚང་བཞིའི་ཚོས་གྲུ་ལ་ལེབས་དུས་ལྷེ་བས་ཇེ་འདི་ལ་ཡང་ལེབས་
ནས་དག་བཤེས་གཞན་ཚོས་ཚོད་པའི་དཔང་པོ་བྱེད་དགོས་ལུས་ནས།

In the autumn, while Tshang dbyangs pa [the Sixth Dalai Lama] visited the four colleges of 'Bras spungs monastery, the sDe ba requested this Master ['Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] to oversee debates of other Buddhist scholars (*dge bshes*) [with the Dalai Lama], then.

During this time, the Dalai Lama was still in the process of his intensive Buddhist scholastic training. As per the tradition, each Dalai Lama had to visit Se ra, 'Bras spungs, and dGa' ldan to debate with top Buddhist scholars to develop himself and demonstrate his progress. The Tibetan government would invite senior Buddhist scholars to judge the debates. The judges are called the *mTshan zhabs* of the Dalai Lama. *mTshan zhabs* literally translates as "the servant of the logical studies" of the Dalai Lama. Becoming a *mTshan zhabs* of the Dalai Lama is one of the highest honours in the dGe lugs pa community. In this context, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa was invited to judge the debate as the *mTshan zhabs* of the Dalai Lama. This honorary invitation demonstrated that the sDe srid tried to be friends with the purists or showed the principle of his government to accommodate different factions equally.

⁴⁵ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, pp.423–428. The content of this lengthy passage can be summarised as follow: The dGa' ldan pho brang built religious statues and stūpas in many places under the initiative of the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama. The sDe srid recorded the details of where the government built which statues and stūpas according to which religious tradition in Tibet. The sDe srid explained that the government ordered many monasteries, including the Bon pos, to perform rituals for the dGa' ldan pho brang from time to time. He also recorded the gifts the government offered to various lamas and monasteries to perform rituals for the government. The sDe sri also described the geomancy of the locations where the government erected statues and stūpas.

⁴⁶ During this period, ritual played a vital role in the public recognition and legitimacy of the dGa' ldan pho brang. Karmay observed, "Regarded in this way, we have a corpus of ritual that not only evoked the earlier imperial power and gave political legitimacy to Dalai Lama's rule, but also mirrored the culmination of the political and military struggle that preceded Dalai Lama's accession to power as the sovereign of Tibet in 1642." (Karmay 2002, p. 24) Additionally, in the early years of the dGa' ldan pho brang, military magic was essential because of their political rivals, backed up by religious schools famous for such practices. In

Besides, the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama continued to lead the great non-sectarian prayer festival (*ris med ser tshogs*) in Lhasa every year after the sMon lam chen mo, which was initially started by the Fifth Dalai Lama. It seems the gathering was not that large during the Fifth Dalai Lama's time.⁴⁷ Gradually, the great non-sectarian prayer

his article *Ritual as War Propaganda in the Establishment of the Tibetan Ganden Phodrang State in the Mid-17th century*, FitzHerbert discusses the institutionalisation of rituals, including military magic, formulated by the Fifth Dalai Lama based on the Northern Treasures tradition (*byang gter*) and his pure visionary experiences (*dag snang*). (FitzHerbert 2018, pp.99–116). Interestingly, Dalton noted, "From the thirteenth century, the violent rites, which had so far been largely the preserve of individuals or small groups of Buddhist practitioners, grew into large-scale rites that were performed on behalf of the state. Violent ritual, in this sense, went from the local to the global" (Dalton 2011, pp.279). Therefore, Dalton argued that the rise of such magic related to the arrival of Mongols in Tibet (Dalton 2011, pp.279–280). He wrote, "after the fourteenth century, war magic continued to grow in influence, and by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it dominated much of the language of Tibetan military conflict." (Dalton 2011, p.316) Therefore, FitzHerbert concludes that the Fifth Dalai Lama took charge of ritual war magics and "ensured their success and institutionalisation as part of the state-building process." (FitzHerbert 2018, p.55) Richardson recorded that most public ceremonies, which come with different rituals, were reorganised and elaborated "during the rule of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama and his equally great regent Sangye Gyatso when they were put into what was very much their latest form with the clear intention of enhancing the grandeur of the new regime." (Richardson and Aris 1993, p. 7.) These ceremonies were not purely celebratory in nature, but included rituals designed to bolster the prestige and stability of the government.

⁴⁷ The sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama scheduled this prayer festival just after the sMon lam chen mo, which turned it into a massive gathering of tens of thousands of monks from 441 different monasteries, including all religious traditions in Tibet. During these annual gatherings, the dGa' ldan pho brang often organised nationwide rituals by all Tibetan religious masters including Bon po masters. For example, *the Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* recorded one such event:

ས་ཀྱི་དོ་སློབ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་སུ་ཐུགས་བོན་ལག་ལེན་ཡོད་པས་ཡུལ་ལྗང་གཞི་བདག་ལ་གསོལ་མཚོན། དགོ་གསུམ་ལ་ཇ་ཚུལ་བཅོ་མཚར་གདུགས་དཀར་རྣམས་དང་། ལྷ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་གནམ་གང་ཞོགས་ཉི་མ་དམར་མཚོན་པའི་ལྷ་ས་རྣམས་གོང་ས་སྐུ་ཐབས་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་དབུས་དགའ་ཕྱན་པོ་བྲང་བསྟན་སྲིད་དེ་འཛིན་དང་བཅས་སུ་དན་བཞུག་ཐབས་སུ། ས་དགོ་རྗེའི་གསུམ་གྱི་དགོན་ཨང་རྣམས་ལ་ཇ་སུམ་སུ། རིས་མང་ཨང་དང་ལ་ཇ་ཉི་གུ། ཨང་གཉིས་ལ་ཇ་བཅོ་ལྔ། ཨང་གསུམ་ལ་ཇ་བཅུ།

There was a tantric Bon ritual practice where [people] dug up the earth and turned over rocks. Hence, [Bonpos were asked] to pray and make offerings to regional deities and local guardians (*yu lha gzhi bdag*). [The government] offered tea bricks to the *dge gsum* (monks from three abodes) and practitioners of Sitāpatra on the 15th day. On the morning of the 30th of the second month, a day on which the sun was red, the people in Lhasa offered bricks of tea to repel the obstacles of those holding the religion and politics of the dGa' ldan pho brang, especially the Dalai Lama. Thirty bricks of tea were given to Sa [skya], dGe [lugs], and rNying [ma] monasteries, twenty bricks to first ranking non-sectarian [monasteries], fifteen bricks to those ranking second,

festival became famous and successful, attracting Buddhists from all Tibetan Buddhist schools. Therefore, it appears that the purists began to see this as a strategy to damage the reputation of the dGe lugs tradition and gain more fame for the sDe srid himself.

In his biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama, the sDe srid recorded the following accusations made by the purist dGe lugs pas:

ནག་ཕྱོགས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་བའི་རིས་མེད་ཀྱི་དགོ་འདུན་འཚོག་པ་དགོ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་
དམའ་འབེབས་དང་། ལ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱབ་ནས་འབོད་པ་སྐྱོན་གྲགས་ཀྱི་ཆེད་ལས་དགོ་
མེད་ཚུལ་དང་།

The gathering of monks without sectarianism, in which the dark side has won predominance, is a blasphemy/dishonour to the dGe lugs pa. And proclaiming [such a message] far and wide (lit.: crossing passes and rivers, *la chu rgyab*) is without virtue but for the sake of fame.⁴⁸

This excerpt shows that the purists made the connection between this gathering and the sDe srid's personal reputation. This accusation targeted the public to give them a negative view of this non-sectarian gathering. On the other hand, this passage also shows that the sDe srid or the government continuously popularised and promoted this gathering far and wide. Thus, it is possible to discern an increasing polarisation as the two factions pursued their own polemical agendas with their own strategies. According to this passage, the dGe lugs purists applied the term "the dark side" (*nag phyogs*) to represent a non-dGe lugs tradition. In this context, this term can refer to rNying ma or any other non-dGe lugs pa schools or anti-purist dGe lugs pa groups. Therefore, according to the dGe lugs purists, this ceremony served two aims: It allowed the non-dGe lugs pas a victory and disgraced the dGe lugs pa. Besides, this gathering helped the sDe srid

and ten bricks to those ranking third. (sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p.802)

This is just one example during the reign of the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama. Like during the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, on many occasions, the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama invited all Tibetan religious masters including Bon pos to perform nationwide rituals like this one mentioned above. This ritual performance is another government policy to accommodate all religious traditions under the dGa' ldan pho brang government, similar to the non-sectarian prayer gathering.

⁴⁸ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p.697. One might think this is the interpretation of just one biography; however, looking at the influence of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and the events related to these accusations in central Tibet, one can safely assume that this idea had been shared by many purist dGe lugs pas.

grow in fame because he was the prominent figure behind this festival. Similar accusations are found in other primary sources. For instance, in his *Biography of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa*, bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis stated:

དེ་སྐབས་གཞུང་ནས་དྲག་ཞན་ཀུན་རྫིང་མ་ལ་བསྐྱར་འདོད་ནས།

During that time, the government [the dGa' ldan pho brang] intended to convert all high and low [people] into rNying ma [pa], then.⁴⁹

This passage implies a fear among a few dGe lugs pas, especially the purists, who thought the rNying ma pa would take over the government. Looking at the context of this quotation, the purists misinterpreted or misrepresented the engagement of the dGa' ldan pho brang with the rNying ma tradition. This was presumably the same for other religious schools, such as the Bon tradition.

In the name of protecting the dGe lugs tradition, the purists deployed two strategies: Initially, they attempted to destroy the reputation of the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama among Tibetans and Mongols through the accusations cited above. Additionally, they appealed to the dGa' ldan pho brang to appoint the fifty-three-year-old First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa as the thirty-second mKhan po of the sGo mang college. The purists thought they could consolidate their power under this leadership, which would be a landmark for their struggle to protect the purist dGe lugs tradition. Either the Sixth Dalai Lama and the sDe srid did not see the intention of the purists behind this appeal, or they underestimated the power of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa. Regardless, as a gesture of goodwill, the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama agreed to their appeal and officially appointed the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa as the sGo mang mKhan po. He was formally enthroned in sGo mang college in 'Bras spungs on 15th October 1700.⁵⁰ As we will see later, this is a monumental

⁴⁹ bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., f.75a.

⁵⁰ bSe Ngag dbang bkra shis n.d., f.80a. The text reads:

ལྷགས་པོ་འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་རྟོག་རྒྱ་བཅུ་བའི་ཡར་ངོའི་ཚེས་ལྔའི་ཉི་ཤར་ལ་ཚེས་ལྗེ་ཚན་པོ་ཕྱགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་པ་དང་པལ་ལྡན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྣོ་མང་གི་མི་འཇིགས་སེང་གའི་བྱི་ལ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་པད་མོ་ཉི་ཤར་བཀོད་དེ་བསྐབ་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་ཞིང་། རྗེ་སྣོད་གསུམ་གྱི་ལུང་གིས་ཕྱག་པ་རྒྱན་བྱས་ལྷ་བུའི་མཁས་མང་འདུས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མགོན་དུ་གྱུར་དོ།

At sunrise, on the 5th of the tenth waxing month of the Hor calendar of Male Iron Dragon year, the lotus feet of [the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] gracefully landed on the fearless lion throne of the great religious monastery dPal ldan bkra shis sgo mang, victorious in all directions, and became the leader of the ocean of

achievement for the purist dGe lugs pa.

The Role of the Purists among the dGe lugs pa Patrons

The appointment of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa became a turning point for the purist dGe lugs pa's direct influence on the government. mKhan pos of the major dGe lugs monasteries automatically became members of two government assemblies of the dGa' ldan pho brang. The voices of the purists began to be heard in high-level government decision-making bodies that rapidly strengthened and enlarged their influence among Mongols and Tibetans. Under the leadership of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, the purists consistently accused the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama of destroying the dGe lugs tradition.⁵¹ Rumours of such accusations reached the Dzungar Mongols, who were strong supporters of the purist dGe lugs pa, and their new leader Tshe dbang rab brtan did not like the sDe srid.⁵² The Dzungars became

the assembly of scholars as learned as the Six Ornaments (*rgyan drug*), who are enriched with the teachings of the Tripiṭaka and three religious trainings.

⁵¹ The sDe srid repeatedly records the accusations that he received. For example, in the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, he recorded an accusation created by the purists among the Kokonor Mongols, which the latter however rejected:

སློབ་གསལ་སློང་དཔོན་སློབ་མཚོ་ལར་འབྱོར་བའི་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལ་བོད་མའི་ཚོས་བཙོ་ཐུང་ཐུབ་པའི་དཔོན་ལག་
 རྩམས་ཀྱིས་གོང་འབས་རིན་པོ་ཚེར་ཐེ་ཚམ་འགྱུར་བ་མེད་པ་དེད་དུ་འང་གྲ་རིགས་དང་པོད་དུ་འགྲོ་མིས་སློང་
 ལྷ་ཚོགས་ལ་བས་པ་ལས་དེད་ཚོས་ཅི་ཤེས། ད་སློབ་གོང་གི་བཀའ་དང་བཅས་ལོག་ལྷ་མི་གནང་ཞིང་།
 [After] the gathering where Blo gsal gling dPon slob (a well-known reincarnated Lama) had arrived at the Kokonor (*mtsho kha*) was concluded on the 15th of the previous month, the [Mongol] leaders [declared that they] 'have faith in Gong zhab rin po che [the Sixth Dalai Lama] without doubt and wavering (*the tshom 'gyur ba med pa*).' To me [the sDe srid], [they said,] 'We do not know anything other than the various rumours (*gleng sna tshogs*) spread by monks and the people who visited Tibet. Now, along with the special command/advice of Gong (probably, Blo gsal gling dPon slob) we will not hold wrong views toward [the sDe srid].' (sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p. 723)

This quotation indicates that around this time, there were many negative rumours about the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama, "spread by monks and the people who visited Tibet". The monks and the people in this passage were likely to have been both Tibetans and Mongols because many Mongols and Tibetans kept going back-and-forth between Amdo Kokonor and Central Tibet around this time.

⁵² Dzungar was the name of one of the four major tribes of the Oirat confederation; however, it later became the collective name for other Oirat tribes when the Dzungars took over other Oirat tribes. Historically, Dzungar was the left-wing army of the Oirat confederation during the time of the Mongol Empire. See further *Oirat People: Cultural Uniformity and Diversification* edited by I Lkhagvasürén, and Yuki Konagaya in 2014. Beginning in the 16th century, many of the Dzungar elites, including for example dGa' ldan, became dGe lugs pa lamas and scholars in Tibet,

furious at what the sDe srid was doing in Central Tibet, which they regarded as a disgrace to the dGe lugs tradition, and they also perceived this as an opportunity to expand their influence in Central Tibet.⁵³ In this situation, Tshe dbang rab brtan, the leader of the Dzungars, immediately dispatched a warning to the sDe srid, claiming that it served to protect the pure dGe lugs tradition.

The Biography of Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal or Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1651–1726),⁵⁴ who had a close relationship with the sDe srid throughout the latter's life, recalls the message:

ལྷོང་གར་ནས་ཉོང་མའི་ཇིས་ལྗེ་སྲིད་ལ་ལྷོང་མི་ནག་དཔོན་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་སྒྲ་མ་

making the dGe lugs tradition a dominant school among the Dzungars. This is perhaps why the Dzungars had a close relationship with the purist dGe lugs pas such as Lama Grags pa rgyal mtshan, believed to have turned into the deity Shugs ldan after his mysterious death 1656. However, the visible turning point was after the death of the Dzungar leader, dGa' ldan Khan in 1697. The new the Dzungar leader, Tshe dbang rab brtan, did not like the sDe srid because of the latter's lifetime alliance with dGa' ldan Khan. Since then, the Dzungars became apparent supporters of the purist dGe lugs school in Tibet. See Perdue's work *China March West*.

⁵³ There is historical background for this political conflict between the Dzungar leader Tshe dbang rab brtan and the sDe srid. The sDe srid supported the Dzungar leader dGa' ldan Khan throughout the latter's fight against the Qing. (*Qing shilü zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p.161 and *Qīng shèng zǔ shǐlù* 2008, Vol-12, p. 27) The Dzungar Tshe dbang rab brtan did not like the sDe srid for the latter's alliance with dGa' ldan Khan. Tshe dbang rab brtan and dGa' ldan Khan had a blood feud. Tshe brtan bkra shis and bZod pa Batur, two brothers of Tshe dbang rab brtan, assassinated Sangs rgyas, the half-brother of dGa' ldan Khan and leader of the Dzungars at the time. Upon hearing the news from Tibet, dGa' ldan Khan returned to the Dzungar and murdered Tshe brtan bkra shis and bZod pa Batur in revenge. (Heissig 1944, p.113 and Sagaster 1967, p. 20) At the time, Tshe dbang rab brtan fled from the Dzungar helped the Qing to defeat dGa' ldan Khan. (Perdue 2005, p.183 and p.199) That is why Tshe dbang rab brtan supported the purist dGe lugs pas against the sDe srid. The other important thing is that the new Dzungars no longer had the power to extend their influence among the Khalkha Mongols and the Qing Empire. Their territory of influence had been shrinking because of the expansion of the growing Qing Empire. Therefore, they found Tibet to be a new destination where they could expand their influence. Regarding this, Perdue writes that "Tsewang Rabdan had begun to take an interest in Tibetan affairs." (Perdue 2005, p.229).

⁵⁴ According to the biography of Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal or Blo gsal rgya mtsho by Sle lung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje published in 1735, Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal was a rNying ma master and the teacher of the author, Sle lung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje. According to the *Biography of Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal* by Sle lung Lama, Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal was in his 75th year when he passed away in 1726, which means he would have been born in was born in 1652. Therefore, Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal witnessed the administration of the dGa' ldan pho brang under the sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho from beginning to end. He regularly communicated with the sDe srid and often openly shared his opinion about the administration of the dGa' ldan pho brang and the sDe srid's behaviour. He was said to have cried when he heard that Mongols assassinated the sDe srid.

ཚོ་ལ་ཕྱག་དབང་སྟེར་བ་ཡག་པོ་མ་རེད། དེ་འདྲ་མ་བྱེད། ལྷ་མའི་གལ་མགོར་
 མ་སྟོན། བོ་དྭ་ལར་རྟིང་མའི་གྲ་ཚང་མ་འཛོག་ངའི་ལ་ལ་ཉན་བ་བྱུང་ན་འདྲ་
 རང་གཉིས་འཆམ་པོ་ཡོང་། ཉན་མ་བྱུང་ན་དམག་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ཞེས་དགོ་
 སྟོང་ནམ་མཁན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་མི་སྣར་ཕྱིན་དུས་འཕྲིན་བསྐྱར་འདུག

ཕྱེ་སྲིད་ནས་མ་གསན་པར་བརྟེན་དམག་རྒྱལ་རྒྱེས་གྱིས་གྲ་སྦྱིག་དང་། གྲོས་
 བསྐྱར་ཡང་ཡང་གནང་འདུག་སྟེ། གཞུང་རང་གི་སྐུ་རིམ་བཟང་དྲགས་པས་
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐོག་ལ་མ་གཏོགས་དམག་འགྲུགས་སྲུབ་པ་བྱུང་མ་སོང་ཞེས་ཚོས་
 འཕེལ་ཇ་སང་ནས་ངོས་གྱིས་ཟེར་བ་ཐོས།

Hong Taiji⁵⁵ from the Dzungar sent a letter with the monk Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, who went there as an envoy: "For a lay-leader (*mi nag dpon po*) like you (the sDe srid), it is not appropriate to offer hand-blessings to other lamas. Do not do this. Do not sit above lamas. Do not set up a rNying ma college in the Potala. If you listen to me, we will be on good terms. But if you do not, I will launch a military campaign [against you]."

I [Che mchog 'dus pa rtsal] heard that Chos 'phel ja sang said, '(the Dzungars) prepared for a military expedition [to Tibet] and discussed the matter many times because the sDe srid did not listen [to them]. [However,] due to the excellence of the government's rituals, except on the King [lHa bzang Khan in 1717], they could not wage war [against the sDe srid].⁵⁶

In this passage, the most significant line is "do not set up a rNying ma college in the Potala" which refers to a group of rNying ma and Bon po masters who, from time to time, gathered in the Potala Palace to

⁵⁵ In this context, Hong Taiji refers to Tshe dbang rab brtan. Hong Taiji is a Mongolian title, probably derived from the Chinese word Huáng Tàiji or vice versa, which means "crown prince". Historically, the title belonged only to the descendants of Genghis Khan among Mongols. However, in 1678, the Fifth Dalai Lama conferred the title to the Dzungar leader dGa' ldan Khan, which made the latter a legitimate Hong Taiji. (Ishihama 1992, p. 503) In 1694, in the name of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the dGa' ldan pho brang offered the same title to Tshe dbang rab brtan. (Ishihama 1992, p.504) Since then, the following Dzungar leaders were automatically recognised as Hong Taiji in Central Asia.

⁵⁶ Sle lung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje 1735, f.38b.

perform official rituals. This tradition of the dGa' ldan pho brang was initiated by the Fifth Dalai Lama, not the sDe srid. As discussed above, the Manchus claimed their military force was in Ningxia to launch a war against the dGa' ldan pho brang, and the Dzungars, similarly, sent several military warnings to the sDe srid, but it looked like they were ultimately hesitant to attack. There are several possible reasons for this: First of all, the Mongols and the Manchus portrayed themselves as Tibetan Buddhist patrons. Therefore, it was difficult for them to start a war against the dGa' ldan pho brang, the emblematic institution of the dGe lugs tradition. Additionally, along with its Buddhist authority, the dGa' ldan pho brang also had the Khoshut Mongol and Tibetan local armies. In this scenario, it was not easy to win against the dGa' ldan pho brang militarily and diplomatically. Therefore, even though there is currently no solid evidence available to verify this, there may have been an unwritten mutual understanding between the Mongols and the Qing court that they should not invade the territory of the dGa' ldan pho brang.⁵⁷

As discussed above, the internal power balance in central Tibet was very significant for the dGa' ldan pho brang to exercise its full legal authority. In this regard, the unity between dBus and gTsang was vital for the stability and strength of the dGa' ldan pho brang as a government. Historically, the relationship between the two regions was always sensitive. Many leaders and ordinary people from these regions often viewed each other suspiciously. Two important groups in the region of gTsang did not like the sDe srid and the dGa' ldan pho brang: the first group was the gTsang regionalists, who viewed the people from dBus negatively because of the many civil wars between the two regions for centuries.⁵⁸ The second group was the gTsang purist dGe lugs pas, mainly from bKra shis lhun po monastery, who

⁵⁷ After Khoshut Mongol lHa bzang Khan assassinated the former sDe srid and took control of the dGa' ldan pho brang in 1705, the unwritten mutual understanding among Mongols and the Qing related to Tibet had gradually vanished. The Mongols and Manchus increasingly began to intrude in the dGa' ldan pho brang's politics which culminated in the Dzungar's invasion of Tibet in 1717 and Manchu's permanent military station in Lhasa in 1720. See Petech's work, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIth Century* (Petech 1972).

⁵⁸ Schwiieger explained the rivalry and suspicion between the two regions as early as the late 16th century. For example, the people from dBus thought the Fourth Dalai Lama was murdered "by the ruler of Tsang Province at that time." (Schwiieger 2015.p. 36) So, Schwiieger named the gTsang pa rulers, "the mighty rival of Gelukpa power in Central Tibet." (Schwiieger 2015.p. 36) Divalerio further analysed the ground history of civil wars between the two regions—dBus and gTsang—in central Tibet. (Divalerio 2015) Schwiieger summarised the early 17th century: "During the following years, an enormous power play was fought out between the Gelukpa and the ruler of Tsang in Central Tibet. And into that struggle the Mongols were now dragged." (Schwiieger 2015.p. 37)

opposed the sDe srid for his religious policies. Knowing this situation, the purists seem to have created a rumour that the Kangxi Emperor intended to invite the Panchen Lama because the dGa' ldan pho brang prevented the latter from visiting Peking. This rumour was designed to create suspicion between the sDe srid and bKra shis lhun po and also discredit the sDe srid's leadership integrity in the eyes of the Manchus.

Two significant Tibetan and Manchu documents explain how this misinformation was created purposefully.

In his *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, the sDe srid recorded the conflict:

.....གོང་མའི་མི་སྣ་ལ་ཤས་ལ་སླ་བར་གི་སྣེ་མོ་བ་འགས་གཏིང་མ་རྟོགས་
པའི་སློང་བརྗོད་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་གོང་མས་གདན་འདྲེན་གྱི་དགོངས་གཞི་
གཏང་བེར་བ་ཀུན་རྟོག་འོག་འགྲུའི་ལབ་གཞི་ལས་དོན་དུ་གནས་པ་ག་ལ་
ཡིན།

འོན་ཀྱང་ལུག་པ་ཚངས་བྱིན་གྱི་བྱེད་སློ་དེས་པའི་ཚེན་བསྟན་པའི་བདག་པོ་
ཚེན་པོ་རང་སྐུ་འབྱུང་མ་བཞེས་པ་སོགས་དགོངས་གཞི་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་
དུ་ཚེབས་བསྐྱར་དགོངས་པར་གཏན་ནས་མི་བསག་པའི་བྱ་ཐབས་དཀའ་
བར་གོང་མའི་དགོངས་པ་པའི་ཚེན་པོ་ཆེ་པེབས་བཞེད་ལ་གཞུང་ནས་
བཀག་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགོངས་ཚམས་ཆེ་ཞིང་།

.... The assertion that the Gong ma (the emperor) intended (*dgongs gzhi gtad*) to invite [the Panchen Lama to Peking] because of some senior officials at the residence (*bla brang*) of [the Panchen Lama's] conversation with some messengers (*mi sna*) of the Gong ma without comprehending the depth (*gting*) [of this situation] is not true. It is nothing other than a rumour [*lab gzhi*] of deceptive imagination.

However, because of Phug pa Tshang phyin's⁵⁹

⁵⁹ An officer of the dGa' ldan pho brang government in gZhis ka rtse, who, according to the sDe srid, abused his power over the gTsang pa people and did not treat the Panchen Lama respectfully, and angered and disgusted the public. Worst of all, he pretended that what he had done was the instruction of the sDe srid's government. The sDe srid clarified this incident in his biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama:

ག་ལུག་པ་ཚངས་བྱིན་གྱི་གཞིས་རྒྱུ་ལ་འབྲོར་ནས་ཀྱང་སྣ་ལྟེ་མི་སྣེ་ཚང་མར་འཇུར་དར་ཆེ་ཞིང་བཀག་ཤིས་སྣུན་པོ་
པའི་ཚེན་པོ་ཆེ་བསྟན་པའི་བདག་པོ་གཞན་དང་མ་འདྲ་བར་བཀུར་བཞོས་དགོས་རྒྱུ་མཚེས་ཀྱང་བཀག་ལུང་།

actions, the Panchen Lama, the great lord of Buddhism, had never intended to visit China [due to] not having been infected with smallpox. Nothing can be done, whatever the intention [of the Panchen Lama] might be. [Therefore] the Gong ma suspected strongly that the government [the dGa' ldan pho brang] stopped the Panchen Lama, although he wanted to visit.⁶⁰

According to the first part of this excerpt, the sDe srid was trying to clarify the rumour, most probably spreading among the gTsang pa people. The Kangxi invited the Panchen Lama, but it was not because of a conversation between the Panchen Lama's attendants and Imperial messengers. In fact, the Kangxi began to invite the Panchen Lama as early as May 25, 1693, but the Emperor's messengers met the Panchen Lama's attendant only in September 1693.⁶¹ This historical

སྒོ་ཐུག་པ་ལྷ་ཕུག་པའི་འདི་ནས་བསྐྱབ་སྟོན་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ལྷ་ཕུག་གིས་སྐྱ་མེད་ཚང་མར་བསྐྱུན་ཅོམ་བཀྲིས་པའི་ཁོངས་ལས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུ་ཆེ་བ་མ་ཕུས་འདུག་པར་།

Gra phug pa Tshangs byin.... even after [he] arrived to gZhis rtser, [he] was very strict/inflexible (*jur dam*) over all monks and householders (*lha sde mi sde*). Although the Panchen Lama of bKra shis lhun po, the Master of the [Buddhist] doctrine, needs to be respected unlike [i.e. more than] others, [Gra phug pa Tshangs byin] did not offer a big expression of respect by deceptively pretending as if [he] had an instructional edict [document] size like a space behind the door [*sgo rgyanb*] from *'di nas* [the dGa' ldan pho brang or sDe srid], which disgusted all laymen and monks. (sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p.513.)

The complexity of the relationship between the sDe srid, dGa' ldan pho brang's officers, bKra shis lhun po, and gTsang pa people made it hard for the sDe srid to be friends with all factions. We do not know whether Gra phug pa Tshangs byin belonged to the purist dGe lugs pa group or the regionalist section or none. However, this shows that many actors contributed to the disunity between dBus and gTsang regions.

⁶⁰ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p.514. The invitation of the Panchen Lama to Peking became a matter of conflict between the Qing and the dGa' ldan pho brang over many years. The Kangxi Emperor began to mention the plan to invite the Panchen Lama in the early 1690s, and this continued until 1704. The emperor repeatedly accused the sDe srid of preventing the Panchen Lama. (*Qīng shèng zǔ shǐliù*, Běijīng 2008. p. 116, 165, and 176) On the other hand, Tibetan materials, like the quotation above, explained how the sDe srid clarified the misunderstanding to the Kangxi. Again, the main point here is that the sDe srid was dragged into these regional conflicts without having a choice.

⁶¹ Schwiieger 2015, pp.84–85. The Kangxi to invite the Panchen Lama for several reasons such as, among others, “to weaken the strong ties between the Dsungars and the Geluk hierarchs in Tibet” (Schwiieger 2015, p.84) and to improve his image among Tibetans and Mongols.

fact proves that Kangxi decided to invite the Panchen Lama long before his messengers met the attendants of the Panchen Lama. Considering all these issues, it became clear that all these rumours were nothing but purposely created to discredit the sDe srid and bring more disunity between the two regions.

The second part of this passage shows that the Kangxi suspected the sDe srid or the dGa' ldan pho brang of preventing the Panchen Lama from travelling to the Qing court. The sDe srid had to persuade the Panchen Lama to travel on the one hand and clarify the case to the Kangxi on the other. Additionally, around that time, the Qing also accused the sDe srid of collaborating with dGa' ldan Khan to prevent the Panchen Lama from travelling to Peking.⁶² Therefore, the sDe srid had to explain to the Kangxi that the messengers of dGa' ldan Khan "had already explained to the Panchen lama that a journey to Beijing would not be appropriate."⁶³ According to this, the real force to prevent the Panchen Lama was the Dzungars, but no one in Tibet raised this issue except the sDe srid.

The Kangxi Emperor may personally not have cared about the real reason why the Panchen Lama rejected his invitations. Still, he was offended by the speculation/rumour that the sDe srid and the dGa' ldan pho brang prevented the Panchen Lama from travelling to Peking to meet him.

The Qing imperial official document recorded the misdeeds of the sDe srid on 17th July 1670:

第巴原系达赖喇嘛下管事人，朕优擢之，封为土伯特

⁶² The Qing official statement recorded on 6th September 1696 said:

但第巴与噶尔丹朋比，恐吓班禅，言噶尔丹兵将要而杀之，不遣之行。

[The Kangxi said] 'However, the sDe srid colluded with dGa' ldan and threatened the Panchen Lama that dGa' ldan's would kill him and would not allow him to travel to [Peking]'. (*Qing shèng zǔ shìlù*, Běijīng 2008. p.134)

Schwieger also notes that the sDe srid asked the Panchen Lama to accept the invitation of the Kangxi and, at the same time, "He adds, however, that he does not know whether this will cause the Boshugtu Qan [dGa' ldan Khan]." (Schwieger 2015, p.86) Schwieger analysed correspondence between the sDe srid, the Kangxi emperor and the Panchen Lama to analyse this conflict and confusion about the Panchen Lama's invitation. (Schwieger 2015, pp. 84–88) Schwieger also dismissed the claim of Chinese historian Yá hán zhāng that the Panchen Lama hoped to go to Peking as the Fifth Dalai Lama had done. (Schwieger 2015, p. 85) Perdue, on the other hand, wrote that the sDe srid "did try to prevent the Panchen Lama and Galdan's daughter, now in Tibet, from being summoned to the capital, but the emperor refused his request." (Perdue 2004, p. 199)

⁶³ Schwieger 2015, p. 86. Schwieger translated an official letter of the sDe srid to prove this statement.

国王。乃阳奉宗喀巴之道法，阴与噶尔丹比，欺达赖喇嘛、班禅而坏宗喀巴之法。前遣济隆胡土克图至噶尔丹所，为噶尔丹诵经，选择战日。朕为众生往召班禅，沮而不遣。（卷一八二·页一下—三上）

[The Kangxi] said, 'The sDe srid was initially a steward of the [Fifth] Dalai Lama. [But] I supported him and conferred on him the title of Tibetan king.⁶⁴ The Diba superficially pretended to believe in Tsong kha pa's teachings but secretly schemed with dGa' ldan.⁶⁵ [He also] deceived the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama and destroyed Tsong kha pa's teachings. Before sending Jilong Hutuktu to dGa' ldan's place, [the Diba] performed rituals for dGa' ldan and chose the war date. I invited the Panchen Lama for the sake of all sentient beings, but [the Diba] prevented him [the Fifth Panchen Lama].' (Vol. 182, pp. 1–3)⁶⁶

⁶⁴ In this Manchu document of *Qing shilü zàngzú shǐliào*, the term Guówáng (国王) is used several times to refer to the leaders of the dGa' ldan pho brang (*Qing shilü zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p.130, p.156, p.167 and more). This term has been commonly translated as "the king of a country", and the meaning remains the same in today's Chinese language. In the Chinese language, there is a difference between Wáng (王) and Guówáng (国王). Both terms mean "king", but the latter one precisely means the "king of a country". The term "country" represents an independent political entity although it is different from the Eurocentric notion of "nation state". Liú Hàchéng noticed that the Qing did not use this political term Guówáng to refer to those under their jurisdiction. The definition of this term remains the same in classical Chinese during the Qing Empire. We can therefore conclude that the territory under the rule of the dGa' ldan pho brang was considered to be a separate country by the Tibetan Buddhist patrons such as the Manchus. (Liú Hàchéng 2019, p.29)

⁶⁵ Regarding the Dzungar-Qing war, the sDe srid was obviously on the side of the dGa' ldan Khan. However, concerning the invitation of the Panchen Lama, as discussed above, the sDe srid explained to the Kangxi that dGa' ldan Khan was the main reason why the Panchen Lama did not visit Peking. (Schwieger 2015, p. 86)

⁶⁶ *Qing shilü zàngzú shǐliào* 1982, p.130. In this critical Manchu official document, several similar imperial decrees were issued to criticise the sDe srid and his works for many years. Most of the Emperor's accusations against the sDe srid were raised in his discussion with other court ministers. These verbal attacks just remained in the record of the court documents and never reached Tibet. In practice, the emperor had no choice but to continue his relationship with the sDe srid and the dGa' ldan pho brang to deal with Mongols. In this regard, "Relations with Tibet became the most critical contest." (Perdue 2005, p. 178) In a famous lecture by Tibetan scholar Nor bu bsam 'phel at the University of Lhasa, he argued:

In this passage, the Kangxi Emperor furiously scolded the sDe srid and blamed him for several problems, as he had done in his previous decrees. However, one accusation is new here. The emperor made the accusation that the sDe srid “destroyed Tsong kha pa’s teachings” and “superficially pretended to believe in Tsong kha pa’s teaching.” This statement echoes the rumours and claims raised by the purist dGe lugs pas. Perhaps, like Tshe dbang rab brtan, upon hearing the allegations of the purist dGe lugs pa, the emperor made these statements to portray himself as the protector of the dGe lugs tradition. At the same time, the modern Tibetan scholar Chab spel tshe brtan phun tshogs explains that the Kangxi Emperor dispatched his envoys in Xining to warn the sDe srid of a possible military attack against the dGa’ ldan pho brang if he still went against the interest of the Qing empire.⁶⁷ The emperor also decided to withdraw the official title that he had given to the sDe srid, “The Vajra Holder [Sanskrit Vajradhara] who upholds the Religion and Politics of the Dalai Lama, the King (*sa dbang*) promoting the Buddhist doctrine, Buddha Abaidi.”⁶⁸

ལང་ཤིས་ཀྱིས་དམག་བཏང་ནས་བོད་དབང་བསྐྱར་བྱེད་འདོད་ནའང་། ལོས་ལག་ལེན་ཚོག་ཏུ་བསྐྱར་བུབ་ཀྱིན་
མེད། གང་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན། དགའ་ཕྱོད་པོ་བྱང་སོག་པོ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་དུ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པས་རེད།

Although Kangxi wanted to send his army to invade Tibet, he could not apply it in practice. Because the dGa’ ldan pho brang had a strong support among all Mongols. (Nor bu bsam ‘phel 2022, Online)

⁶⁷ Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs 1989, pp.667–668. The text reads:

གོང་མས་ཟེ་ཡིང་གི་སྐྱེ་ཚབ་བརྒྱད་ནས། ཟස་མིང་སྐུ་མཐུང་གོང་མའི་བཀའ་ལྷོག་ཚུགས་སུ་བསྐྱོད་ན་དམག་མི་
གཏོང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པའི་ཉེན་བརྡ་བཏང་།

Gong ma [the Kangxi] warned through his representative in Xining that [he] will send [his] army if the sDe srid is continuously going against the commands of the Gong ma.

Regarding Chab spel’s historical works, it is vital to notice that his narratives are based on Yá hán zhāng’s work, *Dá lài lāma chuán* published in 1984. Chab spel acknowledged that the Chinese government instructed him to use Yá hán zhāng’s book as a guidebook for writing Tibetan history. Thus, Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs quoted Yá hán zhāng more than 100 times in his work on Tibetan history. Yá hán zhāng was a communist expert on Tibet who had briefly lived at Bla brang and ‘Bras spungs monasteries and studied Tibetan language and Buddhism. Since the 1940s, Yá hán zhāng gradually emerged as a leading expert on ethnic affairs and became influential in the Chinese Communist Party (Han 2021, p.311). Even today, the Chinese Communist Party still regards Yá hán zhāng’s works as the exemplary official narrative of China’s relations with Tibet.

⁶⁸ *Qīng shèng zú shǐlù* 2008, Vol, 163, p. 98. *Qīng shèng zú shǐlù*, dated in May of the 33rd Year of Kangxi’s reign (1694), gave the official title offered to the sDe srid in three languages: Tibetan, Chinese, and Manchu. In Tibetan: རྫོག་འཆང་ཏུ་ལའི་གྲ་མའི་ཚོས་མེད་འཛོན་
ཅིང་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱར་པ་དར་རྒྱས་སུ་རྐྱོང་བའི་ས་དབང་བཅད་མཁྱེའི་ལམ་ལ། In Chinese: 掌瓦赤喇怛喇达赖喇嘛教弘宣佛法
王布忒达阿白迪之印。 The three languages, Tibetan, Manchu, and Chinese were used in all seals and titles offered to Tibetans and Mongols by the Qing Court.

In his *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, the sDe srid recorded the event:

ལྷོ་གཉེར་དུ་ཤང་བེ་ལིང་ནས་འཁོར། རྒྱ་ནག་གོང་མས་ངེད་དུ་ལྷོ་སོར་གནང་
བའི་ཐམ་ག་ཕྱིར་སློང་གསུང་བ་སོགས་བཀའ་ལྷི་བའི་བཀའ་ཤོག་སྐྱེ་ཞབས་
སུ་ངེད་ལ་སྤྲད།

Hwa shang,⁶⁹ the general manager, returned from Xining. [He] gave me [the sDe srid] an official letter of the emperor, loaded with heavy words, in front of the sKu zhabs [the Dalai Lama], saying that I had to return the seal that I was given before by the emperor, etc.⁷⁰

The passages quoted above show the pressure the sDe srid received from the Dzungars, the Qing, and even many leaders and ordinary people from the gTsang region. Even though the Dzungars and the Qing sent military warnings to Lhasa, the dGa' ldan pho brang government, under the leadership of the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama, continued their inclusive policy toward non-dGe lugs pa religious schools and continuously organised annual non-sectarian prayer festival and official rituals led by rNying ma and Bon po masters from the Potala Palace. As a matter of diplomacy and to keep a peaceful relationship with their patrons, the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama

Tham deb long pa'i dmigs bu, (1981) the official collection of seals and titles of the dGa' ldan pho brang leaders, did not contain the title of the sDe srid given by the Kangxi. Here, the term "Sa dbang" is translated as "king" because, as quoted above, the Qing documents refers to the sDe srid as the king (Guówáng (国王) of the dGa' ldan pho brang government.

⁶⁹ In this passage, the sDe srid used the Chinese term Héshàng (和尚), which means a monk, to refer to a monk diplomat in Xining. Although the sDe srid did not name the monk, according to this context, this monk must be the Mongolian monk Phyag na rdo rje, also known as Shangnandorji, a diplomat officer of li fān yuàn in Xining. (Schwieger 2015, p.116) Oyun Bilige, a Mongolian scholar whose Chinese name is Wūyún bì lì gé, is perhaps the first person to analyse the works of the Qing diplomat Phyag na rdo rje. Oyun Bilige described Phyag na rdo rje as the Grand Minister Ofi of the Deliberate Council of the Qing. (Wūyún bì lì gé 1994, pp.82–91) Based on Oyun Bilige's work, Schwieger described the monk Phyag na rdo rje as a well-known diplomat serving on behalf of the Qing in their relations with Tibet, the Dzungar and the Khoshuts (Schwieger 2015, p.116). I am unaware of the reason, but the monk diplomat Phyag na rdo rje's approach toward the sDe srid is very critical. As discussed above, this monk had also suggested that the Kangxi punished the Second lCang skya Ngag bang chos ldan for the latter's relationship with the sDe srid.

⁷⁰ sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p.738.

attempted to explain the situation of Panchen Lama's invitation to the Manchus.⁷¹

The differences between the Dzungar and Manchu messages cited above reveal two things: To begin with, the Dzungars and Manchus were waiting to get involved in the dGa' ldan pho brang politics. They immediately reacted in the name of dGe lugs pa protection as soon as they heard that the sDe srid was criticised by the purists because of his relationship with non-dGe lugs pa schools. Secondly, apart from sending warnings and withdrawing the title of King (*sa dbang*), the Dzungars and Manchus did not have any actual power to change the government policy of the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama.

Realising they could not directly influence the dGa' ldan pho brang leaders, the Dzungars turned toward the Amdo Kokonor Mongols. As discussed above, the purists already spread negative rumours about the sDe srid in Amdo Kokonor through monks and lay people. However, this time Tshe dbang rab brtan insisted that the Kokonor Mongols take a firm stand against the dGa' ldan pho brang in order to protect the dGe lugs pa tradition. Upon hearing this news from the Amdo Kokonor area, the sDe srid dispatched the dPon slob of Blo gsal gling college to investigate the details of this and the reaction of the Amdo Kokonor Mongol leaders in 1700. The Amdo Kokonor leaders explained to the dPon slob how they responded to the Dzungars' demand. They again expressed their support for the sDe srid and his government.

The sDe srid's *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* recorded the following response of the Kokonor Mongols in 1700:

ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་གྱིས་དམག་བྱེད་ཟེར་བའང་ཚུན་ལ་ངེད་རང་ཚོ་ཚད་
ཚོགས་ངེད་ཚོ་བོད་དང་མ་གཅིག་ན་ལྷ་མ་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་གི་བཀའ་ཚད་ཡོང་།

Even though Tshe dbang rab brtan asked [the Kokonor Mongols] to launch a war [against the dGa' ldan pho brang], [the Kokonor Mongols replied], 'fight us first. If we are not united with the Tibetans, the lama and protector deities will punish us.'⁷²

⁷¹ For example, as discussed above, the sDe srid tried to explain the situation of the Panchen Lama in Tibet to the Qing court repeatedly. (Schwieger 2015, pp. 84–88)

⁷² sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1989, p. 723. Historically, Khoshut Mongols had a very close relationship with the dGa' ldan pho brang. To support the dGe lugs pa school, the Khoshut Mongols, under the leadership of Gūshi Khan, defeated Khalkha Choghtu Khong Tayij's army in 1638 in Amdo Kokonor. The Khoshuts continuously crushed the enemies of dGe lugs pa school and helped to establish the dGa' ldan pho brang government in 1642. Since then, a group of Khoshut Mongols

This quotation demonstrates that Tshe dbang rab brtan, the Dzungar leader, was not confident enough to fight against the dGa' ldan pho brang alone, or he needed more supporters to fight against the dGa' ldan pho brang diplomatically. Therefore, the Dzungar leader tried to persuade the Amdo Kokonor Mongols to fight against the dGa' ldan pho brang. As quoted above, this is the same time that the purist dGe lugs pas were spreading rumours about the sDe srid in Amdo Kokonor regions. On the other hand, this passage shows the Tibetan Buddhist power/influence among the Amdo Kokonor Mongols and their loyalty toward the dGa' ldan pho brang leadership.

Conclusion

The Manchus repeatedly accused the sDe srid of hiding the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama for fifteen years and of forging an alliance with dGa' ldan Khan in the Dzungar-Manchu war. Moreover, the purist dGe lugs pas disapproved of the sDe srid for his inclusive approach toward non-dGe lugs pa schools and for discovering the Dalai Lama in a rNying ma family. However, the sDe srid enthroned the Sixth Dalai Lama in the Potala palace with the full recognition of the Tibetans, and thus the patrons of Tibetan Buddhism, such as the Mongols and the Manchus, also did not have any choice but to join the official ceremony.

Analysing the disputes and accusations from the internal factions such as the gTsang region and the purist dGe lugs pas, it becomes clear that the internal factions in Central Tibet were the main forces that

settled in Amdo Kokonor and others in Central Tibet. Karmay briefly summarise the history of Amdo Khoshut Mongols:

Under the Fifth Dalai Lama's rule, as under the ancient Tibetan empire, Kokonor in Amdo became one of the most strategic regions. He was quick to realize this as he travelled the region in 1652 and 1653. Eight of Gushri Khan's ten sons and their respective tribes had settled there in 1638, after their arrival from western Mongolia, and constantly quarrelled over territory. In 1656 and 1659, the Fifth Dalai Lama sent several governors to Kokonor. Over time the region's Mongols were completely Tibetanized but continued to enjoy prestige among the Tibetans as Gushri Khan's descendants and played a significant role in the Gelug Order's expansion in Amdo. (Karmay 2005, p.13)

The Khoshut Mongols continuously supported the dGa' ldan pho brang until Khoshut lHa bzang Khan assassinated the sDe srid in 1705. After that the two Khoshut groups, one in Amdo Kokonor and others in Central Tibet, became rivals to each other. See Petech's early work, *The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study*, published in 1959.

shaped the politics of the dGa' ldan pho brang. To keep the strength of the government, the dGa' ldan pho brang attempted to pacify the internal clash among the factions from time to time. Sometimes, the sDe srid and the Dalai Lama had to adjust and accommodate the demands of internal factions to improve their internal relationship. For instance, they appointed the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa as the mKhan po of sGo mang college to pacify the purist dGe lugs pas and encouraged the Panchen Lama to visit Peking to satisfy the gTsang pa people.

During this turbulent time, the Dzungar Mongols and the Qing attempted to interfere in the politics of the dGa' ldan pho brang in the name of the dGe lugs tradition. To maintain peaceful and friendly relations, the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama tried to communicate with their outside patrons and explain the rumours and misunderstandings about the dGa' ldan pho brang. However, they did not change the principles of their policies because of the demands of the Qing and the Dzungars. The government continuously organised, among others, the annual non-sectarian prayer festival (*ris med ser tshogs*) in Lhasa and performed state-sponsored nationwide rituals by all Tibetan Buddhist schools, including the Bon pos. The dGe lugs pa religious purity may or may not have been the real concern for the various political parties such as the Manchus, the Dzungars and lHa bzang Khan. It became, however, a primary political weapon to destroy the future of the dGa' ldan pho brang under the sDe srid and the Sixth Dalai Lama.

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