# Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines

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# Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines

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# *'Dul ba dpe ris*: Didactic art on temple architecture in the dGe lugs tradition[1]

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## *1. Introduction*

From the first time I saw them I was intrigued by this set of paintings found outside different Himalayan Buddhist temple entrances (Fig. 1). I had no understanding of what they were trying to convey, but clearly, like other temple didactic art, they were there to educate, inform and remind monastics and visitors about particular teachings.

*Fig. 1: Extract of architecture elements from wall painting at Bodong Porong gompa. Photo by author.*

Some sets of these illustrations are painted very simply, without captions. Others are painted at larger scale with captions. At two temples, extensive passages written at the end of the images were also found. Not only were the paintings similar, it soon became apparent that the

1 Thanks to Lobsang Monlam of Nyanang Phelgye Ling Monastery, Bhuchung Shastri of Manjushri Di-Chen and Lopon Karma Tshewang and friends at Ngagyur Nyingma Institute for translation assistance.

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captions were the same. I became even more intrigued about what these paintings were trying to tell the viewer.

This paper provides a brief introduction to this genre of paintings found at the entrance of Tibetan Buddhist temples. The text on which this set of *vinaya* illustrations is based is then introduced, together with its successor, limited to the elements related to architecture[2] with preliminary translations of the captions and explanatory text. It then presents painting examples from temples in Nepal and Ladakh, again limited to those related to architecture, their arrangement, details, etc.

### *2. Instructional paintings at Tibetan Buddhist temple entrances*

The practice of depicting didactic art at temple entrances (*lha khang khag la ri mo'i 'bri bkod bya stangs)* is mentioned in Chogay Trichen Thubten Legshay Gyatsho's manual on temple construction, 'Gateway to the Temple' (Gyatsho 1979: 6, 46) which provides photos of a number of examples from Ladakh.[3]

Although Gyatsho refers to 'examples on the proper measures and design of the robes and requisite articles for the livelihood of the assembly of fully-ordained monks' which are part of this set of paintings, he does not mention that architectural rules are also included among these paintings.[4]

Gyatsho states that these rules are taken from the monastic law or *vinaya* (*'dul ba*), (Gyatsho 1979: 35, 72) one of the three baskets (*piṭaka*) of the Buddhist canon. Similarly Beer refers to *vinaya* rules 'that frequently appear as a fresco on monastery walls, depicting a monk's possessions as prescribed by the monastic law established by Shakyamuni Buddha'.[5]

There are various Tibetan painting iconography manuals which are referred to by thangka and temple artists. However, none of the manuals I located included this set of paintings although they contained other

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[2] This article arose from research undertaken for a Buddhist heritage MA module, and thus limits itself to architectural elements.

[3] Gyatsho 1979: 9, 10, 49, 57, 58.

[4] However, 'Gateway to the Temple' does mention the benefits of building religious structures 'following the dimensions and size prescribed in the basic texts' and notes some of the dimensions that apply, and other facilities that can be provided. See Gyatsho 1979: 33-36, 39 and also Bernier 1997: 64-65.

[5] Beer 1999: 226-228; *id,*. 2015: 273-276.

standard 'temple entrance' illustrations familiar to regular monastery visitors; the Four Guardian Kings (*rgyal chen bzhi*), the Wheel of Life (*srid pa'i 'khor lo*), the Mongolian and Tiger (*sog po stag khrid;* Fig. 32), the Four Harmonious Friends (*mthun pa spun bzhi*), six symbols of long life (*tshe ring rnam drug*).

Convinced that a reference text had to exist, two groups of people were sought out; painters and *vinaya* teachers. Unsuccessful with thangka painters known to me personally, I visited thangka shops around Boudha and those I opportunistically passed elsewhere in Kathmandu. However, even when I asked temple rather than thangka painters, none had ever painted this set of images or knew anything about them.

I then visited some of the monastic colleges (*bshad grwa*) in Boudha and Swayambhu, including those that had this set of paintings on their temple entrance, in search of teachers. Most did not know what the painting depicted; suggesting Buddha's life story, meditation postures, or the 16 arhats. A few were aware it was based on the *vinaya*, but none could point me to a source text. Thus it seems, in regard to this particular set of paintings, the practice of locating them outside temple entrances in order to educate or remind monastics and visitors has not worked, even when text is provided.

### *3. The textual basis - the vinaya*

In parallel I began looking through the *vinaya* for the quotes given in the painting captions. I searched translations of the original *vinaya*[6] but without success. Since the *vinaya* was created in the context of monastic life in ancient India, (Misra 1969: 124-125; Schopen 2004: 49-50) the inability to locate the painting captions was not so surprising, considering that heavy boots and robes would not have been relevant in a hot climate. I surmised that these paintings were based on a text written for a Himalayan context.

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[6] E.g. https://www.dhammatalks.org/vinaya/bmc/Section0000.html, see The Buddhist Monastic Code. Volume I, Saighadisesa, section 6 and on huts of different sizes and the process of building them. Volume II, The Khandhaka Rules, sections on Cloth Requisites, Alms Bowls & Other Accessories as well as Lodgings and Monastery Buildings & Property.

Additionally, Schopen notes that there are some differences in interpretation between the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya* in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Chinese and Tibetan, where translators had to decide what would be the most suitable interpretation. He gives examples where the Sanskrit text says *vihāra* 'should be made with three upper chambers', which the Tibetan translates as a *vihāra* having three storeys (*rtsegs*).[7]

I concluded that the paintings and captions were not taken directly from the *vinaya*, but a commentary written for the Himalayan context. The extended sections of text found at the two Ladakhi temples refer to at least two commentaries. However, the Tibetan habit of using abbreviated text titles makes identification difficult for someone unfamiliar with the topic.

### *4. Development of these two illustrative texts*

One text which depicts these *vinaya* rules was published in Lokesh Chandra's 'Indian Scripts in Tibet',[8] a collection of texts mainly illustrating different writing scripts. Document 4 of this collection is entitled 'Indian, Chinese, Russian, Kashmiri, Nepali, Tibetan, Mongol scripts and different illustrations', *rGya dkar nag rgya ser ka+shmi ra bal bod hor gyi yi ge dang dpe ris rnam grangs mang ba bzhugs so* (GKN), and consists of 29 folios plus a title page. A set of *vinaya* illustrations (*'dul ba dpe ris*, also shortened to *'dul ris*) is found on folios 16a-21.[9] Chandra's introduction states that this text was printed from a Chinese xylograph of lCang lung Paṇḍita, Ngag dbang Blo bzang bsTan pa'i rGyal mtshan's (1770-1846) collected works (*gsung 'bum*), a Mongolian dGe lugs master and student of the 6th Panchen and 8th Dalai Lama.[10]

The *vinaya* folios start with illustrations of how separation from their three robes can lead to a monk's[11] (*dge slong*) downfall, depicted by monks and their robes in and under trees (*ka* to *cha*), with explanations

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7 Schopen 2004: 1-3, 23-24, 47-49, 51, 83 n. 13, 130.

8 Buddhist Digital Resource Centre (BDRC) W30268. Thanks to Chris Fynn for suggesting I check this publication.

9 Two other copies of the same xylograph are found at BDRC; W1KG1338-v4 and W6799-v4.

10 Chandra 1982: 6-7.

11 The text makes no reference to *dge longs ma*, but presumably it also applies to them. Schopen (2004: 49-50) notes an example of gender differentiation, male *vihāras* should have five upper storeys but female *vihāras* should have three.

(*ka* to *na*) on f16b-17b. Illustrations of meditation huts and temple architecture (*ja* to *pha*) are given on f18a+b, various monastic possessions (*ba* to *ma*) on f19a, an astrological diagram and calculations (*tsa*), shoes with explanations on f19b, and concluding remarks on f20a-21b.[12]

Document 7 of Chandra's collection includes a later text of *vinaya* illustrations.[13] He writes that lCang lung Paṇḍita's *vinaya* illustrations were revised and reproduced as a stand-alone text by the 13th Dalai Lama (1876-1933) in his collected works (*gSung 'bum*, vol 5, *dzi*).[14] This text has nine folios and no title.

It was immediately apparent that the temple paintings that I had seen were based on the 13th Dalai Lama's text. Temple paintings generally follow the order of his text, and the illustration captions, as well as the extensive passage found at two Ladakhi temples are taken directly from it.

Khenpo Gyurme Tshultrim, of Shechen *bshad grwa*, Boudha, shared a more recent, undated, presentation of the illustrations. This set of drawings and labels provide clarity on the nature of some items and caption spellings.

This paper now presents the architectural sections of the two nineteenth century texts.

### *5. lCang lung Paṇḍita's commentary*

As stated, Ngag dbang Blo bzang bsTan pa'i rGyal mtshan[15] was a Mongolian dGe lugs master. In GKN, after examples of different

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12 Chandra 1982: 6.

13 Three other copies of the same xylograph were found at BDRC; W00EGS1016253-v11, W29228-v5 and W3MS261-v27. The former appears to have been 'cleaned up'. Ink smudges and woodblock carving imprints which appear in Lokesh Chandra's version do not appear in W00EGS1016253-v11.
Two other copies are listed on BDRC, scanned under the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), but the scans are not accessible online. Hopefully the microfilms are safely available at the National Archives, Kathmandu. MW0NGMCP68226 (NGMPP E/833/1) and MW0NGMCP68282 (NGMPP E/897/10).

14 As per Chandra 1982: 7.

15 BDRC P290.

scripts, the *vinaya* illustrations are presented on folios 16b-21a, architectural images on 17b-18a, followed by an explanation on folios 20b and 21a.

Both within the captions and in the prose explanations, there are indications that lCang lung Paṇḍita is citing another text or texts by the use of *zhes*, indicating a quote.

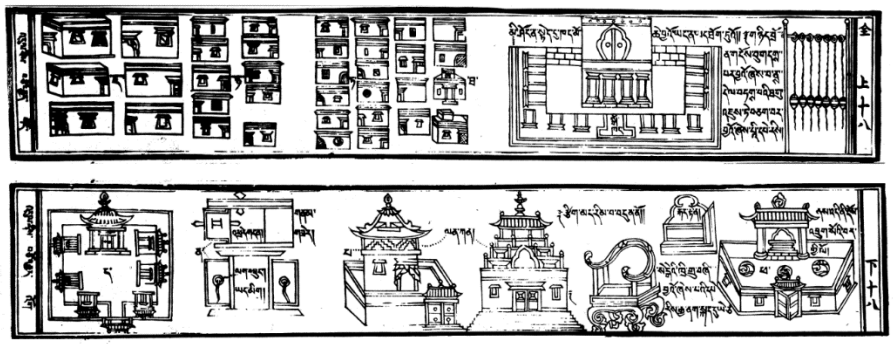


*Fig. 2: Folios 17b and 18a of GKN.*

We see on **folio 17b** (Fig. 2) a set of monastic residences shown mostly in elevation (labelled *ja, nya, ta* and *tha*). Then, on the right, a naive[16] plan of a temple in an enclosed courtyard with monastic cells on three sides. This temple has an explanatory caption wrapped around it.

**Folio 18a** starts with another simplistic plan of a temple enclosed in a courtyard (*da*), details of gates and doors in elevation (*na*). Then two images of temples, one isometric depicting a courtyard, the other a front elevation of a five-storied structure (*pa*). These are followed by an illustration of a throne and a footrest, and finally an isometric view of a temple in a gated courtyard with two small wells or ponds (*pha*).

The next three pages illustrate possessions of a monk, provide a circular astrological chart with explanatory text, and then footwear rules.

**Folio 20b** and **21a** (Fig. 3) cover the explanation of the architectural elements, i.e. *ja, nya, ta, tha, da, na, pa, pha* and the subsequent non-architectural items.

[16] I use the terms naïve and simplistic here in relation to the illustrations as they do not follow rules of perspective, and often combine different views in the same image; plan, elevation, isometric.

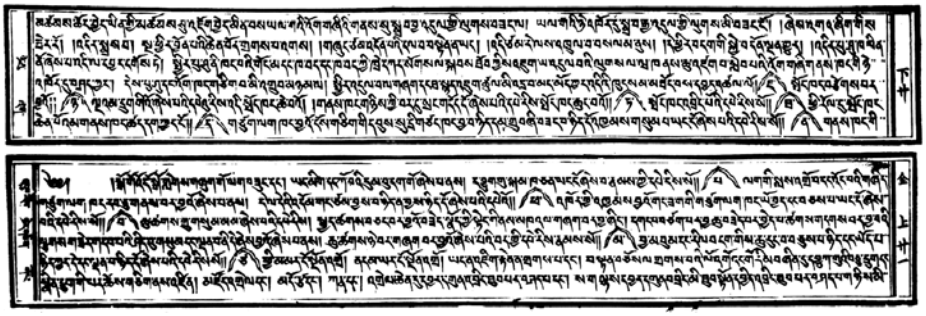


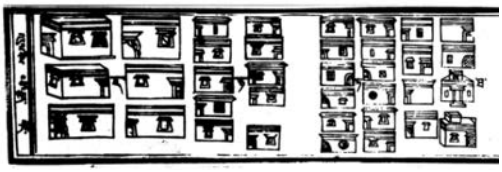
*Fig. 3: Folios 20b and 21a of GKN.*

**Folio 22a** completes the explanation, names some reference texts relating to the astrological chart, and ends with an aspiration statement.

We will now consider each set of the GKN's architectural illustrations in turn, their captions and corresponding explanations where applicable, working left to right, top to bottom.

### *5.1. Meditation huts and residences*[17]

**Folio 18a** labelled ཇ, ཉ, ཏ and ཐ.



**Folio 20b** (line 4-6)

ཇ། སྒོང་ཁང་བཟེགས་པར་བྱའོ། ((*ja*)) How to build meditation huts.

ཉ། ཕྲའམ་དྲུག་གིའོ་ཞེས་པའི་དཔེའུ་རིས་ལྟ་བུ་སྒོང་ཁང་ཆེ་བའོ། ((*nya*)) Of five or six [armspans][18] are large meditation huts, as illustrated.

གནས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་སྟང་གིདོད་དོ་ཞེས་པའི་དཔེ་རིས་སྒོང་ཁང་ཆུང་བའོ། In between two buildings one should make a space. This is an illustration of small meditation huts.

ཏ། སྒོང་ཁང་འབྲིང་པའོ་དཔེ་རིས་སོ། ((*ta*)) Illustrations of medium meditation huts.

ཐ། ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་སྒོང་ཁང་ཆེན་པོའམ་ Outside[19] there are also large

[17] As the illustrations lack titles, these subtitles are my own.

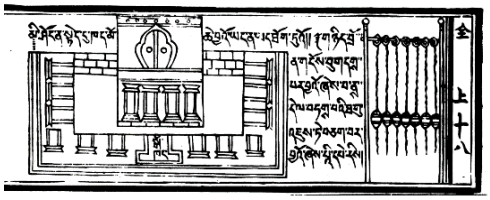
[18] The unit of measure is not explicitly stated in this caption but is used on f21a, *'dom gang.*

[19] It is not clear what 'outside' means in this context. We would have to consult the source texts.

གནས་ཁང་ཚོད་དག་ཀྱང་དོ། meditation huts and residences.

*5.2. Temple in courtyard with cells on three sides*

**Folio 18a**

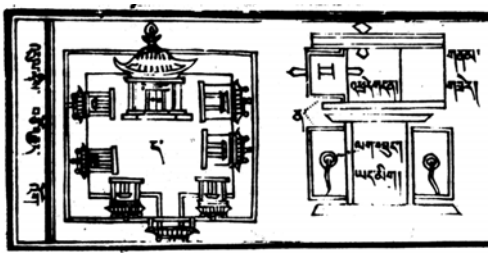


མི་ཤོང་ན་སྐྱེང་དུ་ཁང་མོ་ཆེ་བྱའོ་ཡང་ན་ཡང་སོག་ཏུའོ།། If there is no room, make it larger at the top.

ཁ་ གཉིད་ཟོ་ན་གདོན་བྱག་(ག)དགས་[20]བར་བྱའོ་ཞེས་བ་ནས་དེ་ལ་བཏགས་པའི་ཐ་ཀུ་འཛུས་ཏེ་བཙག་པར་བྱའོ་ཞེས་སྨྲེ་དེའོ་ཅེས། For sleeping[21] a screen of woven rope should be made, it is said.

*5.3. gtsug lag khang and doors*

**Folio 18b**



ན *na.*

འཕེད་གདན། Gate bolt/ bar.

གནམ་གཟེར། Upper lintel locking pegs.[22]

ལག་བཟུང་། Door handle.

ཡང་མིག Door handle.

[20] The xylograph gives *bugdags.*

[21] Or is this an archaic spelling of sun, i.e. to block the sun, make a screen.

[22] The nature and purpose of these is clarified in the 'new' gSer thang Bla rung publication, see Fig. 7.

**Folio 20b** (line 6) – **Folio 21a** (line 1)

ཏ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བྱའོ་ངོས་གཅིག་གི་དབུས་སུ་དྲི་གཙང་ཁང་བཅ་བ་ཉིད་དམ་ཐུ་བཞི་བཟང་བ་ཉིད་དོ་འཁྱམས་གསུམ་པ་ཡང་ངོ་ཞེས་པའི་དཔེ་རིས་སོ།

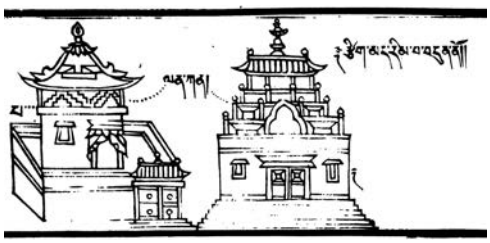
((*da*)) This is how to make a *gtsug lag khang*. In the middle of one side there should be the *dri gtsang khang* (main temple), perfectly square. With walkways on three sides it also says, as the illustration.

ན། གནས་ཁང་གི་སྒོ་ཟུར་གོའོ།[23] སྒོ་སྐེགས་གཞུག་གོ་ལག་བརྒྱང་དང་། ཡང་མིག་དང་ཀོ་བའི་དུམ་བུ་དག་གོ་ཞེས་པ་ནས་། དབྱུག་གུ་སྐམ་ཁ་ཅན་ཡང་ངོ་ཞེས་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་རིས་སོ།

((*na*)) The door to the building should have two door panels/ leaves, [inner?] handles and [outer?] handles with strips of leather.
A wooden key/ hooked stick[24] as illustrated, as is said.

*5.4. Seven storey temple*

**Folio 18b**




ད།
*pa.*
ལན་ཀན།
Railing, balustrade.
རྩེགས་མང་རིམ་བདུན་ནོ།
Seven storeys .

[23] This quote appears to come from Lopon Yonten Od's '*Dul ba mdo rtsa ba*, chapter on *gnam mal gi gzhi* (basis of dwelling places) which says 'gnas khang gi sgo gdod do/ sgo gegs gzhug go/ lag zungs dang yang mig dang ko ba'i dum bu dag go/', i.e. there should be house doors at the front, door panels, handles and lucky eyes with leather straps. It is difficult to understand the GKN's highly abbreviated caption.

[24] The more recent publication (Fig. 7) illustrates it more clearly, but I am still uncertain how it is used – possibly to reach the upper lintel locking pins.

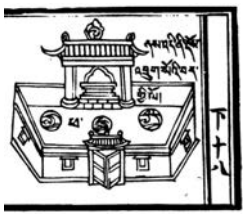
**Folio 21a** (line 1-2)

ཤ་ཟེ།ལག་གི་སྒས་འགྲོ་བ་དང་འོང་བའི་གཞིར་གསྡུག་ལག་ཁང་རབ་ཏུ་
གནས་བར་བྱའོ་ཞེས་པ་ནས།
དེ་ལ་དེའི་འདོམ་གང་ཙམ་བྱས་པ་ཉིད་ན་བྱས་ཉིད་ངོ་ཞེས་བའི་དབེའོ།

((*pa*)) At the place where workers/ people come and go, there should be a *gtsug lag khang*, as is said.
That [temple?] should be at least an armspan [in size], as is said.

*5.5. Courtyard with water feature*

**Folio 18b**



ཕ
ནས་འདི་ནི་རྩོ་འཇུག་སོའི་བར་གྱི་ལོ།

*pha.*
Here [on the eave?], in stone, like two dragon's teeth.[25]

**Folio 21a** (line 2-3)

ཤ་ཟེ། འགོར་གྱི་འཁྱམས་བྱའོ་གང་ཟག་གི་གསྡུག་ལག་ལྟ་ཡོ་བྱད་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡང་
ངོ་ཞེས་བའི་དབེ་རིས་སོ།

((*pha*)) Illustration of a courtyard where people can walk around the *gtsug lag khang* full of things,[26] as is said.

*5.6. Explanatory text*

In the description of the astrological chart, **folio 21** mentions a number of texts. Due to the use of abbreviated titles I hesitantly make identifications here:

- མཛོད་འགྲེལ།

Abhidharma Kosha, one of the most well-known is Vasubandhu's commentary *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel pa.*

[25] I am not entirely sure about this translation. Reference needs to be made to the source texts.

[26] I am not sure if it is 'a *gtsug lag khang* with all its necessities' or 'people walking with their things'.

- མདོ་རྩ། Possibly *'Dul ba mdo rtsa* by Yonten Od.[27]
- ཀ་རྟེ་ Text/ author not identified.
- འགྲེལ་ཆེན་ Possibly Kunkhyen Tshonawa's '*Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i mchan 'grel.*

**Folio 21a** ends with a short praise:

འདུལ་གཞུང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྙིང་པོ་མདོ་རྩ་ཡི། The essence of the ocean of *vinaya* scriptures as per the *mDo rtsa*,

།དགོངས་པ་ཇི་བཞིན་ཡོངས་འཛིན་མཚོག་དེ་ཡིས། as per the wishes of the supreme masters,

།འཁྲུལ་མེད་གཏན་འབེབས་དཔེ་རིས་ངོ་མཚར་ཅན། with amazing unquestionable examples, beyond doubt.

།མཁས་མང་དགྱེས་བསྒྲིང་ཀུན་བཟང་མཆོད་སྤྲིན་ཡིན། A cloud of many scholars' Samantabhadra offerings.

*5.7. Orthography*

A couple of points of note on orthography. The left margin of each folio gives an abbreviated subject heading, in our case *'dul ris*, then the page number, and recto or verso at the bottom: *gong, 'og*. As noted by Chandra the right margin of each folio is in Chinese. A character at the top which he advises is a signature, (Chandra 1982: 6) recto or verso marked at centre, and the page number at the bottom.

*Woodcarving*

Some of the *nga* and *ta* characters look like *da*.


*steng du*


*dngos*


*gong*


*'phred gtan*

Bearing in mind that the earlier pages of the text demonstrate different

[27] Gunaprabha was a 7th century Indian master, disciple of Vasubandhu and commentator on the *vinaya*. However a similarly titled commentary was also written by Khenpo Shenga (1871-1927), *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i mchan 'grel pad+ma dkar po'i ljon shing* (BDRC W1KG2819). Khenpo Shenga's text could equally be the third source, *mChan 'grel*, referred to by lCang lung Paṇḍita.

types of scripts, that it was translated from Chinese, and Chandra states that it was carved in Peking for a Mongol *bla ma*, maybe the carver was not familiar with Tibetan spelling.

*Spelling contractions*

The carver uses the space saving 'suffixed' *sa.*

*nas*

The second stroke of some *ta*-s slope the wrong way.

*btags*

Other contractions include omission of *tsheg*-s and duplicate letters.

*bug gdags*

*6. 13th Dalai Lama's commentary*

The attribution to the 13th Dalai Lama[28] (1876-1933) is presumably based on the colophon on folio 9a, where the author is identified as the 13th incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. This text is solely devoted to illustration of these *vinaya* rules, with no scripts, explanations of yoga postures, surgical instruments or musical notation. The cover page (Fig. 4) outlines the contents of the text.[29]

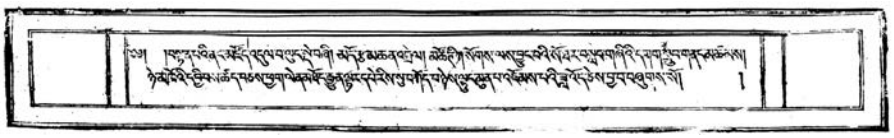


*Fig. 4: Cover page of TPNZ.*

བསྟན་པའི་ནང་མངོ་དུ་འདུལ་བ་ལུང་སྡེ་བཞི།

Teachings of the *nang mdzod 'dul ba lung bzhi* ('The treasury of the *vinaya* in four parts').

མདོ་རྩ་མཆན་འགྲེལ།
མཚོ་ཏི་ཀ་སོགས་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་སོ་ཐར་བསླབ་གཞིའི་དགག་སྒྲུབ་གནད་མཚམས།

*mDo rtsa mchan 'grel. mTsho Tika*, etc. from these sources, the fundamental teachings of individual liberation, the limits of what is not allowed,

[28] BDRC P197, https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Thirteenth-Dalai-Lama-Tubten-Gyatso/3307.

[29] This text will be referred to as TPNZ hereafter.

ཉེ་མཁོའི་དབྱིབས་ཚད་བཅས་ཕྱག་ལེན་མཛོང་རྒྱུན་ལྡན་དཔེ་རིས་སུ་བགོད་པ་ཉེས་སྤྱང་རྒྱན་པ་འཇོམས་པའི་ཟླ་འོད་ཅས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།

what is allowed.
The form and size of necessities, as per the manuals of the authentic traditions, these illustrations have been arranged like the moon's rays which dispel the darkness of defilements.

This front page thus shares the abbreviated names of texts which, it appears, the Dalai Lama consulted. Possible titles are noted below, but as with GKN, certain identification of these texts will only be possible with the aid of a *vinaya* specialist.

- མཛོད་འདུལ་བ་ལྷང་སྡེ་བཞི།
- མདོ་རྩ་མཆན་འགྲེལ།
- མཚོ་ཉི་ཀ།

The *vinaya* itself in four parts.
*'Dul ba mdo rtsa mchan 'grel .*
*'Dul DIk nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung,*
Or
'*Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer mtsho Tik.*

The second two are commentaries on the *vinaya* by Kunkhyen Tshonawa Sherab Zangpo[30] (C13), a bKa' gdams commentator from mon mtsho sna. We see some replication of the sources mentioned in GKN.

Unlike GKN, the illustrations here are not numbered and there is no additional text beyond the captions. After the cover page, the architectural elements begin on **folio 3a** (Fig. 5), again with the elevations on monastic residences and a plan/ elevation of a temple within a courtyard with cells on three sides.

**Folio 3b** depicts a rack for measuring robe sizes, and images of monks in trees, explaining how to avoid the downfall of 'separation from robes.'

**Folio 4a** continues with monks in and under trees, and at the far right is an elevation of a temple with two smaller side structures.

[30] BDRC P1500, https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Tsonawa-Sherab-Bzang po/2791.

**Folio 4b** is drawn with the intention of being read together with **5a** below, as would occur if printed in traditional *dpe cha* format (Fig. 5). The top half of two temples in plan/ elevation are shown on **folio 4b**, with their bottom halves on **folio 5a**. The far right of **folio 4b** shows a victory banner (*rgyal mtshan*). The far right of **folio 5a** details gates and locks.

**Folio 5b** starts with the elevation on a five storied temple, an enclosed courtyard with monastic cells and a large central pond. Thereafter follow a rack for robe sizing, a throne, a footrest and a water filter. **Folios 6a-8a** illustrate other monastic possessions; boots, robes etc.

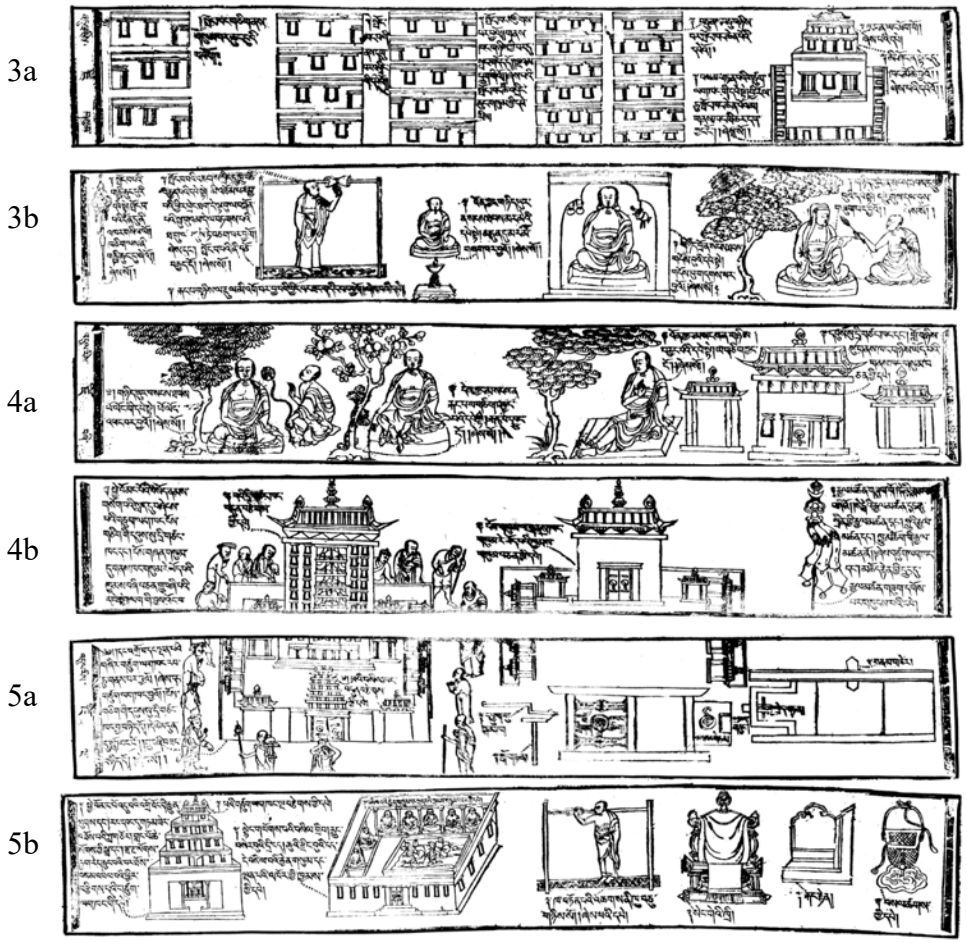



*Fig. 5: Folios 3a to 5b of TPNZ.*

**Folio 8b** is a large astrological table with explanatory text, and **Folio 9a** is a final explanatory passage (Fig. 6).

8b

9a

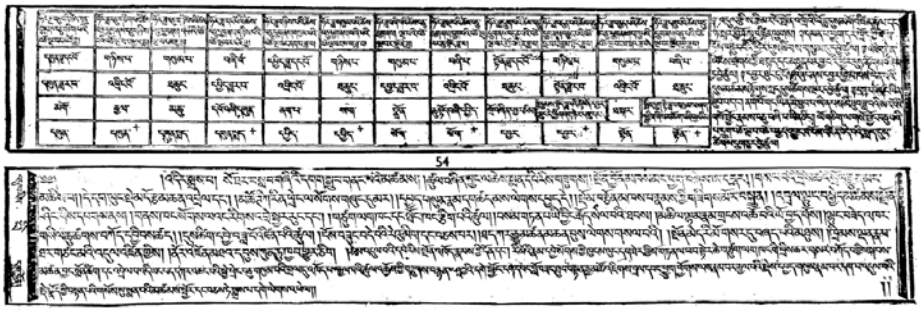
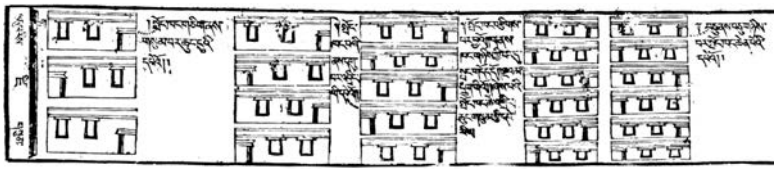


*Fig. 6: Folios 8b and 9a of TPNZ.*

We will now consider each set of TPNZ's architectural illustrations and their captions in turn, working left to right, top to bottom.

### *6.1. Meditation huts and residences*

**Folio 3a**



| | |
|---|---|
| སྒོང་ཁང་གཅིག་ནས་གསུམ་བར་ཆུང་ངུའི་དཔེ་བཤད། | Meditation huts of one to three [armspans], illustrations of small huts . |
| སྒོང་ཁང་བཞི་ནས་དགུ་བར་འབྲིང་གི་དཔེ་བཤད། | Meditation huts of four to nine [armspans], illustrations of medium huts . |
| སྒོང་ཁང་བརྩིགས་པར་བྱའོ། | This is how to build meditation huts. |
| གནས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་སྤང་/ སྲང་[31] ·གདོད་དོ། | Between two buildings make a space of five or six [armspans]. |
| ཕྱའམ་བྱུག་གི་བཤོ། | Illustrations of large, medium and |
| ཞེས་པའི་སྒོང་ཁང་ས་ཆ་འབྲིང་ཆུང་གསུམ་ཀྱི་དཔེ་ | small meditation hut, all three, as |

[31] TPNZ appears to say *spang* but this does not make sense in this context. lCang lung Paṇḍita's text gives *srang* which is what I have hesitantly translated.

| | |
|---|---|
| རེས། | is said [in the texts]. |
| བསྒོམ་ནས་བསྒོམ་གཉིས་བར་སྟོང་ཁང་ཆེན་པོའི་དཔེའོ། | Meditation huts of 10-12 [armspans], illustrations of large huts. |

*6.2. Temple and courtyard with cells on three sides*

**Folio 3a**

| | |
|---|---|
| ❋ བསམ་གཏན་བའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་དཔེ་སྐྱེ། | Illustration of a *samādhi* practitioner's *gtsug lag khang* |
| ཕྱི་རོལ་ཏུ་སྟོང་ཁང་ཆེན་པོའམ། | |
| གནས་ཁང་གི་ཚར་དག་ཀྱང་རོ། ཞེས་སོ། | Outside are large meditation huts or surrounding residences, as is said. |
| ❋ཡང་ན་ཡང་ཐོག་གོ ཞེས་པའི་དཔེ། | Illustration of many roofs, as is said. |
| ❋ མི་ཐོང་ན་སྟེང་དུ་ཁང་མོ་ཆེ་བའོ། ཞེས་པའི་དཔེའོ། | If there is not enough room, you can make it bigger at the top. Illustration as is said. |

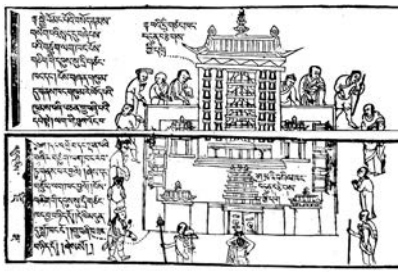
*6.3. dri gtsang khang with side buildings*

**Folio 4a**

| | |
|---|---|
| ❋ དབུས་སུ་དྲི་གཙང་ཁང་དང་། | In the middle is a *dri gtsang khang* (main temple). |
| སྒོ་གཉིས་ སུ་གནས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཁང་གསུམ་བ་ཙན་གྱི་དཔེ། | An illustration of residences on two sides, making three buildings. |

*6.4. gtsug lag khang for accumulating merit*

**Folio 4b** and **5a**



།ལྷ་སོ་མང་པོའི་བསོད་ནམས་གསོག་པའི་སྐད་དུ་བཞེངས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དོས་གཅིག་གི་དབུས་སུ་དྲི་གཙང་ཁང་དང་།

དོས་གཞན་གསུམ་དུ་གནས་ཁང་གསུམ་རེ་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྱམས་བཞི་པ་ཙན་གྱི་བཞི་པའི་དེ་ལེ་ལྷེ། ལག་གི་བློས་འོང་བT··

།།དང་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་གཞིར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པར་བྱའོ

ཞེས་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བྱའོ།

དོས་གཅིག་གི་དབུས་སུ་དྲི་གཙང་ཁང་བྱ་བ་ཉིད་དོ།།ཉེའི་མདུན་དུ་སྒོ་ཁང་དོ།

།གྲུ་བཞི་བཟང་བ་ཉིད་དོ། ཞེས་སོ།

(note at eave)

།ཕའི་དྲི་གཙང་ཁང་བདུན་བཟེགས་ཀྱི་དེ།

(note at gatehouse roof)

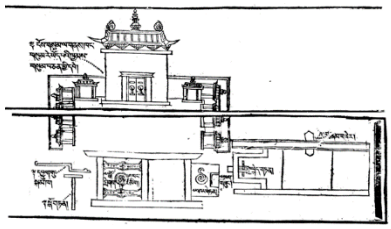
།ཕའི་བསེལ་ཁང་བདུན་བཟེགས་ཀྱི་དེ།

A *gtsug lag khang* built with the purpose that many people may accumulate merit, with a *dri gtsang khang* in the middle of one side.
Illustrated with three residences on the other three sides and four walkways, forming a square.
In the middle of the place where workers come and go is where a *gtsug lag khang* should be.
In the middle of one side is the *dri gtsang khang*, and in front a seven-storey gatehouse.
A perfect square, as is said.

Illustration of how to build a monk's seven storey temple.
Illustration of monk's seven storey pavilion.

*6.4. gtsug lag khang and door details*

**Folio 4b** and **5a**



(note at wall)
རྟ་ངོར་གསུམ་ལ་གནས་པང་གསུམ་རེ་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྱིམས་གསུམ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་དཔེ།

Illustration of three residences on each of the three walkways.

(gate lock detail)

| | |
|---|---|
| ཀཱི་ དབྱུག་གུ་ཤིམ་ཁ། | A wooden key/ hooked stick. |
| ཀཱི་ སྒོ་གཏན | Inside lock/ bar. |
| རྨི་ སྒོ་ཤེལགས། | Door leaves/ panels. |
| (ག?)ཡང་མེགེ[32] | Door handle |
| ཤའབས་/འཚོར་གཏན[33] | Fastener against the wind, rotating locking bar.[34] |
| ལག་གཟུང་། | Door handle . |
| སྡེད་གཏན | Gate bolt/ bar. |
| གནམ་གཟེར | Upper lintel locking pegs. |

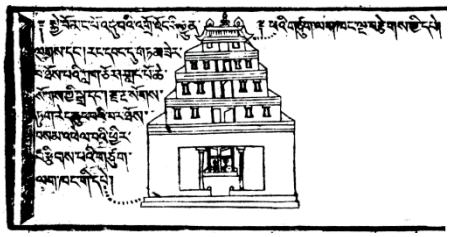
[32] The Lokesh Chandra copy has a character before the *ya*, possibly a *ga*, while W00EGS1016253-v11 has been 'cleaned up' to say *yang,* as in GKN.

[33] It is not clear why the honorific symbol is used for this item and no others. TPNZ spells it *'khar gtan* but the gSer thang Bla rung publication gives *'khor gtan,* see Fig 7.

[34] From the illustration it 'looks rather like a snake-like spiral' as given by Dan Martin in the online Steinert Tibetan dictionary. Khenpo Gyurme Tshultrim suggested they are the solid wooden pins and the sockets into which they door is set in the lintel by which the door panels rotate. The more recent set of illustrations shows it as a rotating locking bar, see Fig 7.

*6.6. Five storey temple*

**Folio 5b**



(At base)
།  སྐྱེ་བོ་མང་པོ་འདུ་བའི་འགྲོ་བོང་གི་རྒྱུན་ལྟགས་དང་།
རང་དབང་དུ་གཏམ་ཟེར་བ་ཐོས་པའི་ཀླག་ཅོར། ཚབ་ཏུ་ཐོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་དང་།
རྡ་ཏ་ཐོགས་ཏྲུག་རིད་ཆུང་བའི་སར་ཐོས་བསམ་འཚེལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་བརྩེགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་དཔེ།

The natural clamour of crowds of people ,
coming and going,

the sound of large elephants,
clay drums etc,
a place where there the sound of movement is less.
This is an example of *gtsug lag khang*s which are built to enable increased listening and meditation.

(At eave)
།  ཕའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལྟ་བརྩེགས་ཀྱི་དཔེ།

Illustration of a five storey monks' *gtsug lag khang*.

*6.7. Courtyard with water feature*

**Folio 5b**

།  སྟེང་གཡོགས་པའི་བསིལ་གྱིབ།
ཤུང་བསེར་བྱའི་དྲི་ངད།
ཆུའི་ཇིང་བྱའི་ངད་དེ་བསིལ་བའི་རྒྱུན་གསུམ་དང་
ལྡན་པའི་འཕོར་ཕྱི་ཁྱམས་ཀྱི་དཔེ།

Upper covered cool shade.
Gentle breeze and fragrance.
And water-pond's smell.
An illustration of a walkway with

| | |
|---|---|
| | the three conditions for refreshment. |
| (Note above monks)<br>ཁྱོ་ བཞིལ་བའི་ཆུན་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་ཁྲུམས་གསུམ་པ་ཅན་ཀྱི་དཔེ། | Illustration of three walkways with the three conditions of refreshment. |

*6.8. Explanatory passage*

**Folio 9a**[35]

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) འདིར་སྨོས་པ། | (1) Regarding these words. |
| སོ་ཐར་བསྡམ་གཞིའི་དགག་སྒྲུབ་གནད་བའི་མཚམས། | The fundamental teachings of individual liberation, the limits of what is not allowed, what is allowed. |
| ཚུལ་བཞིན་སྡུང་ལ་ཆེས་སྨན་དེའེ་རིས་གཟུགས། | To greatly benefit those who maintain the vows, I have shown as Illustrations. |
| ཐོས་བྱོན་མཁས་མང་ཕྱག་བཞེས་ཚ་དརྷར། | Through many skilled masters the clear reflection of many written traditions (2) exist. |
| གསལ་བའི་ཟིས་ཆའི་སྒོལ་རྒྱུན་མང་(2) མཆིས་པ། | There are; *Lung sde, mDo rtsa, mChan 'grel* and *mTsho Tik rin phreng* root texts etc. and many other. |
| དེ་དག་ལུང་སྡེ་མདོ་རྩ་མཆན་འགྲེལ་དང་། | I have examined them thoroughly by the measure of the three-fold analysis. |
| མཚོ་ཏིཀ་རིན་ཕྲེང་ལ་སོགས་གཞུང་དུ་མར། | Produced for skilled ordained monastics. |
| དཔྱད་གསུམ་རྣམ་དག་ཚད་མས་ལེགས་དཔྱད་དེ། | Illustrations of the limits of the origin of the fault of separation[36] are shown by examples in (3) trees, to provide analogies of how to understand the rules in residences etc. |
| ཐོན་ཁུངས་བསྒྲིད་མཚམས་སྦྱོན་(3)ཤིང་གིས་དཔེགས་ཏེས། | The way to build *gtsug lag khang* and meditation huts. |
| གཙུག་ལགཁང་དང་སྒོང་ཁང་རྩེགས་པའི་ཚུལ། | |
| བསམ་གཏན་པ་ཡི་བྱིང་རྩོད་སེལ་བའི་ཐབས། | |
| མཆེལ་སྐྱེས་རྣམ་གྲངས་འཆོ་བའི་ཡོ་བྱད་གོས། | |

[35] Line numbers given in round brackets.

[36] i.e. a monastic's separation from their three robes.

ལྷུང་བཟེད་འཁར་(4)བསིལ་ཆུ་ཚགས་བཀོད་དབྱིབས་ཚད།

Methods to clear *samādhi* practitioners' drowsiness and distractions.
The shape and size of footwear, living necessities and clothes. Alms bowl, walking (4) staffs, and water filtersare arranged.

དུས་ཆོགས་དབྱེ་བ་རྣམ་ངེ་འཇོག་པའི་ཚུལ། ངོས་བཟུང་བདེ་བའི་རེའུ་མིག་དང་བཅས་པར། ཐད་ཀར་རྒྱུ་མཚན་མཆན་བྱས་ལེགས་གསལ་བའི།

The categorisation and delineation of seasons and months,
provided in a convenient table in order to be understood.
Direct reasons are clearly annotated.

སྔོན་མེད་རི་མོ་གསར་དུ་བཞད་པའི་མཐུས། ཐེམས་ལྟན་རྣམ་(5)ཐར་གཙང་མའི་འདུལ་འཇོག་གྱིས། ཧོར་འཇོག་མཐའ་དབུས་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཁྱབ་ཅིག

By the power of unprecedented drawings newly blossomed,
those who follow the rules of liberation (5) the rules of the *vinaya*, may they flourish everywhere[37] throughout the universe.

ཅེས་འདུལ་བའི་དཔེ་རིས་སྔོན་འགོད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་།

[38]Thus was said, the illustrations of the earlier written *vinaya*'s meaning and the sources for these drawings etc, established beyond doubt, should be quoted again and again.

རི་མོའི་རྣམ་དབྱེ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱངས་ལུང་དག་ཞིར་གྱིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་སྟེ་ར་ཆེ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་དྲིས་ཚར་གསར་བགོད་བགྱིས་སྐབས་(6)མཚན་བྱང་སྔོན་ཆོག་དང་འབྲལ་བ་འདི་ཡང་བདུ་དཀར་འཆང་བའི་སྐྱེ་ཞིང་བསྟུ་གསུམ་བའི་གྲལ་དུ་འགོད་པ་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཚུལ་འཆོས་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་བརྙན་འཕྲུའི་དགེ་སྦྱོང་དགེ་བསྙེན་བཟང་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཆོག་འཇིགས་ཅལ་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཞིས་དཔྱད་གསུམ་པར་དཔག་པ་འདུལ་བའི་(7) ཞེ་སྡང་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེན་པའི་གསོས་སུ་ སྨན་པའི་མཚམས་སྦྱོར་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་སྨས་པ་དག་ལེགས་འཛེལ།

The shape and size of footwear, living necessities and clothes. Alms bowl, walking (4) staffs, and water filters are arranged.
The categorisation and delineation of seasons and months,
provided in a convenient table in order to be understood.
Direct reasons are clearly annotated.
These illustrations were made when the *ra [mo] che*[39] *gtsug lag khang* (6) was renovated, based on existing paintings and inscriptions, by the white lotus holder's [i.e. Avalokiteśvara] thirteenth incarnation, the victorious illusory reflection, the shākya's dge sbyong

[37] This may mean central and regional Tibet, or centre and regions of the world, i.e. everywhere.
[38] From this point the font size decreases, in the style of a foot note.
[39] Khenpo Gyurme Tshultrim advised that 'ra che' is probably a contraction for the Ra mo che temple in Lha sa.

(*śramaṇa*), Ngag dbang Blo bzang Thub bstan rGya mtsho 'Jigs bral dBang phyug. The Victorious One's unmistaken three-fold analysis, for the nourishment of the teachings of the *vinaya* (7) *piṭaka*, to the extent of all benefit, may these excellent words flourish.

### *7. Undated illustrations from gSer thang Bla rung*

Khenpo Gyurme Tshultrim of Shechen *bshad grwa*, Boudha, shared an undated set of illustrations he found in a Wechat group! There are 23 pages, in western portrait format, with a modern equivalent of a 'colophon'. The first page of illustrations is entitled, *Dam chos 'dul ba'i dpe ris nges shes nor bu sbyin pa'i klu dbang.*

The document includes all the TPNZ's illustrations as well as additional topics, such as the wheel of life, further monastic possessions, and other temple arrangements, but it does not follow the order of the Dalai Lama's text. The images are more realistic, attempting to provide isometric views of the buildings, but still not technically correct, i.e. they fail to follow rules of perspective.

While a few of the captions are similar, many are not. However, these images provide clarity on some of the door details, and some label spellings. Fig. 7-9 share some pages of interest to us.

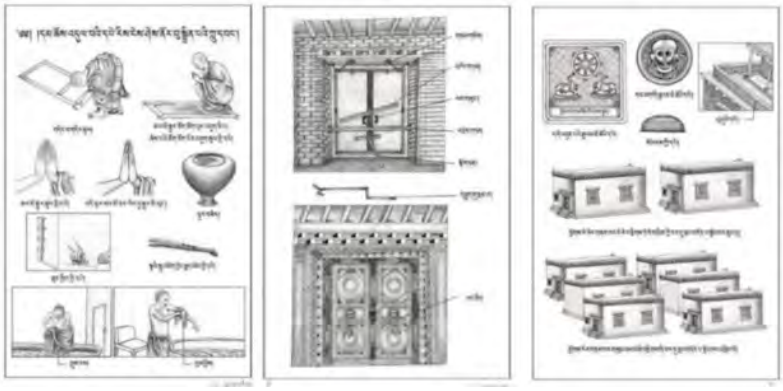


*Fig. 7: Extracts from Dam chos 'dul ba'i dpe ris nges shes nor bu sbyin pa'i klu dbang. a: page 1- with title, b: p.2 – door details, c:p.7 –meditation hut arrangements.*

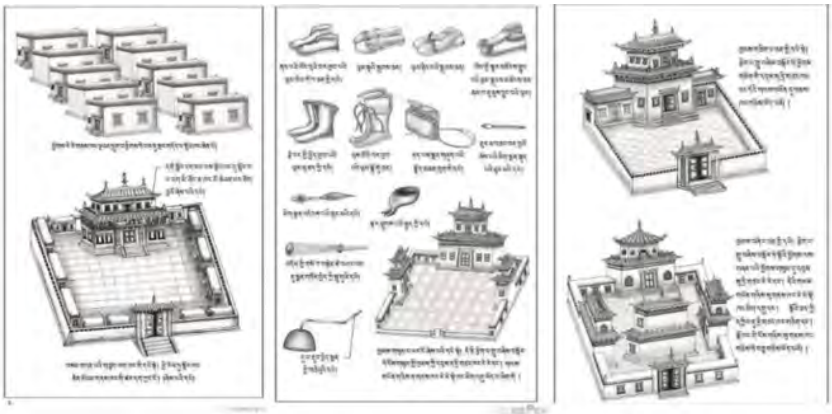


*Fig. 8: Extracts from Dam chos 'dul ba'i dpe ris nges shes nor bu sbyin pa'i klu dbang. a: p8 – meditation huts and temple in courtyard, b: p13- temple and three walkways, c: p14 – temple and four walkways.*

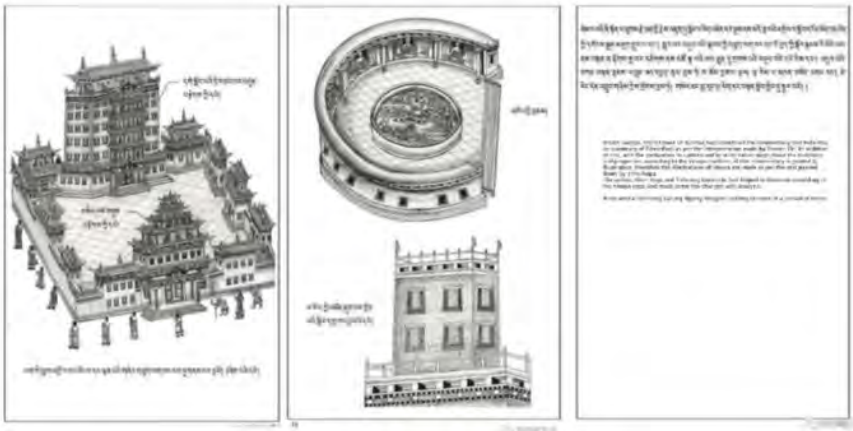


*Fig. 9: Extracts from Dam chos 'dul ba'i dpe ris nges shes nor bu sbyin pa'i klu dbang. a: p.15: temples built where people come and go, b: p.18 – conditions for refreshment, c: p.23 – the 'colophon'.*

The 'colophon' gives the author as Rig 'dzin Dar rgyas and the artists are named as mKhan bSod dGa' and Tshe ring Don 'grub. It states that these drawings are based on the commentary *'Dul ba mdo rtsa* by Slob dpon Yon tan 'Od and the 'oral tradition of mTsho sna pa'[40] and that the document was developed at gSer thang Bla rung lNga rig Nang bstan Slob gling.

[40] Interesting that they used mTsho sna pa rather than his more common epithet mTsho sna ba.

*8. Comparison of lCang lung Paṇḍita's and the Dalai Lama's texts*

Chandra suggests that lCang lung Paṇḍita's *vinaya* illustration folios were the basis of the Dalai Lama's text. (Chandra 1982: 7) Here we compare the illustrations in the two texts following lCang lung Paṇḍita's numbering.

Both begin with monastic residences and move onto temples, with the temple having the water feature coming last.

***ja, nya, ta*** and ***tha***: GKN's illustrations of monastic residences start with two naïve isometric views, but the rest are elevations only, except for the last which returns to isometric. He depicts four sets of residences while TPNZ only shows three. The captions are essentially the same.

**Unlabelled:** The next temple in GKN is simply depicted, flat roofed and with four doors or windows. On either side at the rear is a brick wall. On the remaining three sides are cells, three either side of the central entrance, and three each on the other wings.

The equivalent temple in TPNZ is three storied, with upturned eaves (*rgya phibs*). The central entrance is not detailed, there is a single cell either side, and then four cells in each of the wings.

The first 'split' temple in TPNZ has no equivalent in GKN, but has a similar caption as GKN's *pa*, i.e. that *gtsug lag khang*s should be built where people congregate so that they may accumulate merit as they pass.

***da*** and ***nya*****:** GKN shows a single storey temple in an enclosed courtyard, with a gate with *rgya phibs*, smaller temples on either side of the gate and two on each wing. It is followed by the details of gates and doors.

This is TPNZ's second 'split' temple, with its top half on folio 4b and the bottom on folio 5a. It is also a single storey, with *rgya phibs*. but it is no longer inside an enclosed courtyard, the front 'wing' being open. There are single small temples either side of the main temple and three on each side wing.

There are two small differences in the gate labels.

| GKN | TPNZ | Comments |
|---|---|---|
| འཕྲེད་གདན། | འཕྲེད་གཏན། | We have already commented that the GKN wood carver's *nga* and *ta* look like *da*. The gSer thang text gives the spelling *'phred gtan*. |
| ཡང་མེག | ?ཡང་མེག | A prefix is shown in Chandra's copy of the Dalai Lama's text, but it is difficult to read, and is deleted in other copies |

***pa***: GKN shows two temples, the first in isometric inside a walled courtyard, single storey, with *rgya phibs*. The second in elevation, five storied, with full width steps at the entrance.

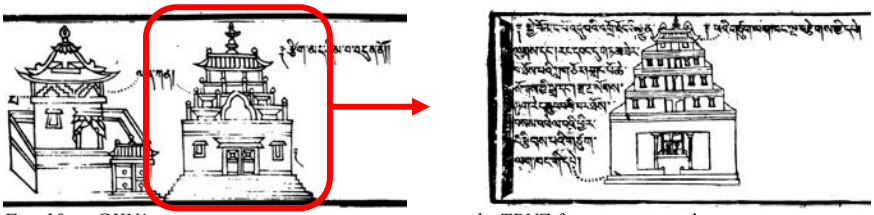


*Fig. 10: a:GKN's pa* *b: TPNZ five storey temple.*

TPNZ seems to do away with the first temple, but the second becomes the penultimate image, a five storied temple with *rgya phibs* and entrance porch (Fig. 10).

***pha***: GKN shows a naïve isometric of a single storey temple with *rgya phibs* in a walled courtyard which has windows on three sides and a central entrance gate. In the courtyard are two small circular ponds or wells. The image is a view centrally from above.

TPNZ retains the courtyard with the pond as the final image, but the shrine in the middle of the far wall is removed. In an isometric view, the two visible wings are lined with either open cells or a colonnaded walkway. The outside walls again have windows, and there is a central gate. The water feature has been expanded into a large square pond.

**Explanatory captions:** As already mentioned, the captions and prose of both texts nearly all end with '*zhes pa*', indicating quotation from other text or texts. However it is unclear if they are direct quotes or if just the content is taken from elsewhere. Both GKN and TPNZ give the names of texts in abbreviated form, making identification

tricky.

GKN's references are apparently only in relation to the astrological chart. TPNZ notes reference texts on both the title page and the closing paragraphs. I have attempted to identify the texts from the abbreviated titles, but it will take someone with knowledge of the many *vinaya* commentaries to verify.

Kunkhyen Tshonawa authored a number of commentaries on the *vinaya*. *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho* has been published in three modern volumes, in which chapters on robes, boots and residences are found in volume 3. (bZang po 2009: 217-241, 428-450). His *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i mchan 'grel*, volume 2 also includes chapters on robes, boots and residences.[41]

### *9. Painting examples*

This section presents examples of paintings and compares them with TPNZ on which they are based, following the Dalai Lama's order.

#### *9.1. Temple locations*

The photos[42] presented below were taken over an extended period, and are located at the following temples.

| **Temple name** | **Location** | **School** |
|---|---|---|
| Benchen | Nepal Swayambhu | Karma bka brgyud |
| Likir | Ladakh Likir | dGe lugs |
| Bodong Porong | Nepal Boudha | bKa' gdams |
| Samtenling | Nepal Boudha | dGe lugs |
| Shelkar | Nepal Boudha | dGe lugs |
| Lama Yuru | Ladakh Lama Yuru | 'Bri gung bka' brgyud |

#### *9.2. Overall layout of paintings*

At some temples the entire text is reproduced on a single wall (Fig. 11) and follow the order of the Dalai Lama's folios.

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41 bZang po 2011: 128-185, 304-361.

42 All photos by author.

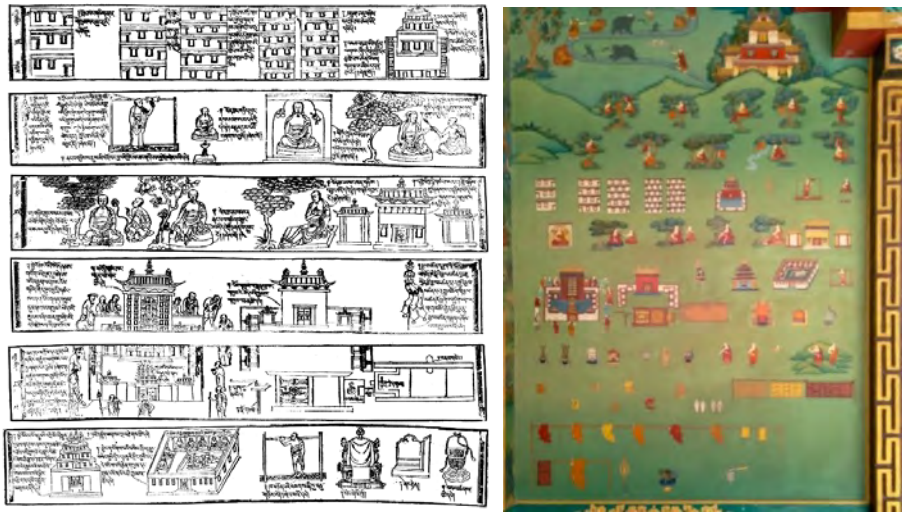


*Fig. 11: a: Overall layout: a TPNZ b: Bodong Porong.*

At other temples, the illustrations are spread over multiple walls and do not clearly follow the order of the text. Of particular interest is the arrangement at Samtenling[43] gompa, Boudha. We see that the artist has strictly adhered to the order of the folios, but the contents of folio 4b are painted at the end of one row, and those of folio 5a are painted at the start of a new row. Thus the two 'split temples' have been dismembered (Fig 12)!

We have to wonder how this came about. Did neither the monks who commissioned this series, nor the painters, realise the strange arrangement of the images on the two facing pages? Was the need to follow the order of the pages so essential as to allow a confusing painting to be acceptable? Did no one notice once the work was done? Was it not considered necessary to paint them again, correctly aligned?

[43] Its official name is dGa' ldan Chos 'phel gling, however it is more commonly known as Samtenling, which may or may not have been its name when founded in the 1950's by the Mongolian lama, referred to in Nepal as Sogpo Rinpoche, Gurudeva (1908-2009). See Jackson 2019: 584, n. 39; Moran 2004: 67.


*Fig. 12: The dismembered temples at Samtenling.*

### *9.3. Meditation huts and residences*

The residences are painted with different levels of detail (Fig. 13-15). All have the black lined window frames as per the central Tibetan style. Different details are given to the roof band (*span bad*), some bands are red – which usually indicates a religious structure, and some black- usually for secular buildings. The notes, when provided, follow TPNZ in content and position.

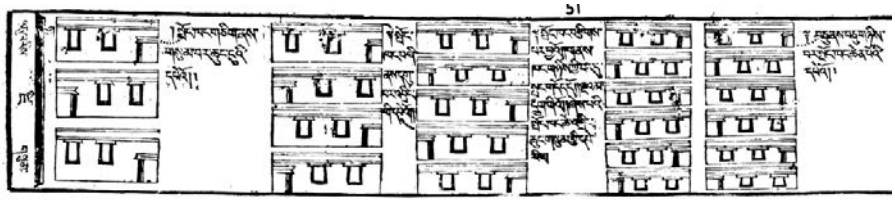


*Fig. 13: Extract from TPNZ.*

*Fig. 14: Likir.*

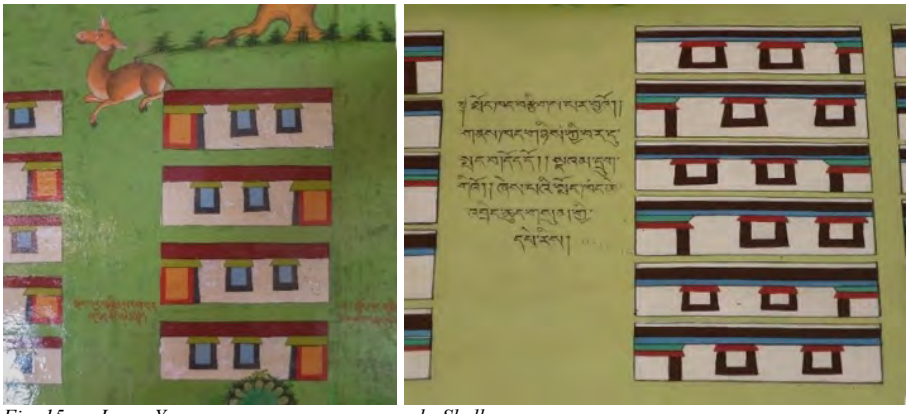


*Fig. 15: a: Lama Yuru* *b: Shelkar.*

Of particular interest is the composition at Benchen (Fig. 16) which is simple and without text. The arrangement is spread over a number of walls outside the main temple door. The artists appear to have understood them to be multi-storey buildings instead of separate single storey houses, as the captions instruct.

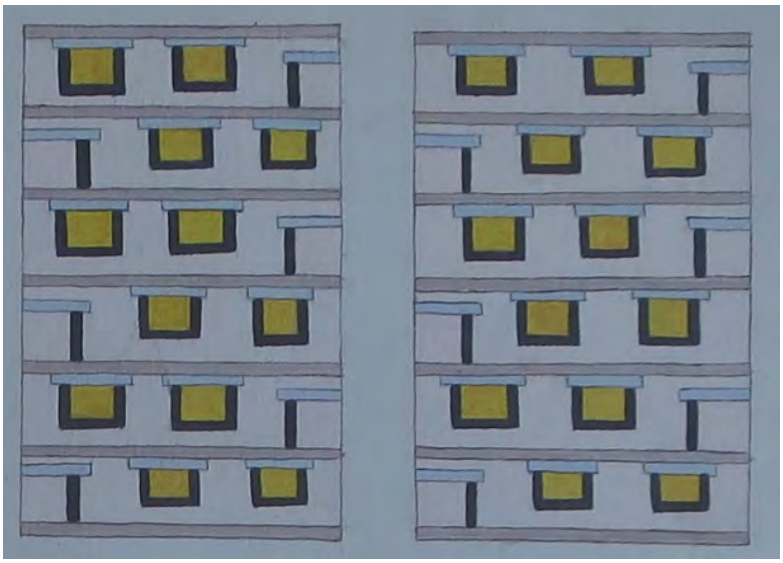


*Fig. 16: Benchen.*

### *9.4. Temple and courtyard with cells on three sides*

We see here even greater diversity in the images (Fig. 17-18). The Lama Yuru image is the most divergent, increasing the number of cells

in the front wing and omitting the gate. The Lama Yuru and Likir temples include a line of circles in their red/ brown s*pan bad*, usually said to be strings of pearls or mirrors.

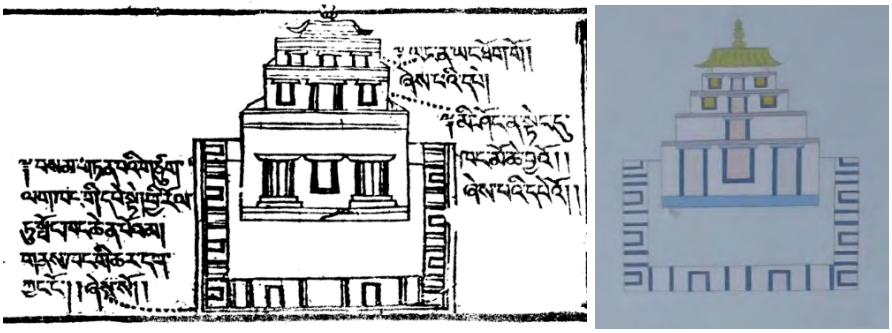


*Fig. 17: a: Extract from TPNZ* *b: Benchen.*

*Fig. 18: a: Lama Yuru,* *b: Shelkar,* *c: Likir.*

### *9.5. dri gtsang khang with side buildings*

Each roof is topped with a single decorative element which could be a dharma wheel, mirror, a flaming pearl or jewel on a lotus. In any case, the artists have interpreted the decoration differently

The Shelkar gompa has omitted the painted 'curtain' design below the 'stacked pechas' (*chos brtsegs*) at the roof eave (Fig. 19). Due to being located between a door and an adjacent wall, the Likir composition repositions the side temples in front and behind of the central temple (Fig. 20).


*Fig. 19: a: Extract from TPNZ* *b: Shelkar.*


*Fig. 20: a: Lama Yuru* *b: Likir.*

### *9.6. gtsug lag khang for accumulation of merit*

As explained, this image is split over two facing folios in TPNZ, showing a seven storied *gtsug lag khang* with many circumambulators. It has two small side shrines, as well as shrines or cells either side of the entrance gate and along the side wings. At Likir, the painting is located between two door frames, and has lost the left hand circumambulators (Fig. 22). This is one of the few images at Benchen where the caption is included (Fig. 23).

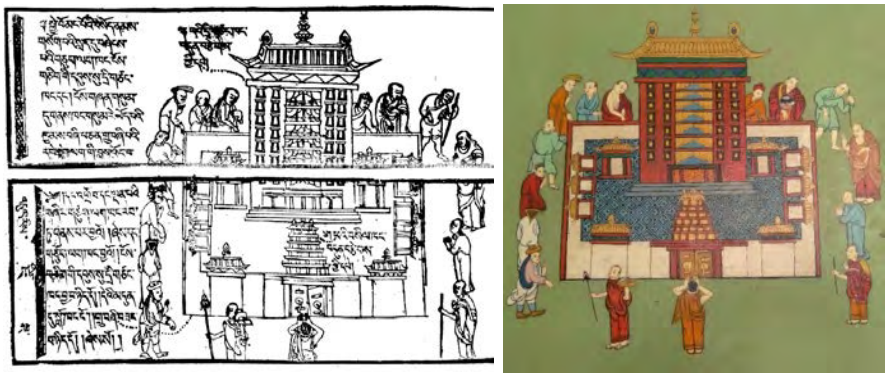


*Fig. 21: a: The TPNZ illustration split over two facing folios b: Bodong Porong.*

*Fig. 22: a: Shelkar b: Likir.*

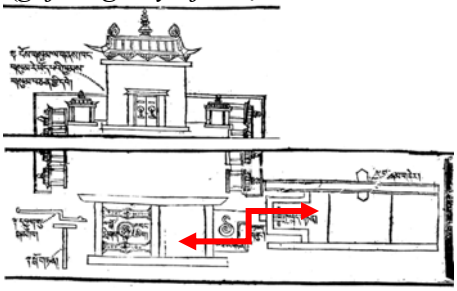
*Fig. 23: a Benchen b: Samtenling.*

As already mentioned, the two halves of the temple painted at Samtenling is split in half! The upper section is at an inside corner,

protected from the elements, while the lower section is at an outside corner exposed to sun and rain (Fig. 23). This makes it even less likely that observers would notice that the two temples are split.

### *9.7. gTsug lag khang and door details*

The central temple is single storied and the roof has a central finial (*gajur, ga ny+ji ra*) as well as flaming jewels at either end of the ridge.



There seems to be some confusion as to how the two elements of the gate work. The original xylograph shows them staggered, (Fig. 24) but presumably they lock into each other. Unlike the text, Likir seems to have painted the two leaves of the gate closed (Fig. 25).

*Fig. 24: Extract from TPNZ split over two facing folios.*

*Fig. 25: a: Likir b: Lama Yuru.*

*Fig. 26: a: Benchen b: Shelkar.*

### *9.8 Five storey temple*

TPNZ applies some perspective by setting the temple door back from the entrance portico and this is replicated in the Shelkar painting (Fig. 27). The Lama Yuru painting places the door closer to the front wall and moves the entrance steps to one side. Both apply their own decoration at the top of each storey. Lama Yuru makes further minor changes to the roof ridge decorations.

*Fig. 27: a: TPNZ illustration, b: Shelkar c:Lama Yuru.*

### *9.9. Temple with water feature*

*Fig. 28: TPNZ illustration.*

The block carver did not have a modern understanding of perspective and the compound walls are a little awry. Similarly the four-sided pond is off-centre, and the windows in the side wall do not follow isometric rules (Fig. 28).

*Fig. 29: a: Benchen,*

*b: Bodong*

*c: Samtenling.*

*Fig. 30: a: Likir*

*b: Lama Yuru.*

The painters have attempted to rectify the layout to differing extents as per their understanding of perspective (Fig. 29-30). Some walls, windows and ponds have been straightened out. The depiction of the flowers in the ponds provides an opportunity for the painters to express their imagination.

*9.10. Explanatory text*

As mentioned, the extensive explanation given on the last folio of the text was found at two temples in Ladakh,[44] beneath the astrological table (Fig. 31).

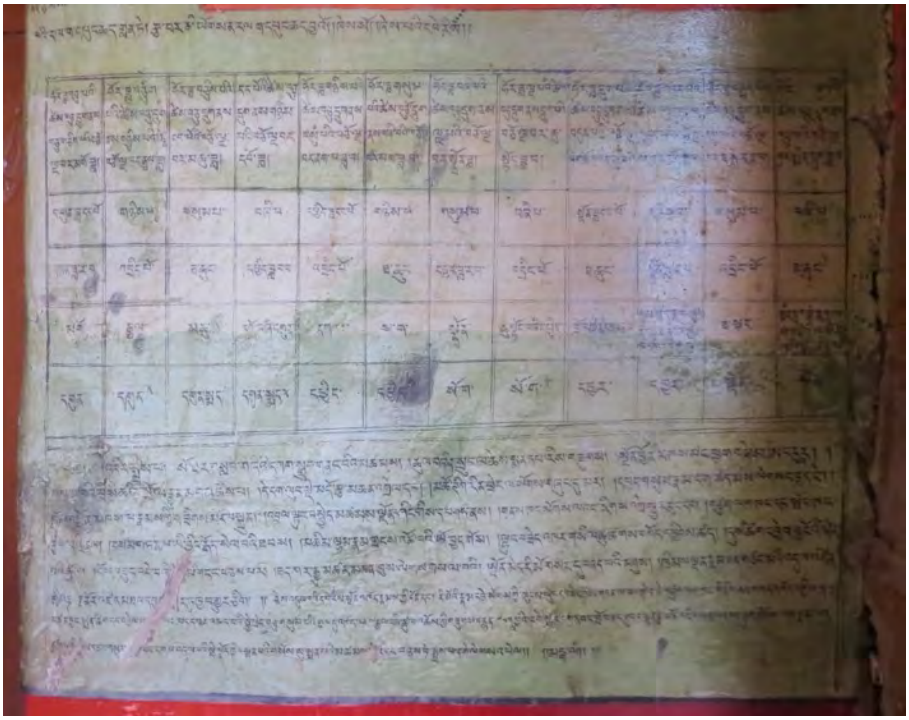


*Fig. 31: The astrological table and the final prose at Likir.*

The Likir wall painting repeats the TPNZ prose word for word, including the reduction in font size for the subsequent 'footnotes'. It adds a '*maṅgalām*' at the end.

The Lama Yuru wall painting only provides the main text and not the 'footnotes'. The five lines of a *'Bri gung* aspiration prayer in verse are added at the end.

[44] The table and text is also seen in Gyatsho's (1979) Fig 14, but the name of the Ladakhi temple is not given.

*10. Colours and background*

Since I did not locate any artists who had painted this series of illustrations, I was not able to ask whether any rules or guidelines exist for it. It would be interesting to learn if any painted or colour-coded copies of the text exist, as sometimes given in painting manuals (Fig. 32).

*Fig. 32: Example of numbered colour coding from an iconography manual (rDo rje 2010: 186).*

Further it would be interesting to know the colour scheme used at Ramoche, if these illustrations were indeed painted there as suggested by the colophon of TPNZ.

The painting examples presented here demonstrate that the artists generally place these images within a rural landscape, rather than an urban setting. Green is the most common background colour, though yellow and white are also used.

The residential buildings are all depicted white, as are the walls of the compound containing the pond. Temple walls are either white or red, or variations of red including dark orange and brown. Courtyards vary greatly, some are tiled in blue, some are green contiguous with the background, others white or ochre. The side wings, the walkway with monastic cells, are usually white.

## *11. Conclusion*

This paper presents an example of didactic art which appears at Himalayan Buddhist temple entrances, although a set that seems less common than others of this genre. This may be because the text on which it was based, by the 13th Dalai Lama, is only popular in the dGe lugs school, although the subject, the *vinaya*, applies across all schools. The paper is an initial exploration of the reference text and its predecessor supplemented by a small collection of extant examples found at monasteries in Nepal and Ladakh.

If we take Chandra's attribution to lCang lung Paṇḍita as correct, the 13th Dalai Lama was either inspired by his teacher or paintings in the Ramoche, and hoped that his text would serve as an aide memoire to ordained monastics about various *vinaya* rules. Based on my initial enquiries at monasteries and with individual monastics, this appears to have been unsuccessful, even at monasteries where the illustrations are supplemented with captions. However, as shown, the captions are highly abbreviated, and are probably not easily understood except by those who have studied the *vinaya* in depth.

As to the original sources, the use of abbreviated titles make certain identification of the reference texts tricky. GKN clearly refers to Buton and Tshonawa in relation to the astrological chart, but I am unsure whether these texts are also the source for the architectural illustrations. As for the various titles mentioned in TPNZ, the same difficulty arises. Therefore the next step would be to identify the exact passages from the various possible reference texts, which would also clarify the context in which these rules were established.

The scope of this paper has limited itself to the architectural elements of these texts and paintings. Therefore, there is opportunity for further investigation, i.e. faults arising from separation from robes, robes themselves, footwear, other monastic possessions, and astrological charts. In the course of my enquiry, the interest of some of the monks I encountered was piqued and they requested that share the source text with them. Hopefully this set of illustration will continue to painted at temples and monastics will be able to explain them to visitors.

*Abbreviations*

GKN rgya dkar nag rgya ser ka+shmi ra bal bod hor gyi yi ge dang dpe ris rnam grangs mang ba bzhugs so. New Delhi: Jayyed Press (BDRC: W30268 pp26-36).

TPNZ *bstan pa'i nang mdzod 'Dul ba lung sde bzhi*. pp50-54. New Delhi: Jayyed Press (BDRC: W30268).

*Tibetan language references*

rDo rje, Phun tshogs. 2010. Bod kyi ri mo'i sgyu rtsal las lha sku'i thig rtsa dang shing tshon sogs kyi rmang gzhi'i shes bya 'gro phan blo gsar dga' skyed/ pe cing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang / (BDRC: W8LS19042).

bZang po, Kun mkhyen mTsho sna ba Shes rab. 2009. *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho*/ smad cha/ lha sa: ser gtsug nang btsan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang/ (BDRC: MW1KG15482).

bZang po, Kun mkhyen mTsho sna ba Shes rab. 2011. *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i mchan 'grel/* gzhi smad/ lha sa: ser gtsug nang btsan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang/ (BDRC: W1AC31).

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# The Tibetan-Italian-Tibetan Dictionary of Fr. Orazio della Penna (1680–1745): An Untapped Resource for the History of Tibetan Language, Society and Early Buddhist-Christian Interreligious Contacts[1]

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## A. Introduction: what we know about the dictionary of Della Penna now

Encounters between cultures offer multiple opportunities to advance the frontiers of knowledge on a wide range of subjects. When these encounters are well documented in original source materials, the prospects are even greater, particularly if a multidisciplinary approach is applied to their analysis. A fresh example of a major source providing evidence of an important cultural encounter can be found in the Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan dictionary compiled by Fr. Francesco Orazio della Penna (born count Luzio Olivieri, 1680–1745) during his apostolic mission to Tibet. This paper discusses the history of the dictionary, assesses its scientific value, considers its current condition, and sketches a plan of multidisciplinary study for this important testimony of the first significant encounter between Christianity and Buddhism in Lhasa.

At the time of this writing, information on the history and contents of Della Penna's dictionary is limited to a handful of secondary sources, some of which are over a century old. In addition, with only two exceptions, none of the scholars who wrote about the dictionary ever set eyes on it. The first notice of the existence of this dictionary is very early: in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* Agostino Antonio Giorgi (1711–1797) stated that a Tibetan lexicon containing 33,000 words was kept in the Capuchin hospice in Nepal, but that, given the distance, he

[1] I would like to thank Elio Marini for making the manuscripts available for study, and for providing the photographs shown here. I would also like to thank John Bray, Elena De Rossi Filibeck, Michael Sweet and Leonard Zwilling for their unstinting support throughout this research and their valuable comments on this paper.

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had no hope of seeing it.[2] Similar intelligence was re-echoed in the 18th and 19th centuries,[3] but only in 1912 did Fr. Felix [Finck] of Antwerp (1868–1932) examine a set of three manuscripts containing Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan dictionaries that had been found in the library of Bishop's College (Calcutta). Fr. Felix deduced that they corresponded to the original ones prepared for the Capuchin mission to Tibet, and discussed them in an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*.[4]

His brief description revealed that they consisted of a Tibetan-Italian lexicon and two Italian-Tibetan vocabularies. The Tibetan-Italian (designated as ms. I by Fr. Felix) was "one foot long by 6 ½ inches broad",[5] contained 191 leaves,[6] and comprised the letters from *kha* to *sa*. Father Felix posited that "this dictionary is properly a collection of all the sentences which the author could get from native teachers, completed by means of extracts from the *Padma tangyig*, a popular series of legends about Padma Sambhava".[7] The two Italian-Tibetan copies were quite different: the first (ms. II.A of Fr. Felix) is described as "measuring 10 ⅝" x 8 ¼", strongly bound and written by several hands on English-made paper".[8] It numbered 854 pages and comprised the letters from A to S. The second manuscript (II.B), was the older of the two: it measured 13 ½ inches by 7 ½ inches, was written on Tibetan paper, and was also incomplete, covering the entries between the middle of letter N, and Z in 430 pages.

Although all three texts showed evidence of damage wrought by time, they were judged to be still sufficiently readable. Yet, Fr. Felix's paper did not spur much follow-up research in the world of Asian and Tibetan studies for another forty years. At first, interest in the find, and particularly in the history of the Capuchin missions to Tibet, was circumscribed among missionaries and scholars of missiology, and between the 1920s and 1930s Della Penna's dictionary was mainly

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2 "Lexicon Tibetanum *triginta trium millium* vocabulorum, jacet Mss. in *Hospitio* PP. Capuccinorum *Nekpal*. Magno rebus nostris suisset usui; sed tam longe abest, ut de eo edendo [*sic*] vix spes una supersit", Giorgi, 1762: lviii (italics in the original). The 1759 edition of *Alphabetum Tibetanum* lacks this passage and the long introduction in which it appears. On the different editions of Giorgi's Alphabetum see Bellini, 2011: 49-50; Pomplun, 2020: 202-205.

3 On the wide influence of Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, which was read, among others, by the likes of sir William Jones (1746–1794) Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Georg Hegel (1770–1831), see Pomplun, 2020.

4 See Felix of Antwerp (Finck), 1912.

5 Felix of Antwerp, 1912: 382.

6 In reality they are 193; see Lo Bue, 2001: 90.

7 Felix of Antwerp, 1912: 382.

8 Felix of Antwerp, 1912: 383.

discussed in publications about the Capuchin order's missions.[9] Only in 1952, with the publication of the first volume of Luciano Petech's *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (hereafter *MITN*), was the dictionary of Della Penna discussed in the context of its contribution to the study of Tibet.[10]

In the lengthy introduction to this seven-volume collection of documents relating to the Catholic missions to Tibet and Nepal in the 18th century, Petech dedicated a section to the written works of the Capuchin missionaries. Here, he described the manuscripts of the dictionary, although he appears not to have seen them in person. He compiled his sketch of their history and appearance on the basis of the information found in the 1912 article by Felix of Antwerp, supplemented by Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (1762), and the two articles by Johannes of Reifenberg (which contained some inaccuracies, rectified by Petech). Still, for reasons hard to pinpoint[11] Petech's mention of these texts did not generate interest or curiosity, and the dictionary remained in the archives of Bishop's College, seemingly undisturbed, and definitely unstudied, for the rest of the 20th century.

In the summer of 2001, however, *The Tibet Journal* published "A Note on the Dictionaries Compiled by Italian Missionaries in Tibet", a short article by the late Erberto Lo Bue which summarized the history of the "earliest known European lexicographic studies of the Tibetan language".[12] These included, in addition to Della Penna's Italian-Tibetan and Tibetan-Italian dictionary, the earlier Latin-Tibetan vocabulary compiled between 1707 and 1711 by the first group of Capuchin missionaries to Tibet, François Marie de Tours (d. 1709), Giuseppe da Ascoli (1673–1710) and Domenico da Fano (1674–1728). The original of this dictionary has never been found,[13] but a 74 page extract of it is

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9 These included a monograph (Jann 1925), two articles published in the *Analecta Ordinis Fratrus Minorum Capuccinorum*, (Ioannes [Lenhart] of Reifenberg 1931 and 1934) and two more studies on the Capuchin missions in India and Tibet (Terzorio 1926 and 1932). In addition, Felix of Antwerp published in Lahore *Essays on the Capuchin Missions in India* (no date), which at present is unavailable to me.

10 Petech, *MITN*, 1952: vol.1, XCII-XCIV.

11 I would suggest that in 1952, and certainly in 1912, the discipline of Tibetan studies was still in a pioneering phase and the scholarship dedicated to it was still rather focused on the broader themes of religion, art and history.

12 Lo Bue, 2001: 88.

13 It is presumed to be in Rome, but while working on *MITN* Petech did not find it. A new search is now under way, conducted by professor Elena De Rossi Filibeck and myself in collaboration with the Historical Archives of Propagation of the Faith of the Dicastery for Evangelization (Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide del Dicastero per l'Evangelizzazione). We are grateful to Don Flavio Belluomini, the Archivist at the Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide, for his kind support in this endeavor.

kept in the National Library in Paris.[14]

The key revelation of Lo Bue's article, however, concerned the dictionary by Della Penna: "Olivieri's manuscript was rediscovered by P. Hosten in 1911,[15] only to be forgotten again until 1999, when E. Marini, an Italian teacher who has devoted much of his time to study Father Orazio's life, retrieved the original manuscripts of both the Tibetan-Italian and the Italian-Tibetan dictionaries compiled by the Capuchin missionary, and kindly allowed me to examine them on a couple of occasions".[16] By the start of the 21st century, then, the manuscripts had been moved to Italy. Still, at that time the possibilities of a collaboration for the study of these texts remained unrealized, and only recently have I been able to establish contact with the owner and come to an agreement to make them accessible for research.[17]

In view of the importance of these texts and their potential for the advancement of our knowledge of Tibet, in the following sections I will recap their complicated history from the time they were completed to today, highlighting their significant, but often obscure role for the history of Tibetology; I will then assess their historical value, which spans linguistic, cultural and religious arenas; and finally I will detail their current condition and propose a plan to study them, in agreement and in partnership with the current owner, who in the past years has continued his researches on the life and works of Della Penna and has achieved several successes, among which I should mention

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[14] The extract has been scanned and can be viewed on the website of the Bibliothèque Nationale at this address: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541005425 (last access 23 February 2023). The dictionary is preceded by 8 pages of explanation of the "Tibetan alphabet", with information on how various syllabic clusters were pronounced at the time. The first English translation of this text has been completed by Alla Sizova and is being prepared for publication. A later, handwritten copy of this Latin-Tibetan dictionary, made in 1773 by Michel-Ange André Le Roux Deshauterayes, is kept at the Bavarian State Library; see https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0009/bsb00094600/images/index.html?id=00094600&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=7 (last access 13 March 2023). It has some remarkable differences compared to the original: while the former comprises three columns: Latin, Tibetan and phonetic reading ("*spiegazione*"), the latter attempts to turn the dictionary into a Tibetan-Latin one, and its columns are re-arranged in the following way: phonetic reading, Tibetan and Latin.

[15] I have been unable to trace the 1911 publication referenced here. Perhaps Lo Bue was referring to the notes by Henri Hosten, S. J. (1863–1935), added to Fr. Felix of Antwerp's article, although these do not state explicitly that Rev. Hosten found the manuscripts.

[16] Lo Bue, 2001: 90.

[17] A first clue to the renewed search for this dictionary was given in Venturi 2021: 221, n. 28.

obtaining a cast of the famous bell of the Catholic church in Lhasa[18] and the recent discovery of the only existing portrait of Orazio Della Penna.[19]

### B. The history of the dictionary after the abandonment of the Lhasa mission (1745).

The early history of the dictionary can be partially reconstructed through the letters and documents pertaining to the Capuchin mission, which were collected, organized, copiously annotated, and inserted into the appropriate historical context with a masterly introductory essay by Luciano Petech.[20] According to these records, the Capuchins Domenico da Fano, Orazio della Penna and Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone (1677–1724/1725), who had arrived in Lhasa on October 1, 1716, were already working on a dictionary at the beginning of 1717, as a letter by Domenico da Fano states that "in the meanwhile we are preparing to make a copious dictionary, all drawn from their books".[21] Since da Fano had already stayed in Tibet between 1709 and 1711[22] and this was his second trip there, he was charged with the

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[18] After the closure of the Capuchin church and hospice, this famous bell, inscribed with *Te Deum Laudamus*, was hung for many years in the Jokhang, as testified by various travelers to Lhasa in the early 20th century, starting with members of the Younghusband incursion in 1904 (see for example Candler 1905: 3, n. 2 and 273). By 2004, when Mr. Marini made a cast of the bell, it was kept in a storage room in the Jokhang complex. The bronze reproduction now hangs from a newly built structure in Pennabilli and was rung in 2005 when the XIV Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso visited Della Penna's native village for the second time.

[19] An article in Italian on the history of this discovery has been published online: https://www.pangea.news/orazio-missionario-tibet-ritratto-pennabilli/ (last accessed February 1, 2023). The portrait was likely painted in Della Penna's hometown in the Marche region during his sojourn in Italy between 1736 and 1738, when he had returned from Tibet in order to ask for more funds for the Lhasa mission. The modern name of Della Penna's hometown, Pennabilli, is derived from the conjunction of the names of the two neighboring villages of Penna and Billi. In the 18th century documents Della Penna's full name is given as Francesco Orazio della Penna de' Billi.

[20] *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal. I Cappuccini Marchigiani*, vols. 1-4. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1952-1953. This edition also includes, in the last three volumes (5-7) all the correspondence and documents relating to the mission of the Jesuit Ippolito Desideri, who had arrived in Lhasa on 18 March 1716 and left on 28 April 1721, and operated alongside Father Della Penna for much of this period.

[21] "Noi fra tanto ci prepariamo con fare un copioso dizionario tutto cavato da' loro libri", excerpt from a letter (CL. 33) written in Lhasa on 15 February 1717 (*MITN*, vol. 1, 84-85. All translations from Italian into English are mine.

[22] *MITN*, vol. 1: CXIII. In 1713 he penned a "Breve relazione" on his experience, which includes a description of the "kingdom of Tibet" and of the city of Lhasa, as well as of Tibetan customs and religion, can be found in *MITN*, vol. 3: 3-37. The first

leadership of the Capuchin mission in Tibet and Nepal (his title was *Prefetto*). When his declining health obliged him to depart from Lhasa in 1722, he entrusted the responsibility for the Lhasa mission to Orazio della Penna.[23] As we have seen above, da Fano had already collaborated on the earlier Latin-Tibetan dictionary, and so we can surmise, even from this brief excerpt, that he also contributed to this second effort, at least at the beginning.

A set of four further letters written by Fr. Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia (1684–1764)[24] clarifies somewhat the advancement of the work on the dictionary.[25] This had progressed enough that by 1721 a first draft seems to have already existed. In fact, in a response to a statement by Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) that the Capuchins did not know Tibetan well and that Desideri himself had taught the language to Orazio della Penna, Fr. Gioacchino states that:

> When I was coming to Lhasa, half a day away from here I met Desideri, who was leaving for Hindustan. The next day I arrived and found, already made, the small catechism; the life of Shākya thub pa, their dastardly legislator, translated; he [della Penna] was at the end of his translation of the *Lam rim chen mo*, and had made a most copious vocabulary.[26]

A second letter, written in 1724, seems to indicate that the dictionary was used on a constant basis, on account of the translations of Tibetan texts on which Della Penna was working. In addition, we can infer that there were more than one copy of the dictionary, since one had been destined to be brought to Rome:[27]

> The Father Superior [Della Penna] is applying himself to translate the books of this false law; he made a very large dictionary and a catechism of our Holy Law, by which at this time they do not hold us anymore as infidels like before. We have distributed one to each convent, they read it, and

English translation of this document has been published very recently, see Sweet and Zwilling 2022.

23 *MITN*, vol. 1: LIII. In 1725 Della Penna then became the Prefect of the entire Capuchin mission to Tibet and Nepal.

24 On Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia see a brief biography in MITN, vol. 1: CXV. He was in Lhasa from 1721 to 1733, and then again briefly in 1741. He was the only missionary companion of Orazio della Penna for most of this time.

25 These letters will be presented here not in the order in which they were written (as in *MITN*), but following the timeline of the events they describe.

26 *MITN*, vol. 1: 150 (CL. 52, dated Lhasa, 2 August 1731). Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia arrived in Lhasa on 1 May 1721, and Ippolito Desideri had left on 28 April 1721.

27 See *MITN*, vol. 1, 125.The letter (CL. 46) was penned in Lhasa on 20 November 1724.

> Lamas, Rabjampas (*rab 'byams pa*) and Trabas (*grwa pa*) praise our Holy Law and universally state that it only has one defect, that it does not consider transmigration. Of all we did, of all, the Very Reverend Father Prefect Domenico da Fano will bring to Rome copies in Tibetan and in our language, together with the permission obtained by this Grand Lama to build a small convent, the copy of which I attach here, translated in our language by the Reverend Father Superior for your solace.[28]

Indeed, the above-referenced copy of the dictionary had left for Rome well before 1724, as shown from this excerpt:

> Before Fr. Domenico of holy memory left from Lhasa, I saw with my own eyes the letter he wrote to Rome in order to have permission to bring with him the translations of these Tibetan books made by this Very Reverend Father Prefect [Orazio della Penna], as many as six in number. And the very same Fr. Domenico, after my arrival in Lhasa, while I was helping him in the grueling work of doctor, was able, with the assistance of the Very Reverend Prefect and by means of a very copious vocabulary of about 30,000 words and more, made by this Very Reverend Prefect, and that the aforesaid Fr. Domenico was bringing with him, he could, I said, learn the language of the Tibetans.[29]

Notwithstanding the convoluted language, this letter illustrates that by 1722, the year in which Da Fano left Lhasa, the dictionary contained about 30,000 words and therefore was deemed sufficiently complete to be brought back to Rome, both to show as an example of the work accomplished and to serve as an instrument of teaching to perspective missionaries.[30] This is further confirmed by another letter discussing

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[28] Two copies in *dbu can* of the original permission to build a "convent" (Tib.: *dgon chung*) granted by the VII Dalai Lama are still kept in the Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide, together with a translation made at that time. The document is also reproduced in *MITN*, vol. 4: 186-187.

[29] See *MITN*, vol. 1: 137 (CL. 50, written on 20 July 1731).

[30] On the importance of learning "exotic" languages and creating dictionaries and grammars in order to facilitate future missionary work see Zwartjes 2011. In this regard, Propaganda Fide in 1626 instituted the "Tipografia Poliglotta", which printed grammars and dictionaries —as well as catechisms and liturgical books— in the languages of the nations they were seeking to evangelize. In order to do so, the Tipografia Poliglotta specifically produced the types for each script. For the Tibetan language two sets of Tibetan mobile characters were carved in 1738; one of these was transported to Lhasa on Della Penna's second mission there, from 1741 to 1745, and is now considered lost. On the Tipografia Poliglotta see Pizzorusso, 2004; for a history of Tibetan typefaces see de Baerdemaeker, 2020.

the same topic, and providing a full list of all the texts that had been destined for Rome:

> After I arrived in Lhasa, capital of Great Tibet, on 1 May 1721, our Father Prefect Domenico da Fano wrote to Rome for permission to bring with him coming back to Europe all the works translated, in major part by our current Father Prefect Francesco Orazio della Penna de Billi, which are:
>
> The life of Shākya thub pa, main legislator of this wretched people;
>
> A book that deals with the Tibetan God;
>
> The rule of their heathen religious men;
>
> An explanation of their idols;
>
> Another of the Tibetan world;
>
> A small catechism of our Holy Law;
>
> And a vocabulary of about 30,000 words.[31]
>
> All these books written in Italian and Tibetan, a part of which Fr. Domenico da Fano brought with him and [another] part were sent from Lhasa to Bengal with the intention of sending them to Rome to materially show that what was said against us was false.[32] But since the Cardinals forbade to the Capuchins or suspended the dispatch of new missionaries and the yearly remittance, the poor man [Da Fano] died more of heartbreak than of sickness in Bengal in 1726,[33] where all those works remained.[34]

In conclusion, then, the majority of these documents seem to have never arrived in Rome. In fact, Domenico da Fano, who had left Lhasa in 1722, remained at the Capuchin mission in Bengal until his death in 1728, and thus never returned to Italy. Therefore, the documents carried out of Tibet at this time were either lost on the arduous trip across the Himalayas or possibly left at one of the Capuchin missions along the way in Kathmandu, Bettiah, Patna or Chandernagore.

Considering that no exemplars of Della Penna's dictionary have ever been found in the Archives of Propaganda Fide, and that even Giorgi lamented that the dictionary, left at the Capuchin mission in

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[31] It is likely that at this point the dictionary did not contain 30,000 words. The letter by Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia is very late compared to the time of the events it discusses (twelve years later) and it seems probable that Fr. Gioacchino conflated the number of entries that the dictionary had at the time he was writing with the period to which he is referring.

[32] This refers to the dispute with the Jesuits on the jurisdiction of the mission to Tibet, and particularly to Desideri's accusation that the Capuchins had abandoned the Lhasa mission in 1711 because they were not proficient in Tibetan.

[33] In reality Domenico da Fano died in 1728, not in 1726.

[34] See *MITN*, vol. 1, 171 (CL. 56, written from Bhaktapur on 5 November 1733).

Nepal, was too far away for him to be able to consult,[35] it seems that Della Penna made no attempt to carry a copy with him in 1732, when he left Tibet to go to Rome in order to secure more funds for the mission. It is more likely that he carried at least an exemplar with him in 1745, when the Capuchin mission was expelled from Tibet after the dispute concerning the refusal of the Christian neophytes to perform corvée services (*'u lag*) for the Dalai Lama.[36] However, Della Penna died not long after arriving in Patan in July of the same year,[37] and as a consequence it is likely that the dictionary remained at the mission in Kathmandu, also because for some time the Capuchins hoped for an opportunity to return to Tibet,[38] and a lexicon would have been useful to get acquainted with the language beforehand.

That the manuscripts of the dictionary were left in the Capuchin hospices seems to be confirmed by the fact that at an undetermined date in the early 19th century an English officer of the East India Company, Major Barré Latter (1777–1822),[39] acquired manuscript(s) of the dictionary in Patna. Our earliest source on the find is a letter from 1824 describing the donation to Bishop's College, in Calcutta, of a collection of books on Tibet gathered by Major Latter. According to this document, Major Latter had purposefully searched for records of the work done by the Catholic missionaries, but it appeared that:

> …nothing had been done by them except the composing of a treatise on the alphabet which had been printed and was well known in Europe[40] and also a dictionary, the only two

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35 See above, n. 1.

36 The trial and public punishment of the Christians who refused to perform the *'u lag* took place in May 1742. On some of the missionaries accounts of the events see *MITN*, vol. 2: 83-108 (report of the Lhasa mission); 109-127 (letter of Fr. Costantino da Loro); 128-129-131 (letter of Francesco Orazio della Penna); vol. 3: 233-252 (report of Fr. Gioacchino da S. Anatolia); 254-255 (report of Fr. Tranquillo d'Apecchio).

37 The epitaph on his tomb was already reproduced in Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, 1762: 435. Note that in the short biography of Orazio Della Penna found in Petech, *MITN*, vol. 1: CXIV, the place of death of Orazio Della Penna is given as Patna, although this is corrected to Patan in the "Addenda et Emendanda" section, in vol. 7: 235.

38 When he learnt of the death of Pho lha nas (1689–1747) Fr. Tranquillo d'Apecchio wrote to his son 'Gyur med rnam rgyal (d. 1750) asking for permission to cross the border into Tibet; although a passport was initially conceded, it was revoked soon afterwards. See *MITN*, vol. 1: LXIV-LXV.

39 On Major Latter's biography and his important role for the preservation of these manuscripts see Bray 2008 and 2012.

40 This must refer to Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, copies of which circulated also in India, notwithstanding its considerable size and weight. See for example the excerpt of a letter written by Sir William Jones in 1786 (when he already resided in Calcutta): "I have read since I left Calcutta 800 pages in quarto concerning the

> existing copies of which were in manuscript in India. One of these copies a friend of major Latter had already sent him, having obtained it from Bettiah, to which place the Roman Catholic Mission retreated after their expulsion from Thibet, and the other, *which was the original*, Major Latter was fortunate enough to discover himself in the Roman Catholic College, Patria [*sic*, read: Patna].[41]

It would seem, then, that the original manuscripts, i.e. the copies handwritten by Orazio Della Penna (I and II.B of Fr. Felix's article), were retrieved in Patna, while the copy written by multiple hands, II.A of Fr. Felix, was found in Bettiah. Indeed, we may conjecture that it was exactly after having obtained the copy from Bettiah that Major Latter began to look actively for the originals.

At this point we should also add that the letter explains that Major Latter spent a considerable amount of time and money to retrieve works on Tibet in order to allow "the Rev. Mr. Schroeter, who was employed first by the Church Mission Society and afterwards by the Government of India, but who resided in Major Latter's house, the means of acquiring that language".[42] The "Rev. Mr. Schroeter" is, of course, Friedrich Christian Gotthelf Schroeter (1786–1820), the well-known compiler of the first Tibetan-English dictionary, *A Dictionary of the Bhotanta, or Boutan Language*, published in Serampore in 1826.[43]

The connection between Schroeter's dictionary and the Roman Catholic missions has long been recognized, as it was already cursorily mentioned in the very preface of Schroeter's dictionary: "It is highly probable that the following Dictionary was written by some of the Roman Catholic missionaries who formerly laboured in Thibet",[44] and "The Dictionary was originally written in Italian, and has been partly

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Mythology and History, both civil and natural, of Tibet. The work was printed with every advantage of new types and curious engravings at Rome, about ten years ago, and was compiled from the papers of an Italian father, named Orazio, who had lived thirty years in that country and Napal [sic], where he died." This passage is quoted in Pomplun, 2010: 213.

41 See Felix of Antwerp, 1912: 395. A portion of this extract is also cited in Bray, 2008: 52. The italics here are mine.

42 See the letter reproduced in Felix of Antwerp, 1912: 395-396. As John Bray has eloquently explained, Major Latter made the manuscript available to the Lutheran missionary F. C. G. Schroeter and personally engaged him to study Tibetan with a dual objective: of contributing to the spread of the Christian doctrine and facilitating official communications with Himalayan states, with which Major Latter had struggled to exchange diplomatic messages free of possible misinterpretations during the 1814–1816 Nepal war. See Bray, 2008: 44–52.

43 On the Serampore dictionary and its probable connections to Della Penna's attempts to render Christian concepts in Tibetan see Zwilling, forthcoming. I am grateful to Leonard Zwilling for having generously shared a draft of this article.

44 Carey, "Preface", in Schroeter, 1826: II.

translated into English by Mr. Marshman".[45] Later, in 1881, in the introduction to his *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, H. A. Jäschke conjectured, on the basis of Schroeter's English translation, about the possible methods used by the missionaries to create the lexicon, although the name of the original author could not yet be identified.[46]

> The first Tibetan dictionary, intended for European students, was published at Serampore, as long ago as 1826. It contains the collections, amassed in view of a dictionary and grammar, by a Roman Catholic missionary, who was stationed in eastern Tibet or close to the frontier in Bhotan. There was nothing to assist him, except the scanty contributions, given by Georgi [*sic*] in his Alphabetum Tibetanum.[47] He had to cope with an entirely unworked language. He evidently took the one way possible of making acquaintance with it, sufficient to enable him to understand, to speak, to read and write. Each word or sentence was jotted down, as soon as it was heard, or was committed to writing, at the request of the learner, by some native expert. After a while, the attempt could be made to master a book. In the instance of our missionary, Padma Sambhava's book of legends appears to have been selected, a work which represents rather a low level of literature, yet just on that account, perhaps, as a specimen of popular and current literature, not unsuitable to start from. Then, step by step, as best he could, our missionary had to possess himself of some abstract views, which would serve as a preliminary basis for a grammar. And had it been granted to this first occupant of the field to reduce his materials to an ordered system and to prepare them himself for publication, it is possible, that in Europe the knowledge of the Tibetan language might have reached, some fifty years earlier, the stage at which it has now arrived. The very name of that Roman Catholic missionary, however, has been lost.

Today, many of the finer points concerning the history of *A Dictionary of the Bhotanta, or Boutan Language*, and particularly the passage from Major Latter's hands to Schroeter's translation, have been clarified by

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45 Carey, "Preface", in Schroeter, 1826: III.

46 See Jäschke, 1998 [1881]: V.

47 In reality, it was the *Alphabetum Tibetanum* that was written on the basis of the reports that arrived in Rome from Della Penna and other missionaries. The works of Della Penna consulted by Giorgi were his two reports entitled *Breve notizia del regno del Thibet* and *Breve raguaglio del gran regno del Thibet* (both are transcribed in *MITN*, vol. 3: 47-85). See Bellini, 2011: 34. On Giorgi's debt to Orazio Della Penna and Cassiano (Belligatti) da Macerata, see Pomplun, 2020: 208-209.

John Bray.[48] However, we do not yet know if Schröter and Marshman used only the Tibetan-Italian manuscript (since *A Dictionary of the Bhotanta* is only from Tibetan into English), and neither do we know if they translated faithfully the entire work of Della Penna, or whether they made a selection of the terms to include. This can only be determined by a careful comparison of the texts, and it is one of the goals of the project of study of Della Penna's dictionary, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Proceeding with the reconstruction of the history of the manuscripts, we have seen that after they were used by Schroeter, and with the death of Major Barré Latter in 1822, they were donated, around 1824, to the newly established Bishop's College of Calcutta by Major Latter's widow.[49] For the rest of the 19th century, and until the publication of Fr. Felix's article in 1912, their existence was forgotten. Similarly, for the rest of the twentieth century the dictionary remained, virtually ignored, in the library of Bishop's College. Then, according to the catalogue of the archives of Bishop's College, the texts were discovered to be missing in 1993.[50] In 1999 they were found and acquired by Mr. Marini, and only now they are finally accessible for research.

### C. An assessment of the dictionary's historical value

In order to fully illustrate the historical prominence of the three manuscripts that comprise, at this date, the only known remains of Della Penna's dictionary, I would like to recapitulate here some concrete data that will render immediately evident the magnitude of this work.

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[48] See Bray 2008, which discusses the circumstances around the production of Schroeter's *Dictionary*.

[49] See her letter accompanying the donation, reproduced in Felix of Antwerp, 1912: 395-396: "The collection chiefly consists of manuscripts and printed books in the Tibetan language. Some are works on their mythology, others elementary works used by them for the study of the languages in their colleges and schools, and were obtained by Major Latter from Tibet at a considerable expense. There are also dictionaries, Italian and Tibetan and Thibetan [*sic*] and Italian, compiled by the Roman Catholic Mission during twenty years' residence at Lhassah. These are considerably damaged by insects, but sufficient remains to form a very complete dictionary. The one in a black leather cover only extends as far as the letter S, but the dictionary of which it appears to be a fair copy forms part of the collection and is complete to the end". This letter confirms that already in 1824 the manuscripts were damaged by insects, and that ms. II.A of Fr. Felix only included up to the letter S.

[50] The records of Bishop's College archives (viewable on the College website in 2020, but now unavailable) are marked near the entry for the manuscripts with the following writing, in pen: "missing, move (? Or: Mar.?) 1993". Other books in the catalogue are marked as missing, with or without date. When contacted by email about the whereabouts of the manuscripts in 2020, Bishop's College expressed no interest in their recovery (personal communication, 23 July 2020).

Part of this information already appeared in the above-mentioned article by Lo Bue, but it will be recapped here in addition to other elements I have observed myself when I examined the manuscripts, together with professor Elena De Rossi Filibeck, in September 2021.

As illustrated above, of the three manuscripts, two are autographs by Della Penna; they are both written on Tibetan paper, although the pages have been turned by 90 degrees so that they could be used to write two long columns side by side, and could be bound on the long edge, fashioning a European-style volume. Both render the Tibetan in *dbu can*, and have no column for romanization. The Tibetan-Italian manuscript, of 386 pages in length, comprises entries that range from *kun ma* to *slo ma*, while the Italian-Tibetan one has 436 pages which cover the entries from "nome d'un religioso di Sciachia-tuba" (name of a Buddhist religious person) to "zuffa, questione" (tussle, issue). Fortunately, the copy of the Italian-Tibetan (960 pages), which as we have seen above was found in Bettiah by a friend of Major Latter, and which appears to be written by different hands, can help complete the Italian-Tibetan section, since the entire volume, written on European paper and bound in leather, covers all the entries between the letters "A" and "S". Unlike the two original manuscripts, that are missing portions because of the damage wrought by time, this copy appears to be the first of a two-volume set, since the end of the entries also coincides with the end of the volume, and there are no signs of missing pages.

A brief inspection of the contents of the two sections shows that the autograph Tibetan-Italian manuscript (see figure 1) is likely a working copy, possibly created while the author was studying with a Tibetan lama at the monastic college of bZhi sde[51] or, later, at the

[51] Della Penna had begun his long association with the monastery of bZhi sde when he began to study there together with Ippolito Desideri, at the time that Lha bzang khan (d. 1717) assigned them a teacher and instructed them to go and study in the monastery where he resided. According to Desideri, their residence at bZhi sde took place between 25 March and the end of July 1717 (*MITN*, vol. 6: 318). This is also confirmed by a letter from Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia, although his dates are less precise (*MITN*, vol. 1:149). Also according to another letter by Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia (*MITN*, vol. 1: 138) in 1731 Della Penna was working in the monastery of bZhi sde at a Tibetan edition of the monumental catechism of Tourlot, which comprised "900 large Tibetan sheets" ("un catechismo di 900 carte grandi buttiane" see *MITN*, vol. 1: 137). On the monastery of bZhi sde (bZhi sde grwa tshang), see Alexander, 2005: 223-240. Notice especially that Alexander 2005: 224 clarifies that the structure in the current location, just north of Beijing East Road (see map on Alexander 2005: 20) was founded by the Seventh Dalai Lama around 1754-1755. Instead, at the time of the Capuchin mission in Lhasa, the bZhi sde grwa tshang was located in the area in front of the Ra mo che (*Ra mo che'i mdun phyog*). After leaving bZhi sde, in August 1717, Della Penna and Desideri were admitted to study and reside at Se ra (Sweet and Zwilling, 2010: 45).

monastic university of Se ra. The entries are arranged largely according to the Tibetan alphabetical order, although lemmas that start with a prefix are listed alongside those that do not have any, so for example "*gso ba*", "curare, dare le medicine" ("to cure, give medicines") is immediately followed by "*gos bzo*", "arte del sartore" (art of the tailor), and both are listed under the letter "ga". In addition, so far I have been unable to determine if any criterion was used for ordering the vowels, although it may be that the apparent indiscriminate arrangement of the vowels may be due to the fact that this manuscript seems to be a first draft. The impression that it is a rough-copy is amplified by the presence of horizontal lines as marks to distinguish sections within the broader letter-entries.[52]

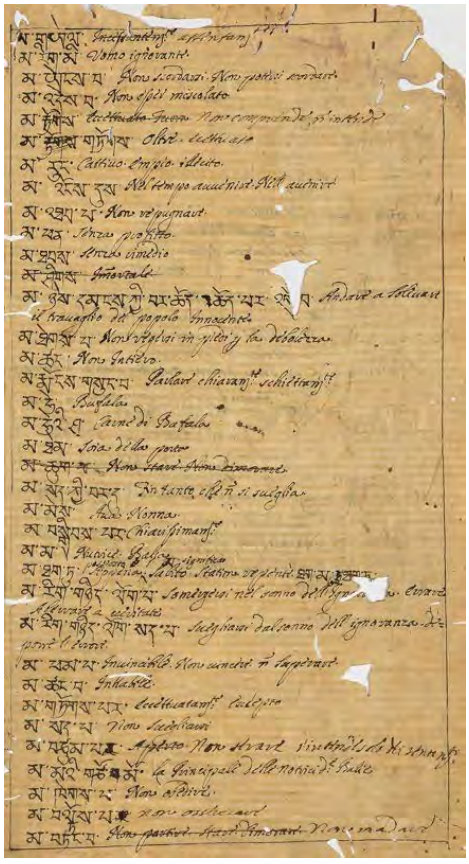

*Figure 1. A page from the Tibetan-Italian autograph manuscript by Orazio della Penna. Image courtesy and copyright Elio Marini.*

Another open question regarding this manuscript concerns its sources. We have seen above that Jäschke, on the basis of his examination of Schroeter's *Dictionary*, hypothesized that Della Penna read the legends of the life of Padmasambhava while studying under his teacher, an otherwise unknown *rabs byams pa* Yon tan dpal bzang.[53] How much of the dictionary is derived from the *Padma bka' thang*,[54] and how much came from oral instructions or simply casual daily conversations can only be ascertained through a detailed research of this manuscript, in order to ultimately establish the microhistory of the dictionary's making.[55] For example, it is possible that this manuscript was used as a sort of notebook that may contain more than just the results of the relatively brief period of study with Desideri at bZhi sde, since Della Penna sojourned in Lhasa for much longer than his Jesuit "colleague" and rival.[56]

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[53] The name appears in Tibetan script in the "Explanation of the formula *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* compiled by the monk Ngag dbang" (*MITN*, vol. 4: 170). It is also spelled so in Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (1761): 559; although in the errata section it is corrected as Yon tan Ngag dbang dpal bzang (p. 765). In the reports by Della Penna, his roman character transcriptions omit the "ngag dbang" portion of the name: Rabgiambà Jontenppehl–Szagn (see *MITN*, vol. 3: 87, and the variant spelling Rabgiambà Tontepphel–Tzagn on p. 91). Pomplun notes that he could not find mention of this *rab 'byams pa* in the history of Se ra by Rzong rtse byams pa thub bstan; see Pomplun 2011: 396, n. 39. A more careful reading of the colophon of the "Explanation of the formula *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* compiled by the monk Ngag dbang", however, shows that although the text itself was indeed written by Ngag dbang, who modestly refers to himself as "the illusory reflection of a śramaṇa (Tib.: *dge sbyong*)", it was commissioned by *rab 'byams pa* Yon tan dpal bzang, who is identified as the caretaker (Tib.: *dkon gnyer*) of the Ra mo che. It is thus possible that the teacher originally assigned to Della Penna and Desideri from Lha bzang Khan was a monk from the Ra mo che (which, after all, was close to the bZhi sde), who continued to tutor them also at Se ra. The colophon in question reads: *yi ge drug ma'i 'bru 'grol mdor sdus tsam rang gi go tshul ltar bkod pa 'di ni / rgya gtags ra mo che'i bkon [= dkon] gnyer rabs 'byams pa yon tan dpal bzang gis dgos bsung [= gsung] ba bzhin / dge sbyong gi gzugs bsnyan ngag dbang ming can gis r mo che'i bar khang du smras so //.*

[54] Or, perhaps, another hagiography of Padmasambhava; Pomplun 2011: 387, n.7 has briefly outlined the possible texts accessed by Desideri.

[55] In his forthcoming article on the Serampore dictionary, Zwilling argues that many of the lemmas in this lexicon appear to be drawn from the *Lam rim chen mo* rather than the *Pad ma bka' thang*. This is possible, since we know that both Della Penna and Desideri were acquainted with this important text. Still, it must be kept in mind that we do not know for sure how much of the Serampore dictionary corresponds to that of Della Penna: see for example Bray 2008: 63 on the possible contributions of the editor John Clark Marshman (1794–1877), on a variety of Hindu references. In addition, if the Serampore dictionary, which is Tibetan-English, only translates the Tibetan-Italian ms., which appears to be a draft, it is possible that its sources (as well as its accuracy) may be limited compared to a later "fair copy".

[56] While Desideri stayed from March 18, 1716 to April 28, 1721, the former lived in Lhasa for twenty years in total, from October 1, 1716 to August 25, 1732 on his first

Concerning the autograph Italian-Tibetan portion (see figure 2), it is a much cleaner copy, written with elegant calligraphy in Italian and a consistent vertical line separating the Italian lemmas from their Tibetan translations. At times the Italian-Tibetan can give the impression that it is based on an Italian vocabulary, since some entries in Italian are listed without corresponding Tibetan translation, although the respective terms exists in Tibetan. When this happens, it looks as if the Italian lemmas had been written down in advance, in anticipation of adding the equivalent Tibetan whenever it was encountered.

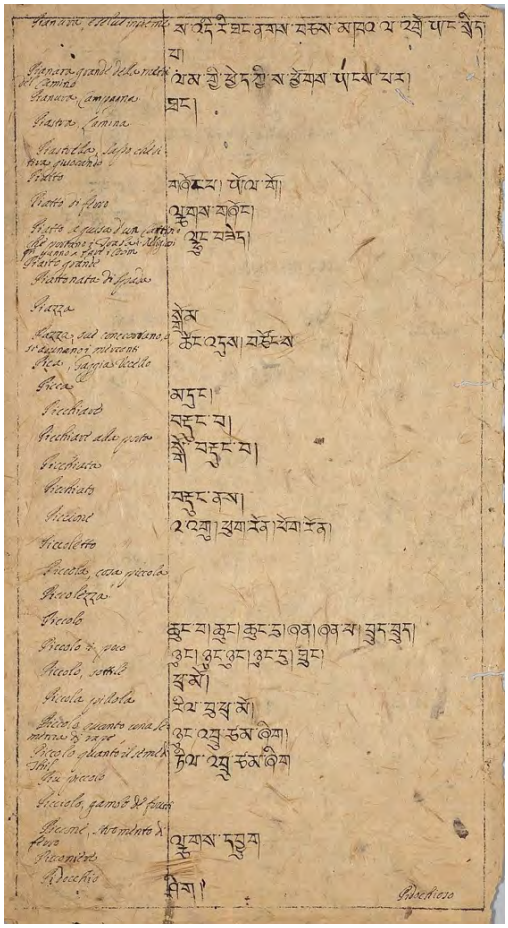

*Figure 2. A page from the autograph Italian-Tibetan manuscript by Orazio della Penna. Image courtesy and copyright Elio Marini.*

mission, and then again from January 6, 1741 to April 20, 1745. See Petech, *MITN*, vol. 1: CXIV and vol. 5: XVI-XVII.

However, other entries are clearly created on the basis of Tibetan lexical meanings that are non-existent in Italian, such as "avere la libertà di operar bene ed essere disoccupato da cose terrene come i Religiosi" (to have the freedom to act well and be disconnected from earthly things like the Religious ones", *dal ba*).[57] These examples show that also the modus of creating the Italian-Tibetan manuscript is not immediately clear and needs to be researched further. In general, however, many entries in this section seem built on the vernacular language spoken in Lhasa at the time of Della Penna's sojourn, raising the tantalizing perspective that the dictionary may be used to reconstruct the state of the colloquial language in Lhasa in the early 18th century.

As mentioned above, it seems possible to reconstruct the entirety of Italian-Tibetan section because of the survival of the copy written by multiple hands (see figure 3), but although the two manuscripts seem to correspond, a line-by-line comparison has not been attempted yet, and there is a possibility that when it will be completed it will reveal differences between the two. Still, the more utilitarian approach of the Italian-Tibetan has the potential to present a snapshot of daily life situations and even reflect the social consequences of the major historical events that occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as to offer significant insights into how Della Penna understood and engaged with the Buddhist literary culture he was approaching.

[57] This definition seems to point at a misunderstanding; while *dal ba* per se means "rest", or "leisure", it seems that Della Penna here translated a portion of an explanation of the broader sense of *dal ba* which is found also in Sarat Candra Das 1991 [1902], 623: *spyir mi khom pa'i gnas brgyad du ma skyes par dam pa'i chos bsgrub kho pa ni dal ba zhes bya*. Das's source for this expression is the *Klong chen snying thig gi theg mchog mdzod*, the famous treasure text discovered by 'Jigs med gling pa (1729/1730–1798) at the age of twenty-eight (*more tibetico*), so around 1757. This is later than the period of writing of Della Penna's dictionary, and thus this definition must be older than the second half of the 18th century.

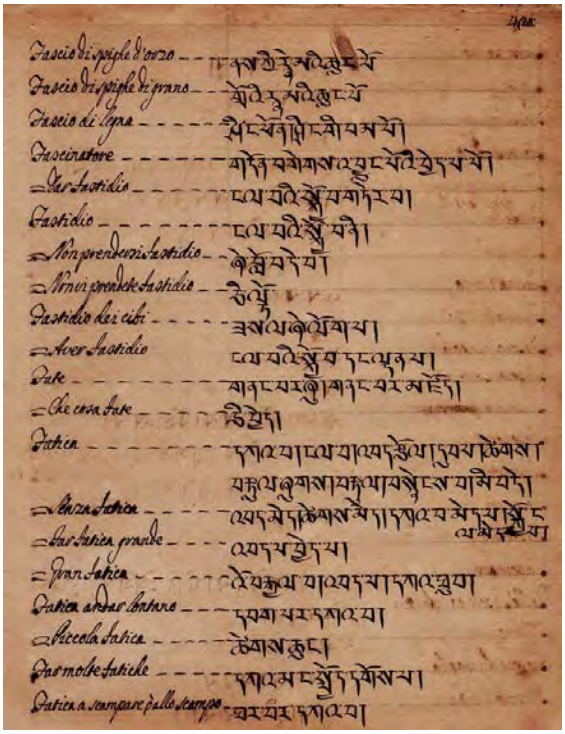

*Figure 3. A page from the copy of the Italian-Tibetan dictionary by Della Penna. Image courtesy and copyright Elio Marini.*

A few examples of utilitarian language found during our inspection of the manuscripts can provide an idea of the manifold social circumstances witnessed by Della Penna. The dictionary includes expressions tied to daily life such as "orlare una veste" ("to hem a robe", *gos la mtha' 'gril btang ba*); and "ornarsi per andare dal re" ("to dress up to go to the king", *rgyal po'i drung du 'gro pa'i phyir lus brgyan pa*), "imbriacarsi, divenir briaco" ("to get drunk", *chang dang dug gis myos pa*) but also numerous terms connected with one of the principal activities performed by the Capuchin friars, who provided medical care gratis to the people of Lhasa. Thus, a number of terms connected with human anatomy and medical conditions can be found. In addition, certain expressions vividly recall the historical circumstances witnessed by the Capuchin friars: "dare la sentenza di morte, condannare a morte" ("to condemn to death", *gsod pa'i nang khrims bcas pa*), and "impalare" ("to impale", *gsal shing rtse la bskyon*) bring to memory the different traumatic events experienced by the Capuchins during their stay in Tibet: the Dzungar sack of Lhasa (1717); the executions ordered by the Qing authorities on the collaborators of the Dzungar occupation (1721); and

finally the grisly punishments inflicted by Manchu officials to those judged responsible for the murder of Khang chen nas (d. 1727). Those public violences, tortures and executions greatly shocked the missionaries, who comment on them in several documents.[58]

Naturally, as the main purpose of the missionaries was to introduce Christianity in Tibet, a significant trove of terms concerns religious topics. Therefore, the dictionary offers remarkable possibilities to examine how Buddhist expressions were adapted to render Christian concepts, as well as the strategies adopted to solve questions concerning the translation of Christian terminology, for which often there were no applicable equivalents in Tibetan. This necessitated the creation of neologisms or suitable paraphrases that could capture the intended meaning without creating confusion, and caused instances of appropriation of Buddhist terms, as well as superimposition and misrepresentation of their meanings.[59] Conversely, the dictionary can also reveal the choices made to render in Italian Buddhist concepts and ideas that were completely foreign and often puzzling for the Capuchins. Lastly, even the lacunae in the dictionary are revealing of the extremely knotty task of finding equivalent terminology: thus, *peccato originale* ("original sin") is left untranslated, while *Giudei* ("Jews") is rendered with a straight calque from the Italian (*rjus sde'i*).

Another noteworthy point of interest of this dictionary, unrelated to its lexicographic value, concerns its contribution to our knowledge of the Italian Catholic missions in Tibet. In fact, it should be pointed out that the literature on Ippolito Desideri, notwithstanding his relatively short sojourn compared to Della Penna, vastly surpasses that on Della Penna and on the Capuchin missions in general.[60]

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[58] The Capuchin missionaries were particularly shocked by the Dzungar sack of Lhasa. Every letter written after that episode mentions that the Dzungars despoiled them of everything, including the underpants they were wearing (i.e.: "Il dire essere spogliati noi fin dell'abito e mutande che si portavano in dosso ed esser stati flagellati a sangue con frusta da cavallo… per far confessare ove si era nascosto l'oro e l'argento", in a letter by Domenico da Fano dated 28 May 1728; *MITN*, vol. 1: 109). See similar mentions also in other letters from the same period: *MITN*: vol. 1: 111, 112, 114-115. On the executions cum tortures meted out in 1728 see *MITN*, vol. 1: 144, 164; and also Petech 1972: 148-149.

[59] The missionaries themselves were aware of this problem. See for example a letter (CL51) in which Della Penna complains about the expression chosen by Desideri to translate "God"; Petech, *MITN*, vol. 1, 142 (although Desideri used the term in question, "*sGam phya*", only once; see *MITN*, vol. 7: XXIV). On some translations of Christian terms in Tibetan found in the Serampore dictionary, see Zwilling, forthcoming.

[60] Among the major recent publications on Ippolito Desideri and his work we should mention: Sweet and Zwilling 2010, the first complete English translation of Desideri's *Historical Notices of Tibet* (the earlier, and much cited, De Filippi 1937 was incomplete); Pomplun 2010, a study of Desideri's writings and of the ideas that

Understandably, Desideri's detailed account of his travels and experiences in Tibet, coupled with his sophisticated grasp of the Tibetan language and Tibetan Buddhism, has generated much attention among scholars. Conversely, the Capuchin missions, although they lasted longer (in three phases: 1707–1711; 1716–1732; 1741–1745) and involved over a dozen friars, have received much less notice.[61] The major reason for the Capuchin missions' neglect is that the only works compiled by the Capuchins that could have come close to Desideri's prowess, those written by Della Penna, have been almost entirely lost.[62] Among this is the dictionary, now finally accessible for research after a series of intricate vicissitudes. A serious and concerted study of this dictionary is an imperative, as this text will bring to light a crucial component of the Italian missions to Tibet that has not been possible to examine until now. Furthermore, it can be used as a tool to examine key avenues of historical enquiry and open vast horizons for research in several different fields, including of course Tibetan and missionary history, but also extending to religious studies, translation studies, the study of intercultural encounters, linguistics, and lexicography. The number of entries in the dictionary, which was estimated at around 35,000 by Della Penna himself,[63] is indeed in the tens of thousands (so far only the lemmas in the copy of the Italian-Tibetan have been counted, and they amount to over 23,000) and therefore the possibilities for in-depth research are ample.

### D. Plans for further research and current collaborations.

As shown in the foregoing sections, the dictionary of Della Penna is the oldest dictionary translating Tibetan into a modern western language, Italian. Although the existence of this dictionary has been known since 1912, its manuscripts were lost at the end of the 20th century and only fortuitously recovered. They are of inestimable historical and linguistic value, as they comprise the original documentation of the first important European attempt to write a bilingual Tibetan

underpinned his interpretation of Tibetan society and culture; Lopez and Jinpa 2017, English translation of a portion of Desideri's unfinished confutation of the idea of the transmigration of the soul; and Toscano 1981–1989, a set of Italian translations of almost all of Desideri's treatises in Tibetan.

61 With the exception of De Rossi Filibeck 1998; Engelhardt 2005 and 2015, Kaschewsky 2020 and Sweet and Zwilling 2022.

62 The works by Della Penna included translations from Italian to Tibetan (see *MITN*, vol. 1: LXXXVIII, nos. 3, 4, 7); translations from Tibetan to Italian (*MITN*, vol. 1: LXXXIX-XC, nos. 1-4, 9); letters and polemical works written in Tibetan (*MITN*, vol. 1: LXXXVIII, nos. 5, 6); and treatises compiled in Italian, but likely derived from Della Penna's reading of canonical texts (*MITN*, vol. 1: LXXXIX, nos. 5, 6).

63 See *MITN*, vol. 3: 88.

dictionary.[64] They are invaluable in reconstructing the colloquial language in Lhasa in the early 18th century, and they are equally important for the history of the Capuchin missions in Tibet. To undertake in-depth research on these manuscripts is therefore crucial, especially given the conditions of the manuscripts, which are about 300 years old and were already reported as damaged in 1912. Today, the two autograph texts by Della Penna still show signs of old insect damage, but are generally quite readable; while the copy of the Italian-Tibetan, for which iron-based ink was used on European foolscap paper, has begun to oxidize, and, although largely readable, would require extensive and costly restorations in order to preserve its long-term integrity.

Therefore the research plan developed for these manuscripts starts from the basic and fundamental task of digitization of the texts, in order to facilitate the study of their content, prevent the overuse of the texts, and preserve their contents for posterity. The next step would involve a full transcription of all the entries into a database, which would enable cross-referenced searches and thus immensely facilitate the research phase proper, enabling, among other things, an understanding of how the dictionary was created, structured and organized. Once this preliminary work is done, it will be possible to sort the entries in the dictionary into thematic categories, which will be analyzed in conjunction with appropriate Tibetan sources and missionary records for a variety of research aims, only a few of which can be predicted at this premature point. For example, appropriate study may help to form a fuller portrait of the daily experiences of the missionaries and their interactions with Buddhism and all layers of Tibetan society, from the courts to the lower classes; to better understand the prevalent medical ailments in Lhasa at the time; or to compare how colloquial expressions have changed from the early 18th century to today.

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[64] The preceding attempt, the Latin-Tibetan dictionary compiled by François Marie de Tours, Giuseppe da Ascoli and Domenico da Fano was compiled at a very early stage and was judged by Petech to be "still a very rough work, based on the spoken language, with several mistakes and misunderstandings" (*MITN.*, vol. 1: XCII). Notwithstanding this, it can be useful for the reconstruction of the historic pronunciation of Lhasa Tibetan in the early 18th century, since its 2538 entries comprise Latin lemmas, the Tibetan in *dbu can*, and its phonetic reading in Latin script.

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# Changing Bodies Seven Times: Padampa Sangyé's Pacifying Tradition and the Birth of the *Maṇi* Pill[1]

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## *1. Introduction*

Pills and other medicines born from a confluence of Buddhist and medicinal theories, practices, and substances have been pervasive throughout Tibetan societies since the royal patronage of Buddhism began on the plateau in the seventh and eighth centuries.[2] Medicinal pills that specifically incorporate relics and/or undergo ritual consecration have been such a staple feature of Buddhism in Tibet that there is likely no major Buddhist tradition or institution there that has not been involved in their production or propagation.[3]

This paper examines how Padampa Sangyé's (Pha dam pa sangs rgyas, d. 1117) Pacifying tradition (Zhi byed) figures in the formation of one of the most popular and enduring Buddhist relic-pill traditions in the history of Tibet: the *maṇi* pill. It is part of an ongoing project to trace the one-thousand-year history of the *maṇi* pill and its Tibetan and Indian antecedents as a lens into the Tibetan reception of Indian Buddhist tantra at the intersection of its medicinal and ritual dimensions.

The *maṇi* pill is a medico-ritual pill tradition incorporating bodily relics of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, and other Buddhist special dead, mixed with medicinal substances, and consecrated in rituals featuring

[1] I would like to thank Dan Martin for his valuable feedback on a draft version of this paper, Ana Cristina Lopes for her helpful suggestions on an earlier draft, anonymous reviewers for their insightful feedback, and Jean-Luc Achard for his editorial expertise.

[2] Yoeli-Tlalim 2021. For broader discussion of Buddhist traditions of medicine and healing, see Salguero 2022. For analyses of the multiple connections between medicine and religion historically and in our present period, see Lüddeckens and Schripf 2019; and Lüddeckens, Hetmanczyk, Klassen, and Stein 2022.

[3] For more on such pill traditions in Tibet, see Garrett 2010 and Gerke 2019. On relics in Tibet more broadly, see Martin 1992a and 1994; and Bentor 1994. For more on the roles of relics across Buddhist traditions, see Germano and Trainor 2004; and Strong 2004.

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Avalokiteśvara and his mantra.[4] The *maṇi* pill is most famously produced today by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso (b. 1935) as part of his annual Saga Dawa rituals held in Dharamsala, India; and by monastic communities in the highlands of Nepal, as richly documented by Richard Kohn.[5] My research shows that these two contemporary *maṇi*-pill traditions were developed in the seventeenth century based either directly or indirectly on the revelations and writings of the fifteenth-century Treasure revealer Ratna Lingpa (Ratna gling pa, 1403–1479).[6]

In an April 2023 paper in *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* I showed how Ratna Lingpa's *maṇi*-pill tradition originated in turn from revelations of the thirteenth-century Treasure revealer Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212–1270), based on still earlier strands of Indian Tantric Buddhist theory and practice assimilated by Tibetans over the preceding centuries. In my July 2022 contribution to the special issue of *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* in honor of Dan Martin, I examined how a rendition of a popular Indian narrative vignette featuring the cannibal king Kalmāṣapāda appeared in the twelfth-century Pacifying tradition, and went on to figure in the fourteenth-century Treasure biography of Padmasambhava called the *Testament of the Lotus-Born One* (*Padma bka' thang*) as a charter myth for consuming what up to that time had been the *maṇi* pill's main active ingredient: the flesh of someone born for seven consecutive lifetimes as a pure brahmin.[7] I also discussed there a narrative from the Pacifying tradition about Padampa Sangyé's funeral proceedings that was cited from the sixteenth century on by apologists of the *Testament*'s seven-born flesh charter myth as an important precedent for seven-times born ones dying in Tibet and the incorporation of their flesh into pills.

It is well known that injunctions to consume the corpse-flesh of those who have been "born" or "returned" for seven successive lives as brahmins are prevalent throughout Indian Buddhist tantras such as the *Hevajra*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and others.[8] But yet to be examined is precisely how the flesh and its lore were received in Tibet to become the basis of a popular thirteenth-century pill tradition and the broader

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4 I draw the phrase "special dead" from Brown's phrase "very special dead" (1981, 69–85) to signal here a broader range of saintly dead, beyond the Buddha and bodhisattvas.

5 Kloos 2010; Kohn 1985, 2001.

6 My forthcoming study will elaborate on this history.

7 U rgyan gling pa 1985.

8 For discussion of the Indian Buddhist tantric discourse of the "seven-born one," "seven timer," or "seven-times returner" (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.

Nyingma Treasure tradition of which it partakes.[9] The narrative links to the Pacifying tradition, and to Padampa Sangyé himself, in which he is construed as the first and most significant seven-times born brahmin to die on Tibetan soil, suggest that these could have served as a bridge between the Tibetan assimilation of these Indian tantras and their adaptation into the Tibetan Treasure tradition, and hence, into Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition as well.

The present article pursues this thread further as a follow up to these two previous articles. Here I revisit the early Pacifying tradition to show that it played a role in the Tibetan assimilation of not only the Kalmāṣapāda narrative, but also a cluster of other related narrative and ritual features that center on the flesh of the seven-times born one. I argue that in developing the theme of the seven-times born flesh and locating it in Tibet, the Pacifying tradition, specifically the narrative figuration of its putative Indian founder Padampa Sangyé, served as inspiration for Guru Chöwang in the formation of his thirteenth century *maṇi*-pill tradition.

My approach is to present an archaeological survey of the seven-born one and related themes prevalent throughout the literary strata of the early Pacifying literature attributed to Padampa and the first several generations of his followers—the collection titled *Profoundly Exceptional (Zab khyad ma), the Later Aural Transmission, from among the Pacifying Teachings, the Essence of the True Dharma*.[10] In so doing, I illustrate that lore of the seven-times born from the Indian Buddhist tantras took on a life of its own in the Tibetan Pacifying literature associated with Padampa Sangyé. Not only does the theme of seven successive births, and the number seven in general, structure Padampa's biographical identity. It is also interwoven with visionary literature, contemplative and ritual instructions, and a burgeoning tradition of flesh relic-pill production premised on this identity.

This presentation of the gradual development in these literary strata of the image of the seven-times born and its apotheosis in the figure of Padampa over the course of roughly one hundred and thirty years after his passing sets the stage for targeted comparisons with Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill tradition, in light of the historical contexts of authorship, revelation, and circulation of both the Pacifying

[9] Other important aspects of how the seven-born and their flesh have historically figured in Tibet have already been discussed by Bogin 2005, Gayley 2007, and Gentry 2017 57–61, 79, 80–82, 84–86, 259–284, 296–316.

[10] *Dam chos snying po zhi byed las rgyud phyi[emend. kyi] snyan rgyud zab khyad ma bzhugs*. This title is rendered in consultation with Martin's (2006, 114 and 114fn8) study of this collection. Martin also observed there that it originally consisted of four volumes, not five, as the Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979 publication divides it. The 1979 publication misleadingly titled the collection *Zhi byed snga bar phyi gsum gyi skor*.

collection and the *maṇi* pill revelation. As I will argue, examining themes centering on the seven-born one throughout the literature of the Pacifying tradition reveals emergent themes of trans-corporeality, such as the transformation of the living body of a bodhisattva into powerful relics through Buddhist training conducted over the course of seven consecutive lifetimes, the profound effects promised from consuming the seven-born bodhisattva's body after their death, and other themes typical of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill and the broader seven-born flesh lore he helped popularize in Tibet. It also illustrates how chronicling the historical development of these themes in the different layers of this Pacifying literature enables us to determine roughly when they were first advanced and how they changed over the decades leading up to Guru Chöwang's time. To help orient this discussion a general review of the figure of Padampa Sangyé and the Pacifying tradition born from his legacy is first in order.

### *2. Seven-Born Lore in the Pacifying Tradition*

The Pacifying tradition was set in motion by one of the most renowned but enigmatic personalities in the history of Buddhism in Tibet: the Indian figure Padampa Sangyé.[11] Padampa Sangyé is most famous for his trips to Tibet, and specifically for his extended stay in the region of Dingri, where his charisma and idiosyncratic teaching style attracted a strong following of devout Tibetans.[12] He is said to have died in Dingri in 1117. But the date of his birth remains unknown. Biographical accounts of Padampa's life narrate that he was born in South India to a family of brahmins.[13] Brahmanical caste pedigree is a highly significant aspect of his biographical identity that ties into his

[11] For a brief biography of Padampa Sangyé, see Sorensen 2011. For a more extensive biography, see Roerich 1996, 867–872, with details scattered throughout the remainder of the long Pacifying chapter (867–979).

[12] Much of the Pacifying tradition records three visits to Tibet, which Martin (2006, 111) also affirms, but Roerich (1996, 870) records five visits, and as I illustrate below, a current of the Pacifying tradition records seven visits over the course of seven lifetimes. For discussion of Padampa's unorthodox teaching style, see Martin 2017. For English translations of several Pacifying-tradition texts attributed to Padampa Sangyé, see Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Taye 2019.

[13] The enduring importance of Padampa's status as a brahmin can be evinced in the appearance of this identification as early as the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century text, *'Phrang sel gnad kyi sgron ma* (Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 16.6–17.1), compiled by Padampa's student Künga; and its appearance in the 1906 biography of Padampa, *Grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po rje btsun dam pa sangs rgyas kyi rnam par thar pa dngos grub 'od stong 'bar ba'i nyi ma*, composed by Khamnyön Dharma Senggé (Khams snyon Dharma seng ge, b. 19th c., in Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012–2013, vol. 5, 12.1).

status as a seven-times born one.[14] Perhaps complicating this identity claim, however, are the biographical details that his father was an ocean-faring jewel merchant, or a sea captain, and his mother an incense maker.[15]

Padampa's biographies present the life story of an itinerant yogin devoted to travel and contemplative retreat throughout much of the known Buddhist world, ranging from South India to Wutai Shan in China.[16] It is therefore unlikely that he ever intended to found a new tradition in Tibet, as the Pacifying teachings would become. His wider appeal among Tibetans is evinced in his role as something of a popular cultural icon along the scale of Padmasambhava and Milarepa.[17] His broader legacy in Tibet is also marked by the inclusion in the Tibetan canonical collection of translated *śāstra*s, the Tengyur, several *yoginī tantra*-related writings he putatively brought to Tibet and helped translate there. Most of these texts, as we will examine below, were foundational for the Pacifying tradition. Padampa also figures outside the Pacifying tradition in origin stories of the associated Tibetan ritual-contemplative tradition known as Severance, or Chö in Tibetan (gCod), which was inaugurated in earnest by the Tibetan woman Machik Labdrön (Ma gcig lab sgron, 1055–1149), although the details of Padampa's actual relationship with Machik are vague and inconsistent.[18] Padampa's teachings and legacy in Tibet are known to us primarily through the survival of a voluminous collection of writings and an ongoing tradition of venerating his relics in the Dingri region and beyond.[19]

An historical survey of the surviving Pacifying literature for references to the seven-born flesh and other elements of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition is complicated by the visionary and oral character of Padampa's teaching legacy, and perhaps more so by the historically layered nature of the collection. The bulk of this literature is available to us now in the form of a five-volume collection of texts reproduced from manuscripts preserved at Tsarong Monastery in

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[14] For more on Brahmanical social status as a marker of seven-times born identity, both in India and Tibet, see Gray 2005 and Gentry 2023.

[15] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 91.6–.7. See also Roerich 1996, 868. Determining whether these occupations were possible for brahmins in the eleventh-century South Indian milieu of Padampa's parents is beyond the scope of this paper.

[16] For details about Padampa Sangyé's travels in China and evidence for his activities and legacy in the Tangut kingdom of Xia, as recorded in the Chinese language, see Sun 2013.

[17] Aziz 1979.

[18] Edou 1996, 31–38.

[19] This collection is Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979. For details on the preservation and veneration of Padampa's relics, see Aziz 1979.

Dingri, edited and published with an English introduction by Barbara Nimri Aziz in 1979.[20] Dan Martin has determined based on his study of another photographic reproduction of this Pacifying collection that the 1979 publication is a faithful copy, with the exception of colophonic details, text titles, and marginalia, of a Pacifying collection originally committed to writing around 1245, or shortly thereafter.[21] Martin has further proposed that this *circa* 1245 collection is likely a faithful copy in turn of the Dingri exemplar, already compiled in 1207, but with historical writings added between 1207 and 1245.[22] The time range of this collection's formation—beginning before Padampa Sangyé's death in 1117, and extending roughly to 1207, and then to 1245—is highly significant for our purposes because of its possible influence on Guru Chöwang, who was born in 1212, began his revelatory career in 1233 after more than a decade of Buddhist training, and was active throughout the 1240s, 50s, and 60s. The later, *circa* 1245 copy, preserved in the 1979 publication, is therefore most salient for the present discussion.

The collection in all its forms consists of a core of scriptural and quasi-scriptural texts, most of which Padampa putatively received through visionary and oral channels in India and brought to Tibet, along with collections of oral instructions that Padampa delivered in Tibet to his Tibetan students during his final stay in Dingri, with layers of notes, dialogs, and commentaries added by Padampa's successive generations of followers. Consistent with Martin's observations, analysis of the Pacifying collection reveals at least six overlapping historical layers through which we can chart the initial emergence and gradual development of seven-born discourse in Tibetan writing during the century and a half leading up to Guru Chöwang's revelations. These layers can be classified as follows: 1) the visionary writings said to have been received aurally by Padampa, much of which is also found in Tibetan Tengyur collections, and some of which is said to have been recorded in writing by Padampa and translated

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[20] Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979.

[21] Martin 2006, 114. Martin reports having obtained the microfilm from the Nepalese National Archives, where it is currently housed, based on photographs made by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP).

[22] Dates in the autobiography of the final author of the volume, Shikpo Nyima Senggé (Zhig po Nyi ma seng ge, 1171–1245) corroborate Martin's dates. See especially Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 425.2–428.2, specifically 428.2, where the author of this history, cast as Shikpo Nyima Senggé, maintains that he "wandered to all the sublime remote places and stayed at the cliffs of great meditators from the age of 37 to 58," which would be from 1207 to 1228. If this was indeed written as presented by Shikpo Nyima Senggé, this line, coupled with the line */myi tshe ri la bkyal ba'i sgom chen rgan po la /*, would suggest a date much closer to his death in 1245.

into Tibetan by Shama lotsāwa Tönpa Senggé Gyalpo (Zha ma lotsāwa sTon pa seng ge rgyal po, b. 11th c.), working in consultation with Padampa; [23] 2) Padampa's own instructions to Tibetan students in Tibet, as primarily recorded by his student Lama Jangchup Sempa Künga (Bla ma Byang chub sems dpa' Kun dga', 1062–1124), whom I will henceforth call Künga; 3) Künga's comments on Padampa and his teachings; 4) commentarial literature on Padampa's instructions and Künga's notes whose authorship or compilation is attributed to Künga's student Patsap Gompa Tsültrim Barwa (sPa tshab sgom pa Tshul khrims 'bar ba, 1077–1158), whom I will simply call Patsap; 5) commentarial literature whose authorship or compilation is attributed to Patsap's student Lama Jetsün Gyalwa Tené (Bla ma rje btsun rGyal ba rTen ne, 1127–1217), whom I will call Gyalwa Tené from here out; and, finally, 6) further commentarial literature, including histories and biographies, whose composition or compilation is attributed to Gyalwa Tené's student Shikpo Nyima Senggé (Zhig po Nyi ma seng ge, 1171–1245), to whom I will refer as Nyima Senggé.

In reviewing these strata of literature, I was able to trace the development of seven-times born lore and practice across five fundamental features of the Pacifying tradition and the persona of its putative founder Padampa: 1) what Padampa inherited from his gurus, both actual and visionary, and his transmission of this to Tibet; 2) Padampa's own identity as a seven-times born one; 3) the associated narrative tradition of Padampa's final dying requests and funeral proceedings; 4) the narrative tradition of Padampa's seven previous lifetimes and the emergence of the number seven as a broader organizing rubric; and finally 5) the role of Avalokiteśvara in Padampa's life and teachings.[24] In what follows I will elaborate on each of these aspects in turn, before considering how these find expression in the *maṇi*-pill tradition of Guru Chöwang. We will start with an examination of the seven-born lore that Padampa transmitted to Tibet through the teachings he received from his own gurus, directly and in visionary encounters.

### *a. At the Margins of Vision and Viscera: Padampa's Transmission of Seven-Born Lore to Tibet*

Accounting for the growth and development of seven-born discourse in the Pacifying tradition brings our focus initially to the first category

[23] Martin 2006, 114.

[24] This task was aided considerably by the availability on the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC) of searchable e-texts of the 13-volume collection Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012-2013, whose first four volumes include an edited and computer inputted version of Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979.

of writings introduced above: the visionary literature. To be considered here as well are the layers of commentary on these writings composed by Padampa's successive generations of followers. Much of this literature consists of instructions cast in the voice of awakened figures like the Buddha, *ḍākinī*s, and male and female "accomplished ones" (Tib. *grub thob*, Skt. *siddha*). Padampa is said to have primarily received these teachings orally, and often in visionary experiences, with transcripts then entrusted to him or recorded by him before he brought them to Tibet for translation and dissemination.

Ronald Davidson has characterized these writings, together with other salient instances, as "gray;" that is, neither entirely Indian in origin, nor completely Tibetan in composition, but formed from the collaborative efforts of Indian teachers like Padampa and Tibetan translators active in Tibet in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[25] Indeed, as Kurtis Schaeffer has pointed out in his more focused study of this literature, its complex combination of visionary, oral, and written origins and channels of transmission makes authorship, source language, and translation difficult to determine with any degree of certainty.[26] Excluding the famous *prajnāpāramitā Heart Sūtra*, the collection's true scriptural core, this literature forms the basis of the Pacifying collection.[27]

Much of this literature is also included in the Tibetan Tengyur canonical collections.[28] As mentioned above, colophons attribute the translation of several of these texts to the work of the translator Shama lotsāwa Tönpa Senggé Gyalpo, working in close consultation with Padampa himself. Thirteen of the fifteen texts in the Tengyur whose translation is attributed to them appear in the Pacifying collection, while the Pacifying collection also includes a tantra and a few other texts of putative Indian origin that are not included in Tibetan canonical collections, neither the Tengyur nor the Kangyur.[29]

Among this body of literature, the seven-times born flesh first receives mention in chapter five of the Pacifying tradition's foundational tantra called the *Tantra of the Great River: The Inconceivable Secret of the Vowels and Consonants*.[30] This tantra is the only writing in the collection cast as the scriptural Word of the Buddha, aside from the *Heart Sūtra* which immediately precedes it as the first text of the

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25 Davidson 2002, and 2005, 148–151.
26 Schaeffer 2007, 13–18.
27 *Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 2–5.
28 Tōh. 2439–53. Davidson 2005, 150; Schaeffer 2007, 8–9, 8fn8.
29 Schaeffer (2007, 9) counts 17 texts in total.
30 *Āli kāli gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa chu klung chen po'i rgyud*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 6–114.

collection's first volume. The flesh appears in this tantra in a response by the Buddha to the assembled retinue's question, "What are the vowels and consonants pertaining to amazing substances?"[31] The Buddha counts the flesh as the third member in a list of five "ultimate" items: 1) the ultimate vessel, a fully qualified skull cup; 2) the ultimate elixir, the five-fold ambrosia; 3) the ultimate food, the flesh of the seven-times born (*zas kyi mthar thug skye ba bdun pa'i sha*); 4) the ultimate substance, the spirit of unexcelled awakened (i.e., seminal fluid); and 5) the ultimate union, the primary *mūla rakta* (i.e., menstrual blood).[32] The chapter goes on to discuss seminal fluid and its role in subtle body yoga, but it never circles back to discuss the flesh of a seven-born one and why it is referred to as the "ultimate food."

The seven-born one makes another cameo in the *Instruction that Explains in Detail the Greatness of the Five Superior Methods of the Precious Wheel of Initiation*.[33] This work is an unattributed commentary on the multivalent significance of the book, the vowels and consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet, and *samaya* substances. The seven-born is mentioned in the context of explaining the properties of and practice with the transgressive tantric sacraments of five fleshes (Skt. *pañcamāṃsa*, Tib. *sha lnga*) and five ambrosias (Skt. *pañcāmṛta*, Tib. *bdud rtsi lnga*): here their vessel for the emergence of the supreme *siddhi* of awakening is the skull of a king, or alternatively, the "skull of a seven-born brahmin" (*bram ze skye ba bdun pa'i thod pa*).[34] Nothing is related about the rationale behind this specification.

The seven-born one figures more prominently in the *Symbolic Songs of Precious Mahāmudrā*, an anonymous text that purports to be a Tibetan translation rendered from Sanskrit by Shama lotsāwa.[35] The same text, with its mysterious authorship and its translation attributed to Shama, also appears in Tengyur canonical collections under the title *Songs of the Glorious Vajraḍākinī*s.[36] The text opens with a particularly macabre narrative framework.[37] It situates the singing of these songs in the

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31 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 23.5: *ngo mtshar rdzas kyi a li ka li ni gang lags /*.

32 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 23.6–.7.

33 *Rin po che dbang gi 'khor lo'i lhan thabs khyad 'phags lnga'i che ba rgyas par bshad pa'i gdams pa*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 180–212.

34 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 188.7–189.6. The five fleshes are listed here as lion flesh, cow flesh, peacock flesh, horse flesh, and *shang-shang* bird flesh; and the five ambrosias as feces, urine, blood, human flesh, and semen. Although sources vary, the five fleshes are more typically listed as human flesh, elephant flesh, horse flesh, dog flesh, and cow or peacock flesh; and the five ambrosias as human feces, urine, blood, semen, and marrow (Wedemeyer 2013, 106).

35 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 301–309.

36 *Śrīvajraḍākinīgīti*, Tōh. 2441.

37 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 301.1–.5. Schaeffer (2007, 31) also summarizes this text's opening narrative and lists the names of the *jñānaḍāḳinī*s; he does not mention the identification of the prince as a seven-born one.

charnel ground known as Aṭṭāṭṭahāsa (Ha ha sgrogs), where a group of *karmaḍākinī*s have murdered a seven-born one, a prince by the name of Dungpüdzin (Dung phud 'dzin), to perform a *gaṇacakra* feast with his flesh and blood, and thereby invoke twenty-one *jñānaḍākinī*s from space. Once invoked, the *jñānaḍākinī*s each sing a song in turn. Together the songs form the body of this short work.

A text that follows this one in the Pacifying collection, and in the Tengyur collection, titled *Symbolic Songs of the Vajradāḳinī*s, fills in some of the details of the previous *ḍākinī* songs text.[38] Claiming to be the continuation of the previous text, this short work consists of a series of additional songs and concludes stating that it was present in the "secret treasury" (*gsang mdzod*) of the *ḍākinī*s in the form of a scroll, which was then entrusted to Lord Dampa of India (rJe Dam pa rgya gar), "after the ladies of space conferred" (*dbyings kyi gtso mo rnams kyis bka' sgros nas*), and was translated into Tibetan later by Shama lotsāwa at Dingri Langkor (Glang 'kor).[39] It would seem, then, that both short texts were thought to have been bestowed by the *ḍākinī*s upon Padampa, who then carried them to Tibet for translation and transmission. The narrative framing of the first of these thus situates both collections in the context of seven-born flesh consumption.

Another collection of songs included in both the Pacifying collection and the Tengyur that contains a reference to the seven-times born flesh is the short work *A Garland of Gold Drops: Pith Instructions of Experience Sung as Vajra Songs by Forty Accomplished Yogins*.[40] This work consists of a series of songs of experience allegedly sung by forty of Padampa's closest male and female gurus in the vicinity of Padampa himself. The reference to the seven-times born one and their flesh comes from a song sung by the accomplished *yoginī* Dharmā. She sings:

> Donning strong armor,
> throw water on your own mind,
> with a jewel-like resolve.
> Having verily entered inside a human corpse,
> if you eat the flesh of a seven-times born one
> you will fly like a bird in the sky.[41]

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38 *Rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma rda'i 'ghur*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 309–316; *rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma'i brda'i mgur* (*Vajraḍākinīgīti*), Tōh. 2442.

39 *Rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma rda'i 'ghur*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 316.1–.2.

40 *Rnal 'byor pa grub pa thob pa bzhi bcus rdo rje'i mgur bzhengs pa nyams kyi man ngag thig le gser gyi phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 341–350; Tōh. 2449.

41 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 349.1–.2: *go cha chen po gon nas kyang / /nor bu lta bu'i snying stobs kyis / /rang gi sems la chu btang ste / /myi ro'i khog par nges zhugs nas / skye ba bdun pa'i sha zos na / nam mkha' la ni bya bzhin no /*.

The promise of flight here recalls the rhetoric of the seven-times born one we find in the *Hevajra*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and other *yoginī* and *yoganiruttara* tantras that mention the seven timer's flesh. These tantras emphasize that flight into the sky (Skt. *khecara*, *khecaratva*; Tib. *mkha' spyod*), often at the apex of other effects, can be expected from consuming their flesh. Here, the curiously macabre detail of entering a human corpse presages it. As we will see below, this detail, which appears to reference the yogic practice of deliberately entering and reanimating a corpse with one's consciousness (*grong 'jug*), plays a role in Padampa Sangyé's biographical profile as a trans-corporeal being whose yogic powers gave him the ability to shift bodies at will. "Flight," moreover, as outlined above, had by Padampa's time in the eleventh and early twelfth century already been given a range of literal and figurative interpretations in Indian tantric commentarial literature. There it signals not just physical flight into the sky, but deliverance to a pure buddha-realm or access to ultimate awakening itself.[42]

The theme of flight gains greater momentum in another of the visionary texts in this collection called *Drops of Ambrosia Honey*.[43] This short text features six sets of six verses, totaling 36, from 36 different gurus who each departed in flight to celestial realms (*mkha' spyod kyi gnas su gshegs pa*). These 36 flying gurus are grouped into six sets of six, with each group containing a king, queen, court sage, court brahmin, householder patron, and head merchant. The colophon records that Padampa was transmitted these instructions by *ḍākinī*s at a charnel ground, whereupon he wrote them down himself and brought them to Tibet.

A commentary on these verses called the *Commentarial Compendium on the Drops of Stainless Ambrosia* develops the theme of flight further.[44] It explains in general how each of the 36 "flying gurus" (*mkha' spyod kyi bla ma*)—the six groups containing the six types of figures of kings,

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[42] For a discussion of these different interpretations, see Gentry 2022, 88–96.

[43] *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*. Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 255–264. This title appears twice in the text's incipit, with an explanation (256.1, 256.7–257.1, 257.2), and is referred to in abbreviated form simply as *Drops* (*Thigs pa*) in its topical outline (257.2–.3). As the commentary discussed below attests, the Pacifying tradition also received this text under the title *Dri med bdud rtsi'i thigs pa* (*Drops of Stainless Ambrosia*), although its complete title, as given in the commentary, is *Ngo mtshar rgyud pa las byung ba bka' 'i babs dri med bdud rtsi'i thigs pa* (49.1–.2.), which is reflected in the incipit of the root text as *Ngo mtshar rgyud pa las byung pa'i zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*. For brief discussion of this text, including select passages in Tibetan and English translation, see Schaeffer 2007, 22–23 and 47–48. Schaeffer bases his designation of the title on an interlinear note (255)—*bka' babs chen po bzhi las / ngo mtshar gyi rgyud pa dpal ldan sum bcu rtsa drug gi bka'*—which he translates as *The Miraculous Lineage: Words of the Glorious Thirty-Six*.

[44] *Dri med bdud rtsi'i thigs pa bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 49–137.

queens, sages, brahmins, householders, and merchants—were able to take flight, and provides specific prose narrative accounts of how each member of each six-fold court entourage happened to achieve this astounding boon. Each narrative vignette is followed by a single verse summary of the story, cast in the mouth of Padampa himself. Only then is each flying guru's instruction reproduced, followed by prose elaboration on the meaning of each instruction.

The text sequentially divides the instructions of the six entourages of six persons—each one embedded, as explained, in a flying narrative, a verse summary, a verse instruction, and a prose explanation—according to the progression through the five-fold path to awakening common to the Mahāyāna tradition, but in keeping with the theme of sixes, extended to six stages. We thus have 1) six dharmas taught for the six stages of yoga itself, 2) six dharmas of mind training for traversing the path of accumulation, 3) six dharmas of austerity for traversing the path of joining, 4) six dharmas of post attainment for traversing the path of seeing, 5) six dharmas of equalizing for traversing the path of meditation, and 6) six dharmas of great glory for traversing the path to its culmination.

The flesh of the seven-born one features not in the verses of the root text, but in the commentarial treatment detailing how one such six-member court, led by a king known as Topden Nyingpo (sTobs ldan snying po), happened to take flight, and the instructions given on the occasion.[45] Based on references in this commentary to its author's authoritative teachers, it was in all likelihood composed by Shikpo Nyima Senggé, briefly introduced above, sometime after he met his Pacifying guru Gyalwa Tené in 1197.[46] Nyima Senggé is otherwise known as Rinchen Sherap (Rin chen shes rab), or Rok Shikpo Rinchen Sherap (Rog Zhig po Rin chen shes rab), the younger brother of the famous Nyingma scholar Rokben Sherap Ö (Rog ban Shes rab 'od, 1166–1244).[47]

The commentary describes this set of six figures as "The Six Gurus Who Primarily Teach Mind Training for Traversing the Path of Accumulation"—the second of the six-fold path that structures the 36 instructions. In a previous article I briefly discussed this section and included translations of the first three of Padampa's verse summaries.[48] To give a clearer sense of how the Pacifying tradition interweaves the consumption of the seven-born flesh with mainstream

[45] The instructions appear in the root text in *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 258.4–259.5.

[46] *Dri med bdud rtsi'i thigs pa bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 64.7.

[47] For discussion of the life and writings of Rokben Sherap Ö, see Cabezón 2013, 39–51.

[48] Gentry 2022, 96–98.

Buddhist contemplative practices and doctrinal concepts, I provide a complete translation and Tibetan edition of this entire section in the Appendix.[49] To give a small taste of this longer passage, here is the first of its six parts:

> Namo guru!
>
> Topic Two: The Six Gurus Who Primarily Teach Mind Training for Traversing the Path of Accumulation
>
> First is the Condition of Mind Training Itself (*dang po blo sbyong rang sa*)
>
> As for the king, this is the teaching of Topden Nyingpo.
>
> The story of how this king attained accomplishment is as follows:
>
> > Previously, in the land of western India called Uḍḍiyāna, there was a thousand-wheel-turning monarch named king Āryasiṁha. A son was born to him named Topden Nyingpo who was blind and adorned with the major and minor marks. After the prince was coronated king, the one thousand queens in his harem would take turns each day serving him. Once, when it came turn for the youngest queen, who was sixteen years old, to do so, she had no suitable food to serve him, so she took some fresh flesh from a charnel ground, sprinkled it with seasoning, cooked it, and served it to him with a full *tramen* mug of spring beer. The queen, being hot tempered, deprecatingly fed the blind king. But since the meat was the flesh of a seven-born one, the king opened his eyes [and could suddenly see], so he asked her about it and praised her effusively. He took off in flight the next morning at dawn. This is why even now the flesh of the seven-born is held in such high esteem.
>
> Dampa said:
>
> *Siddhi* was discovered from charnel ground flesh,
> igniting experience with spring beer.
> The qualities of the ten bodhisattva levels were attained at

[49] *Dri med bdud rtsi'i thigs pa bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 73.6–84.2. Sections of this passage are cited in the sixteenth century by 'Dul 'dzin mKhyen rab rgya mtsho 1981, 551.3–553.2. See Appendix, 1, a and b, for an English rendering and Tibetan edition of the entire passage.

dawn.
Amazing how Tārā prophesied
that this/he too would be my guru.

The [king's] instruction was as follows:

Tossing as an elixir the object of the places of refuge,
brings attainment of the two-fold *siddhi* to the mindstream—
raise on high the crucial point of the lineage of blessings!

This means that if one has not gained attainment with respect to the three-fold refuge, there are three objects to be tossed as elixir—these are the three of crown, heart center, and navel. Thus, if one's realization lacks enhancement, supplicate the guru at the crown. If one's experience does not develop, clearly visualize the deity at the heart center. If the perception of others is not transformed by blessings, toss to the vital point the *ḍākinī*s at the navel. Through doing so, one will attain the two-fold *siddhi* of realization and experience for one's own benefit, and compassion and blessings for the benefit of others. For whomever can fiercely implement the practice for a long time, it will serve as a method for raising beings higher and higher by spreading the lineage and ensuring that the teaching moves in a positive direction.

While much can be said about this rich and multitextured passage, perhaps its most striking feature is that the flesh of a seven-born one features as a narrative charter for the importance placed on its consumption "even now." Moreover, as the remainder of this six-fold section makes clear, the king's consumption of the flesh and the flight it affords him set off a cascade of effects, drawing in a constellation of other members of the royal court, substances, contemplative practices, and doctrinal concepts. The king's miraculous flight brings the flesh into contact with the queen and her menstrual blood; the sage minister and his five-fold ambrosia pill concoction, which includes, in addition to flesh and menstrual blood, semen, urine, and feces; the brahmin and his sacrifice, meditation on nonattachment, and visionary experience; the great personage, and his meditation on disenchantment and the nature of mind; and the lead merchant, his love for his mother, a contraption for flying formed from a dead snake and large leaves, a stolen pill, and a sage companion, who gifts him miraculous, flight-granting water.

For all these characters, the peculiar circumstances set in motion by the flesh and their clever responses to them led to the eradication of their defilements and then to physical flight, in addition to the curing

of blindness, heightened wisdom, visionary experiences, safe passage from harm, and other physiological and epistemic transformations. Each narrative vignette concludes by emphasizing how it illustrates the origin and enduring importance of a particular substance, practice, or outcome—led by the flesh of the seven-born—before providing a verse summary in the voice of Padampa. Only then do we receive each flying guru's terse instruction, followed by explanation of the contemplative practice putatively taught therein.

When recalling that the root text nowhere mentions the seven-born one, it becomes abundantly evident that this commentary's elaborate interweaving of seven-born flesh lore into these six flying gurus' verse instructions surely does reflect, as the commentary itself proclaims, how vital the flesh had become for the Pacifying tradition by the early thirteenth century, when this commentary was likely composed. But as intimated by the repeated appearance of this theme elsewhere in the Pacifying collection's foundational scriptures, the instructions Padampa allegedly brought to Tibet had already informed his Tibetan disciples of this substance's importance by as early as the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It was these Indic writings, specifically as formulated and transmitted by Padampa himself in collaboration with his Tibetan colleagues, that more than any other factor enshrined the seven-born one as a crucial facet of the Pacifying tradition.

The theme of the seven-born one expressed in these writings also circulated well beyond the Pacifying tradition to enshrine the flesh as a vital component of the Tibetan *imaginaire* more broadly. As I have shown elsewhere, the narrative of Topden Nyingpo's consumption of seven-born flesh bears a striking resemblance to a seven-born flesh narrative found in the twelfth-century Tibetan *Hevajra* commentary attributed to Shedang Dorjé (Zhe sdang rdo rje).[50] Moreover, the basic features of this shared narrative stretch back to the much earlier non-tantric Indian narrative tradition centering on the cannibal king Kalmāṣapāda and the serial killer turned pious monk Aṅgulimāla. I have also demonstrated that the core narrative in its embellished tantric form wended its way into the *Testament of the Lotus-Born One* revealed in the middle of the fourteenth century by Orgyan Lingpa (O rgyan gling pa, b. 1323); became the subject of heated polemics and apologetics in the sixteenth century; and was embellished further in the seventeenth century in the writings of Karma Chakmé (Karma chags med, 1613–1678). In all these later instances the narrative core served as a malleable charter myth for the *maṇi* pill, whose main ingredient, as outlined above, was taken to be the seven-times born flesh.

[50] Gentry 2022.

An additional compelling piece of evidence suggesting the influence of the Pacifying tradition in these narrative transformations appears in a commentarial text attributed to Nyima Senggé's teacher Gyalwa Tené called *A Garland of Visions into the Profound Meaning: A Commentarial Compendium on the Pristine Mirror of Awakened Mind*.[51] This texts offers explanatory comments on a collection of Padampa's teachings, compiled by Padampa's student Künga, called the *Pristine Mirror of Awakened Mind: Replies to Questions*.[52] In Gyalwa Tené's commentary we find a slightly more elaborate variation on king Topden Nyingpo's vignette rendered above that even more closely reflects the version in Shedang Dorjé's *Hevajra* commentary, the *Testament of the Lotus-Born One*, and others.[53] Gyalwa Tené tells this story to explain the circumstances of Padampa's statement, "I also saw someone attain accomplishment from eating a single morsel of flesh."[54] In providing the backstory to this remark by Padampa, the name of the king changes to Dawa Senggé (Zla ba seng ge) and the "seven-born" is not directly identified as the source of the flesh. Moreover, instead of the flesh granting a blind king sight, and then flight, Dawa Senggé's flesh consumption triggers recollection of his past lives and then, just as his feet begin to lift off the ground, he decides to first make multiple pills out of the remaining flesh by mixing it with several other *siddhi* substances (*dngos grub kyi rdzas du ma*). He proceeds to feed the pills to the entire court, down to even his soldiers. Finally, the king and his army take off together in flight.

All these variations on the theme of seven-times born ones and the potency of their flesh throughout the Pacifying tradition's foundational visionary literature and related commentaries only hints at just how generative its lore was for the early Pacifying tradition. As we will see below, this lore would serve as the basis for the seven-born flesh's apotheosis over the ensuing century and a half. The tradition went on to develop this theme by grounding it more thoroughly in Tibet through concentrating it into the biographical persona of Padampa himself and his interactions with Tibetans during his life, and death. The scattered references to the importance of the seven-born ones and the consumption of their flesh in Padampa's visionary literature thus became through Padampa's oral instructions and their

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51 *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum chen zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 1–528. The text is also called in the colophon the *Zhu lan gyi tig ka zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*.

52 *Zhu lan thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol 2, 179–209.

53 *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 484.3–485.6. See Appendix, 2, for a Tibetan edition of this passage.

54 *Zhu lan thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 205.2: *sha kham cig zos pas dngos grub brnyed[emend. snyems] pa yang mthong /*.

reception in Tibet over the ensuing decades a defining feature of the Indian master's identity as a qualified spiritual teacher, and an organizing rubric for the Pacifying tradition as a whole.

Before we turn to these later developments, it is important to conclude this section by observing that this earliest stratus of the Pacifying literature emphasizes the flesh's transgressive associations. This is broadly consistent with how the flesh is discussed in the Indian Buddhist scriptures where it first appears—the *yoginī* and *yoganiruttara* tantras such as *Hevajra*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and other tantras and their commentaries which were translated into Tibetan between the tenth and twelfth centuries. We can detect their influence in the Pacifying scripture's connection of the flesh with *gaṇacakra*, the five ambrosias, and other features common to these tantric scriptures.

As has been explained elsewhere, the flesh appears throughout this body of Indian literature primarily in the context of injunctions to consume it.[55] These instances are often accompanied by descriptions of how to identify a living person in their seventh successive birth as a human being, or a brahmin; how to acquire their flesh without resorting to violence; how to ritually prepare it into pills; the many benefits from consuming it; and often, in much of the commentarial literature, with different layers of figurative interpretations accompanying this more literal, visceral understanding. Taken as a whole, this literature promises that consuming the flesh can grant flight, longevity, control over the spirit world, control over illness and enemy armies, invisibility, and more. In commentarial literature, goals extend to even the loftier aims of access to pure buddha-realms and complete awakening. However, flight, which would in the commentarial literature gather a range of meanings extending from physical flight to awakening, appears consistently throughout the tantras as the most prevalent outcome said to result from consuming the flesh.

Why precisely seven lives were counted as paramount, and what the continuity of brahmin caste identity across these seven lifetimes could have signaled in India, and Tibet, are important questions that I have only begun to address elsewhere with recourse to the work of Ronald Davidson, Adam Krug, David Gray, and others.[56] To summarize a few points here that will be salient for the discussion ahead: 1) pan-Indian *Dharma-sāstra* literature links the maintenance of Brahmanical caste purity over seven generations with conceptions of physical and lineal purity, legal inheritance, and ritual authority; 2) Buddhists integrated this cluster of associations early in the history of

[55] Gray 2005; Gentry 2022, 90–96.
[56] Gentry 2023, 103–104; Gray 2005, Davidson 2005, Krug 2019.

Buddhism in the cult of the seven buddhas, which finds expression in the *Prātimokṣa* literature and the importance placed on its communal recitation in ensuring the pure lineal succession of the buddhas, the teaching, and the community; 3) the theme of the seven buddhas became in integral facet of the Mahāyāna Buddhist cult of *dhāraṇī* spells, thus forming an important continuity with mainstream Buddhist monastic ritual; and 4) these links found further expression in later Indian Buddhist tantric seven-born flesh lore, primarily in relation to the tantric practice of consuming transgressive substances, but still carrying associations with purity. Addressing how this rich and complex set of connections was received in Tibet, beyond the translation of Indian Buddhist tantras and writings such as those considered above, brings us squarely to the figure of Padampa Sangyé and his legacy.

As I will demonstrate next, the Pacifying tradition apotheosized the seven-born flesh by connecting it to Padampa's trans-corporeal embodiment. In so doing, the flesh's transgressive connotations came to be reframed more centrally according to broader Mahāyāna conceptions concerning the special embodiment of bodhisattvas and buddhas. Some of the scriptural literature examined above, particularly Nyima Senggé's commentary on the six-fold court of king Topden Nyingpo, illustrates the nascent beginnings of this process of apotheosis by interweaving the flesh with the bodhisattva path and a range of Buddhist doctrinal concepts and contemplative practices. At the same time, these associations provided a key link to India, the sacred source of the seven-born one, and, most importantly, the figure of Padampa himself. We turn now to a consideration of how these nascent beginnings were developed into an image of Padampa Sangyé as the paradigmatic seven-born one active in Tibet, and a bodhisattva at that.

### *b. The Materialization and Apotheosis of a Seven-Times Born Bodhisattva in Tibet*

Rhetoric that identifies Padampa himself as a seven-born one is already discernible in germinal form in the early stratum of the Pacifying tradition's visionary literature. We find an intriguing kernel of this association in the *Gentle Song of the Ḍākinīs*, a short text cast in the voice of a group of *ḍākinī*s summoned on the occasion of Padampa's performance of a *gaṇacakra* to celebrate his attainment of conviction in the realization and understanding of his own innate wisdom of suchness, and the boundless dawning of the potency of his

meditative experience.[57] This text's inclusion in available Tengyur canonical collections enables us to take notice of a suggestive variant in the Pacifying collection's version of the text.[58] In the first line of the *ḍākinī*s' song, according to the Tengyur version, the *ḍākinī*s call out to Padampa, "Hey! Powerful son of noble family!" *(kye'o stobs ldan rigs kyi bu)*.[59] However, in the Pacifying collection's version of the song, they instead call out the less usual, "Hey! Powerful son who is *a person of seven* noble families!" *(kye ho stobs ldan rigs bdun myi'i bu)*.[60] The phrasing in the Pacifying collection version appears to be an indirect reference to the seven-born one. The addition here of "person [of] seven" (*bdun myi*) to the otherwise standard "son of noble family" (*rigs kyi bu*) could only avoid a hyper-metrical nine-syllable count in this otherwise seven-syllable verse meter by construing the opening two syllables of *kye ho/kye'o* to signal the opening of the verse, outside its metrical pattern. In this, it looks to be an interpolation, added to the opening line of the *ḍākinī*s' song, perhaps as late as 1245. Although this addition does not directly call Padampa a seven-born one, it certainly reflects this identification, and clearly enough to be read as a visionary charter issuing from the mouths of the *ḍākinī*s themselves.

This somewhat oblique reference to Padampa as a seven-born one was echoed in his teachings to students. These faint echoes were then developed considerably and formalized in the biographical corpus that grew around his persona during the century or so after his passing. A few important statements attributed to Padampa in which he appears to reference not only his status as a seven-times born one, but more importantly, how his corpse should posthumously be treated on this account, appear in the short text the *Pristine Mirror of Awakened Mind: Replies to Questions*. As stated above, this text seems to have been recorded in writing by Padampa's student Künga.[61] There the master had these choice words to say about his extraordinary corporeality:

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57 *Mkha' 'gro ma'i 'byam/'jam glu*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 359–365.

58 *Mkha' 'gro ma'i 'byam/'jam glu* (Tōh. 2451), *Bstan 'gyur* (*dpe bsdur ma*) 1994–2008, vol. 27, 459–466; *Bstan 'gyur* (Sde dge), vol. 53, 175.4; *Bstan 'gyur* (Peking), vol. 50, 110a.6–113a.5; *Bstan 'gyur* (Snar thang), vol. 50, 191–196; *Bstan 'gyur* (Dga' ldan/Gser bris ma), vol. 51, 260–267.

59 *Bstan 'gyur* (Sde dge), vol. 53, 175–179; *Bstan 'gyur* (Peking), vol. 50, 111a.3; *Bstan 'gyur* (Snar thang), vol. 50, 192.1; *Bstan 'gyur* (Gser bris ma), vol. 51, 261.1–.2.

60 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 359.6.

61 *Zhu len thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 179–209.

> Next year, the corpse of an *ācārya* will come here. If you eat its flesh, my wish will be fulfilled, but those who are not familiar will be mistaken.[62]

This statement implies that Padampa strongly preferred his corpse to be eaten instead of cremated, and knew that his corpse's handlers, out of ignorance of the tantric practice of consuming corpse-flesh, would not comply with this request. As intimated in the visionary literature reviewed above, the consumption of specifically un-cremated flesh is a standard element of seven-born lore in the Indian Buddhist tantric context. As we will see below, moreover, this feature is shared with the Tibetan context of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill. Furthermore, lest the text's readership miss the association with the seven-born in this short and ambiguous passage, the compiler opens the narrative frame of the text by praising Padampa as "he who sequentially took on a human body for seven lifetimes."[63]

Padampa voices this statement about his coming death in the context of extolling the virtues of seeing a buddha and hearing a buddha's name. He states, for instance, "When the light rays of the teacher struck someone, they were liberated from *saṃsāra*. But those without fortune could not appreciate the Buddha's arrival."[64] He also offers, "There is great virtue in hearing word of a Buddha."[65] These short statements presage in germinal form the liberation through the senses, and other practices promising "Buddhahood without meditation." These would become formalized in the practices of liberation through seeing, hearing, wearing, tasting, and other sensory and cognitive channels, becoming a popular component of Buddhism throughout Tibet up to the present day.[66] The association of this conception of liberation with the eating of Padampa's seven-times born flesh more specifically presages what would become a core feature of Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill, and broader Nyingma seven-

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62 *Zhu len thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 201.2: *sang phod 'di ru a tsa ra gcig gi ro 'ong ste/ /de'i sha zos na 'dun ma tshar te/ /rgyus med po tshos blo nyes byed par mchi gsungs so/.*

63 *Zhu len thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 179.4: *skye ba bdun du myi lus brtsegs[emend. rtseg] mar bzhes pa /.*

64 *Zhu len thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 200.6: *ston pa'i 'od zer sems can la phog na 'khor ba las thar te / skal myes po sangs rgyas 'byung ba la myi dga' /.*

65 *Zhu len thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 201.1: *sangs rgyas kyi sgra thos pa la yon tan chen po yod de /.*

66 For more on liberation through the senses practices in Tibetan Buddhism and the related promise of "Buddhahood without meditation," see Gayley 2007 and Gentry 2017, 2019, 2023.

born flesh rhetoric, namely, that it can grant "liberation through tasting" (*myong grol*) to all who consume it.[67]

Padampa's final dying request finds greater elaboration in a commentary composed by Padampa's great grand-disciple Gyalwa Tené entitled *A Commentarial Compendium on the Twenty-Four Fragments*.[68] Here we find Padampa's request embedded in a dialogical structure, with an additional directive concerning how to treat the corpse after his passing.

> Then he called out to Drogom ('Bro sgom):
>
> > The honey-dripping flower is about to fly into the sky. Next year, it will no longer yield for the bees of Dingri. Next year, the corpse of the *ācārya* will come. If you eat its flesh, my wish will be fulfilled, but those who are not familiar will be mistaken. If there are people in Dingri, it would be suitable for Gyagoma to carry the *mahābodhi stūpa tsatsa*s (*tsha tsha*) to the mountain. There, my unburned teeth will be a true delight.[69]

The added request in this more elaborate version for Gyagoma, Padampa's closest Tibetan woman student, to carry the *mahābodhi stūpa tsatsa*s to the mountain, along with the detail that unburned remains would be particularly appreciated there, further develops the theme of how he preferred his corpse to be handled. In so doing, these remarks also accentuate the tensions between Padampa's wish not to be cremated and the inevitability of his students in Dingri not complying with his last dying request and cremating him anyway.

*Tsatsa*s are small mass-produced clay molds, often formed after funeral services from the cremation ash of revered Buddhist teachers, in the image of tantric deities, and, as in this case, *stūpa*s.[70] A *mahābodhi*, or "great awakening" *stūpa*, is one of the eight kinds of *stūpa*s whose distinct shapes serve to commemorate eight significant deeds in the life of the Buddha—this one signaling the Buddha's enlightenment.[71]

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67 Gentry 2023.

68 *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 89–248.

69 *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 101.1–.3: */'bro sgom la bos nas sbrang rtsi 'thigs pa'i me tog nam mkha' la 'gro bar gda' / sang phod nas ding ri ba'i sbrang ma la skyed myed gsungs[emend. gsung] / sang phod 'dir a tsa ra zhig[emend. cig] gi ro yong ste / sha zos na 'dun[emend. mdun] ma tshar ba yin te / rgyus myed po tsho blo nyes byed par mchi gsungs[emend. gsung] //ding ri na myi yod na byang chub chen po'i tsha tsha rgya sgom gyis[emend. gyi] ri la bskyal ba rung / de la so ma bsregs pa rang dga'o gsungs[emend. gsung] /.*

70 For more on *tsatsa*s, see Namgyal-Lama 2023.

71 Bentor 1995b, 36. For more on *stūpa*s in Tibet, see Bentor 1995a and 1996.

By asking that his ash be carried to the mountain, instead of left at Dingri, and emphasizing that only there would his unburned remains, if any survive the cremation, be properly valued and put to use, Padampa implies that the Dingri people would be woefully ignorant of the practice of eating a bodhisattva. It also signals that despite their wrongful insistence on cremating his corpse, there might nonetheless still be enough uncharred remains to fashion into pills and consume. An intriguing twist to this set of requests is that the phrase "carry to the mountain" (*ri la bskyal*) is evidently a standard way of referring to the practice of "sky burial" in the Pacifying collection, thus obliquely signaling an alternative to cremation.[72]

Just below this passage, after an intervening final request addressed directly to Gyagoma herself, we find another directive concerning the handling of Padampa's corpse that continues with this theme.

> Then he called out to Töpa Tribar (sTod pa Khri 'bar):
>
> > The *ācārya* will die without illness. Take my corpse, wash it well, and without letting the water spill on the ground, drink it yourself. This will have a great effect.[73]

Clearly, then, consuming water that had been in contact with his sacred body prior to the cremation would also suffice to bring about positive effects. This additional request, coming as it does almost directly after his prediction about the mishandling of his corpse, stands out as Padampa's suggestion for how to nonetheless benefit from his body, in lieu of consuming its flesh, should his body be cremated despite his request to the contrary. This chapter of the commentary then concludes with the episode of Padampa's death and funeral, whose narrative development we turn to next.

### *c. The Shifting Ground of Padampa's Cremation Narrative*

The narrative of Padampa's funeral proceedings, interwoven as it is with his final requests, follows a similar trajectory of transformation over time. The earliest narrative vignette of Padampa's funeral appears to be what we find in Padampa's *Last Testament upon Passing*, purportedly recorded by his student Künga while attending upon his

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72 Dan Martin, personal communication.

73 *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 101.6–.7: */stod pa khri 'bar la bos nas / a tsa ra zhig[emend. cig] myi na bar 'chi yis / de'i ro la 'di thob la khrus gyis la chu de sa la ma sbo[emend. 'bod] bar / rang 'thungs[emend.'thung] shig[emend. gcig] don chen po dang ldan par 'gyur gyis gsungs[emend. gsung] /.*

dying guru.[74] The account refrains from describing Padampa's actual death, or any of the details of his funeral service. Instead, it abruptly skips from the last words of his final teaching to descriptions of his continued presence, despite his demise and the cremation of his corpse. The passages are structured according to "six convictions" (*yid ches pa drug*), perhaps better understood as "convincing pieces of evidence" demonstrating his transcendence of the duality of living and dying. The passages read as follows:

> Just as Dampa was being cremated, merchants from the land of Dingri reaching Paltang on their return encountered Dampa and offered him a silk scarf. They asked him, "Is Dampa well? Is there no bad news from Dingri?" He replied, "The Dingri people are all well. If you go quickly, you will find a lot of beer in Dingri at the cremation of an *ācārya* who has just died there." When the merchants arrived and reached Dingri and heard that there was a cremation, they asked who died. They were told it was Dampa who had passed. They replied it was not right to lie, as they had just met him on the road, gave him an offering, and asked after his health. They were then told that it was indeed Dampa who had died. This was the first convincing evidence that he is beyond dying and living.
>
> The second piece of convincing evidence is that Künga said, "There is no difference for us if he is dead or alive. When we are awake, he comes directly. When we are asleep, he comes in our dreams."
>
> The third piece of convincing evidence is that then illusion-like appearance was demonstrated and a *mahābodhi stūpa* appeared.
>
> The fourth piece of convincing evidence is that Künga said, "A Dingri woman was entered by his blessing power, such that after Dampa's passing, she encountered Dampa three times. And no one else could then recognize the woman."
>
> The fifth piece of convincing evidence is Dampa's many emanations: To inspire confidence among detractors who accused him of being a non-Buddhist teacher he appeared many times after his death, such that he was encountered by Gyagoma on the side of the mountain, and such.

[74] *'Da' ka zhal chems*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 81.2–84.5.

> The sixth piece of convincing evidence is that his appearance perpetually manifests to students, such that even now several appearances manifest of him dwelling in India and continuing to work for the welfare of beings.[75]

This passage is remarkable for several reasons. Most germane for the present purposes is not only that Padampa was reported to have appeared after his passing in the dreams and waking life of several students, even during the cremation of his corpse, but that he also lived on in the form of his cremated bodily remains, as housed in "*mahābodhi stūpa*" reliquaries. Recall from Gyalwa Tené's account of Padampa's final requests reviewed just above how Padampa had given express instructions for Gyagoma to carry the *mahābodhi stūpa tsatsa*s to the mountain, adding that his "unburned teeth" would be a true delight there. Noteworthy here is that the *mahābodhi stūpa* is mentioned once again, along with the further detail that Padampa appeared to Gyagoma on the side of the mountain.

Gyalwa Tené's later *A Commentarial Compendium on the Twenty-Four Fragments* offers copious additional details of Padampa's funeral proceedings, including the distribution of his relics.[76] Here, Gyalwa Tené leaves out the detail of *tsatsa*s, mentioning only that the *mahābodhi stūpa* was received by none other than Gyagoma. He also lists and briefly describes each of Padampa's relics, such as his finger, on which the syllable *hrīḥ* appeared; a piece of his forehead hair tuft, on which a swirling swastika mantra knot appeared; his tooth, on which the syllable *hūṁ* appeared; a toe, on which a vajra and bell appeared, for the union of skillful means and wisdom; a piece of his right rib, on which the Sanskrit consonants appeared; and a piece of his left rib, on which the Sanskrit syllables appeared, among other fragments of his body. Each item is mentioned in tandem with which student received it and where it was housed at its author Gyalwa Tené's time. The section ends by narrating the many sightings of Padampa after his passing among his students and which teachings they received in these visitations, concluding with Künga's summary statement from the six confidences: "There is no difference for us if he is dead or alive."[77]

In *A Garland of Visions into the Profound Meaning: A Commentarial Compendium on The Pristine Mirror of Awakened Mind*, also composed by Gyalwa Tené, he circles back to Padampa's final dying requests, connecting them to the details in his account of the relic distribution.

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[75] *'Da' ka zhal chems*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 83.3–84.3. For the Tibetan text of these passages, see Appendix, 3.

[76] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 102.1–103.7.

[77] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 103.6–.7.

In so doing, Gyalwa Tené offers a different set of details about Padampa's funeral proceedings.[78] He explains Padampa's statement, "If you eat its flesh, my wish will be fulfilled," to refer specifically to Padampa's status as someone reborn for seven successive lifetimes as a *paṇḍita*, thus rendering his flesh an "exalted *siddhi* substance" (*dngos grub kyi rdzas khyad par du 'phags pa*), "whose consumption would grant flight to all" (*de'i sha zos tshad mkha' spyod du 'gro*).[79] He proceeds to interpret the statements, "But those who are not familiar will be mistaken" to mean that "since there was no such teaching on that in Tibet" it was a secret then that had to be deliberately revealed; thus, Padampa's Tibetan students, "not knowing the flesh to yield *siddhi*," would go ahead and mistakenly cremate his corpse.[80] Gyalwa Tené offers even more intriguing details when proffering an interpretation of Padampa's obscure directive for Gyagoma to "carry *mahābodhi stūpa tsatsa*s to the mountain, where even unburned teeth will be a true delight." He first reports "it is said that since this was a flexibly intended way of speaking, its precise meaning cannot be decoded." "But in reality," he boldly counters, "it means that the people of Dingri do not possess the fortune for flight."[81] Clearly implied here is that if there were any remains of Padampa's body after his Dingri students cremated it, in direct violation of their guru's final dying request, the remains did not stay in Dingri, but made their way to the mountain, with the *mahābodhi stūpa tsatsa*s Gyagoma inherited in the relic distribution. That the other relics listed by Gyalwa Tené in his *Commentarial Compendium on the Twenty-Four Fragments* do not constitute or contain his flesh, but only his bones, or other articles, is clearly implied here in this more incisive assessment.

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78 *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum chen zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 433.5–434.2. For a Tibetan edition of this entire passage, see Appendix, 4.

79 *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum chen zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 433.5–.6: */de'i sha zos na bya ba ni / rten paN Di ta rim par rgyud pa yin pas / dngos grub kyi rdzas khyad par du 'phags par bstan pa'o / 'dun[emend. mdun] ma tshar ba yin te bya ba ni khong ni skye ba bdun pa yin pas / de'i sha zos tshad mkha' spyod du 'gro ba'o /*.

80 *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum chen zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 433.6–.7: */rgyus myed po tsho bya ba ni / bod na de'i chos myed pas rang gsang[emend. sang] thabs kyis chod pa'o / /blo nyes byed par mchi ba ni dngos grub tu ma rig par spur zhugs la bzhus 'gro ba'o/*.

81 *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum chen zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 433.7–434.1: *byang chub chen po'i tsha tsha rgya sgom gyis ri la bskyal[emend. brkyal] ba rung de la so yang ma bsregs pa ru dga'o gsungs par gda' ste / / bka'[emend. dka'] bstsal[emend. gsal] de brda ldem du song bas ji ltar yin gtan[emend. stan] la ma phebs skad / /don la ding ri ba la mkha' spyod kyi skal ba dang ma ldan pa'o/*.

This brings us to the most elaborate narrative of Padampa's funeral proceedings, which we find echoed in sixteenth-century renditions, mentioned briefly above in the introduction, which were narrated by Nyingma apologists of the seven-born flesh-pill tradition.[82] Gyalwa Tené's late twelfth or early thirteenth century rendition examined just above clearly reflects in germinal form this later narrative development. In this later account, three of Padampa's Indian students arrived late to the funeral of their guru only to discover to their dismay that his body had already been fully cremated, leaving not even its ash behind. When asked by the Tibetan students in attendance why they were so disturbed by this, they replied that since Padampa was a brahmin throughout his seven successive previous births, had his flesh and blood instead been fashioned into pills and consumed, it could have conferred awakening. The Indian students went on to explain that consumption of the flesh of a seven-times born one is one of three special methods for achieving Buddhahood without practicing the dharma, alongside sexual consort practice and the transference of consciousness.

By the time this version of events is retold in the early twentieth-century biography of Padampa attributed to Khamnyön Dharma Senggé (Khams smyon Dharma seng ge, b. 19th c.), it is elaborated and altered some.[83] For instance, it adds a fourth special technique—"the awakening of karma from training in previous lifetimes"—and describes all four as methods for achieving Buddhahood "without doing *much* dharma practice in this lifetime," instead of no dharma practice at all, as in the earlier accounts.[84] Moreover, in Dharma Senggé's telling, the method of "transference" is additionally done in conjunction with a *tathāgata*'s relic, a detail missing from the earlier renditions.[85]

Most importantly, unlike the sixteenth-century renditions, Dharma Senggé's version harkens back further to Padampa's final dying requests, and Gyalwa Tené's comments on these, by having the three Indian students call the mishandling of Padampa's corpse "mistaken"

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[82] See, for instance, 'Dul 'dzin mKhyen rab rgya mtsho 1981, 548.4–549.1; and Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan 1975, vol. 2, 112.6–113.3. Slight variations between these accounts suggest that Sog bzlog pa's is based on 'Dul 'dzin's slightly earlier account. See Appendix, 6 and 7, respectively, for the Tibetan passages of both of renditions. For more details on the broader context of these and other sixteenth-century writings on the seven-times-born flesh, see Gentry 2022, 111–121.

[83] For this later version, see Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012-2013, vol. 5, 156.1–157.3; and Chos kyi seng ge 1992, 158–160. For an English translation of this episode, see Molk 2008, 134. See Appendix, 5, for the Tibetan of the Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012–2013 version.

[84] Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012-2013, vol. 5, 156.5: *tshe 'dir chos cher ma byas*.

[85] Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012-2013, vol. 5, 156.5–.6.

(*blo nyes*), precisely as Padampa had phrased it in his prediction, and "lacking fortune" (*skal pa dang ma ldan / skal pa med*) on this account, just as Gyalwa Tené had later assessed.[86] However, by Dharma Senggé's telling, the Indian students attribute the mistake to Tibet as a whole, not just to the people of Dingri, as Padampa predicted. Likewise, for Padampa's Indian students it is Tibet in general that lacks the requisite fortune to benefit from Padampa's sacred flesh, not just the people of Dingri, as Gyalwa Tené charged. These narrative shifts thus project the certainty that there was absolutely nothing that remained of Padampa's sacred corporeality after his cremation and that Tibetans as a collective were responsible for this tremendous loss. This stands in stark contrast to the renditions in the Pacifying collection, which assign blame only to the people of Dingri for staging the cremation ceremony, and ambiguously imply that in keeping with Padampa's wishes something of his sacred bodily remains nonetheless survived the cremation "unburned" and was conveyed by Gyagoma to a nearby mountain—enough perhaps to be included in pill formulas until Gyalwa Tené's day.

Misgivings about the contradictory accounts of Padampa's remains—whether his body was reduced to nothing, and not even ash remained, or any bodily parts survived intact enough to venerate as relics or fashion into pills—is reflected in yet another narrative rendition of his funeral proceedings. This narrative, part of a text titled the *Dharma of the Later Pacifying Lineage: The Tradition of Jangchup Küinga*, is attributed to Gyalwa Tené's student Nyima Senggé.[87] Based on the dates given in Nyima Senggé's autobiographical section included therein, it appears to have been authored between 1228 and 1245.[88]

Here Nyima Senggé groups together under one division heading Padampa's final requests, death, and funeral proceedings, and follows this with a distinct section devoted to the emergence of his relics, which he calls, "how receptacles appeared for the sake of beings to accumulate merit" (*bzhi pa 'gro ba bsod nams bsag pa'i ched du rten ji ltar*

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86 Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012–2013, vol. 5, 156.2, 157.3.

87 *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 324–432.

88 The autobiographical section of this text relates that Shikpo Nyima Senggé (1171–1245) met his Pacifying teacher Gyalwa Tené when he was 26, which would have been 1196, and wandered in solitude, meditating in caves from 37 to 58, which would have been 1207 to 1228 (Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 425.2–428.2). This would of course imply that the text was written sometime after 1228 and before his death in 1245, but his references to having carried out his whole life in retreat would likely signal a date closer to 1245 than to 1228.

*byon pa*).[89] The first of these two sections reiterates with some variations Padampa's dying wishes concerning how to ideally handle his corpse—the directives to eat his corpse flesh, drink the water used to wash the corpse, and for Gyagoma to carry to the mountain whatever would not be burned in the cremation, etc.—but without providing any commentarial explanation.

After then describing Padampa's passing in greater elaboration than previous renditions, the author reaches the point in the narrative of his funeral proceedings. There is no mention here yet of the arrival of Padampa's three Indian students and the other details that appear in the later Pacifying narrative tradition. Nonetheless, there is a curious and somewhat opaque detail included in the story that could suggest some attempt to harmonize contradictory accounts of Padampa's remains. The narrative relates it as follows:

> The morning after the cremation no receptacles (*rten*) could be found among the remains. As this led to doubts, its inside was turned, and a goat herder girl was predicted [to be able to find them], upon which the girl addressed/surpassed Lama Jangchup Sempa [Künga] and unerringly collected all the receptacles that had emerged there. Thus, the *mahābodhi stūpa* (which had three levels) was procured by (Lady Lama) Gyagoma…[90]

The narrative goes on to list all the different body parts that the goat herder girl was able to recover from the crematorium, along with descriptions of the sacred images that had formed on them, how these relics were distributed, and where they were subsequently housed.

The account reflected here detailing the extensive relics Padampa left behind won out as the prevailing version of the story, this despite the insistence in the later narrative tradition reviewed above that not even the ash from Padampa's cremated corpse remained. The historical victory of this account is most conspicuously evinced in the ongoing tradition of Padampa's relic veneration, as reflected in a text called *A Seed of Faith*.[91] This writing incorporates most of the above

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[89] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, vol. 4, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 354.6–359.3 and 359.3–360.7.

[90] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, vol. 4, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 359.4–.6: *spur sbyangs pa'i nang par gdung gi gseb nas rten ma rnyed de / the tshom du gyurd pa las / de'i nang phyogs te / bu mo ra rdzi ma la lung bstand te / bu mos bla ma byang chub sems dpa' la zlas nas / der rten byond pa rnams snyon du myed par bsdus pas / byang chub chen po'i mchod rten (bang rim gsum pa bla ma) rgya sgom gyis rnyed /*.

[91] The full title of *A Seed of Faith* in Tibetan is *Bod yul la stod ding ri glang skor gyi nang rten byin can khag gi lo rgyus dad pa'i sa bon*, Pha dam pa 2012–21013, vol. 2, 803–822.

goat herder vignette and details the history of some of Padampa's "inner blessing receptacles" housed at Dingri Langkor in Tibet.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that a colorful narrative vignette about Padampa's trans-corporeality appears in the Severance tradition that casts Padampa's sacred embodiment in a very different light. According to Karma Chakmé's telling in the seventeenth century, Padampa was originally a strikingly handsome man, in keeping with his moral purity.[92] But this was irreparably altered when Padampa travelled to South India and encountered a village that was being poisoned by the rotting corpse of a leper. Out of fear of contamination, the villagers dared not touch the corpse. But moved by compassion, Padampa intervened on their behalf by entering the corpse with his consciousness, thereby reanimating it to walk it to a safe distance away from the village. While Padampa's consciousness was away from his body, an ugly sadhu entered Padampa's body with his consciousness and walked off with it, leaving Padampa no choice but to assume the body of the hideous sadhu for the remainder of his lifetime.

According to this vignette, then, the body that Padampa died with was not the actual body he was born with, but that of the ugly sadhu. This story of course significantly complicates the notion that his corpse should have been regarded as a materialization of virtue accrued over the course of seven consecutive lifetimes, as the Pacifying tradition would have it. As touched on above, according to the physio-moral logic of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism, in which past lifetimes of ethical purity result in rebirths in physically attractive bodily forms, Padampa Sangyé's body, as the fruit of seven consecutive previous lifetimes as a bodhisattva, should have been physically exquisite beyond compare.[93] And yet, Padampa is described and depicted in iconography as slight in stature and with unattractive features. Karma Chakmé's telling appears like an attempt to resolve this discrepancy. It ends up accounting for Padampa's hideousness, but in so doing it compromises the sacrality of Padampa's corpse.

Another, more elaborate rendition of this story reflects a different approach to this problem.[94] According to this other telling, Padampa

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His relic vignette appears at 818.4–819.3. For an English translation of this text and a study of the preservation and veneration of relics at Dingri Langkor up to the late 1970s, see Aziz 1979.

92 Edou 1996, 32–33. Edou summarizes the rendition in Karma Chakmé's *Ri chos mtshams kyi zhal gdams*.

93 Mrozik 2007.

94 Edou 1996, 33–34. Edou provides an English translation of the vignette as it appears in Machik Labdrön's abridged biography. This is likely *Phung po gzan skyur ba'i rnam par bshad pa las ma gcig lab sgron ma'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus tsam zhig*.

enters the corpse not of a leper, but of an elephant, whose saliva was poisoning the village. More significantly, this telling has Padampa regain his beautiful form from the body thief thanks to the intervention of Machik Labdrön. Thus, even as this rendition manages to preserve the sanctity of Padampa's corpse, unlike Karma Chakmé's, it clearly contradicts descriptions of his less than attractive appearance in the broader biographical and iconographical tradition. Above all, both variations of the story key Padampa as a quintessentially trans-corporeal being. In this he is like many other *mahāsiddha*s in the Indian and Tibetan Buddhist *imaginaire*. However, the details of the story, implying as they do different identities for his corpse *vis-à-vis* the body he was born with, might reflect extensions of the attempts considered above to conceptually work through tensions surrounding Padampa's sacred corporeality and its enduring legacy in Tibet.

*d. Padampa's Past Lives and the Law of Sevens*

Accompanying the narrative development of Padampa's final requests regarding his corpse, the event of his funeral proceedings, and the distribution of his relics is the associated narrative expansion of Padampa's previous seven lifetimes, including discussion of how his career as a seven-times-born one began. As reviewed above, several of the visionary writings Padampa is said to have transmitted to Tibet contain references to seven-born ones and their flesh. Also as illustrated above, one such text even has Padampa's *ḍākinī* interlocutors address him as a seven timer in what appears to be a later textual interpolation. This textual revision must have been made with the knowledge that Padampa was attributed dying requests regarding the treatment of his corpse that strongly implied to his closest students that they ought to regard him as a seven-born one and handle his corpse accordingly.

The penchant among Padampa's followers to identify him as someone who took rebirth as a bodhisattva for seven consecutive lifetimes only grew stronger over the century after his passing. Perhaps the earliest such reference among his students appears in the opening verses of the *Pristine Mirror of Awakened Mind: Replies to Questions*, compiled by Padampa's direct disciple Künga. As mentioned in passing above, the author extols Padampa's qualities there by referring to him as "he who sequentially took on a human body for seven lifetimes."[95] The opening verse homage in the *Pristine Mirror of Awakened Body*: *Replies to Questions*, whose compilation is also

[95] *Zhu len thugs kyi me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 179.4: *skye ba bdun du myi lus brtsegs[emend. rtseg] mar bzhes pa /*.

attributed to Künga, reiterates this identification by praising him as "he who has been of noble family for seven lifetimes," a phrase that echoes the interpolation cast in the mouth of the *ḍākinī*s, reviewed above.[96]

By the time the teachings of Künga's student Patsap were recorded a few decades later by his student Gyalwa Tené, we are given something of a rationale for Padampa's reputation as a seven-born one. The opening verses of homage read: "Since he was learned in the five fields of knowledge, he was said to be a seven-times born bodhisattva."[97] Guru Chöwang's mythic charter for his Treasure seven-born flesh, as we will touch on below, makes the associated claim that the seventh and final lifetime lasted 500 years, during which time the seven timer became learned in the five fields of knowledge.

Finally, in the opening section of Gyalwa Tené *Commentarial Compendium on the Twenty-Four Fragments*, we receive a systematically presented list of Padampa's seven previous lives and their birthplaces, with the added detail that they were all *paṇḍita*s:

> First, his continuous passage through seven lifetimes as *paṇḍita*s is as follows:
>
> 1) He was born in Kāmarūpa in the east as the *paṇḍita* Kṣitigarbha.[98]
> 2) He was born in Bheta in the south as the *paṇḍita* Jayandhara.
> 3) He was born in Uḍḍiyāna in the west as Indrabhūti the middle.[99]
> 4) He was born in Gyado in the north as the scholar Kampala.
> 5) He was born in Zahor as Prajñābodhi.

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96 *Zhu len sku'i me long rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 233.1: *rje dam pa rgya gar rin po che rigs ldan skye ba bdun pa /*.

97 Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 206.3–.4: *rig pa'i gnas rnam pa lnga la mkhas pas / skye ba bdun pa'i byang chub sems dpa' lags skad /*. This work (vol. 3, 206–242) is missing an identifiable title, but its colophon states it is the *Bla ma byang sems kun dga'i lugs*, as recalled and recounted orally by the compiler and redactor's kind guru, and transmitted orally in a one-to-one lineage until the time of its compiler and redactor, "I, Tené." The five fields of knowledge (Tib. *rig pa'i gnas lnga*, Skt. *pañca-vidyāsthāna*) are typically listed as grammar, logic, craftsmanship, Buddhism, and medicine. For more on the scholarly ideal in Tibet of mastering all five fields of knowledge, see Gold 2007, especially 14–24.

98 Kāmarūpa likely refers to the region corresponding roughly to modern day Assam in northeastern India (Deo 1927, 87; Sircar 1971, 162–66).

99 Uḍḍiyāna refers to a location in the Swat valley of West Pakistan (Sircar 1971, 182, 183).

6) He was born in Malaya as Meghavarmin.[100]
7) He was also born in Trompé/Trönpé Ling (Khrom/'Khron pa'i gling) as Kamalaśīla.[101]

This is why the Sumatran Guru (Bla ma gSer gling pa) said he was one born seven times in a noble family.[102]

Although the precise locations of some of the birthplaces mentioned here are obscure, the list is notable for how it attempts to draw in a remarkably broad terrain, extending throughout the four quarters of much of the known South Asian world. Particularly significant is that we are told that it is Padampa's Sumatran guru Serlingpa (gSer gling pa, "the man from Suvarṇadvīpa"), perhaps the same Serlingpa that was Atiśa's (982–1054) guru, who is recalled as having most famously identified Padampa as a seven-times born one.[103] The name Kamalaśīla of his seventh rebirth refers to Padampa himself—according to his biographical corpus, Kamalaśīla was the name he was given upon receiving ordination at Vikramaśīla monastery from the preceptor Kṣemadeva.[104]

This list of seven lives appears to have set in motion a proliferation of sevens. Immediately thereafter in Gyalwa Tené's commentary, he offers a list of seven temples that Padampa is said to have commissioned in these seven lifetimes. The broad geographical range of Padampa's activities throughout his lifetimes continues to be a marked theme here. Included are 1) a Tārā temple at Patra, a minor area in the region of Kamboja (sKam po rtse'i gling patra gling chung[105]) in the east; 2–3) an Amoghapāśa and Avalokiteśvara

[100] On Malaya, see Sircar (1971, 243–247), who argues that it likely refers to the southern end of the Western Ghāṭs.

[101] Martin (2005, 74) has proposed that this likely refers to a port city (his father was a sea captain) on the eastern coast of South India in contemporary Andhra Pradesh. As such, he also (personal communication) hypothesizes that it probably refers not to an actual placename, but to simply "a place where there are market goers" who speak different languages, as would be typical of any port city. Roerich (1996, 868) records the placename as Khron pa'i gling and back-translates it into Sanskrit as Kūpadvīpa, perhaps meaning a place where there is a "sandbank," "peninsula," or "island" (Skt. *dvīpa*, Tib. *gling*) with a "water-well" (Skt. *kūpa*, Tib. *khron pa*).

[102] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, vol. 4, 90.7–91.7. See Appendix, 8, for this and the Tibetan passages that follow it.

[103] For details about Atiśa and his relationship with Serlingpa, see Apple 2019.

[104] Martin 2006, 111. Roerich (1996, 868) records Kṣemadeva based on his back-translation of the Tibetan dGe ba'i lha.

[105] Kamboja (sKam bo rtse), or Kāmboja, could refer to a location in Kashmir or elsewhere in northwestern India, or further west to a location in Afghanistan (Deo 1927, 87; Sircar 1971, 195–200). However, given that it is here said to be situated in the east, it might rather refer to a location in North Bengal or Myanmar (Sircar 1971, 150-152, 319).

Cintāmaṇi temple on Tāmradvīpa (Zangs gling[106]) in the south; 4–6) a Mahābala, Hayagrīva, and Trowo Metsek (Khro bo rme brtsegs) temple in the region of Chandhola (Tshan dho la'i gling) in the west; and 7) a Vajradhātu temple in the Unchanging Array Grove (Mi 'gyur bkod pa'i tshal) in the north.[107] Gyalwa Tené adds that Padampa's Kambojian guru (*bla ma skam po tse*) claimed that the temples were "blessed by the Ārya of noble family." Importantly, he concludes this section by affirming that Padampa recollected his past lives as the *paṇḍita*s who commissioned these seven temples.[108] The ability to recollect one's past seven lives, as we will see below, was for Guru Chöwang a *sine qua non* for accurately identifying a seven-times born one.

Gyalwa Tené's student Nyima Senggé extended this proliferation of sevens even further. In his text known as the *Dharma of the Later Pacifying Lineage: The Tradition of Jangchup Künga*, Nyima Senggé gives an account of Padampa's previous lives whose details are slightly different from Gyalwa Tené's.[109] For instance, Jayandhara, Padampa's name in the second of his seven lives, changes here to Sarjanadhari; Meghavarmin, Padampa's name in the sixth of his seven lives above, shifts to his fourth lifetime here; and his name in his sixth lifetime is listed here as Kamaratri. The place names also underdo some changes. Kāmārūpa, Padampa's birthplace in the first of his seven lives above, which corresponds roughly to modern day Assam, is replaced by Bhaghala, which likely refers to Bengal, or its ancient name, Vaṅga, or Vaṅgāla; Bheta, the location in the south, is replaced by Bhetala; the directions of southeast, southwest, and south are added to qualify the birthplaces of his fifth, sixth, and seventh lifetimes, respectively; and the placename of Carasiṁha is added to specify more precisely the location of his seventh birthplace of Trompé/Trönpé Ling.[110] More distinctive still is that Nyima Senggé frames the seven birthplaces in terms of the eight great lands in the four cardinal directions and four intermediate directions from the central position of the Vajrāsana in Magadha. In so doing, Nyima Senggé clearly implies that Padampa's seven births were distributed throughout the entire South Asian world.

Another difference in Nyima Senggé's treatment is that he likewise mentions Padampa having commissioned seven temples in his seven

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[106] Tāmradvīpa (Zangs gling), the "copper island," could refer to the island of Sri Lanka, but there are also other possibilities in South India (Sircar 1971, 316–317).

[107] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 91.2–.4.

[108] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 91.4–.5.

[109] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 331.4–332.7. See Appendix, 9, for the entire Tibetan passage.

[110] On Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla, see Sircar 1971, 131–148.

lifetimes, but without listing their names and locations. Moreover, he also adds significant details missing from Gyalwa Tené's account. Nyima Senggé remarks that since Padampa was learned and accomplished in all seven lifetimes, his efforts to commission the temples were each presaged by his elimination of the doctrinal objections of *tīrthika*s, seven times in total; and his rounding up of the destructive *tīrthika* armies of Garlok (Gar log), also seven times in total—once in each lifetime.[111] He thus brings into play two more sets of seven.

Significantly, this entire episode opens with the backstory of how Padampa's seven successive lifetimes were first set in motion, termed "the story of how he accumulated and purified previously."[112] The story relates that immeasurably many lifetimes before, Padampa acquired faith in a buddha called King of Pure Delight (dGa' ba sbyangs rgyal po). This buddha prophesied that in the future he would be part of Buddha Śākyamuni's entourage. True to the prophecy, he eventually encountered Buddha Śākyamuni and in his presence gave rise to the altruistic resolve set on supreme awakening, whereupon the Buddha gave him the name bodhisattva Ajitanātha (Mi 'pham mgon po) and prophesied that he would tame beings in the hinterland of Tibet. When Padampa in this previous lifetime died, he went to the Tuṣita heaven, received teachings from Maitreya there, and accepted to serve in his stead as regent in the future. Only after that lifetime did his string of seven successive lives as a *paṇḍita* begin in earnest. Based on this account, then, Padampa's status as a seven-timer was bound up with his career as a bodhisattva, which was first set in motion by his encounter with a buddha long before and his subsequent training, first under Buddha Śākyamuni, and then under Maitreya. By implication, moreover, being a seven-timer for Padampa was an integral part of his prophesied role as the next buddha in line after Maitreya.

Nyima Senggé continues to evoke the theme of sevens throughout the rest of his narrative of Padampa's life, structuring his previous lifetimes, his life as Padampa, and his legacy accordingly. For example, he extends the number of Padampa's visits to Tibet beyond three, or even five, maintaining that he in fact visited Tibet "seven times over seven lifetimes."[113] When discussing Padampa's lineage, moreover, he describes how up to his own time there were only seven members:

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[111] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 332.1–.7. See Appendix, 9, for the Tibetan passage.

[112] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 331.4–332.1. See Appendix, 9, for the Tibetan passage.

[113] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 342.1: */de nas skye ba la lan bdun byon pa la /*.

Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Āryadeva, Padampa himself, his student Jangchub Sempa Künga, his student Patsap Tsültrim, and his student, Lama Jetsün, alias Gyalwa Tené.[114] Nyima Senggé presages this passage with a description of how their lineage was passed on in a one-to-one transmission, in which the teaching was sealed by seven different layers of seals, one kind for each of the seven lineage gurus.[115] This rubric of seven seals was evidently borrowed from the *prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* literature, whose centrality for the Pacifying tradition cannot be overstated, but has only been referenced here in passing.[116] In this way, Nyima Senggé, perhaps inspired by the seven seals of the *prajñāpāramitā* and the seven-born status of Padampa, extends the logic of sevens to cover as many aspects of Padampa's life and legacy as possible, such that the number seven becomes one of the governing rubrics of the Pacifying tradition's biographical profile of the guru.

### *e. Avalokiteśvara in Padampa's Life and Legacy*

Compared to the centrality of Avalokiteśvara in Guru Chöwang's life and legacy, the bodhisattva of compassion appears to have played a much more limited role in Padampa Sangyé's Pacifying tradition. This is especially so, as we will discuss in more detail shortly, because for Guru Chöwang the seven-timer flesh was that of Avalokiteśvara. This meant that the pill's mass production, consecration, and consumption, which involved the collective recitation of Avalokiteśvara's seven-syllable mantra, served for him as a premiere medium through which to spread the Avalokiteśvara cult throughout all strata of Tibetan society. As I have illustrated elsewhere, moreover, Guru Chöwang's promotion of the cult of Avalokiteśvara through the *maṇi* pill came in the wake of the popularization of a genealogical account depicting Avalokiteśvara as the male progenitor and enduring protector of the Tibetan people and their land.[117]

Although Avalokiteśvara was never central to the Pacifying tradition in nearly the same way, there is nonetheless a discernible shift in his role over the century or so of the Pacifying collection's formation that reflects traces of many of the dynamics we have

[114] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 423.4–.5.

[115] *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 422.6–423.6.

[116] Martin 2022. For a *prajñāpāramitā* reference, see *Bka' 'gyur* (Sde dge), vol. 31 (*khri brgyad* Ga, *Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri brgyad stong pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*), 195a.5.

[117] Gentry 2023.

examined thus far. It is important to note first that the Pacifying tradition for its own part also features Avalokiteśvara, not as a tutelary deity, per se, but as the famous teacher, through the mediation of the Buddha's meditative power, of the famous *prajñāpāramitā Heart Sūtra* sermon, which constitutes the scriptural core of the Pacifying tradition.[118] Indeed, as has been remarked before, the very name of the Pacifying tradition is an abbreviation of the phrase "the complete pacifier of all suffering" (*sdug bsngal thams cad rab tu zhi bar byed pa*) that appears in the *Heart Sūtra* to describe the potency of its culminating mantra.[119]

In the strata of the Pacifying collection devoted to constructing the biographical profile of Padampa, the blessing of Avalokiteśvara plays a special role. Although Padampa is said to have encountered many different buddhas and bodhisattvas in visionary experiences, Avalokiteśvara appears to have had a particular impact during his birth. In the *Teaching on the Symbols of Pristine Awakened Body*, whose compilation is attributed to Padampa's student Künga, the list of Padampa's physical attributes and their symbolic valences that constitutes the main part of the text begins by telling us that he was "blessed by the Great Compassionate One as he dwelled in his mother's womb, as a symbol for his superiority over all other beings."[120] In *Clarifying the Replies to Questions from his Awakened Speech*, whose compilation is also attributed to Künga, the place blessed by Avalokiteśvara is extended from Padampa's mother's womb to the place of his birth, "the land of Bhetala in the south, the source of precious qualities."[121] Moreover, just below this phrase, the author takes pains to contrast this blessed place in India to the benighted condition of Tibet. Here it is remarked: "Looking out with compassion at this time, when Tibet is ensconced in darkness, he visited here three times."[122] Another text, called the *Torch of Crucial Points for Dispelling Pitfalls*, that also purports to be recorded in writing by Künga, describes both places—Padampa's mother's womb and birthplace—as

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[118] *Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po* (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*) Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 2–5. For a study of the Tibetan canonical recensions of the *Heart Sūtra*, see Silk 1994.

[119] *Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 4.7. Roerich 1996, 867.

[120] *Sku'i rnam dag brdar bstan pa*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 138.2–.3: *'gro[emend. 'grol] ba gzhan las khyad par du 'phags pa'i rtags su | ma'i rum na bzhugs pa'i dus su thugs rje chen pos byin gyis brlabs |*.

[121] *Gsung gi zhus lan rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 211.2–.3: *'phags pa spyan ras gzigs kyis byin gyis brlabs pa'i sa | yon tan rin po che 'byung ba'i gnas | lho phyogs bhe ta la'i yul |*. Roerich (1996, 868) understands this placename as Bebala.

[122] *Gsung gi zhus lan rnam par gsal ba*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 211.6–.7: *bod mun pa'i mag[e. dmag] rum dang 'dra ba'i dus 'dir thugs rjes gzigs nas zhabs kyis lan gsum bcags |*.

"blessed by the Great Compassionate One."[123] His birthplace in South India, moreover, is distinguished on this account as "superior to [other] places."

However, by the time of Künga's student Patsap, writing just a few decades later in his compilation titled the *Ambrosia Elixir-Like Instruction*, the "place blessed by the noble one Avalokiteśvara" no longer describes the birthplace of Padampa in South India, but shifts to Tibet.[124] More significantly, here Tibet newly occupies the center of the three realms and the nine regions of the known South Asian world. This stands in marked contrast to the vision of the Vajrāsana, the place of Buddha Śākyamuni's awakening in Magadha, as the center of the world, which had been the dominant representation of the world and its center among Buddhists in Tibet up until this period.

And yet, despite this marked shift in Tibetan conceptions of Tibet, from a peripheral land of darkness to a central place blessed by Avalokiteśvara, the prestige of India as the source of Buddhism continued and the biographical detail of Padampa's natal relationship with the bodhisattva of compassion persisted in the subsequent layers of his biography. Gyalwa Tené, for instance, in his *Commentarial Compendium on the Twenty-Four Fragments*, still described Padampa's birthplace of Carasiṁha, in the land of Bhetala, as a place "blessed by the Great Compassionate One."[125] And as we witnessed above in the treatment of the seven past lives of Padampa by Tené's student Nyima Senggé, Magadha, and the Vajrāsana, also continued to be construed as the center of the Buddhist world. This seems to track a turn in the opposite direction toward reframing Tibet once again as a hinterland.

Nonetheless, the shift observable here regarding Tibet's position, from a barbaric and peripheral land of darkness to a civilized and central land blessed, and indeed, specially protected by the compassionate eye of Avalokiteśvara himself, surely reflects a window of time when Tibetans had reassessed their place in the Buddhist

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[123] *'Phrang sel gnad kyi sgron ma*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 16.6–17.1: *yul las khyad par 'phags pa lho phyogs tsA[emend. tsa] ra[emend. ri] sing nga dad pa can gyi gling / thugs rje chen pos byind kyis brlabs pa drang srong a rgya'i nags tshal du / /rigs las khyad par du gyurd par bram ze lha'i sras su sku 'khrungs pa / yum gyi lto ba la gnas pa'i tshe thugs rje chen pos byind kyis brlabs pa /*. This text's colophon (vol. 3, 31.3–.6) relates how Jangchub Künga requested and received Padampa's permission to write down these instructions for posterity.

[124] *Bdud rtsi'i zhun mar lta bu'i yi ge*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 1.4: *'phags pa spyan ras gzigs kyis byind kyis brlabs pa'i sa / bod khams gsum gling dgu'i dbus /*. In the colophon the author describes his "compilation" of these instructions, as Padampa gave them to Künga (vol. 3, 13.4). From this detail we can deduce that the compiler, who would have presumably written the opening verses, was most likely Patsap.

[125] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 94.2: *thugs rje chen pos byin gyis brlabs pa'i sa phyogs / tsa ra sing[emend. si] nga dad pa can gyi gling bya ba yin te /*.

world to occupy its center. As Dan Martin has shown, Tibetan self-conceptions locating Tibet at the center of the world are observable in Tibetan country-lists whose initial emergence can be dated to the latter half of the twelfth century.[126]

The changes witnessed in the Pacifying collection's strata overlap with this period. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the tail end of this time frame—around the year 1200—also corresponds to when the major North Indian Buddhist monasteries of Nālandā, Odantapuri, and Vikramaśīla started to be raided by invading Muslim armies, after a prolonged period of their movement across northern India.[127] That for Tibetans Padampa's birth in South India is marked by the special intercession of Avalokiteśvara, and that the bodhisattva's attention shifts to Tibet during the century following Padampa's death there in 1117, thus appears to trace a broader trajectory of the growing sense among Tibetans that with the steady decline of Buddhism in India Tibet would be the legitimate heir to the Buddhist tradition. The rise in popularity of the cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet that followed in Padampa's wake and found particular expression in the revelations, writings, and rituals of Guru Chöwang in the thirteenth century can thus be seen as the continuation of a process set in motion over the previous century, a process indexed by the importance of Avalokiteśvara's blessing, and its movement, from Padampa's mother's womb, to his birthplace in South India, and finally to Tibet, where Padampa, the consummate seven-born-one, would leave his blessed embodiment behind.

### 3. *Seven-Born Flesh in Guru Chöwang's* Maṇi-*Pill Tradition*

This brings us to Guru Chöwang (1212–1270) and his *maṇi*-pill tradition. Guru Chöwang was one of the most prolific and influential

[126] Martin 1994b, 519–521.Martin (1994b, 555fn31) also observes that the twelfth century was also when Tibetans started to distinguish between two types of centers: the geographically central land (*sa tshigs kyi yul dbus*) and the qualitatively, or dharmically central land (*chos tshigs kyi yul dbus*). Also according to Martin (personal communication), these self-conceptions seem to have faded from view as Tibetans reassumed their place at the periphery after the rise of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century.

[127] Eaton (2000, 68–69) gives the year 1202 for the year in which all three monasteries were initially attacked by the commander Bakhtiyar Khalaji. The dates of 1198 for Odantapuri and 1235 for Vikramaśīla are given in Dutt 1962, 356–357, and 359, as cited in Onians 2003. The date of around 1200 for Vikramaśīla's initial devastation is given in Sanderson 2009, 89. For a brief historical account of this period and its impact on Buddhists in India and Tibet, see Elverskog 129–133. For a study that argues for the resilience and flourishing of Buddhism in India in the wake of these devastating attacks, see McKeown 2019.

visionaries in the history of Tibet.[128] As part of his visionary revelations he picked up and ran with the theme of the seven-born flesh in ways that were overtly prefigured in the Pacifying tradition's image of Padampa, and just as the Pacifying collection was brought to completion in the early- to mid-thirteenth century. Guru Chöwang's career as a Treasure revealer began in earnest in the water-snake year of 1233, when he was 22 years old.[129] This was nearly ten years after he first discovered his visionary prowess at the age of 13 through the discovery of a Treasure certificate (*kha byang*).[130] During his childhood and throughout this interval of a decade, Guru Chöwang received from his father and other gurus extensive training in basic Buddhist theory and practice, as well as in the different systems of medicine, astrology, and tantra—both new and old translations—that were then circulating in his native homeland of Lhodrak.[131] The erudition that Guru Chöwang developed through his training is evinced not only in his significant revelatory output, but also in his compositions on topics ranging from history, poetry, autobiography, and Buddhist doctrine to contemplative and ritual practice, and material culture and the arts.[132]

Guru Chöwang divided his career as a Treasury revealer into 18 revelation episodes, plus a nineteenth "mind Treasure."[133] These excavations yielded a diversity of scriptural literature, such as tantras, commentaries, narratives, contemplative instructions, and ritual procedures, among others; along with numerous material objects imbued with magical properties. Unearthed in his revelations were a miniature statue believed to be a living "representative" of Padmasambhava, a silver vase, a brahmin's skull, a stone with Avalokiteśvara's seven-syllable mantra engraved on it, ritual implements, Buddha relics, and most importantly for the present discussion, the *flesh of seven-times-born ones*.

His initial discovery of the flesh, which came in the form of "seven-times born brahmin-flesh pills" (*bram ze skye bdun sha ril*), occurred in the dragon year of 1244, 11 years into his visionary exploits.[134] By his

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[128] For short biographies of Guru Chöwang, see Dudjom 1991, 760–770, Leschly 2007, and Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Taye 2011, 101–106.

[129] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 2, *Gter 'byung chen mo*, 121.2: *chu sbrul*.

[130] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 2, *Gter 'byung chen mo*, 114.7–121.1.

[131] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 1, *Gu ru chos dbang gi sku'i rnam thar skabs brgyad ma*, 13.7–20.4. Guru Chöwang also received Bön teachings as part of his training.

[132] For more on his writings, revelations, and legacy, see Gyatso 1993 and 1994; and Phillips 2004.

[133] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 2, *Gter 'byung chen mo*, 114.1–193; and vol. 2, *Gter kha bcwo brgyad kyi rnam[emend. rnams] grangs gsal ba'i rnam thar*, 195–209.

[134] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 2, *Gter 'byung chen mo*, 168.2–171.2.

own account, he revealed these flesh pills at Palgyi Pukring, in Kharchu, Lhodrag (Lho brag mkhar chu dpal gyi phug rings), as part of his eleventh Treasure revelation. Together with the flesh he revealed the ritual cycle of the *Quintessential Assembly of the Great Compassionate One* prescribing how to mix the flesh with other substances to manufacture larger quantities of pills and consecrate them for distribution and consumption through intensive *sādhana* practice featuring a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara and a seven-syllable version of his mantra—*oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ hrīḥ*.[135] The *Quintessential Assembly* also included narratives depicting the flesh's origin in India and its circulation and concealment in Tibet.

Based on a certificate (*kha byang*) revealed then at Palgyi Pukring, later that year and over the following two years until 1246, Guru Chöwang went on to excavate at Samyé Argya Paling (dPal bsam yas a rgya dpal gling) and at Chakpurchen Kharchu (mKhar chu lcags phur can) much more seven-times born flesh and, perhaps of equal importance, another ritual cycle delineating more precisely how to manufacture and consecrate pills from it.[136] These Treasures were part of his thirteenth and fourteenth revelations.

Guru Chöwang seems to have devoted considerable time, energy, and resources toward promoting the *maṇi* pill. According to his biographical corpus, immediately following his initial revelation of the flesh in 1244 at Palgyi Pukring, Guru Chöwang went on a *maṇi* pill spree. He organized and oversaw the production and consecration of the pill by staging 53 separate ritual sessions throughout Kharchu; thereafter he distributed the pills and their consecration ritual as far and wide as possible.[137] The importance of this pill tradition for Guru Chöwang clearly centered on the key role it could play in his multi-pronged efforts to disseminate the practice of Avalokiteśvara and the recitation of the seven-syllable form of his mantra throughout all strata of Tibetan society. In this, Guru Chöwang's revelation and popularization of the *maṇi* pill must be understood in the context of his wider efforts to initiate all Tibetans into the practice of the Great Compassionate One, his promotion among the populace of collective seven-syllable *maṇi*-mantra recitation sessions—362 times, in total—

[135] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1982, and date unknown.

[136] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 2, *Gter 'byung chen mo*, 172.3–175.5, 175.5–178.1. The liturgy was revealed specifically from Arya pa lo'i gling, at bSam yas (*Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs dgos pa kun 'byung*, in Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug 1982, vol. 1, 382.1–385.1.

[137] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 2, *Gter 'byung chen mo*, 170.4–.171.2.

and his composition of associated treatises such as his own version of the *Maṇi Kabum* (*Maṇi bka' 'bum*).[138]

Seen in this light, the *maṇi* pill and its liturgical framing were clearly the lynchpin in Guru Chöwang's broader proselytizing program. The basic tantra he revealed as part of the *Quintessential Essence of the Great Compassionate One* ritual cycle was among the first scripture to extol the superiority of the seven-syllable form of Avalokiteśvara's mantra.[139] This tantra also includes the very first template of the seven-times-born flesh *maṇi*-pill consecration rite. In this, Guru Chöwang appears to have conceived the mantra and the flesh—both marked with the number seven—as intertwined sonic and visceral media integral to his project of spreading the propitiation of Avalokiteśvara throughout the entire Tibetan Buddhist world.[140] Thanks surely in large part to Guru Chöwang's wider promotional efforts, the flesh-pill's narrative charter, ingredients, and ritual procedure unearthed in his revelations—all of which feature the bodhisattva of compassion Avalokiteśvara and communal recitation of the special seven-syllable form of his mantra—together went on to become the basic blueprint for a major tradition of *maṇi*-pill production and consecration that has been practiced continuously up to the present period.[141]

Nowhere in this is Padampa Sangyé or the Pacifying tradition directly cited as inspiration. Their likely influence on Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill comes into focus only when we take stock of what Guru Chöwang had to say about seven-times born ones and their flesh, against the backdrop of the Pacifying collection's seven-born lore, outlined above, and Guru Chöwang's Buddhist training and other possible precedents. When we survey Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill ritual for some clues, its basic format is as follows:

1. Assessing the Seven-Born (*skye bdun brtags pa*)
2. The Method of Concocting Pills (*ril bu sbyar thabs*)
3. The Actual Method of Accomplishment (*bsgrub pa'i thabs dngos*)
4. Receiving *Siddhi* (*dngos grub blang ba*)
5. Acting for the Benefit of Others (*gzhan don bya ba*)

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[138] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 1, *Gu ru chos dbang gi sku'i rnam thar skabs brgyad ma*, 38.2–39.5. For a study of the *Maṇi Kabum*, see Phillips 2004.

[139] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1982, *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, 27–76; and Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug date unknown, *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs snying 'dus pa rig pa ye shes mchog gi rgyud*, pdf. 43–86.

[140] Phillips's (2004) Ph.D. dissertation analyzes this dimension of Guru Chöwang's career in some detail. I also discuss this in Gentry 2023.

[141] For its foundational role in the tradition of Ratna gling pa, still practiced today, see Gentry 2023.

6. Requisite Commitments (*dgos kyi dam tshig*)
7. Virtuous Benefit (*dgos ched yon tan*)[142]

It is evident from these seven division headings that the liturgy includes everything from identifying the active ingredient, manufacturing pills out of it, consecrating the pills, and distributing them to the public. Most important for our present purposes is the "assessment," or identification of the pills' main ingredient—here simply called the flesh of a seven-born one.

Unlike the Pacifying tradition, Guru Chöwang did not trace his flesh to Indian writings imported to Tibet and translated into Tibetan. Instead, as briefly outlined above, Guru Chöwang claimed to have excavated the flesh, along with related liturgies and narratives, from Treasure caches putatively deposited in the landscape and ancient temples of Tibet in the eighth and ninth centuries by the Indian tantric master Padmasambhava during his years teaching tantric Buddhism to the Tibetan imperial court.[143] Guru Chöwang's Treasure tradition, which he is credited for helping systematize, has it that Padmasambhava brought the flesh to Tibet and concealed it there to be excavated over the ensuing centuries by prophesied Tibetan Treasure discovers when the time would be most appropriate for its consecration and distribution.[144]

Most crucially, Guru Chöwang's revelation states in the "assessment" section that such excavated flesh was only sourced from those who had recalled their previous successive seven lifetimes, and publicly proclaimed while still alive, "Through the force of my compassion I have taken seven births. All beings who enjoy my flesh will reach Buddhahood."[145] This clearly resonates with the narratives reviewed above that depict Padampa as a seven-times born bodhisattva who recollected all seven rebirths and made final dying requests that his corpse-flesh be consumed accordingly. But pushing this theme further, Guru Chöwang's revelation states that such extraordinary people should be understood as emanations of Avalokiteśvara, who out of his boundless altruism took rebirth as pure Buddhist brahmins for seven consecutive lifetimes to render the bodily corpse of his seventh incarnation—imbued with the merit and wisdom

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[142] *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun pa* (Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug 1982, 189.3–196.5); *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun* (Guru Chos dbang date unknown, pdf. 326–331.7). For a Tibetan edition and English translation, see Gentry 2023, 167–182.

[143] Tsogyal 1993; Gyatso 1993, 1996, 1998.

[144] For more on Guru Chöwang's role in systematizing the Treasure tradition, see Gyatso 1994.

[145] Gentry 2023, 177.

accrued to the consciousness-continuum over the course of these seven lifetimes—potent enough to bring myriad benefits to beings. Despite the flesh's new exalted status, however, the logic at work here seems to follow the same basic pattern as we witnessed with Padampa's seven lifetimes. Not only does the consciousness continuum change bodies seven times, but each shift between lifetimes changes the body, successively imbuing each new embodiment with greater potency.

A history that serves as a charter myth for one of Guru Chöwang's flesh revelations—that which originated from a brahmin named Stainless Essence (Dri med snying po)—suggests that also much like Padampa, seven-times-born ones should be highly learned *paṇḍita*s.[146] It narrates that in Avalokiteśvara's lifetime as Stainless Essence, the seventh and final incarnation in the series, he lived for 500 years, during which time he mastered the five fields of knowledge. Unlike Padampa, however, and the controversies surrounding his cremation, upon Stainless Essence's passing in Nepal, his corpse was promptly divided into five parts and distributed to five different Buddhist masters, who each carried their share off to India, China, and Tibet, respectively. It continues that Padmasambhava consecrated his share, which consisted of the head, spine, and internal organs, formed it into pills, and concealed it in thirteen different Treasure caches. An important detail of this narrative is that the bodhisattva's corpse flesh should be received intact, *not cremated*. This specification is echoed in the corresponding ritual text, which is careful to specify that the flesh, once procured, should be desiccated, and separated out before use.[147] In this, it would seem that Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill was well equipped to circumvent the controversies that surround the passing, funeral arrangements, and relic distribution of an esteemed Buddhist teacher in Tibet, as we saw amply reflected in the development of Padampa's biographical profile.

Another important aspect of this narrative is its emphasis on the necessity of ritual intercession, despite the flesh's intrinsic potency. Guru Chöwang highlights this feature in his influential taxonomy of Treasures. There he classifies the flesh of the seven born alongside wish-fulling jewels, skull cups with auspicious traits, and astounding samaya substances as "supreme Treasure substances" (*mchog gi rdzas gter*), "which appear through the dynamism of the treasure of space manifesting in terms of the external environment and its internal contents." [148] And yet, despite their supremacy, he nonetheless

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[146] Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug date unknown, pdf. 455–457. For a Tibetan edition and English translation of this text, see Gentry 2023, 159–162.

[147] Gentry 2023, 163 and 177.

[148] *Gter 'byung chen mo,* Gu ru chos kyi dbang dbang 1979, vol. 2, 81.6–.7: */de la mchog gi rdzas gter zhes bya ba ni/ de yang nam mkha'i gter rtsal phyi snod / nang bcud du byung*

includes these under the broader category of "common external material Treasures" (*phyi thun mongs rdzas kyi gter*). In this, we glimpse something of the fundamental ambiguity of the flesh for Guru Chöwang—it is intrinsically potent, but nonetheless requires intensive communal ritual treatment, or "accomplishment," for its intrinsic potency to be maximized and yoked to loftier Buddhist aims. This insistence on ritual mediation, and pill formation, clearly echoes the Pacifying tradition's similar emphasis.

It is important to note in this regard that interpreting the seven-born flesh mentioned in Indian Buddhist tantras in keeping with standard Mahāyāna bodhisattva discourse as originating with advanced bodhisattvas and their altruistic commitment to benefit all beings through giving their own bodies was certainly not the most common interpretation that appears in the Indian Buddhist tantric commentarial literature.[149] We see this bodhisattva ethos clearly reflected in the Pacifying tradition's apotheosis of Padampa, surveyed above. We also see this interpretative current voiced by the celebrated eleventh to twelfth century northeastern Indian Buddhist scholar Abhayākaragupta in his *Sampuṭatantra* commentary, the *Āmnāyamañjarī*.[150] There, the Indian scholar describes seven-timers as not just beings whose purity unwittingly propels them through seven successive human rebirths. More specifically, he states, they are bodhisattvas whose bodies become potent forces of beneficial activity

*ba'i dbang gis rin po che yid bzhin du re ba skong pa lta bu dang ka pA la mtshan bzangs dang / skye ba bdun pa'i sha dang / dam rdzas rnad du byung pa rnams so/*. For more on Guru Chöwang's survey of the Tibetan Treasure revelation, see Gyatso 1994.

149 For discussion of the range of interpretations of the seven-times-born flesh in Indian Buddhist tantric commentarial literature, see Gray 2005; Gray 2007, 206–209, 367–369; Snellgrove 2010, 71–73, 86–87; and Gentry 2022, 91–96. For detailed analysis of Mahāyāna Buddhist conceptions regarding the perfection of the bodhisattva's body in conjunction with the perfection of their mind, and the associated conception of the bodhisattva's perfection of generosity as culminating with the sacrifice of their bodies to benefit beings, see Mrozik 2007 and Ohnuma 2007, respectively.

150 Abhayākaragupta 2015 (D1198), vol. 1, 886.5/6–887.3/4. For a Sanskrit edition and English translation of the *Sampuṭatantra*, see Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2020. Thanks to the work of Bühnemann 1992, and Hori 2019, Abhayākaragupta's dates are now coming into sharper focus. For a chronology of some of Abhayākaragupta's works, see Bühnemann (1992, 125); she proposes the year of 1113 or 1120 as the most likely date for his completion of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* commentary, which, she also observes, was likely written over a long period of time. This date can now be recalibrated based on Hori (2019, 51) to the year 1115/1116. Many thanks to Daisey Cheung for bringing Hori's important paper to my attention.

through the stabilization and materialization of their bodhisattva vow and its attendant ethical conduct.[151]

Where Guru Chöwang seems to have been innovative, however, taking a step further than both Abhayākaragupta and the Pacifying tradition, was in connecting the seven-born flesh specifically to Avalokiteśvara and claiming to excavate the flesh in Tibet together with narratives depicting its origins, and Avalokiteśvara-centered liturgies featuring the seven-syllable form of his mantra that stipulate how to form the flesh into pills and consecrate it for maximum efficacy.[152] In this he brought the flesh, with all its transgressive tantric connotations, into the sphere of mainstream Mahāyāna values centering on the bodhisattva ethos and the veneration of their relics, focused specifically on the bodhisattva of compassion. And yet, despite the novelty of these connections, it is clear from our survey of the Pacifying collection above, that Guru Chöwang was by no means the first person in Tibet to emphasize the consumption of seven-timer flesh and to identify the seven timer as a bodhisattva. The figure of Padampa and his successive generations of students preceded Guru Chöwang in this by well over a century.

Neither was Guru Chöwang necessarily the first Treasure revealer who claimed to have excavated seven-born flesh in Tibet. There is some evidence that in claiming to reveal the flesh in Tibet he was following in the footsteps of other Treasure revealers before him, particularly Nyangral Nyima Özer (Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192), the renowned Treasure revealer and scholar whom Guru Chöwang overtly emulated in his efforts to promote the cult of Avalokiteśvara, among many other aspects of his revelatory career, to the point of even claiming himself to be Nyangral's reincarnation.[153] One of Nyangral's earliest biographies records him as having excavated the "skull of a seven-born one" (*skye bdun thod pa*) on one occasion; and "the flesh of a seven-born one" (*skye bdun sha*) on another.[154] However, despite these and other scattered references to the seven-times born one in Nyangral's biographical corpus, which I will return to in the conclusion, there is no evidence that the flesh was a major facet of his religious career, nor that he had developed a pill tradition connecting it with Avalokiteśvara or any other bodhisattva. He does not mention the flesh in his *Copper Island* (*Zangs gling ma*) biography of Padmasambhava and it is likewise missing from his

[151] For translation and brief discussion of these passages in Abhayākaragupta's commentary, see Gentry 2022, 94–96.

[152] The details and kinship resonances of this innovation are analyzed in Gentry 2023.

[153] Hirshberg 2016, 60. For more on the relationship between Guru Chöwang and Nyangrel Nyima Özer, see Phillips 2004 and Hirshberg 2016, 2017.

[154] Myang ston Rig 'dzin lhun grub 'od zer 1979–1980, 340.5 and 342.3.

*History of Buddhism*.[155] When it appears, as it seldomly does, in Nyangral's biographies, the flesh is construed as an esoteric and transgressive substance, much as it is in the Indian Buddhist tantras that first mention it. Unlike Guru Chöwang, and Abhayākaragupta before him, Nyangral appears to have made no attempt to connect the flesh's transgressive associations with the bodhisattva ethos.

The Pacifying collection thus emerges as Guru Chöwang's most likely inspiration. But what, if any, contact did Guru Chöwang have with the Pacifying tradition? As reviewed above, the earliest collection of Pacifying texts currently available to us, whose early layers include texts that had presumably already been in circulation since before and shortly after Padampa's death in the early twelfth century, was brought to completion just before Guru Chöwang's time and would have therefore been fresh during his childhood. This is corroborated by Guru Chöwang's biographical corpus, which records that he was indeed well familiar with facets of the Pacifying tradition from an early age. It is reported there that when he was fifteen years old, which would have been 1226 according to Tibetan calculation, he studied and practiced the Pacifying tradition, specifically the early transmission (*skabs dang po*, *bka' babs dang po*), under the tutelage of the *lopbön* from Tsurtö and his son (slob dpon mTshur stod yab sras); and the Ma, So, and Kam lineages of the middle transmission (*bka' babs bar pa'i rma so ka[m] gsum*), under the guidance of his own father.[156] He also received then from the *lopbön* and his son Mahākāruṇika ritual cycles according to the Latö and Kharak traditions (*thugs rje chen po la stod lugs* / *kha rag lugs*).[157]

In this, Guru Chöwang's Buddhist training as a teenager included his reception, in close succession, of facets of the Pacifying tradition and Avalokiteśvara rituals. However, nowhere in descriptions of Guru Chöwang's training is there any mention of the third and final Pacifying transmission, which corresponds with the collection under investigation in this study that is filled with seven-times born flesh lore. Whether this omission was because the latest collection was not in circulation among Guru Chöwang's gurus during his years as a student, his gurus were not interested in it, his bibliographers edited the details of his training to exclude it, or for some other reason is

[155] For the *Copper Island* (*Zangs gling ma*), see Tsogyal 1999, Doney 2014, and Hirshberg 2016; and for Nyangral's *History of Buddhism* (*Chos 'byung*) see Nyang nyi ma 'od zer 1988 and Hirshberg 2016.

[156] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug, vol. 1, *Gu ru chos dbang gi sku'i rnam thar skabs brgyad ma*, 17.6–18.2. For charts of the early lineage, and the Ma, So, and Kam lineages of the middle transmission, see Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Taye 2019, 514–521.

[157] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug, vol. 1, *Gu ru chos dbang gi sku'i rnam thar skabs brgyad ma*, 17.7–18.1.

difficult to know with any degree of certainty. This absence starts to look particularly peculiar when learning that Nyangral's early biographical corpus includes details of his having received all three transmissions, with emphasis on the later transmission, whatever form this may have assumed during Nyangral's life in the twelfth century.[158] Given Guru Chöwang's close emulation of Nyangral's life and revelatory career, why Guru Chöwang's biographical corpus does not have him receive this final transmission too must be left to conjecture.

### *4. Final Considerations*

Now that we have surveyed the growth and transformation of the theme of the seven-born one throughout the Pacifying collection and engaged in targeted comparisons with Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition some final reflections are in order. First and foremost, the body of evidence presented here suffices to strongly suggest that the Pacifying tradition, and specifically this tradition's narrative figuration of its putative Indian founder Padampa Sangyé, significantly inspired Guru Chöwang's seven-times born flesh *maṇi*-pill revelation. Over the roughly one hundred and thirty year period from Padampa Sangyé's death in 1117, up until when Guru Chöwang first began unearthing the seven-born flesh and its associated literature in 1244—starting shortly before Nyangral's time and extending until about fifty years after his passing—the Pacifying tradition was busily endeavoring to locate the seven-born one *cum* bodhisattva in Tibet through composing a combination of literary forms, all centering on the life, teachings, death, and especially, the embodiment, of Padampa himself.

It is evident in the gradual apotheosis of Padampa as Tibet's very own seven-times born bodhisattva that throughout the successive narrative iterations of his final dying requests, cremation, previous seven lives, birth, and more, his trans-corporeal body centrally figured as a generative nexus through which to creatively reimagine the Pacifying tradition over the century plus after Padampa's death. The visionary writings Padampa brought to Tibet, and that subsequently were enshrined as the core of the Pacifying collection, set this process in motion through emphasizing the boon of flight and other astounding results that would be granted from consuming the flesh. Throughout this literature the flesh is framed as part of, or continuous with the transgressive five fleshes and five ambrosias of tantric sacraments. However, once Padampa came to be identified as a seven-

[158] Chos kyi 'od zer, Myang ston bSod nams seng ge, Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 1978, vol. 1, 91.2, and 93.2.

timer himself, thanks in large part to his vaguely suggestive final dying requests—which, you may recall, warn how others with no familiarity would be mistaken about this unusual aspect of his corporeality—the image of Padampa the seven-born bodhisattva was gradually accentuated and developed by Künga and the subsequent generations of Pacifying lineage holders until it became a defining feature of Padampa's persona.

With this development, the seven-timer flesh *cum* Padampa shifted from a resolutely transgressive substance to a relic born from Padampa's training as a bodhisattva over the course of his seven previous lifetimes. A backstory was eventually supplied that links the first of his seven previous lives with the moment he embarked upon the bodhisattva path and his training under Buddha Śākyamuni and the future Buddha Maitreya. With this shift from antinomian substance to relic also came a flood of new associations, centering not on esoteric and transgressive tantric values, but on mainstream Buddhist ones, in which the flesh was resolutely construed as a relic from a seven-times born bodhisattva whose birth was blessed by none other than Avalokiteśvara. This change ushered in the number seven as the favorite rubric for organizing Padampa's life, legacy, and past lives, as the logic of sevens came to be applied to as many aspects of his persona as possible.

This renewed emphasis on Padampa's sacred trans-corporeal embodiment also gave rise to tensions. Scholars writing in the Pacifying tradition attempted to account for discrepancies in the narrative record by reinterpreting the account of Padampa's dying request and, at the same time, retelling the story of his funeral and relic distribution to accord with his last wishes. Meanwhile, scholars in the adjacent Severance tradition alternatively attempted to account for discrepancies in the narrative tradition by negotiating between the physio-moral assumptions of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism, in which a seven-born bodhisattva should necessarily be physically attractive, above all, on the one hand, and the narrative and iconographic depictions of Padampa as extremely unattractive by Tibetan standards of beauty, on the other.

The images of Padampa's trans-corporeal identity and the proliferation of sevens in the Pacifying tradition seem to have found their way into the *maṇi* pill and its ritual treatment. Not only does Guru Chöwang's *maṇi* pill feature the seven-times born flesh as its main active ingredient. As outlined above, the liturgy associated with it also newly advocates a seven-syllable form of Avalokiteśvara's mantra as crucial for the flesh-pill's consecration. Guru Chöwang's preference for adding the seed syllable *hrīḥ* to the usual six-syllable form of Avalokiteśvara's mantra *oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* is widely

acknowledged as his revelatory innovation by critics and acolytes alike.[159] The reason for this innovation does not seem to have only been to distinguish his Avalokiteśvara revelations from its predecessors, although this could have certainly been a factor.[160] More fundamentally, I would argue, Guru Chöwang's preference for the seven-syllable mantra was intimately intertwined with his revelation of the flesh and the *maṇi*-pill tradition in which it features. For one, the tantra of the *Quintessential Assemble of the Great Compassionate One*, where Guru Chöwang's seven-born-flesh *maṇi* pill first appears, presents itself as a revealed scriptural source for Guru Chöwang's emphasis on the seven-syllable form of Avalokiteśvara's mantra.[161] Chapter Three of this tantra extolls the seven-syllable version of Avalokiteśvara's mantra as its "secret" form, implying that it is both more esoteric and vital than the usual six-syllable version, which the tantra calls its "external" form, and the eleven-syllable version, which it calls its "internal" form.[162] Chapter Five of the tantra builds on this distinction to overtly promote the seven-syllable form's special significance and efficacy.[163] This discussion gives way to the *maṇi*-pill ritual instructions, among other liturgical procedures featuring the mantra, in Chapter Six.[164] This sequence of chapters suggests that the seven-syllable mantra could have been promoted specifically to pair well with the seven-times born flesh.

In keeping with this theme of sevens, Guru Chöwang's first revealed scripture devoted to elaborating on the seven-born flesh *maṇi*-pill consecration is structured according to a seven-fold procedure.[165] Moreover, this seven-fold liturgy forms part of what came to be designated as the "seven-fold activities," delineating seven different ritual procedures in which *maṇi* pill production and consecration is only one. It is also this seven-fold format of the liturgy that was incorporated into the *Quintessential Assemble of the Great Compassionate tantra*, mentioned just above.[166] All this suggests that Guru Chöwang's emphasis on the seven-syllable form of the mantra

[159] For more on Guru Chöwang's innovative emphasis on the superiority of the mantra's seven-syllable form, see Phillips 2004, 181–189, 340–343; Gentry 2023, 105–110.

[160] Phillips 2004, 341.

[161] Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1982, *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, 27–76; and Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug date unknown, *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yongs snying 'dus pa rig pa ye shes mchog gi rgyud*, pdf. 43–86.

[162] Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 36.1–.3.

[163] Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 45.4–52.2.

[164] Gu ru chos dbang 1982, 59.3–61.1.

[165] Guru Chos dbang 1982, *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa'i las tshogs bdun pa*, 189.3–196.5.

[166] For analysis of this connection, see Gentry 2023, 135–138.

was born in connection with the seven-born flesh, as an extension of the proliferation of sevens that we first witness in the Pacifying collection.

A shared emphasis on "aligning auspicious connections" (*rten 'brel sgrig*) in both the Treasure tradition and the Pacifying tradition gives added credence to this suggestion. Simply put, it would have been deemed highly auspicious according to both traditions to think about the seven-born in terms of sets of sevens. Seven seals, seven incarnations, seven birthplaces, seven names, seven commissioned temples, seven defeats of *tīrthika*s in doctrinal debate, seven defeats of their armies, seven lineage gurus, and seven trips to Tibet, in the Pacifying tradition, created the auspicious circumstances for the seven-times born brahmin flesh to underdo seven stages of ritual preparation, as part of seven kinds of rituals, and, most importantly, to be incanted with a seven-syllable form of Avalokiteśvara's mantra, in Guru Chöwang's extension of this principle of sevens into his pill tradition. Moreover, that Padampa recollected all seven lifetimes and was learned in each marks a striking parallel to the requisite criteria for determining who, in Guru Chöwang's tradition, might in fact be construed as a seven-times born emanation of Avalokiteśvara.

That for Guru Chöwang the seven-born flesh originates with a bodhisattva at all, let alone the bodhisattva of compassion, also suggests a link to the Pacifying tradition. Padampa's trips to Tibet and his death there in Tibet in 1117, as well as the apotheosis of his seven-timer flesh that shortly followed, overlaps with the years of Abhayākaragupta's literary activity in northeastern India in the last half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth. More specifically, 1117, the putative year of Padampa's passing, corresponds very closely to Abhayākaragupta's authorship of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, which was completed in 1115/1116, and, as mentioned above, is relatively unusual among Indian tantric commentaries in interpreting the seven-timer resolutely as a bodhisattva. [167] In addition, Abhayākaragupta was active primarily at the monastery of Vikramaśīla, in modern day Bihar, close to its border with West Bengal, and almost due south of the southern Tibetan region of Dingri. He also served as abbot there.[168] According to Padampa's biographical corpus, Padampa received ordination at Vikramaśīla as a teenager, in which he was given the ordination name Kamalaśīla, before going on to become an itinerant yogin.[169] These connections could suggest that there was something of a pan-regional fascination with the seven-times-born flesh—specifically as construed to belong to advanced

[167] Gühnemann 1992, 125; Hori 2019, 51.
[168] Lee 2003, 15.
[169] *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 94.5.

bodhisattvas and to thereby serve as the basis for flesh-relic pills—during the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century that was prevalent at Vikramaśīla and perhaps circulated throughout northeastern Indian, Nepal, southern Tibet, and other adjacent regions.

But what about the influence of Nyangral Nyima Özer, then, of whom Guru Chöwang claimed to be a reincarnation, and, in so doing, patterned his life most closely after? As mentioned above, although Nyangral is said to have revealed seven-born flesh, it seems to have been a marginal part of his activities, with no direct link to a relic-pill tradition featuring Avalokiteśvara, or any other bodhisattva for that matter. Yet there is striking evidence to suggest that Nyangral's fledgling interest in the seven-times born flesh was nonetheless sparked by exposure to the Pacifying tradition, specifically the later transmission, and more specifically, its visionary literature. Nyangral's familiarity with the Pacifying tradition is amply attested in biographical details depicting his reception and practice of all three transmissions, and in past-life narratives depicting an encounter and exchange with Padampa himself. But perhaps the most compelling support for such a connection is that Nyangral reports a visionary experience that seems to mimic several of the details in the opening narrative frame of *Songs of the Glorious Vajraḍākinī*s, discussed above when reviewing the Pacifying tradition's visionary literature.[170] Recall that this narrative opening depicts a group of *karmaḍākinī*s murdering a seven-times born prince to perform a *gaṇacakra* feast in a charnel ground with his flesh and blood, and thereby invoke *jñānaḍākinī*s from space to sing their songs. Nyangral, in recounting his vision, locates himself precisely in the same charnel ground of Aṭṭāṭṭahāsa (Ha ha sgrogs), surrounded by *ḍākinī*s. There he receives from them and ingests his share of the feast, a feast he is assured is formed from the corpse of "a seven-born one," although the identity of the corpse is different.

Yet another tantalizing clue concerning Nyangral's connection with the Pacifying tradition appears in a biographical vignette in which he is depicted "practicing based on an auspicious-connection statue of Padampa" (*pha dam pa rten 'brel gyi sku la brten nas bsgrubs*).[171] Through so doing, Nyangral has a visionary experience in which the auspicious-connection statue is in fact Padampa. Padampa goes on to teach Nyangral the entirety of the Pacifying tradition, in all three

[170] Chos kyi 'od zer, Myang ston bSod nams seng ge, Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 1978, vol. 1, 129.4–132.2. Mention of the "seventh born one" and the charnel ground Aṭṭāṭṭahāsa (Ha ha sgrogs) is on 130.1–.3.

[171] Chos kyi 'od zer, Myang ston bSod nams seng ge, Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 1978, vol. 1, 93.2–.5.

transmissions (*zhi byed bka' babs rnam gsum thams cad*), such that Nyangral's Pacifying lineage contained no intervening figure between himself and Padampa. Although Guru Chöwang's biographical corpus claims that he never received the third and final transmission, as someone who closely emulated Nyangral and was therefore clearly an avid reader of his biographical corpus, he would have certainly been aware of Nyangral's high esteem for it. Could Guru Chöwang's biographers have deliberately left out this detail, lest it give rise to suspicions that his seven-born flesh revelations were not rooted in the eighth-century Treasure concealments of Padmasambhava, as claimed, but in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Pacifying tradition of Padampa Sangyé?

These and other lingering questions notwithstanding, the unprecedented importance that Guru Chöwang gave the seven-born flesh throughout his revelatory career and Avalokiteśvara proselytization efforts, when analyzed against the backdrop of the Pacifying collection's gradual apotheosis of the flesh during the century leading up to Guru Chöwang's time, the many common themes shared between the *maṇi* pill and the Pacifying literature, and Nyangral's very different involvement with the Pacifying tradition and the seven-born flesh, together point toward the Pacifying tradition, and the body of Padampa himself, as a major source of inspiration for Guru Chöwang's *maṇi*-pill tradition.

It is important to add in this connection that Padampa's death, and the apotheosis of his body as a seven-times born bodhisattva that followed in its wake, influenced more than just Guru Chöwang and the birth of his *maṇi* pill, although this is perhaps its most enduring and widespread impact. Padampa, as the first and most paradigmatic Indian seven-born bodhisattva to leave his sacred remains in Tibet, served as a charter for Tibetans to newly assume the mantle of seven-born ones themselves. Thus, above and beyond the promise of finding seven-times born flesh buried in Tibet's landscape and ancient temples, a promise which has captivated Tibetan Treasure revealers from the time soon after Padampa until the present period, Tibetans could newly represent themselves as seven-born ones too, and in emulation of Padampa, give final dying requests to their closest students concerning how to handle their corpses and fashion them into pills. In this way, they could gain prestige while alive and be assured of an enduring legacy in the hearts, minds, and stomachs, of their immediate circle of students and the wider populace.

Guru Chöwang claimed the status of a seven-born one for himself and received substantial criticism on this account after his passing.[172]

[172] Gentry 2023, 105–110.

But Guru Chöwang was not alone in this regard. There is an episode in the biographical corpus of Urgyan Rinchen Pal (U rgyan Rin chen dpal, 1230–1309), for instance, called "Singing the Song, 'I am a Seven Born' in Kyidrong" (*skyid grong kho bo skye ba bdun zhes pa'i mgur gsungs pa*). In it, Urgyanpa feeds his blood to students as a blessing and proclaims himself to have been someone born for seven successive lifetimes as a human being.[173] Moreover, as I have illustrated elsewhere, the *Testament of the Lotus-Born One*, revealed in 1352 by Orgyan Lingpa, narrates an episode in which Padmasambhava identifies prince Lharjé Chokdrup Gyalpo (Gyal sras lha rje Mchog grub rgyal po), grandson of emperor Trisong Detsen (Khri srong lde'u btsan), as a seven-born one.[174] Padmasambhava goes on to prophecy that the prince's sacred corporeality will bring a range of benefits over the course of his next thirteen incarnations, all of whom are destined to serve as esteemed Treasure revealers, and include among their ranks none other than the fourteenth century Orgyan Lingpa himself. These are but three provocative examples, in addition to the *maṇi*-pill tradition itself, of how Padampa's death and embodiment left their mark on Tibetan conceptions of sacred corporeality, death, and the cult of relics.[175] That Tibetans evidently started to feel more comfortable starting in the thirteenth century with identifying themselves as seven-times born ones likely reflects their growing confidence as the legitimate heirs of Indian Buddhism. The decline of Buddhism in north India ushered in by the destruction of major monasteries there around the year 1200 led Tibetans to reconceptualize their place in the Buddhist world. The time was ripe for seven-times born ones to be born among Tibetans and for Indian seven-times born ones' flesh to be recoverable from Tibet's landscape and temples.

The *maṇi* pill revelation of Guru Chöwang, by developing the theme of the seven-born bodhisattva into a more public, and more visceral way to performatively interact with the Buddhist special dead and propitiate Avalokiteśvara at the same time, should thus be understood as part of the legacy of Padampa Sangyé and the Pacifying tradition that formed after his passing. Through the *maṇi*-pill's ongoing production and consumption, and the continued circulation of literary images of the seven-born flesh and its magical properties, Padampa Sangyé's trans-corporeal seven-born legacy lives on to this day, even if only faintly, in the *imaginaire* of communities throughout

[173] Bsod nams 'od zer 1997, 258–259.
[174] Gentry 2022, 110–111.
[175] There are several other examples throughout history of illustrious Tibetan religious specialists who identified themselves or were posthumously identified as seven-born ones, but a more complete list must await future studies.

the Tibetan Buddhist world for whom the pill and its history still matter.

## Appendix

### Select Literary Sources for Seven-Times-Born Flesh in the Pacifying Collection

This appendix presents nine Tibetan editions and one English translation of the lengthier passages referenced or translated in the body of this article. Part 1, just below, which compares the root verses from *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa* (Dt) against their appearance in the commentary *Dri med bdud rtsi'i bshad 'bum* (Sb), is led by an English translation. The symbols + and – are used in its corresponding Tibetan edition to signal when a given reading constitutes an "addition" to (+) or a "subtraction" from (–) what appears in the corresponding edition. The remaining parts of this appendix, 2 through 9, which consists exclusively of Tibetan passages, include conjectural emendations without comparison with other witnesses. This is because these passages are drawn primarily from Kun dga' Thugs sras 1979, the lone witness to the Pacifying collection available to me. In transcribing these passages, I have attempted to leave archaic orthography intact.

#### 1. *Dri med bdud rtsi'i bshad 'bum* (Sb), in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 2, 73.6–84.2; and *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa* (Dt), in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1

##### a. English Translation

Namo guru!

> Topic Two: The Six Gurus Who Primarily Teach Mind Training for Traversing the Path of Accumulation
>
> First is the Condition of Mind Training Itself (*dang po blo sbyong rang sa*)
>
> As for the king, this is the teaching of Topden Nyingpo (sTobs ldan snying po).
>
> The story of how this king attained accomplishment is as follows:

Previously, in the land of western India called Uḍḍiyāna, there was a thousand-wheel-turning-monarch named king Āryasiṁha. A son was born to him named Topden Nyingpo who was blind and adorned with the major and minor marks. After the prince was coronated king, the one thousand queens in his harem would take turns each day serving him. Once, when it came turn for the youngest queen, who was sixteen years old, to do so, she had no suitable food to serve him, so she took some fresh flesh from a charnel ground, sprinkled it with seasoning, cooked it, and served it to him with a full *tramen* mug of spring beer. The queen, being hot tempered, deprecatingly fed the blind king. But since the meat was the flesh of a seven-born one, the king opened his eyes [and could suddenly see], so he asked her about it and praised her effusively. He took off in flight the next morning at dawn. This is why even now the flesh of the seven-born is held in such high esteem.

Dampa said:

*Siddhi* was discovered from charnel ground flesh,
igniting experience with spring beer.
The qualities of the ten bodhisattva levels were attained at dawn.
Amazing how Tārā prophesied
that this/he too would be my guru.

The [king's] instruction was as follows:

Tossing as an elixir the object of the places of refuge,
brings attainment of the two-fold *siddhi* to the mindstream—
raise on high the crucial point of the lineage of blessings!'

This means that if one has not gained attainment with respect to the three-fold refuge, there are three objects to be tossed as elixir—these are the three of crown, heart center, and navel. Thus, if one's realization lacks enhancement, supplicate the guru at the crown. If one's experience does not develop, clearly visualize the deity at the heart center. If the perception of others is not transformed by blessings, toss to the vital point the *ḍākinī*s at the navel. Through doing so, one will attain the two-fold *siddhi* of realization and experience for one's own benefit, and compassion and blessings for the benefit of others. For whomever can fiercely implement the practice for a long time, it will serve as a method for raising beings

higher and higher by spreading the lineage and ensuring that the teaching moves in a positive direction.

Namo guru!

Second is the Actual Mind Training of Mind Training

This is the instruction of king Topden Nyingpo's queen Yeshé Özer (Ye shes 'od zer).

How did she attain accomplishment?

Just as the king was about to take flight he told the queen, "Today take the rest of the flesh and give a piece to everyone, including even the horses and the oxen." She did so but it did not work for them to actually take flight. Reflecting on the causes and conditions for the king to take flight, the queen realized that a drop of her own elemental essence (i.e., menstrual blood) had dropped into the flesh she served the king, so it contained its qualities as well. Thus combining what she received from the king with her own ambrosia, the queen ate it and immediately took flight herself. This is why even now the *sindūra* of a sixteen-year-old girl is so revered.

Dampa said:

Through sprinkling the catalyst with the two *bodhicitta*s
[of menstrual blood and semen]
on the substance of the seven-time born [flesh],
the supreme *siddhi* was attained by means of the ambrosia of nonduality.
Amazing how Tārā prophesied
that this/she too would be my guru.

The [queen's] instruction was as follows:

Ripening the receptacle by drinking in the long path with a wheel
causes the grounds and paths to be traversed instantaneously—
such is the crucial point of training the mind by integrating the four initiations onto the path.

This means that with the culmination of the long path, one drinks in the secret mantra with the wheel of the four initiations, and the mindstream is ripened by the blessings of the guru. Then, when the introduction of equipoise and post-meditation has pierced the vital point, the paths and levels are perfected instantaneously in one night. Even should realization not directly manifest, one relies on no other method. This is because integrating the vase initiation onto the path is the crucial point of the alphabet (*ka kha*); integrating the secret initiation onto the path is the crucial point of visualization/observation; integrating the path of the third is the crucial point of introduction; and integrating the path of the fourth is the crucial point of recitation transmission. The essence of the fourth initiation also has four crucial points: *oṁ* is the ground endowed with the five-fold wisdom, the *samayamudrā*; *āḥ* is the three-fold union, the *dharmamudrā*; *hrīḥ* is the metaphor endowed with the four-fold joy, the *karmamudrā*; and *hūṁ* us the fruition endowed with the six-fold knowledge, the *mahāmudrā*.

Namo guru!

Third is the Austerity of Mind Training

This is the instruction of king Topden Nyingpo's minister, the sage Palgyi Dawa (dPal gyi zla ba).

The story of how he attained accomplishment is as follows:

The sage saw that the king's palace had been flooded with light for three days. He hurried over and looked, only to hear that the king and a queen had taken flight and were no longer there. He asked the internal ministers there how they had taken flight and was told, "He took off through this amazing substance, but it was not effective when we ate it." The sage realized that it happened through a concoction, so he accomplished the fragmentary remnants (*te rel*) of the substance, formed with it a pill with the five-fold ambrosia, and ate it. As a result, the defilements of his constituents were exhausted, wisdom vision dawned in him, and he took off in flight. This is why even now ritualists (*sgrub pa po*) hold pills in such high esteem.

Dampa said:

From accomplishing a pill the defilements were exhausted,
intelligence became astute, virtues were perfected,

and the sage possessed control over the clouds.
Amazing how Tārā prophesied
that this/he too would be my guru.

The [sage's] instruction was as follows:

Seizing the root of objects through a single introduction
causes boundless seeing of the profound meaning—
Seize the crucial point by understanding and realizing the
awareness of hidden faults.

This means that equipped with the three-fold *yantra* (*'phrul 'khor*), the three-fold absence clarifies the nature of mind into emptiness. Thereafter, when introduced through the three profound signs of the mirror, the finger-snap, and the water bubble, and if, based on any one of them, thought is identified as rootless, then all thoughts are freed into rootlessness and the wisdom in which existent phenomena are devoid of truth dawns. At that point, all the scriptures of the profound meaning are subsumed in one's own mind, through which certainty about both phenomena and person arise. When simply understanding all phenomena as only an introduction to their rootlessness, this is called "the understanding that is aware of hidden faults." This is the pristine vision of the dharma, the supreme among all forms of wisdom, called "the stainless and singular eye of gnosis."

Namo guru!

Fourth is the Aftereffect of Mind Training

This is the instruction of Topden Nyingpo's recipient of offerings, the brahmin Palgyi Özer (dPal gyi 'od zer).

How did he too attain accomplishment?

There are four classes of *Veda*s among brahmins, the *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, and *Sāmaveda*. He belonged to the class of those who do *yajus* (i.e., sacrifice). He thought that the king and queen had departed for the Brahmā abode through the power of his sacrifice, so he thought he would join them by performing a sacrifice for himself. As he offered the sacrifice, the king saw him, emanated himself as Brahmā, received his sacrifice, and offered it to Vairocana. Through the merit of that, the brahmin understood that Brahmā and Vairocana are of the

same taste and a pure vision vividly appeared, such that his defilements were exhausted, and, equipped with wisdom vision, he took flight into the sky. This is what is even now known as seeing the face of the meditation deity in actuality through the compassion of the guru.

Dampa said:

He pleased the king by offering sacrifice.
[The king] formed into Brahmā and the brahmin saw Vairocana.
He attained the stainless through the dawning of a pure vision.
Amazing how Tārā prophesied
that this/he too would be my guru.

The [brahmin's] instruction is as follows:

Through the aural instruction of the guru's words
the lifeforce of all *sūtra*s, *tantra*s, and *śāstra*s is shorn asunder.
Uphold well the crucial point of the word lineage, unadulterated with corruptions.

Aural here refers to the dharma of the uninterrupted flow of the river of initiations from the three awakened bodies. The instruction of the guru's words is the procedure of preparation, main part, and conclusion. The tradition of shearing the lifeforce asunder through this is that the five of refuge, bodhicitta, offerings, dedication, and aspiration is the lifeforce of the practice of the external *sūtra*s; the four introductions, the main part of the four initiations, is the lifeforce of the internal four classes of *tantra*; and the dharma that is trained in at the conclusion is the lifeforce of all the *śāstra*s and pith instructions. Whoever decisively integrates these into their experience has rent asunder their lifeforce. This, moreover, is unadulterated with corruptions, meaning that there are no subtractions or additions, fabrications or adulterations, in terms of even a single word. Since it is like pouring from one vessel into another, it is rooted in the speech of the guru, without depending on letters.

Namo guru!

Fifth is the Equalization of Mind Training

This is the instruction of the great personage Namkha Yeshé (Nam mkha' ye shes), who supplied resources for king Topden Nyingpo.

How did he attain accomplishment?

> He heard rumor that the king, a queen, the recipient of offerings, and the *ācārya* had directly taken flight into the sky, so he sat on the roof of the palace, crying and staring out into the sky. The next morning, he saw a vast city of *gandharva*s in the sky, so the thought occurred to him: "As long as I stay in *saṃsāra*, the nature of suffering, with all conditioned things being impermanent, and as long all my thoughts grasp to true existence, I will have mistaken cognition." He thus rested in a fresh cognition, without holding to an identity in anything whatsoever. His awareness was thus clarified, and his defilements were exhausted. With wisdom vision he saw the *saṁbhogakāya* realm and flew off into the sky. This is just like now too, how the shackles of delusion become self-liberated from engendering disenchantment toward the phenomena of *saṃsāra*.
>
> Dampa said:
>
> He gave up activities through disillusionment,
> shed tears out of torment,
> and saw a city of *gandharva*s in the sky.
> Amazing how Tārā prophesied
> that this/he too would be my guru.
>
> The [patron's] instruction was as follows:
>
> Placing unfabricated cognition on the scale of the innate nature
> manifests the Mahāmudrā of the natural state from within.
> Undistracted awareness is the crucial point of skillful means.

This means that first, through identifying the fresh cognition as empty, without fabricating it, one understands that the thoughts that flow from it, regardless of how course or subtle, are empty in essence. This is called the innate nature. The awakening of the cognition that ascertains that from within is called "realizing the Mahāmudrā of the natural state." Although there is nothing in this

to explicitly meditate upon by fabricating it through a path, maintaining precisely this by remembering to simply not be distracted, as a means of becoming familiar with or stabilizing it, is both the path and fruition of Mahāmudrā. Having given up all mundane activities and perfected the realization of equalization for the benefit of all beings, anything you do will be dedicated to and channeled toward the benefit of others.

Namo guru!

Sixth is the Self-Encouragement of Mind Training

This is the instruction of Topden Nyingpo's secret minister, the head merchant Karmavajra.

How was it that this head merchant attained accomplishment?

To accomplish the king's projects, he went to an island of jewels. A counter gust destroyed the vessel and all the apprentice merchants died. The lead merchant missed his parents desperately, so the king's queen appeared in the sky and saved his life. Having been delivered to safety, he was sitting in the middle of a jungle when he noticed a soft murmur and then a loud thud. He looked over and saw that a poisonous snake had cut another snake's throat and tossed the lower body of its corpse aside. After a little while, he took the upper part of the dead snake, cut off the leaf of a tree in the jungle, put it inside the snakes' mouth, and fastened it to the lower part of the dead snake. The head merchant then took into his hands two such tree leaves and learned how to fly in the sky with the contraption.

Looking out from above, he saw a sage asleep in the jungle with a partially eaten pill and a flower dangling from his mouth. It is said that the lead merchant took it and put it into his own mouth and thus gained the *samādhi* of not requiring food or clothing. When the sage woke up, he was frightened and asked by what power he had come there. When he showed him the leaves, the sage was amazed, took a mouthful of stainless moon water from the eastern side of Mount Nyashingdzin (gNya' shing 'dzin), and poured it on the head merchant. This delivered him from his defilements and they both attained the *siddhi* of flight. This is like now, how if you love your parents a deity will protect you and you will get what you wish for.

Dampa said:

By loving his mother, he met a deity.
By awakening his residual karma, he obtained a pill.
With minds bound, the companions attained flight.
Amazing how Tārā prophesied
that this/he too would be my guru.

The [lead merchant's] instruction was as follows:

Recognizing social entanglements as an obstacle
prevents turning to the demon of enjoying external appearances.
Through this is the crucial point of the shackles of attachment and anger becoming self-liberated.

This means that distractions that do not lead to the ultimate benefit of others themselves become obstacles on the path. Thus, by abandoning distractions, and practicing in solitude, one is not distracted by the bustle, hustle, and to and fro of the demon of enjoying external appearances. Thereby, attachment and anger toward the objects of the six collections of cognition do not arise. Instead, one's realization develops, and the benefit of others follows. Thus, staying in solitude for a long time is the life example of the previous venerable ones.

**b. Tibetan Edition**

//na mo gu[176] ru/

spyi don gnyis pa tshogs lam gcod pa blo sbyong gtso bor ston pa'i bla ma drug la/

/dang po blo sbyong gi rang sa ni/rgyal po ni stobs ldan snying po'i gdams pa yin te/

rgyal po 'dis grub pa ji ltar thob pa'i gtam rgyud[177] ni /

[176] 'ghu
[177] rgyad

sngon[178] rgya gar nub phyogs u rgyan[179] bya ba'i yul du / stong 'khor los sgyur ba'i {74} rgyal po A rya[180] sing ha zhes bya ba la / sras stobs ldan snying po zhes bya ba dmus[181] long mtshan dpe[182] dang bcas pa zhig[183] 'khrungs nas / rgyal sar bton[184] nas btsun mo stong khab na gnas pa las/ rgyal po'i zhabs tog[185] zhag res su mdzad pa yin skad /dus lan gcig btsun mo chung shos lo bcu drug lon pa zhig[186] la res mos[187] babs[188] par gda' ste/ mo la rgyal po gsol du rung ba'i kha zas myed nas/ dur[189] khrod nas sha so[190] ma zhig[191] blangs nas spod kyis bran nas tshos par btsos pa zhig[192] dang / so ka'i chang 'phra men gyi snod gang drangs[193] par gda' bas / btsun mo tshad pa dang / rgyal po la spyan myed pa la rngan chan du byas nas drangs[194] kyang / sha de skye ba bdun pa'i sha ru song nas spyan phyed de / btsun mo la dris mal dang bsngags pa mang du brjod nas / tho rengs mkha' spyod du gshegs pa'o //da lta yang skye ba bdun pa'i sha la gtsigs su 'dzin pa de ltar lags /

/dam pa'i zhal nas /

/dngos grub dur khrod sha las[195] brnyes[196] /
/nyams myong so ka'i chang gis spar /
/yon tan sa bcu tho rangs thob /
/sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
/'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs so[197] /

/gdams pa ni

**skyabs gnas kyi yul bcud la bor pas /**

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178 mngon
179 brgyan
180 rgya
181 smu
182 dpe'a
183 cig
184 ston
185 rtog
186 cig
187 mongs
188 bab
189 du
190 sos
191 cig
192 cig
193 grangs
194 grangs
195 las
196 snyems
197 gsung ngo

**rgyud la dngos grub rnam pa[198] gnyis 'thob par byed /**
**/byin rlabs rgyud pa'i gnad gong du spor cig ces[199] bstan to /**[200]

/zhes pa ni skabs gnas rnam pa gsum la dngos grub ma byung na / bcud la bor ba'i yul rnam pa {75} gsum yod de / de ni spyi gtsug snying kha lte ba gsum yin pas / rtogs pa la bogs myed na spyi bo'i bla ma la gsol ba gdab / nyams myong la yar bskyed myed na snying ka'i lha gsal bar bsgom / byin rlabs kyis gzhan snang ma 'gyur na lte ba'i mkha' 'gro gnad la bor ro //des rang don du rtogs pa dang nyams myong / gzhan don du thugs rje dang byin rlabs / dngos grub rnam pa gnyis po de thob la / sgrub pa yun ring la nyams len dos[201] drag[202] pa de sus nus kyang / brgyud pa phyir 'phel la bstan pa bzang du 'gro bas / gong nas gong du 'gro ba spor ba'i thabs yin no //

// na mo gu[203] ru /

gnyis pa blo sbyong gi blo sbyong dngos ni / rgyal po stobs ldan snying po'i btsun mo ye shes 'od zer gyi gdams pa yin te /

'dis grub pa ji ltar brnyes[204] na/

rgyal pos mkha' spyod du gshegs kar /da btsun mo la de ring sha lhag ma rnams longs[205] la rta dang / glang po yan chad la dum re byin gsungs[206] nas byin pas / dngos su gshegs pa'i nus pa ma byung nas / bsams te rA[207] dza gshegs pa'i rgyu rkyen gang gis byas snyam pa la / rgyal po la 'dren[208] pa'i sha de la btsun mo rang gi dwangs[209] ma thigs pas / de'i yon tan du yang gda' nas / der rgyal po las thob pa dang / rang {76} las byung ba'i bdud rtsi dang sbyar te / gsol bas btsun mo yang dus de nyid du mkha' spyod du gshegs so / / da lta yang bcu drug lon pa'i sin dU[210] ra la gtsigs byed pa de lags so /

/dam pa'i zhal nas /

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198 – pa Dt
199 zhes
200 *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa,* Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 258.5–.6.
201 das
202 grag
203 'ghu
204 bsnyes
205 long
206 gsung
207 ra
208 'gren
209 dangs
210 'du

skye ba bdun pa'i rdzas dag la /
/byang sems gnyis kyis phabs bran pas /
/gnyis myed bdud rtsis mchog don grub /
/sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
/'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs[211] /

/gdams pa ni

**ring lam 'khor los btungs te rten smin[212] pas /**
**sa lam chig rdzogs su gcod[213] par[214] byed la /**
**dbang bzhi lam khyer blo sbyong gi gnad 'di ltar[215] ro zhes bstan to[216]** /[217]

/zhes bya ba ni / ring lam pha rol tu phyin pa yin pas / gsang sngags dbang bzhi'i 'khor los btungs te / rgyud la bla ma'i byin rlabs kyis smin nas / mnyam rjes kyi ngo sprod gnad du zug na nub cig la sa lam chig rdzogs la song ba de yin / gal te rtogs pa mngon du ma gyur kyang thabs gzhan la rag ma lus te / bum dbang lam khyer ka kha'i gnad / gsang dbang lam khyer dmyigs pa'i gnad / gsum pa'i lam khyer ngo sprod kyi gnad / bzhi pa'i lam khyer bzlas lung gi gnad dang bzhi yod pas so / /dbang bzhi pa snying po la yang gnad bzhi yod de / oM ye shes lnga ldan gzhi dam tshig gi phyag rgya / AH[218] sbyor ba gsum ldan chos kyi {77} phyag rgya / hrIH[219] dga' ba bzhi ldan dpe[220] las kyi phyag rgya / hUM rnam shes drug ldan 'bras bu phyag rgya chen po / gu[221] ru ni bla ma / si d+d+hi[222] ni dngos grub bla ma la zhu ba / gang zhu na dbang bzhi / lam bzhi / ngo bo rtags dang yon tan gsum / 'bras bu zung 'jug gi rtogs pa rnams zhu ba yin no zhes bya bar gda' //

//na mo gu[223] ru /

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211 gsung
212 smyin Dt
213 stong Sb
214 par Sb
215 lta Dt
216 no Dt
217 *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 258.6–.7
218 a
219 hri
220 dpe'
221 'ghu
222 ti
223 'ghu

gsum pa blo sbyong gi dka' thub ni / rgyal po stobs ldan snying po'i blon po drang srong dpal gyi zla ba'i gdams pa yin te /

khong gis grub[224] pa ji ltar brnyes[225] pa'i gtam rgyud ni /

drang srong des rgyal po'i pho brang zhag gsum 'od kyis gang bar gzigs nas / rings par 'ongs te bltas pas / rgyal po yab yum mkha' spyod du gshegs nas myi gda' skad / der nang blon pa rnams la ji ltar gshegs dris pas / khong ni rdzas ngo mtshar can 'dis gshegs pa yin / 'o cag gis zos kyang ma grub[226] zer nas / der drang srong gis sbyor bas byung bar rig nas rdzas the rel rnams bsgrubs[227] te bdud rtsi rnam pa lnga'i ri lu byas te gsol pas / khams kyi zag pa zad cing ye shes kyi spyan shar nas mkha' spyod du gshegs so / da lta yang sgrub[228] pa po rnams ri lu la gces par 'dzin pa de yin /

/dam pa'i zhal nas /

ri lu bsgrubs pas zag pa zad /
/rig pa grung[229] pas yon tan rdzogs /
/drang srong sprin gyi {78} thul pa can /
/sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
/'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs[230] /

/gdams pa ni

**ngo sprod gcig[231] gis[232] yul la rtsa ba zin pas /**
**zab mo'i don phyogs myed du mthong bar byed pa[233] /**
**mtshang[234] rig pa go rtogs kyi gnad du zungs[235] shig[236] ces[237] bstan to /[238]**

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224 bsgrub
225 bsnyes
226 'grub
227 sgrubs
228 bsgrub
229 drungs
230 gsung
231 cig
232 gi
233 – pa Dt
234 'tshang Sb
235 zung
236 cig
237 zhes
238 *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 258.7–259.1.

/zhes pa ni dang po 'phrul 'khor gsum bcas te bral ba gsum gyis sems kyi ngo bo stong pa ru dwangs[239] pa'i rjes la / me long se gol chu lbu[240] dang / zab pa'i brda' gsum la ngo sprad pa'i dus su / gang rung zhig[241] la brten[242] nas rnam rtog rtsa bral du ngos zin na / rtog pa thams cad rtsa bral du grol nas / dngos po'i chos la bden pas stong pa'i shes rab skye ste zab don gyi gsung rabs thams cad rang gi blo thog tu 'phung bas / chos dang gang zag gnyis kha la nges shes skye / chos thams cad rtsa bral gyi ngo sprod 'ba'[243] zhig tu go tsam na mtshang[244] shes pa'i go ba zhes bya ste/ shes rab rnams kyi nang na mchog tu gyur ba chos kyi spyan rnam par dag pa / ye shes myig gcig dri ma myed pa zhes bya'o //

//na mo gu[245] ru /

bzhi pa blo sbyong gi rjes ni / stobs ldan snying po'i mchod gnas / bram ze dpal gyi 'od zer gyi gdams pa yin te /

de yang grub pa ji ltar thob na /

bram ze la rig[246] byed rnam pa bzhi yod de / /nges par brjod pa'i rig[247] / mchod sbyin byed pa'i rig[248] / {79} /srid pa bsrung ba'i rig[249] / snyan par smra ba'i rig[250] dang bzhi las / 'di ni mchod sbyin byed pa'i rig[251] yin pas / rgyal po[252] yab yum kyang ngas mchod sbyin byas pa'i mthus tshangs pa'i gnas su gshegs / da[253] ni rang ched du mchod sbyin byas la tshangs pa'i gnas su 'gro bar bya'o snyam nas phul bas / de rgyal po'i spyan gyis gzigs te tshangs par sprul nas bram ze'i mchod sbyin blangs nas / rnam par snang mdzad la phul bas / de'i bsod nams kyis bram ze tshangs pa dang rnam snang ro gcig[254] par shes te / dag pa'i snang lam shar bas / zag pa zad cing ye shes kyi spyan dang ldan

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239 dwangs
240 sbu
241 cig
242 rten
243 bha
244 'tshang
245 'ghu
246 rigs
247 rigs
248 rigs
249 rigs
250 rigs
251 rigs
252 po'i
253 de
254 cig

pas mkha' spyod du gshegs so[255] / da lta yang bla ma'i thugs rjes yi dam dngos por zhal gzigs pa de ltar lags skad /

dam pa'i zhal nas /

mchod sbyin phul bas rgyal po mnyes /
/tshangs pa bsgrubs pas rnam snang mthong /
/dag snang shar bas zag myed thob /
/sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
/de yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs[256] skad /

gdams pa ni

**snyan khungs bla ma'i zhal gyi gdams pas /**
**mdo[257] rgyud bstan bcos[258] thams cad kyi srog gcod par byed /**
**lhad dang ma 'dres[259] par[260] tshig rgyud[261] kyi gnad legs par zungs[262] shig[263] ces[264] bstan to[265] /[266]**

/zhes pa ni snyan khungs ni sangs rgyas sku gsum nas dbang gi chu bo[267] rgyun {80} ma chad pa'i chos yin la / bla ma'i[268] zhal gyi gdams pa ni sbyor dngos rjes gsum gyi cho ga yin pas / 'dis srog gcod lugs kyang skyabs 'gro sems bskyed mchod pa / bsngo ba smon lam lnga po 'dis / phyi mdo[269] sde rnams kyi nyams[270] len gyi srog yin la / dbang bzhi yi dngos gzhi ngo sprod bzhi / nang rgyud sde bzhi'i srog yin la / mjug[271] bslab par bya ba'i chos ni / bstan bcos[272] dang man ngag thams cad kyi srog yin te / gang gis kho thag chod par nyams su len pa des ni srog de rnams chod pa yin la / 'di yang lhad dang ma

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255 s+ho
256 gsung
257 mdo'i
258 chos
259 'gres
260 pa
261 rgyad
262 zung
263 cig
264 zhes
265 no
266 *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa,* Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 259.1–.2.
267 'o
268 ma
269 mdo'
270 nyam
271 'jug
272 chos

'dres[273] te / tshig gcig[274] gis dbri[275] bsnan[276] byas pa 'am[277] / bcos bslad[278] byas pa myed de / bshu gu gcig[279] nas gcig[280] tu byo ba lta bu yin pas / yi ge la ma brten[281] par bla ma'i gsung la nges 'jog byed pa yin no //

//na mo gu[282] ru/

lnga pa blo sbyong gi ro snyoms ni / rgyal po stobs ldan snying po'i rgyu sbyor bdag nyid chen po nam mkha'i ye shes kyi gdams pa yin te /

'di yang grub pa ji ltar brnyes[283] na /

rgyal po yab yum mchod gnas dang / slob dpon dang[284] bcas[285] pa mngon sum du mkha' spyod la gshegs pa'i gtam thos te / khang pa'i steng du myig[286] nam mkha' la bltas[287] te / ngu yin[288] 'dug pa las / nangs par bar snang la dri za yangs pa'i grong khyer mthong bas / {81} der 'di snyam du bsam pa brnyed[289] de / ji srid 'khor bar gnas pa ni / sdug bsngal gyi rang bzhin / 'dus byas thams cad mi rtag pa / ji srid dngos por 'dzin pa'i blo thams cad ni phyin ci log gi shes par 'dug snyam nas / gang la yang bdag tu ma bzung par shes pa so mar bzhag pas / rig pa dwangs[290] nas zag pa zad de / ye shes kyi spyan gyis longs sku'i zhing khams mthong nas mkha' spyod du gshegs so[291] / /da lta yang 'khor ba'i chos la skyo ba skyes nas 'khrul pa'i sgrog rang grol du 'gro ba de lags /

dam pa'i zhal nas /

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273 'gre
274 cig
275 sbri
276 mnan
277 am
278 glad
279 cig
280 cig
281 rten
282 'ghu
283 snyems
284 du
285 byas
286 dmyig
287 ltas
288 ngu'i
289 snyed
290 dangs
291 s+ho

skyo ba'i sems kyis bya ba btang /
gdung ba'i[292] sems kyis mchi[293] ma zags /
/bar snang dri za'i grong khyer mthong /
/sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
//'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs[294] /

gdams pa ni /

**shes pa ma bcos gnyug[295] ma'i srang[296] du bcug pas /**
**gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po nang nas 'char bar byed /**
**/rig pa ma yengs pa thabs kyi gnad yin no zhes bstan to[297] /[298]**

/zhes pa ni / de yang dang po shes pa so ma de ma bcos pa la stong par ngos zin pas de las 'phros pa'i rnam rtog sbom phra[299] myed par ngo bo stong par shes pa de la rang bzhin gnyug ma zhes bya la / de yang nges pa'i shes pa nang nas sad pa de la gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po rtogs pa zhes bya'o //de la lam gyis[300] bcos nas {82} ched du bsgom rgyu[301] myed kyang / de nyid la goms par bya ba'am[302] brtan[303] par bya ba'i thabs su ma yengs tsam du dran pas 'dzin pa 'di / phyag rgya chen po'i lam dang 'bras bu gnyis ka yin pas / 'jig rten gyi bya ba mtha' dag btang nas / 'gro ba sems can thams cad kyi don du ro snyoms kyi rtogs pa mthar phyin par byas la / bya ba ci byed gzhan don du bsngos nas smon lam 'debs pa yin no //

//na mo gu[304] ru/

drug pa blo sbyong gi bdag bstod[305] ni / stobs ldan snying po'i gsang blon ded dpon chen po karma[306] badz+ra'i gdams pa yin te /

ded dpon 'dis grub pa ji ltar thob na /

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292 pa'i
293 chu
294 gsung
295 snyug Dt
296 srangs
297 no
298 *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa,* Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 259.2–.3.
299 'phra
300 gyi
301 sgyu
302 ba'i
303 bstan
304 'ghu
305 stod
306 dkar ma

rgyal po'i bya ba sgrub[307] pa'i ched du / nor bu'i gling la chas pas / log pa'i rlung gis gzings[308] zhig nas tshong phrug rnams shi / ded dpon gyis pha ma snying rje bar dran pas/ rgyal po'i yum bar snang la byon nas srog skyabs[309] te / mthar thon nas yod pa la / nags gseb cig na 'ur sgra dang / thug[310] chom[311] du song 'dug nas bltas pas / dug sbrul gcig[312] gis gcig[313] sked pa[314] bcad nas / ro smad lung pa logs shig[315] tu bskyur[316] nas song skad / der cung zhig lon pa dang ro stod des / nags gseb nas shing lo gcig[317] bcad de khar bcug nas ro smad kyi rtsar song bas / der ded dpon gyis shing lo de 'dra ba gnyis lag tu blangs nas / bar snang la {83} 'phur[318] shes par byung nas bltas pas / nags kyi gseb gcig[319] na drang srong zhig[320] gnyid du song nas / kha na ri lu me tog dang bcas pa zhig[321] za 'phro 'dug nas / ded dpon rang gi khar bcug pas lto gos myi dgos pa'i ting nge 'dzin skyes skad / drang srong gnyid sad pa dang bred nas / skyes bu khyod 'dir 'ong ba gang gi stobs kyis 'ongs zer ba la / shing lo bstan pas ngo mtshar skyes nas / drang srong gis ri bo gnya' shing 'dzin gyi shar phyogs nas / dri myed shel chu kha gang blangs te / ded dpon la blud pas zag pa las rnam par grol te gnyis kas mkha' spyod kyi dngos grub thob bo / / da lta yang pha ma la byams na lhas skyob ste rang gi[322] bsam[323] pa grub[324] pa yin skad /

dam pa'i zhal nas /

yum la brtse[325] bas lha dang mjal[326] /
/las 'phro sad pas ri lu thob /

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307 bsgrub
308 rdzings
309 bskyabs
310 tug
311 com
312 cig
313 cig
314 par
315 cig
316 bskur
317 cig
318 'phir
319 cig
320 cig
321 cig
322 gis
323 bsams
324 'grub
325 gtse
326 'byal

/grogs kyis thugs btags mkha' spyod grub[327] /
/ sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
/'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs[328] /

gdams pa ni

**'du 'dzi bar chad[329] du ngos zin[330] pas /**
**phyi snang ba la longs spyod kyi bdud myi 'khor bar byed /**
**des[331] chags sdang gi sgrog rang grol la 'gro ba'i gnad yin no zhes bstan to[332] /[333]**

/zhes pa ni/ de yang gzhan don mchog tu myi 'gyur ba'i g.yeng ba de rang gi lam gyi bar chad du 'gyur bas / g.yeng ba spangs nas rang gcig[334] bu sgrub[335] pa byas pas / {84} phyi snang ba longs spyod kyi bdud 'ar 'ur[336] dang dang ding pha re dang tshu re la ma yengs pas / tshogs drug gi yul la chags sdang myi skye bar / rang rtogs gong du 'phel nas gzhan don rjes la 'byung bas / rang gcig[337] bur sdod yun bsring ba de rje btsun gong ma'i rnam thar yin no //

**2. *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 484.3–485.6.**

//drug pa dngos grub kyi stobs gzigs pa 'di lags / **sha kham cig zos pas dngos grub brnyes[338] pa yang mthong** zhes pa ni / rgyal po zla ba seng ge la btsun mo rnams kyis gsang sbyor res byed pa las / btsun mo chung shos la gsol gyi res mos babs[339] pa'i dus der char chen po zhag kha yar du btang[340] pas/ der ha de dang tshong sar myi myed pas sha ma brnyed[341] de / btsun mos dur khrod kyi 'dab cig tu phyind pas / de na byis pa'i ro kha dog dang ldan pa zhig[342] mthong nas / de'i

327 'grub
328 gsung
329 chod Dt
330 bzung Dt
331 'dis Sb
332 no
333 *Zil mngar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 1, 259.3–.4.
334 cig
335 bsgrub
336 'a 'u
337 cig
338 snyems
339 bab
340 btud
341 rnyed
342 cig

sha che long btsos[343] nas legs pa'i g.yos la zhim pa'i spod kyis bran te / rgyal po la drangs pa dang gsol pas skye ba sngon[344] ma dran / jo mo yang de'i dus su gom pa sa la myi 'jog par bar snang la 'bor / de la sha 'di ci yin byas par gda' bas btsun mo na re 'di smrar myi rung ba zhig[345] lags pas / de skad ma gsungs[346] shig[347] byas par gda' bas / rgyal po na re 'di yon tan dang ldan pas de la nyes par 'gyur ba myed kyis cis kyang smros gsungs {485} /pas / dus ma yin pa'i char rgyun gyis grong khyer nas sha ma brnyed[348] nas / phar la 'byams pas dur khrod kyi 'dab na byis pa gtsang[349] ma'i ro zhig[350] gda' / de'i sha lags pas myi bskyon par zhu zer skad / de la dgyes nas / khyod kyis legs pa'i mchog rnyed do / glo bur[351] song la theb dam dum yang ma lus par khyer la shog cig / don chen po sgrub[352] pa'i thabs yod de byas pas / de nas bla ma dang rgyal pos dngos grub kyi rdzas du ma dang sbyar te ri lu mang po byas nas / 'khor gyi gtso bor gyurd pa rnams la bka' 'phrin btang ba mdo dang srang mdo rnams su dril bsgrags / pho brang gi rtse la rgyal mtshan phyar / rgyal po dmangs[353] kyi spyod pa myi byed pa ltar / rnal 'byord pa'i rgyud la go cha[354] 'jig rten pa myi brten dgos pa'o / / btsun mo'i sdug bsngal du srid ma 'khor ba che ba bzhin du / rnal 'byord pa'i sdug bsngal du dge sbyor ma zug pa la byed dgos pa yin skad / dmag gi dpung sde bzhi kyi tshun chod kyi khar bcug pas der rgyal po dpung dang bcas pa nam mkha' la gshegs pa lags skad / de ni ngo mtshar gyi rgyud pa gsum pa lags so /

**3. *'Da' ka zhal chems*, in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 3, 83.3–84.3.**

//der dam pa spur sbyong gyi yod tsam na / ding ri'i yul pa'i tshong pa song ba kun log nas dpal thang na tshur 'ong tsam na / dam pa dang lam khar mjal[355] nas ka ra 'dra ba yang phul nas / dam pa bde bar gda' 'am / ding ri kun na myi snyan pa myi gda' 'am zhus pas / ding ri ba yongs[356] bde bar gda' / khyed rang mgyogs[357] par phyin na

[343] bkros
[344] sngan
[345] cig
[346] gsung
[347] cig
[348] rnyed
[349] rtsang
[350] cig
[351] la bur
[352] bsgrub
[353] rmangs
[354] ca
[355] 'byal
[356] yo
[357] 'gyogs

/ ding ri na a tsa ra zhig[358] shi nas 'dug / de'i ro bsregs pa la bslebs[359] na chang mang po yod gsungs[360] /der dam pa phar la gshegs nas tshong pas tshur la 'ongs nas / ding rir brtol[361] tsam na / ro cig bsregs nas gda' skad / 'dir su shi byas pas dam pa sku gshegs zer / brdzun ma zer myi rung / dam pa dang nga cag lam khar mjal[362] / phyag rten yang phul sku khams[363] kyang dris byas so / /der dam pa grongs zer nas grongs gda'o / de'i phyir na / grongs pa dang ma grongs pa myed pa'i yid ches dang po'o / /

//kun dga'i zhal nas kyang / nged cag la grongs pa dang ma grongs pa khyad myed/ gnyid du ma song na dngos su byon / gnyid du song na rmyi lam du byon / gsungs[364] skad/ yid ches pa gnyis pa'o / /

//de nas sgyu ma lta bu'i snang ba bstan / byang chub {84} chen po'i mchod rten byon / yid ches pa gsum pa'o / /

//kun dga'i zhal nas ding ri'i[365] bu mo zhig[366] la byin brlabs zhugs pas / dam pa sku gshegs nas dam pa dang bu mo de lan gsum mjal[367] 'dug gsungs[368] / bu mo de gzhan gyis ngo myi shes gsungs[369] / yid ches pa bzhi pa'o / /

//dam pa sprul pa grangs mang ste / mu stegs yin zer ba'i skur ba 'debs pa rnams yid ches bskyed pa'i don du / grongs kyi rting la rgya sgom dang ri khar mjal[370] ba las sogs pa lan du ma byon/ yid ches pa lnga pa'o / /

//bu chen rnams la snang ba gtan[371] du ston / da lta yang rgya gar na bzhugs nas sems can gyi don mdzad cing snang ba du ma ston / yid ches pa drug pa'o / /

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358 cig
359 sleb
360 gsung
361 btol
362 'byal
363 'khams
364 gsung
365 ri
366 cig
367 'byal
368 gsung
369 gsung
370 'byal
371 bstan

**4. *Zhus lan thugs kyi me long gi bshad 'bum chen zab mo'i don rnam par gzigs pa'i 'phreng ba*, in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 5, 433.5–434.1.**

/de'i sha zos na bya ba ni / rten paN Di ta rim par rgyud pa yin pas / dngos grub kyi rdzas khyad par du 'phags par bstan pa'o / /mdun ma tshar ba yin te bya ba ni khong nyid skye ba bdun pa yin pas / de'i sha zos tshad mkha' spyod du 'gro ba'o / /rgyus myed po tsho bya ba ni / bod na de'i chos myed pas rang gsang[372] thabs kyis chod pa'o / /blo nyes byed par mchi ba ni dngos grub tu ma rig par spur zhugs la bzhud 'gro ba'o / /dam pa'i zhal nas / byang chub chen po'i tsha tsha rgya sgom gyis ri la bskyal[373] ba rung de la so yang ma bsregs pa ru dga'o gsungs par { 433} gda' ste / / bka'[374] bstsal[375] de brda ldem du song bas ji ltar yin gtan[376] la ma phebs skad / /don la ding ri ba la mkha' spyod kyi skal ba dang ma ldan pa'o /

**5. Chos kyi seng ge, *Grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po rje btsun dam pa sangs rgyas kyi rnam par thar pa dngos grub 'od stong 'bar ba'i nyi ma*, in Dam pa sangs rgyas 2012–2013, vol. 5, 156.1–157.3.**

/yang rgya gar nas/ dam pa'i slob ma a tsa ra gsum gyis dam pa zhi bar gshegs pa'i rtags tshor nas brgyugs te 'ongs pa yin zhes bslebs nas byon pa dang / sku gdung sbyangs zin pas/ a tsa ra gsum po'i zhal nas/ 'o re/ bod skal pa med pas gyong chen po byas so gsungs nas thugs skyo ba mdzad pas/ de tsug lags zhus pas/ dam pa rin po de sku gshegs kyang gdung me la ma bsregs na/ sems can mang po'i don 'grub pa yin pa la de ltar ma byung gsungs/ de ci lags zhus pas/ sku sha de dngos grub kyi rdzas khyad par can yin pas/ dri bzang gi zan dang sbyar te/ ril bu yungs kar gyi 'bru tsam byas nas/ sems can su'i khar reg kyang / sdig po che yang btsan thabs su sangs rgya ba yin gsungs pa la/ bla ma phyar chen gyis de'i rgyu mtshan tsug lags zhus pas/ khong rnams na re/ spyir tshe 'dir chos cher ma byas kyang thabs kyis sangs rgya ba rnam pa bzhi yod de/ gcig skye ba snga ma nas sbyangs pa song bas las sad pa'i gang zag yin/ gcig de bzhin gshegs pa'i ring bsrel gyis 'pho ba'i sbyor ba byas na sangs rgya/ gcig sngags skyes kyi mu drA[377] pad+ma can/ rdul 'o mar 'byung ba mtshan bzang po dang ldan pa de nyid/ dga' ba bzhi lam du 'khyer

372 sang
373 brkal
374 dka'
375 gsal
376 bstan
377 dra

shes pa/ phyag rgya bzhi'i go ba shes pa'i rnal {157} /'byor pas phyag rgyar bsten pas/ sa bcu bzhi'i nyams rtogs bskal nas rtsol ba drag pos ma bsgoms kyang thabs kyi dbang gis sangs rgya'o/ /de ci'i phyir zhe na/ rtsa dang rlung dang thig le'i gnad kyis so/ /gcig tu byang chub sems dpa' skye ba bdun pa'i sha zos na sdig po che yang sangs rgya ba yin no/ /des na dam pa rin po che byang chub sems dpa' skye ba bdun pa yin pas/ gzhan las khyad par du 'phags shing / bod kyis blo nyes byas gsungs nas khong rnams rgya gar du byon to/

**6. *Chos 'byung nor bu'i 'phreng ba*, in 'Dul 'dzin mKhyen rab rgya mtsho 1981, 548.4–549.1.**

la stod ding ri glang[378] 'khor du dam pas sangs rgyas zhing du gshegs dus na gdung me la phul bas spur rus dang spur thal tsam yang ma lus pa la dam pa'i slob ma rgya gar nas paN+Di ta grol ba thob pa gsum byung ste/ bod kyi phung srol chen po byas zhes mya ngan chen po byas la/ ding ri ba rnams kyis rgyu mtshan zhus pas a tsa ra gsum po na re/ chos ma byas pa la sangs rgyas pa'i thabs gsum yod/ de la phyag rgya mtshan dang ldan pa khrag 'o mar 'bab pa gcig yod/ de la thabs kyis sbyor[379] shes na sangs rgyas/gnyis pa ni 'pho ba'i gnad shes na sdig po chen sangs rgyas/ gsum pa ni bram ze chos {549} ldan gyi skye ba bdun pa'i sha khrag su'i ltor song yang sangs rgyas so/ /de la dam de'ang bram ze skye ba bdun pa yin pa la da ni spur rus spur thal tsam yang mi 'dug go gsungs so/

**7. *Lung rigs 'brug sgra*, in Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan 1975, vol. 2, 112.6–113.3.**

phyis dam pa'i gdung gzhu ba na / rgya gar nas dam pa'i slob ma grol ba thob pa'i paN+Di ta gsum byung ste/ bod kyi phung thal chen po byas shes mya ngan chen du gyur pa na/ ding ri ba dag gis[380] rgyu mtshan dris pas de gsum na re / chos ma byas {113} par sangs rgya ba'i thabs gsum yod te / de la phyag rgya ma mtshan dang ldan pa khrag 'o mar 'bab pa gcig yod/ de la thabs kyis[381] sbyor shes na sangs rgya ba yin / gnyis pa ni 'pho ba'i gnad shes na sangs rgya ba yin / gsum pa ni bram ze gtsang ma skye ba bdun brgyud pa'i sha khrag su'i ltor song kyang sangs rgya ba yin / dam de yang skye ba bdun pa

[378] gla
[379] spyod
[380] gi
[381] kyi

yin pa la / da ni gdung thal tsam yang mi snang ngo zer ro/ /zhes pa zhi byed pa dag gi lo rgyus su 'byung ngo /

**8. *Brul tsho nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i bshad 'bum*, in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 90.7–91.5.**

/ dang po skye ba bdun du paN+Di[382] tar brgyud pa ni / shar phyogs kA ma[383] rur paN+Di[384] ta sa'i snying por sku skye ba bzhes /lho phyogs bhe[385] tar paN+Di[386] ta dza[387] yan dha ra'i[388] sku bzhes / nub phyogs u[389] rgyan du in dra[390] bo d+hi[391] 'bring {91} por sku bzhes / byang phyogs gya do ru mkhas pa kam+pa[392] lar sku bzhes / za hor du pra dz+nya prad nya[393] bo d+hi[394] sku bzhes / ma la yar mkhas pa sprin gyi go char[395] sku bzhes / khrom pa'i gling du ka ma la shI[396] la[397] sku skye ba bzhes te / bla ma gser gling pa'i zhal nas / rigs ldan skye ba bdun pa yin no skad /

/gtsug[398] lag khang bdun brtsigs[399] pa ni / shar phyogs skam po rtse'i gling pa tra gling chung / sgrol ma'i[400] lha khang / lho phyogs zangs gling du a mo g+ha[401] pA[402] sha / spyan ras gzigs yid bzhin nor bu'i lha khang / nub phyogs tshan d+ho la'i gling du / stobs chen ha ya grI[403] wa khro bo rme brtsegs[404] kyi lha khang / byang phyogs myi 'gyur bkod pa'i tshal du / rdo rje dbyings kyi lha khang bzhengs te /

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382 paN Di
383 skam
384 paN Di
385 'bhe
386 paN Di
387 dzA
388 ri'i
389 ur
390 tra
391 de
392 skam pa
393 prad nya
394 der
395 car
396 hri
397 tar. Alternatively, the name could be Kamalaśrī, also attested for Padampa (Martin 2006, 111), in which case *hri* would be emended to *shrI* and *tar* elided.
398 tsug
399 rtsigs
400 ba'i
401 ka
402 pa
403 'gri
404 rtsegs

bla ma skam po tse'i zhal nas / rigs ldan 'phags pas byin gyis brlabs pa yin gsungs[405] / paN+Di[406] ta bdun byas pa'i skye ba yang dran/

**9. *Zhi byed brgyud pa phyi ma'i chos bla ma byang chub kun dga'i lugs*, in Thugs sras Kun dga' 1979, vol. 4, 331.4–332.7.**

//dang po bsags[407] sbyangs[408] sngon du ji ltar song ba'i gtam rgyud ni / sngon tshe skye ba dpag tu myed pa'i sngon rol tu / sangs rgyas dga' ba sbyangs rgyal po zhes bya ba la dad pa thob pas / sangs rgyas des kyang ma 'ongs pa'i dus su sangs rgyas shAkya[409] thub pa'i 'khor du lung bstand pa yin skad / /de nas sangs rgyas shAkya[410] thub pas / byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed nas / byang chub sems dpa' myi 'pham mgon po zhes bya bar mying btags nas / bod thang 'khob[411] kyi sems can 'dul bar lung bstand pa yin skad // de nas tshe 'phos te dga' ldan {332} gyi gnas su byams pa la chos gsan nas / phyi ma rgyal tshab byed par zhal gyis bzhes skad //

//de nas rgya gar gyi yul du skye ba bdun du paN+Di[412] tar skye ba bzhes te/ grub pa thob pa'i lo rgyus ni/ spyir rgya gar na ma ga d+ha[413] rdo rje'i gdan dbus su bzhag pa'i / phyogs bzhi mtshams dang brgyad na / yul gru chen po brgyad yod par gda' ba las / skye ba thog ma de shar phyogs b+ha[414] g+ha lar / paN+Di[415] ta sa'i snying por skye ba bzhes / skye ba gnyis pa la lho phyogs b+he[416] ta lar / paN+Di[417] ta sar dza na d+ha rir skye ba bzhes / skye ba gsum pa la nub phyogs u rgyan du / in dra[418] bo d+hi[419] 'bring po ru skye ba bzhes/ skye ba bzhi pa de byang phyogs gya dor ru[420] / mkhas pa sprin gyi go cha ru skye ba bzhes/ lnga pa de shar lho za hor gyi yul du / pra[421] dz+nyA[422] bo

405 gsung
406 paN Di
407 bsag
408 sbyang
409 shag kya
410 shag kya
411 khob
412 paN Di
413 ta
414 'bha
415 paN Di
416 'bhe
417 paN Di
418 tra
419 bo
420 du
421 sprad
422 dz+nya

d+hi[423] ru skye ba bzhes / skye ba drug pa de lho nub ma la yar / ka ma ra trir skye ba bzhes / skye ba bdun gyi phyi ma de lho phyogs kyi rgyud ca ra sing ha[424] khrom pa'i gling du / paN+Di ta ka ma la shI[425] lar sku skye ba bzhes te / de ltar skye ba bdun khar mkhas pa'i sgo nas / mu stegs kyi rtsod pa lan bdun bzlog / grub pa thob pa'i rtags su / tir ti ka gar log gi dmag lan bdun bskyil[426] / bstand pa'i bdag po ru gyurd pas / lha khang kyang bdun brtsigs[427] pa yin skad //

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*Bstan 'gyur* (Dga' ldan/Gser bris ma) 18th c. 225 v.


[423] de
[424] nga
[425] shi
[426] skyil
[427] rtsigs

*Bstan 'gyur* (Peking) 1724. 225 v.
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# The *Hundred Jātakas* (*sKyes rab brgya pa*) by Āryaśūra (c. 4th cent. CE) and the Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339): Overview of the Xylograph Editions

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## *1. Introduction*[1]

The Indian poet Āryaśūra composed thirty-four *jātaka*s, in his work called *Jātakamālā* ("Garland of Jātakas"), dating probably from around the fourth century CE.[2] His work was originally composed in Sanskrit, was translated into Tibetan in the eighth century CE, and is preserved in all major versions of the *bsTan 'gyur*. There is a legend that Āryaśūra intended to write one hundred stories but was not able to finish them before his death.[3] Eventually, several centuries later, the Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339), concluded Āryaśūra's work by composing the remaining sixty-six *jātaka*s in Tibetan, and added the hundred-and-first story, an account of

[1] As for the contribution of the different authors, Dominik Dell collected the information from the different sources and wrote the main part of the article, Bruno Galasek-Hul, analyzed and translated the colophon of the sDe dge edition of the text (Appendix 1), Lajos Dömötör analyzed the colophons of two manuscript editions (Appendix 2) and compiled the list of *jataka* titles (Appendix 3). We thank Paul Partington for his English copyediting.

[2] Khoroche 1989, xii.

[3] The legend is mentioned in Tāranātha's (1575–1634) *History of Buddhism in India* (Tib. *rgya gar chos byung*); see Tropper 2005, 69. Also the Third Karma pa himself mentioned it earlier in his epilogue to the text; for an English translation, see Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 144–46, or Dell, Galasek-Hul, Dömötör 2022, 89–92; for a German translation, see Tropper 205, 69. For more places of mention in Tibetan texts and for arguments why the legend might not be true, see Khoroche 1989, xi. For an English translation of Tāranātha's work, see Chattopadhyaya 1970.

Dominik Dell, Bruno Galasek-Hul, & Lajos Dömötör, "The *Hundred Jātakas* (*sKyes rab brgya pa*) by Āryaśūra (c. 4th cent. CE) and the Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339): Overview of the Xylograph Editions", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 67, Octobre 2023, pp. 154-191.

Buddha Śākyamuni's life, as a culmination. The combined work became known as the *Hundred Jātakas* (Tib. *skyes rab brgya pa*).

In this paper, we provide a brief introduction to the combined text in section 1, before treating its textual history in section 2. The second section focusses on the different xylograph editions, and is based on information gathered from previous publications as well as our own analysis, especially with respect to the sDe dge edition, for which no previous research could be found. In appendix 1, a transliteration and translation of the colophon of the latter is provided. Appendix 2 gives the colophons of two manuscripts with an analysis, while appendix 3 presents the list of titles contained in the Third Karma pa's part of the work together with references.

### *1.1 Āryaśūra's Text (Jātakamālā)*

The little which is known about Āryaśūra is not very reliable, since the only biographical references that have come down to us are extant in works that were written centuries after his death. For instance, a fourteenth-century Sanskrit commentary claims that he "was the son of a king in the Deccan, that he renounced the throne to become a Buddhist monk […], and wrote the *Jātakamālā* […], while wandering from place to place."[4] Tibetan tradition usually identifies him with Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Buddhacarita*, which identification is rejected by Western scholars.[5]

Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* was translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the eighth century CE by the Indian pandit Vidyākarasiṃha and the Tibetan translator Mañjuśrīvarman (Tib. *'jam dpal go cha*), and became part of the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur.[6]

Several Sanskrit editions of the *Jātakamālā* were prepared.[7] The first English translation from the Sanskrit was produced by Speyer in 1895.[8] In 1983, based on Speyer's translation and a comparison with the Tibetan text, a new English version was prepared by Dharma Publishing.[9] In 1989, Khoroche skillfully translated the text again from a new Sanskrit edition he had prepared himself.[10] The most recent translation—again from the Sanskrit—was presented by Meiland in 2009.[11]

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4 Khoroche 1989, xi.
5 Ibid., xi–xii.
6 Āryaśūra 1983, xiii. The text is contained in the Derge Tengyur (*sde dge bstan 'gyur*) under the title *skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* (Toh. 4150); see Tsültrim Rinchen 1982–1985, vol. 168, 4–271.
7 Kern 1891, Vaidya 1959, Khoroche 1987, and Hanisch 2005.
8 Speyer 1895.
9 Āryaśūra 1983. For the intention, see ibid., xiii.
10 Khoroche 1987 and 1989.
11 Meiland 2009.

### *1.2 The Third Karma pa's Text (Hundred Jātakas)*

The Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje, was born in Central Tibet in 1284, but later in his life also travelled extensively in Eastern Tibet.[12] He was one of the most prolific authors both of his time and among the Karma pas. It seems he had an interest in (incomplete) Indian texts of different kinds and supplemented them in various ways.[13] One of Rang 'byung rdo rje's concerns was the establishment of his reincarnation lineage—the first of its kind in Tibet. In this context, Gamble discusses the influence of the *jātaka* genre on Karma bka' brgyud hagiographies and institutionalized reincarnation in more general terms. She sees the *jātaka* genre as one of the role models used by the Third Karma pa to transform the extant genre of spiritual biographies (Tib. *rnam thar*) into a lineal hagiography connecting successive incarnations, which had not been a feature of this genre before.[14] The Third Karma pa might have had multiple motives for promoting the *jātaka* genre.

In 1314, at the age of thirty-one, while staying at *bDe chen steng* near mTshur phu monastery, Rang 'byung rdo rje composed sixty-six additional *jātaka*s and a life story of the Buddha, and collated them with Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*.[15] The collated text became known under the abbreviated title *Hundred Jātakas* (Tib. *skyes rabs brgya pa*). Its full title reads *The Garland of Rebirths of the All-Knowing Buddha: The thirty-four [stories] by Āryaśūra later completed to around one hundred by means of the sixty-seven [stories] by Rang 'byung rdo rje.*[16]

The *Hundred Jātakas* became quite popular in Central Tibet and at the Yuan court already during the Third Karma pa's lifetime. In the

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[12] For an extensive treatment of the Third Karma pa's life and works, see Seegers 2009, and Gamble 2018 and 2020.

[13] Apart from Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, he also completed the *Saddharmasmṛtupasthāna sūtra* (Tib. *dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i bstan bcos*)—necessitated in this case by corruption of the text. The project *Translating the Karmapas' Works* is currently working on an annotated translation of the *sūtra* together with its commentary; see also Schott 2023 recently published in this journal.

[14] Gamble 2018, 35–38. Another device employed by the Third Karma pa to establish the narrative of successive incarnations is his account of the intermediate state (Tib. *bar do*) between his second and third incarnations; on this topic, see Berounský 2010, Gamble 2018, 78–80, and 2020, 119–27, and Dell 2020, 43–44.

[15] Gamble 2020, 137. Referring to the colophon of one of his songs, she mentions more precisely that he "finished composing the *Ston pa'i skyes rabs* in Trashi Sarma (Bkra shis gsar ma), on the fifth day of the second month of the Tiger Year [1314]" (ibid., 87 and 187, endnote 236).

[16] English rendering according to Sernesi 2016, 288 (Tib. *ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa//*). For a translation of the title, see also Tropper 2005, 109.

last year of his life (1339), he supervised the painting of murals illustrating the *jātaka*s at a temple connected with the imperial palace in Beijing.[17] Unfortunately, these paintings are not preserved, unlike another set of mural paintings at Zha lu Monastery. There, inscriptions of abbreviated versions of the hundred-and-one tales together with paintings illustrating each of them were put on panels on the murals of the circumambulatory corridor (Tib. *skor lam chen po*)—either during the Third Karma pa's lifetime or shortly after his passing.[18] Kurt Tropper researched the inscriptions with an editorial focus on Āryaśūra's part of the text.[19] Sarah Richardson researched both selected inscriptions and paintings of the whole text, from an artistic perspective.[20]

As for the content of the *jātaka*s composed by the Third Karma pa, he states in his epilogue that he used many *sūtra*s as sources. Kapstein understands this as not being an exclusive statement, and conjectures that other sources than *sūtra*s, such as the collections of birth stories by Haribhaṭṭa and Kṣemendra, might also have been used.[21] This is a subject for future research.

The structure of the *jātaka* inscriptions in Zha lu monastery, i.e., the abbreviated versions of the *jātaka*s, was analyzed by Richardson to a certain extent.[22] However, the determination of the common features and differences between the different *jātaka*s authored by the Third Karma pa and their comparison in style and structure to those authored by Āryaśūra is still a desideratum.

While Āryaśūra's part has already been translated four times, the Karma pa's part of the text has not received much attention in this respect. There is no full translation. Gamble translated two of the *jātaka*s—numbers sixty-six and sixty-eight,[23] while Galasek-Hul and Dömötör took up number hundred-and-one—the life of the Buddha.[24] Richardson translated a number of selected abbreviated versions from the Zha lu inscriptions as well as the author's epilogue.[25]

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17 Kapstein 2020, 440, and Richardson, vol. 1, 62.

18 Tropper (2005, 83–85) argues for an early dating of the artwork, while Richardson (2016, vol.1, 61) holds that it was executed only after the Karma pa's death. Both of them admit that there is no clear proof for one or the other position, and that they built their respective reasoning on different evidence.

19 Tropper 2005.

20 Richardson 2016.

21 Kapstein 2020, 440.

22 Richardson 2016, vol. 1, 154–58.

23 Gamble 2020, 137–41, and 142–44.

24 Dell, Galasek-Hul, and Dömötör 2022.

25 Richardson 2016, vol. 2. She covered numbers 37, 39, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 77, 90, 98, 99 and 101. A translation of the Karma pa's epilogue is also found in Dell, Galasek-Hul, and Dömötör 2022, 90–92.

### *2. Textual History*

After Rang 'byung rdo rje's completion of the text in 1314 and the abbreviated inscriptions in Zha lu monastery some time before or after his death (1339), the first trace of the text available to us is a xylograph of which the printing blocks were produced in Beijing in 1430, i.e., more than a hundred years after its original composition. Over the course of five hundred years, at least four more sets of printing blocks came into existence in different regions at different times.

In the subsequent sections, an overview of these block prints, their textual witnesses, and references to research shall be provided. We will refer to the different textual witnesses using alpha-numerical sigla. The first letter encodes the place of production of the underlying block print edition—**B**ejing (B), **G**ong dkar (G), **M**ang yul gung thang (M), **A** mdo (A), s**D**e dge (D) and **u**nknown (U). The second letter stands for the type of publication or medium—**x**ylograph (X), modern typeset **b**ook (B), *dbu **c**an* manuscript (C), or *dbu **m**ed* manuscript (M) The digit counts the textual witness of the respective combination. Detailed bibliographic entries for each of the references are found under the respective sigla in the bibliography.

### *2.1 Block Print from Beijing 1430*

The first block print edition was already carved in wood in 1430 at the great temple of Dalongshan (Tib. *ta'i lung shen*) Monastery in Beijing.

This edition was described extensively by Matthew Kapstein.[26] He uses a textual witness from the Laufer Collection preserved in the Chicago Field Museum (BX2).[27] In his paper, Kapstein provides photos of the first and last folios of BX2.[28] We found another textual witness in BDRC (BX1). Comparing those two reveals that they are different prints from the same printing blocks. The typeset is basically identical, but the text from the Laufer collection is not as well preserved as the text scanned by BDRC. On the other hand, Āryaśūra's text is missing in BX1. Interestingly, BX1 shows some places that look like scribal corrections on the printed folios. However, since we did not have access to BX2, these places could not be compared.

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[26] Kapstein 2020.

[27] Tropper 2005, 217, already mentioned the existence of this very early edition and the textual witness from the Laufer Collection referring to a quote from Laufer himself. However, he did not have access to it. Sernesi, 2016, 287, supplemented some more details, until Kapstein 2020, described it extensively.

[28] Ibid., 452.

The Beijing edition starts with an outline (Tib. *sa bcad*) of the Third Karma pa's work as a whole. It comprises twenty-four folios and is marked as volume *ka* on the left-hand margin. We shall refer to it as BX1A and BX2A, respectively. The outline is followed by Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (missing in BX1) that consists of 138 folios. The Karma pa's supplement is marked as volume *kha* with restarted foliation and amounts to 243 folios. According to Kapstein, the work has no title pages.[29] He provides the title for the outline (BX2A)—probably from within the text—as "A Rough Abridgement Clarifying the Jina's Deeds" (Tib. *rgyal ba'i mdzad pa gsal byed pa'i mdor bsdus rags pa bstan pa*).[30] In BX1/BX1A the situation is somewhat different. BX1A has a title page with the title "Outline of the Garland of Rebirths, composed by the Dharma master [Rang] byung pa" (Tib. *skyes pa'i rabs kyi sa bcad chos rje byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so*). In BX1 the title page preceding the Karma pa's supplement repeats the same title, which must be a mistake. According to Kapstein,[31] the absence of a title page is frequent in early Tibetan printing. Thus, maybe the title pages of BX1A and BX1 were inserted later. Especially, for the erroneous title of BX1, this is also suggested by the different appearance of the paper and the missing part.

Kapstein mentions the existence of at least one other Ming edition of this text ("I have seen at least one additional Ming edition of Rang byung rdo rje's Jātakamālā during a visit to the library of Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil, Xiahe, Gansu, in 1990").[32] However, we could not find any further information about this edition.

| | **Beijing edition** | |
|---|---|---|
| **Sigla** | **BX1 (BX1A)** | **BX2 (BX2A)** |
| **Type** | xylograph | |
| **External reference** | BDRC: W3CN22341 | Berthold Laufer Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Department's catalogue number 336347 and specimen ID 220 |
| **Research references** | Kapstein 2020; Sernesi, 2016, 287; Tropper 2005, 217 | |
| **Place and date of block print** | 1430 at the great temple of Dalongshan (Tib. *ta'i lung shen*) Monastery in Beijing | |

[29] Ibid., 442.
[30] Ibid., 439.
[31] Ibid., 442.
[32] Ibid., 444, footnote 25.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Persons (sponsor, ed.)** | Sponsor (possibly author of colophon): dPal ldan bkra shis (1377–c.1442)<br>(Kapstein 2020, 443, 444) | |
| **Length** | Synopsis: 24 fols., Āryaśūra: 138 fols, Karma pa: 243 fols. | |
| **Title (title page)** | **Synopsis**: *sKyes pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so*<br>**Main**: *sKyes pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so* (must be false, synopsis title repeated) | **Synopsis**: *rGyal ba'i mdzad pa gsal byed pa'i mdor bsdus rags pa bstan pa*<br>**Main**: None<br>(Kapstein 2020, 439 and 442) |
| **Collection Title** | *sTon pa thub pa'i dbang po'i 'khrungs rabs skor gyi dpe cha phyogs bsdus*,<br>vol. 3 | None |
| **Synopsis** | Vol. ka, 1r–24r | |
| **Āryaśūra's text** | Missing | vol. ka, restart of foliation, 138 folios<br>(Kapstein 2020, 442) |
| **Karma pa's text** | Vol. kha, 1r | |
| **Epilogue (3K)** | Vol. kha, 241v.4 | |
| **Colophon** | Vol. kha, 242v.1–243r.8,<br>(Edition and translation: Kapstein 2020, 445–449) | |

*Table 1: Textual witnesses of the Beijing edition*

### *2.2 Block Print from Gong dkar (central Tibet) 1542*

About a hundred years later, in 1542, another block print edition of the *Hundred Jatakas* was produced in G*ong dkar* in central Tibet (Tib. *dbus*). It consists of a single volume of 422 folios labeled *ka*. Its relationship to the earlier Beijing edition has not been researched to date. The Gong dkar edition was described extensively by Marta Sernesi.[33] It bears the title "The Garland of Rebirths of the All-Knowing Buddha: The thirty-four [stories] by Āryaśūra later completed to around one hundred by means of the sixty-seven [stories] by Rang byung rdo rje" (Tib. *ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lcag pa'i/ /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs*.)[34]

We were able to identify several textual witnesses of prints from these printing blocks in BDRC and NGMCP labeled GX1, GX2 and GX3 in the bibliography. Marta Sernesi and Kurt Tropper both

[33] Sernesi 2016, 287–88, and 311–313.
[34] English rendering according to ibid., 288.

mentioned a textual witness from NGMCP that corresponds to our GX3.[35] Tropper also mentioned another textual witness of the Gong dkar edition, which he obtained from the Institute for Medicine and Astronomy (Tib. *sman rtis khang*) in Lhasa, and which he labeled $Z_2$. It exhibits some very small differences due to replacement of some printing blocks in the 1980s that had been destroyed during the cultural revolution.[36] The interesting observation here is that, for unknown reasons, the Mang yul gung thang edition was used as a template for the newly carved blocks instead of the Gong dkar edition.[37] The Mang yul gung thang edition is described in the next section and is very similar to the Gong dkar edition: in particular, it has the same pagination. However, the printing colophon differs. In Tropper's textual witness from Lhasa, folio pages 421r and 421v of the colophon follow the Manyül Gungtang edition, while the next page is according to the Gong dkar edition, which means that folio page 421v ends in the middle of a sentence.[38] We were able to identify a copy that must originate from the same restored printing block in BDRC, which we labeled GX4*.

There is also a modern typeset edition in pecha-style format (referred to as GB1) that is based on the same printing blocks, as it contains the same printing colophon. It is part of a collection of 108 volumes containing the works of the different Karma pas. Unfortunately, it exhibits quite some copying errors.

The available Gong dkar xylograph editions contain only the work proper, but not the Third Karma pa's outline of the work, which is included in the Beijing edition. However, the modern book version contains this outline (referred to as GB1A), probably taken from the Beijing edition. It bears yet another title: "Synopsis of the Buddha's Previous Lives" (Tib. *sangs rgyas kyi skyes pa'i rabs kyi bsdus don bzhugs so*), and comprises sixty-seven pages. The outline's title might have been added by the editor of the modern book, as it does not originate from the Beijing edition. The title of the work proper in GB1, however, coincides with that of the Gong dkar edition.

| | **Gong dkar edition (central Tibet)** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sigla** | **GX1** | **GX2** | **GX3** | **GX4*** | **GB1 (GB1A)** |
| **Type** | Xylograph | | | | Type–set book |

[35] It corresponds to NGMCP reel no. L 528/2; see Sernesi 2016, 288 and 311, and Tropper 2005, 108–9, who used the siglum $Z_1$ for it.
[36] Ibid., 110.
[37] Ibid., 114, footnote 34.
[38] Ibid.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **External reference** | BDRC: W4CZ 301726 | BDRC: W1NL M1304 | NGMCP reel no. L 528/ 2 | BDRC: W1KG22301 | BDRC: W3PD1288 |
| **Research reference** | Sernesi 2016, 287–289, and 311–313; GX3: Sernesi 2016, 288 and 311, and Tropper 2005, 108–9 (siglum Z1) | | | Restoration based on Mang yul gung thang print: Tropper 2005, 110 (siglum Z2) | None |
| **Place and date of block print** | 1542 at the palace of Gong dkar (*pho brang gong dkar*) in central Tibet (*dbus*) (Sernesi 2016, 287) | | | Same blocks as on the left; restoration: printing house of the *sman rtsis khang* in Lhasa in the 1980s (Tropper 2005, 110) | Colophon same as Gong dkar edition; Modern: 2013 in Lhasa: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang |
| **Persons (sponsor, editor,...)** | Sponsor: Phag mo gru prince 'Gro ba'i mgon po (1508–1548) (Sernesi 2016, 287) | | | Same as GX1; no information about persons involved in restoration | Same as GX1 for underlying block print |
| **Length** | 422 fols, one volume, labeled ka | | | Same as GX1 | Synopsis: 34 fols., Āryaśūra: 209 fols., Karma pa: 382 fols. |
| **Title (title page)** | *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rje bdun lcag pa'i/ /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs* (Sernesi 2016, 288) | | | Same as GX1 (but title page has different layout—restored) | **Synopsis**: *Sangs rgyas skyes pa'i rabs kyi bsdus don bzhugs so*, **Main**: same as GX1 |
| **Collection Title** | None | | | None | *dPal rgyal dbang karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs* (108 vols.), vol. 11, 69–602, and vol. 12 |
| **Synopsis** | Not contained | | | | Vol. 11, 1r–34r (must be from Beijing edition) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Āryaśūra's text** | Vol. ka, 1r | | Vol. 11, 1r or p. 69 |
| **Karma pa's text** | Vol. ka, 158v.1 | | Vol. 11, 210r.3 or p. 487.3 |
| **Epilogue (3K)** | Vol. ka, 420r.3 | See GX1 and MX3; fol. 421 restored based on MX | Vol. 12, 298.2 or p. 596.2 |
| **Colophon 1** | Vol. ka, 421r.2, *swasti...* (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313) | See MX3; fol. 421 restored based on MX | Vol. 12, 298v.5 or p. 596.5, *swasti...* |
| **Colophon 2** | Vol. ka, 421v.2, *'on kyang...* (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313) | See MX3; fol. 421 restored based on MX | Vol. 12, 300v.1 or p. 600.1, *'on kyang...* |
| **Colophon 3** | Vol. ka, 421v.7, *de byung dge...* (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313, part. transl.: ibid., 289) | See MX3 and GX1; fol. 421 restored based MX edition; fol. 422 identical to GX1 | Vol. 12, 301r.1 or p. 601.1, *de byung dge...* |
| **Colophon 4** | Vol. ka, 422r.4, *kwa ye...* (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313) | | Vol. 12, 301r.6 or p. 601.6, *kwa ye...* |
| **Notes** | None | Missing: fols. 2, 56, 73, 80–83 | None |

*Table 2: Textual witnesses of the Gong dkar edition*

### *2.3 Block Print from Mang yul gung thang in Southwest Tibet 1574*

Another block print edition from Mang yul gung thang, a kingdom in the southwest of Tibet, was produced in 1574.[39] Sernesi showed that this new edition is based on a copy of the Gong dkar edition. The two editions have many features in common, such as the title, number of folios, and number of lines per folio. However, the distribution of syllables on the pages varies between the two editions, which shows that the Mang yul gung thang edition is indeed a newly carved edition.[40] Even parts of the printing colophon were taken over, but the place, name of sponsor and date were replaced carefully.[41]

[39] It could also have been 1575. For details on dating the edition, see Sernesi 2016, 289.

[40] Ibid., 290.

[41] Ibid. For a precise comparison of the different parts of the printing colophons between the Gong dkar and the Mang yul gung thang editions, see ibid., 311–14.

While the actual Mang yul gung thang edition contains illustrations on the first two pages, there is another edition that looks very similar, but which has empty spaces instead of the illustrations. Sernesi also found some other subtle differences on these first two pages. Therefore, she conjectures:

> *"Hence, either the blocks were restored, replacing the blocks of the first pages with newly carved ones when they became too worn out, or a new set of blocks was produced employing a copy from the Mang yul Gung thang edition as printing sheets, in an undetermined place and date."*[42]

Sernesi refers to two textual witnesses of the earlier Mang yul gung thang print from NGMPP (here labeled as MX1 and MX2).[43] Furthermore, she mentions a copy of the variation print from the Tucci Collection (here referred to as MX3).[44] It has the striking feature that the images on the first two pages are replaced by empty frames. Otherwise, it seems to be from the same printing blocks.[45]

There is also a handwritten copy of the Mang yul gung thang edition in *dbu can* script including the full printing colophon, which made its way to Ladakh. It was published as a reproduction of the manuscript in two volumes in 1974 and is also found in the BDRC database. We refer to it as MC1.[46]

| | **Mang yul gung thang edition (southwest Tibet)** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sigla** | **MX1** | **MX2** | **MX3** | **MC1** |
| **Type** | Xylograph | | | *dbu can* ms. |
| **External reference** | NGMCP reel no. L 568/9–569/1 | NGMCP reel no. L 961/3–962/1 | IsIAO Tucci Tibetan Collect., no. 669 (De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 333) | BDRC: W1KG4477 |
| **Research reference** | Sernesi 2016, 289-292, 313-314; Sernesi 2021, 268-270; MX2: Tropper, 2005, 114 | | Mentioned in Sernesi 2016, 292, footnote 54 | Mentioned in Tropper 2005, 115, no. 5.; and in Sernesi 1016, 292, footnote 53 |

[42] Ibid., 292.
[43] Ibid., 313. Tropper, 2005, 114, also mentioned MX2 from the NGMPP (Reel No. L 961/3–L 962/1) as his textual witness no. 3. He also provided some interesting references to the editor of these printing blocks.
[44] Sernesi 2016, 292, footnote 54.
[45] Sernesi 2021, 469, no. 8.
[46] Also Tropper 2005, 115, mentioned this edition as no. 5.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Place and date of block print** | 1574 or 1575 in the village gNas in Mang yul gung thang (Sernesi 2016, 289) | Reproduced photographically from a rare manuscript preserved in the library of the Stog rgyal po of Ladakh; modern publishing: 1974, Darjeeling, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang |
| **Persons (sponsor, editor,...)** | Sponsor: Byams pa phun tshogs (Sernesi 2016, 289) | For ms. unknown |
| **Length** | 422 fols., one volume, labeled ka | 2 vols. |
| **Title (title page)** | *Ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lcag pa'i/ /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs* (MX1/MX2 not seen; MX3 has cover from different edition; MC1 has this title) | English title: "Tibetan Rendering of the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra. Supplemented with 67 additional Jātaka stories by The Third Karma-pa Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje"; Tib. ms. title: see left |
| **Collection Title** | None | None |
| **Synopsis** | Not contained | |
| **Āryaśūra's text** | Vol. ka, 1r | Vol. ka, 1r or vol. 1, p. 1 |
| **Karma pa's text** | Vol. ka, 158v.1 | Vol. ka, 229r.5 or vol. 1, p. 459.5 |
| **Epilogue (3K)** | Vol. ka, 401r.5 | Vol. ka, 504r.5 or vol. 2, p. 569.5 |
| **Colophon 1** | Vol. ka, 420r.3 | Vol. ka, 614r.1 or vol. 2, p. 619.1 |
| **Colophon 2** | Vol. ka, 421r.2, swasti... (Sernesi 2016, 290: copied from Gong dkar edition; edition: ibid., 311) | Vol. ka, 615r.4 or vol. 2, p. 621.4 |
| **Colophon 3** | Vol. ka, 421v.2, 'on kyang... (Sernesi 2016, 290: modified compared to Gong dkar edition; edition: ibid., 313) | Vol. ka, 616r.2 or vol. 2, p. 623.2 |
| **Colophon 4** | Vol. ka, 421v.7, de la byung ba'i... (Sernesi 2016, 290: independent of Gong dkar edition; edition, ibid., 313–314) | Vol. ka, 616v.3 or vol. 2, p. 624.3 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Notes** | This edition is based on the Gong dkar edition, but new blocks were carved from it with the same number of folios and lines per page, but different line breaks (Sernesi 2016, 290) | First two folios from different edition (Sernesi 2016, 292, and Sernesi 2021, 469, no.8), otherwise identical with MX1 and MX2 | Photographically reproduced manuscript of the Mang yul gung thang block print edition |

*Table 3: Textual witnesses of the Mang yul gung thang edition*

### *2.4 Block Print from A mdo between Late Eighteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

Another block print edition is attested from A mdo, in the northeast of Tibet, produced between the late eighteenth century and the early twentieth century. It is derived from the Mang yul gung thang edition. This text is described by Sernesi.[47] She has not seen any copy of the block print herself and we could not get hold of it either. However, she was able to identify a modern publication that is based on this block print and thus was able to access its text. The modern book, and presumably the block print as well, contain only the second part of the *Hundred Jatakas*, i.e., the sixty-seven stories added by the Third Karma pa.[48] We refer to this book by the siglum AB2. Furthermore, there is another modern type-set book available at BDRC that is based on the A mdo edition, which we refer to as AB1. It was published in Beijing in 1995.[49] In those textual witnesses, the Karma pa's epilogue is followed by the same colophons as in the Mang yul gung thang edition.[50] However, then another short colophon is added that mentions that this was printed in dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling according to the edition of the preceding colophon.[51] Hence, the A mdo edition is clearly based on the Mang yul gung thang edition.

47 Sernesi 2016, 292–93. Also Tropper 2005, 115, mentioned this edition as no. 4. He could not get hold of it, but he refers to a catalog entry of the monastery printing house, according to which it has 464 folios; see Meisezahl 1986, 312.

48 Sernesi 2016, 292–93. Tropper 2005, 116, also mentioned this book as no. 7 and associates it with the A mdo edition.

49 Tropper also refers to this book as no. 6; see Tropper 2005, 115–16.

50 Sernesi 1016, 313–14.

51 For a translation of this short colophon, see Tropper 2005, 115, footnote 37.

| | A mdo edition | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Sigla** | **AX1** | **AB1** | **AB2** |
| **Type** | Xylograph | Type-set book | |
| **External reference** | None identified | BDRC: W1KG16609 | None identified |
| **Research reference** | Sernesi 2016, 292–93; Tropper 2005, 115–16, nos. 4 and 6 (knowledge of block print only via book editions) | Tropper 2005, 115–16, no. 6 | Sernesi 2016, p. 292, footnote 55; Tropper 2005, 116, no. 7 |
| **Place and date of block print** | Late 18th-early 20th cent., "printed at the great college called dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling" in Amdo (Sernesi 2016, 292–93), date only derived indirectly via existence of that monastery | Book edition: 1995, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang | Book edition: 1997, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang |
| **Persons (sponsor, editor,...)** | No information in additional colophon | | |
| **Length** | 464 fols. (Tropper 2005, 115, no. 4 referring to Meisezahl 1986) | | 301 pages (pp. 205–506) |
| **Title (title page)** | Unknown | Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi skyes rabs brgya pa | sKyes rabs brgya ba |
| **Collection Title** | None | Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig, vol. 22 | bCom ldan 'das ston pa shākya thub pa'i rnam thar bzhugs so |
| **Synopsis** | Not contained | Not contained | Not contained |
| **Āryaśūra's text** | Page unknown | p. 2 | Page unknown |
| **Karma pa's text** | Page unknown | p. 272 | Page unknown |
| **Epilogue (3K)** | Page unknown | p. 692.23–725.18 | Page unknown |
| **Colophon 1** | Page unknown | p. 725.19–727.8 | Page unknown |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Colophon 2** | Page unknown | p. 727.9–728.5 (copied from Gong dkar via Mang yul gung thang; edition: Sernesi 2016, 311) | Page unknown |
| **Colophon 3** | Page unknown | p. 728.5–728.19 (copied from Gong dkar via Mang yul gung thang; edition: Sernesi 2016, 313) | Page unknown |
| **Colophon 4** | Page unknown | p. 728.19–729.10 (copied from Mang yul gung thang (without mantra); edition: Sernesi 2016, 313–14) | Page unknown |
| **Colophon 5** | Page unknown | p. 729.11–729.15 | Page unknown (transl: Tropper 2005, 116; Sernesi 2016, 292–93) |
| **Colophon 6** | Page unknown | p. 729.16–729.21 (dedication) | Page unknown |

*Table 4: Textual witnesses of the A mdo edition*

### *2.5 Block Print from sDe dge in Eastern Tibet from Early Twentieth Century*

Apart from the block print editions that were discussed by Kapstein and Sernesi as summarized above, we were able to identify another xylograph in the BDRC database of relatively late origin. It has the same title on the title page as the Gong dkar and Mang yul gung thang editions. It consists of 379 folios and the place of production is indicated as the *sDe dge par khang*. We refer to this block print with the siglum DX1. The colophon differs from the other editions presented here. After the Karma pa's epilogue, there is no copy of any of the other colophons. The colophon that follows spans about two folio pages and can be divided into three parts—the editor's epilogue (*mdzad byang*) with ten stanzas of four verse lines each, the aspirational verses (*bkra shis smon lam* or *smon tshig*) with five stanzas, and the printing colophon (*par byang* or *zhus byang*) in prose, which is the shortest part.[52] Transliterations and translations of all three parts are provided in appendix 1.

From the editor's epilogue, we learn the name bKra shis 'od zer. mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910) was an abbot of dPal

[52] For an overview of different kinds of colophons in Tibetan texts, see Wangchuk 2022.

spungs monastery and a student of 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899).[53] From the context, it seems that bKra shis 'od zer had the role of the initiator of the print (*bskul ba po*). However, the next stanza mentions Don grub rdo rje, which is the secret name of the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922), who was a student of bKra shis 'od zer. His role is not stated very clearly, but presumably he continued the activity of his teacher to make this new edition happen in some way. In the last stanza of the editor's epilogue, we learn that this work (i.e., the *sKyes rab brgya pa*) was kept in the dPal spungs monastery. This might refer to the version of the text this new edition is based on. Tropper refers to Gene Smith who mentions a "beautifully illustrated manuscript [which] is probably from Palpung." [54] We were not able to identify this manuscript and have no further information about it. It could be the manuscript UM1 which we describe in the next section, but this is difficult to verify.

The aspirational verses do not provide any information as to the circumstances of the creation of the sDe dge edition, as is expected. However, the printing colophon helps to complete the picture. There, it is mentioned that the text was compared with the Chinese printed edition and some other old editions. This somewhat relativizes the question about the dPal spungs manuscript that it might be based on, since through the process of editing based on various editions, this new edition could have picked up spellings from all of them. The Chinese printed edition is presumably the Beijing edition described earlier, while the other editions taken into account could possibly be Gong dkar and Mang yul gung thang (the latter copied from Gong dkar). This is also suggested by a comparison of some samples of differences in spelling across the different editions undertaken by us. It can be observed that the spelling of the sDe dge edition tends to be in line with the Gong dkar and Mang yul gung thang editions, rather than the Beijing edition. Hence, either their spelling was considered preferable during the correction process, or the possible base text for the edition (dPal spung manuscript) was in any case copied from one of those. Furthermore, the printing colophon (and the entry in BDRC) mentions that the editor during the carving of the blocks was 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros. We were not able to pinpoint his birth and death years. BDRC just indicates that he lived during the twentieth century, but it also mentions that he was a student of 'Jam dbyangs Blo gter dbang po (1847–1914), which puts his life into the first half of the twentieth century (he could have been born already at the end of the nineteenth

[53] BDRC, P1373.
[54] Tropper 2005, 116, no. 8 and footnote 39.

century).[55] Looking at the life dates of bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910) and the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922), who presumably initiated the project, places the time of production of the sDe dge edition into the early twentieth century. The sponsor of the print cannot be identified by name. The printing colophon just mentions a *dge ba'i bshes gnyen* ("spiritual friend") which seems to be a reference to the sponsor.

Interestingly, Āryaśūra's part of the sDe ge block print does not have the same layout as the same text in the sDe ge bsTan 'gyur (Toh. 4150). Hence, it was carved again, even though it must have been stored in the printing house already.

Tropper associates the type-set book from the previous section, which we labeled AB2, with the sDe ge block print edition. He does so based on a communication with the printing house, which told him that Āryaśūra's part originates from the sDe ge bsTan 'gyur and the Karma pa's part was taken from a block print from sDe ge. However, the colophons of the two differ completely. The colophon in the book clearly points to the Amdo edition, which Tropper also concludes.[56]

| | **sDe ge edition** |
|---|---|
| **Sigla** | **DX1** |
| **Type** | Xylograph |
| **External reference** | BDRC: W8LS16389 |
| **Research reference** | None (some info on BDRC entry) |
| **Place and date of block print** | Early 20th cent. in sDe dge par khang<br>(date derived from life dates of editor; see also BDRC) |
| **Persons (sponsor, editor,...)** | Initiator of the print (*bskul ba po*): mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910; BDRC, P1373)<br>Editor during carving: 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros (b. 20th cent.; BDRC, P7122);<br>Sponsor: only refered to as *dge ba'i bshes gnyen* ("spiritual friend") |
| **Length** | 379 fols., no vol. label |
| **Title (title page)** | sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng / bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ /drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa/ / |

[55] For the mention of the editor and his teacher, see BDRC, W8LS16389, and DX1, fol. 379r; for more information on the persons, see BDRC, P7122 and P560.

[56] Tropper 2005, 116, footnote 37.

| Collection Title | None |
|---|---|
| Synopsis | Not contained |
| Āryaśūra's text | 1v.1 |
| Karma pa's text | 145r.1 |
| Epilogue (3K) | 377r.4 |
| Colophon 1 | 378r.2<br>Printer's/ editor's epilogue |
| Colophon 2 | 378v.5 (PDF 759)<br>Aspirational verses |
| Colophon 3 | 379r.1 (PDF 760)<br>Printing colophon |

*Table 5: Textual witnesses of the sDe dge edition*

### *2.6 Manuscripts (dbu med)*

Apart from the different block print editions and the modern type-set books, there are also some manuscripts written in *dbu med* script. We found two of them at BDRC, which we refer to as UM1 and UM2. Both are written in quite readable handwriting (though in different variants of the "headless" script), and contain the full text starting from jātaka 35 until the Third Karma pa's epilogue. Printing colophons from any other block print editions were not copied. Instead, they both conclude with different very short colophons that are difficult to read as the script is smaller and not as clear as before. Unfortunately, we were not able to extract significant information as to the place or year of production and the sponsor (see Appendix 2). UM1 comprises 499 folios and has many phrases highlighted in red ink, while the rest is in black ink. The first page after the title page (fol. 1v) is illustrated with two colored images. On the left margin, there is the future Buddha, Maitreya, and on the right margin, there is Padmasambhava. Likewise, on the last page of the life story of the Buddha (fol. 497v), just before the epilogue, there are again two colored images. On the left margin, there is Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje, and on the right margin, there is Dzambhala. UM2 has no such illustrations. BDRC describes it as "collection of sadhana and empowerment of the hundred various tutelary deities of Narthang and The Jatakamala of Aryasura and sixty seven additional Jataka stories supplemented by the third Karma pa Rangjung Dorje."[57]

[57] BDRC, W4CZ307403.

Hence, the actual *Hundred Jatakas* text is preceded by different manuscripts and only starts after sixty-two folios (i.e., PDF p. 126). Only rarely are words highlighted in red ink. It consists of 245 folios. Its script is very narrow.

Tropper also mentions an illustrated manuscript and refers to Gene Smith who describes it: "The beautifully illustrated manuscript will be included in the forthcoming edition of the collected works of Rang byung rdo rje currently under publication in China. The manuscript itself is probably from Palpung. We have scans which we are not permitted to distribute for the moment."[58] Without further information it is difficult to say, if this manuscript can be identified with UM1 or not.

All manuscripts are likely handwritten copies of one of the block print editions, however it is not always straightforward to determine which one, especially if the printing colophon was not copied, as in the cases at hand. Consequently, this needs further research, e.g., a text-critical analysis.

| | ***dbu med* manuscripts (unknown origin)** | |
|---|---|---|
| **Sigla** | **UM1** | **UM2** |
| **Type** | *dbu med* ms. | *dbu med* ms. |
| **External reference** | BDRC: W4CZ307425 | BDRC: W4CZ307403 |
| **Research reference** | None | None |
| **Place and date of block print** | Unknown | Unknown |
| **Persons (sponsor, editor,...)** | Unknown | Unknown |
| **Length** | 499 folios | 245 folios |
| **Title (title page)** | Karma pa rang byung rdo rjes mdzad pa'i sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs bzhugs so. Og ma'o | None |
| **Collection Title** | None | Collection without title |
| **Synopsis** | Not contained | Not contained |

[58] Tropper 2005, 116, no. 8 and footnote 39.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Āryaśūra's text** | Not contained | Not contained |
| **Karma pa's text** | PDF p.3 | PDF p. 126, l.1 |
| **Epilogue (3K)** | PDF p. 998, l. 2 | PDF p. 614, l. 1 (end of line) |
| **Colophon 1** | Last page | Last page |

*Table 6: dbu med manuscripts*

## *3. Conclusion*

For the conclusion, a summary in the form of a diagram is presented in Figure 1. It is not meant as a stemma, although it might resemble one.

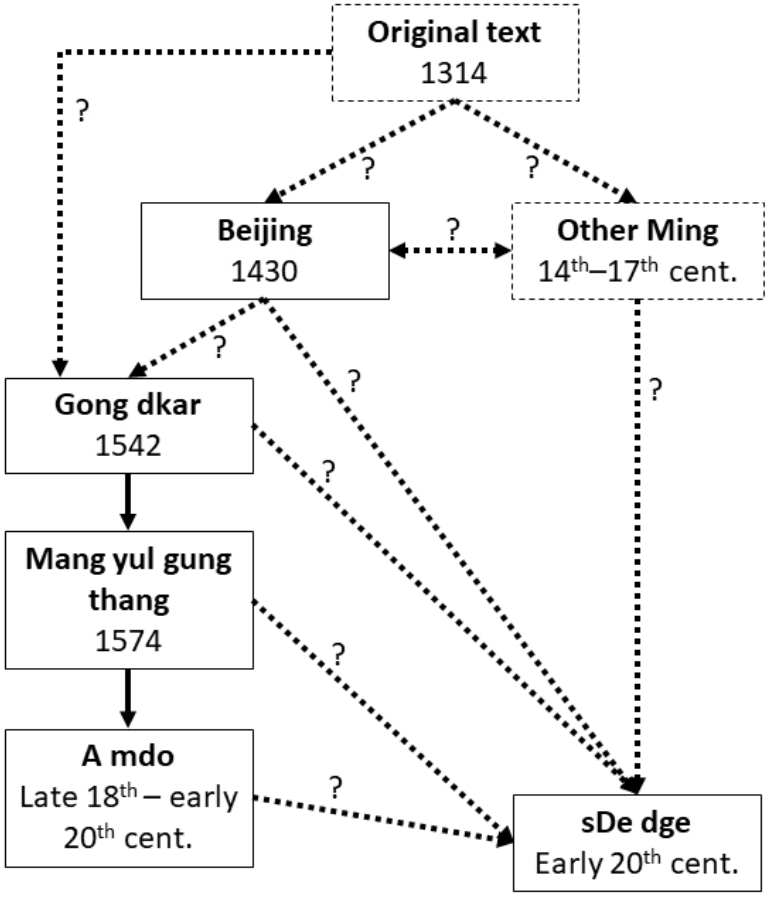


*Figure 1: Genealogy of the sKyes rab brgya pa xylographs*

The solid-line boxes signify the five different xylograph editions with place and date of production that we were able to identify. The original text (certainly a manuscript) that every other edition must depend on directly or indirectly (here called "original text") is represented as a dashed-line box to indicate that it did not come down to us. Similarly, the other Ming editions whose existence was mentioned by Kapstein are depicted with a dashed-line box, since it was not possible to get hold of these, nor did we find any hint in the literature that anyone did ever examine them.[59] When it comes to the relationship between the different editions depicted in the Figure 1, the situation gets more uncertain. The only secured statement here (based on the colophons analyzed by Sernesi) is that the A mdo xylograph edition was copied from the Mang yul gung thang edition, which in turn is based on the Gong dkar edition (relationship depicted with solid-line arrows). However, for the latter, we don't know its relationship to the Beijing edition, if there is any, or in what way the original texts found its way into the Gong kar edition. It could have well been via (a series of) manuscripts bypassing the Beijing edition. Likewise, for the Beijing edition, there is no hint about which edition or manuscript it is based on. While there could possibly be a relationship between the other Ming editions and the Beijing edition, if so and in which direction remains obscure. For the sDe dge edition, we know from the colophon that it was compared to a Chinese block print and to some other block prints in the process of editing, but which these were exactly remains unclear. All these possible but uncertain relationships are depicted with dashed-line arrows and question marks in Figure 1. We have not put the two manuscripts we came across into the diagram, as from our analysis it was impossible to locate them in place and time, let alone to determine their relationship toward other editions. Nevertheless, due to the popularity of the text, we must assume that there were many manuscripts that did not come down to us and that some of these might have played an important role in the textual history to bridge the gap between the original text and the first xylographs.

With this paper, we sought to provide a comprehensive overview of the textual history as it appears as of today by compiling the scattered information from various other publications and by adding some of our own analysis to render the picture a bit more complete. This can hopefully be a solid basis and starting point for future research. Apart from that, an overview of the different textual witnesses, as provided here, is also very helpful when it comes to the analysis of the content of the Third Karma pa's work, as has been embarked on in an ongoing

[59] See section 2.1.

phased translation project hosted by *Translating the Karmapa's Works*, which recently resulted in a first publication.[60]

## *4. Appendix 1: sDe dge Colophon*

### *4.1 sDe dge Colophon Transliteration*

[Colophon Section 1]

[DX1, fol. 378r, l. 2]
*//oṁ swa sti siddhaṃ/*

*byams pa'i thugs kyi sa gzhi bstar ba la//*
*snying rjes mgron du bskyil ba'i sems can kun//*
*bzang po spyod pa'i dga' ston ci yang gis//*
*gtan bder tshim pa stsal ba'i thub la 'dud//*

*gang gis rang bde dgra bzhin spangs nas su//*
*gzhan la bde sbyin slad du brnag dka' ba'i//*
*byang chub sems la dpa' ba'i go bskon te//*
*bskal mang bdag cag don du tshogs gnyis bsgrubs//*

*de srid mchog dang mchog min skyes pa'i rabs//*
*pad dkar lta bu'i phreng de lhag bsam gyi//*
*gser sbyangs skud par ltem rkyang med brgyus pa'i//*
*ngo mtshar ltad mo de lta srid na gang//*

*de 'dra'i phul byung ji bzhin sgrogs pa'i phyir//*
*dbyangs kyi rgyal mos spobs ba'i mchog byin pa//*
*rgyal sras dpa' bo'i snyan pas 'phags yul kyi'ang//*
*gtam gzhan tshig don rnyog pa'i khron par bsdus//*

*de yang rgyal sras spyod pas yid 'phrog ste//*
*legs bshad gtam gyi 'phro bcas*[61] *lus byin pas//*
*rdzogs par ma gyur skye ba gzhan bzung yang//*
*rnam dpyod de nyid kyis bskangs rang byung rje//*

*brjod don pha rol phyin bcu'i spyod pa yis//*
*lha dang dge sbyong bram ze mchog rnams kyi//*
*rnam thar nyon mongs rdzab kyis gos pa'i tshul//*

---

[60] For *Translating the Karmapa's Works*, see their website https://www.translating-karmapas.org/ (accessed April 15, 2023); for the publication, see Dell, Galasek-Hul, Dömötör 2022.

[61] Read *chad*?

*gsal bar ston pas ston pa mchog tu shes//*

*sku tshe snga mar bsgrubs pa'i rgyu mang pos//*
*'di [fol. 378v] na thams cad mkhyen pa'i 'bras bu can//*
*thugs rje'i grib bsil snyoms par brdal gang gi//*
*mdzad pa brgya rtsa brgyad kyis gtams pa'i glegs//*

*thub bstan gtsang ma'i rgyal mtshan snyigs dus 'dir//*
*gzhan phan byang chub sems kyis btsugs pa la//*
*snying stobs zhum med bkra shis 'od zer gyis//*
*bstan la bya ba byas pa'i cha gcig ste//*

*de yi dge ba'i sri zhur dad pa'i mig//*
*glog 'gyu lta bu'i bsod nams kyis phyes bas//*
*chab tshom don grub rdo rje tshe ring gi//*
*gtong ba'i mtsho las spar gyi zla ba thon//*

*brjod bya bdag cag ston pa'i skyes rabs nyid//*
*rjod byed rgya bod snyan ngag tog gis bsnyad//*
*thar 'dod blo la don gnyis sbyin pa'i gnyen//*
*bstan bcos che 'di dpal spung gdan sar bzhugs//*

[Colophon Section 2]

*legs byas ma dros chu gter chen po 'dir//*
*sgo gsum lam nas rnyed bkur bya ba'i las//*
*dga' dang yi rangs tsam du'ang gang 'babs pa//*
*de dag rnam mkhyen rgya mtsho chen por bsngo//*

*mthu des sangs rgyas 'jig rten sgron ma yi//*
*spyod dang rnam thar bstan pa dang bcas par//*
*log ltas mi 'phrog yid ches dad pa yis//*
*rjes su 'jig pa'i skul ba bzang thob shog/*

*mkha' khyab 'gro 'di pha mar grub po zhes//*
*gzhan phan lam gyi srol chen phye ba'i rjes//*
*'theng*[62] *slad chod pa'i bsam skyor*[63] *rnam dag gis//*
*rgyal sras byang chub spyod la 'jig par shog/*

*skye ba kun tu sangs rgyas byon dang mjal//*
*de yi bsngags pa rab 'byams zhing kun sgrogs//*

---

[62] Read *'thing*?
[63] The print is unclear here; read *sbyor*?

*the tshom log ltar 'phyan rnams bstan par bcug/*
*kun kyang rgyal ba'i 'phrin las snod gyur cig/*

*'dir yang thub pa'i bstan pa ring du gnas//*
*bstan pa tshul bzhin 'dzin rnams sku tshe brtan//*
*dkon mchog gsum la dad ldan bde skyid 'byor//*
*thams cad bkra shis chos kyi don [fol. 379r] 'grub shog*

[Colophon Section 3]

*ces dge ba'i bshes gnyen chen pos chos sbyin spar du bzhengs pa'i tshe bka' lung gi me tog 'thor ba las bod kyi gangs dkar spar mkhas pa'i zhu dag gis yid brtan pher ba byas pa nyid la gzhi byas/*

*rgya nag gi spar ma sogs dpe rnying gzhan dang yang bsdur/*

*cung zad 'chos par bzod pa rnams bcos te zhu dag bgyis pa dang bcas 'jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros gyis bsod nams bya ba la 'brel pa btags pa'i go skabs rnyed pa ste sarvathā kalyāṇaṃ bhavatu/*

### *4.2 sDe dge Colophon Translation*

[Printer's/Editor's Epilogue, *mdzad byang*]

*oṁ svasti siddhaṃ*—Auspicious Accomplishment!

I bow to the Buddha who, on the purified ground of loving kindness,
Bestows satisfaction in lasting happiness to all sentient beings
Through all kinds of feasts of good conduct
With his compassion that gathers them for a celebration.

You, who has abandoned your own happiness like [one avoids] a foe,
Who has donned the armor of courage in the mind of enlightenment
That takes on unbearable hardship in order to give others happiness,
Accomplished during many kalpas the two accumulations for our sakes.

A wondrous spectacle indeed (*lta*) in the world
Are so many higher and lower rebirths,
Strung unhesitatingly on a thread of pure gold of a superior determination
Like a garland of white lotus flowers.

In order to give expression to something as perfect as this,
The famed Indian Bodhisattva Śūra,
Who was granted supreme courage by the Queen of Speech,[64]
Collected the meaning and the words[65] gathered in the murky well of literalness of the Indic prose works of others.

He, however, captivated by the conduct of the Jina-sons,
Sacrificed his body, and therefore the continuation of his eloquent account was interrupted.
But even if he were to have taken up another life, it could not have been completed.
By that same reasoning, the master Rang 'byung rdo rje finished it.

It is said that through the practice of the ten *pāramitā*s,
One can know the Teacher[66] well by way of implication
Through the manner in which the liberation stories of [even] the gods and the most excellent *śramaṇa*s and brahmins
Are [still] sullied by the mud of the *kleśa*s.

The book that is filled with the 108(?) deeds of him
Who, having [attained] the result of omniscience in this world
Through many causes accumulated in previous lives,
Evenly spread the shadow of compassion,

Is one part of the accomplishment for the teaching by bKra shis 'od zer[67]
[Whose] courage in the planting of the victory banner of the pure teachings of the Buddha
In this age of decline
With the enlightened intention to benefit others is undaunted.

Because the eye of his virtuous reverential devotion
Was opened through lightning-like merit,
The moon of this edition, rising from the ocean of the renunciation,

---

64 The goddess Sarasvatī?
65 This refers to Āryaśūra's own composition, the *Jātakamālā*.
66 That is, the Buddha (*ston pa*).
67 BDRC, P1373: mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910) belonged to the Karma bka' brgyud tradition and was an abbot of dPal spungs monastery. One of his teachers was the famous 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899) and one of his students was the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922). Given the context, he could have been the one who encouraged this edition to be produced (*bskul ba po*).

Don grub rdo rje,[68] appeared.

The content [of the book] is the former lives of our teacher, the Buddha.
The means of expression through which it is related, is the top-ornament of Indo-Tibetan *kāvya*.
This friend that bestows the two goals[69] to those whose minds long for liberation,
This great *śāstra* was then kept (*bzhugs*?) in the monastic center dPal spung.[70]

[Aspirational Verses, *bkra shis smon lam*]

Well done are the actions of worship performed through the path of the three doors,
As well as the mere happiness and joy which rain down,
Into this great lake Anavatapta.[71]
I dedicate them to the great ocean omniscience!

Through the power of this,
May an auspicious motivation[72] be attained, which destroys
Wrong views with unassailable confident faith
Together with the teaching of the liberation stories and the conduct of the Buddha, the light of the world.

Beings as infinite as space are established as [our] parents, it is said.
Following on the spreading of the great tradition of [the path that leads to] others' benefit,
May the sons of the victor prevail in their enlightenment practice
Through [their] completely pure thoughts and actions that cut off [any opportunity for] blame!

In all our lifetimes, may the Buddha come and may we meet!

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68 This happens to be the secret name of the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922; see BDRC, P563).

69 I.e., one's own and others' benefit, *rang don* and *gzhan don*.

70 dPal spung monastery is located in eastern Tibet and was founded in 1717 by the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699/1700–1774), also known as Si tu Paṇ chen bsTan pa'i nyin byed, the great scholar and Sanskritist. For more information on this important historical figure, see, e.g., a recent publication in this journal (Dell 2023).

71 The mythical lake Manasarovar.

72 Tib. *skul ba*, a cognate to *bskul ba po* which also means "initiator of a print" in the context of colophons.

His praise resounds everywhere in the infinite realms [of the universe].
May those wandering aimlessly with doubts and wrong views enter the teachings,
And become suitable vessels for the victor's spiritual activity!

Here, too, may the Śākya's teaching remain long
And the life-force of those who uphold his methods be firm.
May those who have faith in the Three Jewels attain joy and happiness,
And may all realize the aim of the auspicious Dharma!

[Printing Colophon, *par byang*]

When this gift of the Dharma was printed anew by the great *kalyāṇamitra*,[73] it was done based on the reliable and valid work that had been carried out by the skilled Tibetan editors of the scattered flowers of the [different] transmitted versions.

[The text] was compared with the Chinese printed edition and other old copies.[74]

Revising only minimally, what was permissible [to correct] was corrected by 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros[75] together with the editors, who obtained an opportunity to make an auspicious connection in the creation of merit.

May it be auspicious in every way!

## *5. Appendix 2: Manuscript Colophons*

### *5.1 UM1 Colophon Transliteration and Analysis*

[penultimate page, l. 3]
*gsang gsum mi bzad 'khor lo nyin mo'i mgon/*
*sa gsum mun pa'i gshed du snang ba brgya/*

[73] Tib. *dge ba'i bshes gnyen*, Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*. This term is often translated as "spiritual friend". Given the context, here it likely refers to the otherwise unnamed sponsor of the print.

[74] The "Chinese printed edition", here, presumably refers to the Beijing edition described in section 2.1 of this paper (see also Kapstein 2020). The "other old copies" may refer to some of the other editions described in this paper.

[75] 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros (BDRC, P7122) was born sometime in the 20th century and was a student of the Sa skya lama Blo gter dbang po (1847–1914; BDRC, P560). He may have written a Tibetan grammar book or commentary on two grammatical opuses as suggested by this entry: https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_tbtdocument_00051012, accessed: April 14, 2023.

*cig char 'char la spob pa'i gdongs ldan pa'i/*
*rnam 'dren bzhi pa'i zhabs kyi shis pas skyongs/*

*gang de'i bsags sbyong tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho las/*
*snying stobs brtson pa'i shugs kyi spyod pa yi/*
*bral smin yon tan cig char rdzogs kyi bar/*
*skyes rabs phreng ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi phul/*

***glegs bam bsam 'phel bzhengs pa'i sbyin bdag ni/***
***nor 'dzin shar phyogs khyon la dbang bsgyur ba'i/***
***mi dbang dam pa'i phrin las sgo 'phar rgya/***
***legs pa*** [final page] ***'byed la zhum pa mi mnga' ba'i/***
***rigs ldan bla gsal khro bo rgyal gyis bsgrubs/***

*zhal ta da dom bgyid pa nyid rang ste/*
*go yul ma log dge thar bcas pa ni/*
*'gren bral bsgrub bde'i bsod nam dpag med kyis/*
*ma smad rgya mtsho'i gos can khyab kyi bar/*

*rgyal bstan dri med yar zla ltar rgyas zhing/*
*bdag gzhan srid pa'i rgya mtsho las brgal nas/*
*mtshan dpe'i brgyan pa'i sku nyid lhun grub shog //*

The colophon consists of twenty verse lines of nine syllables each. We refrain from a full translation as it consists mainly of praise and dedication. However, there is one passage, marked in bold face above, that mentions the sponsor of the manuscript. This is a translation attempt: "As for the sponsor of this written work—this volume [that was] established as wished for—it was accomplished by Khro bo rgyal [who is one from] a distinct, high family who does not have fear in opening the excellent, vast door frame of enlightened activity of the excellent lord of humans who had dominion all over the eastern region."

Here, Khro bo rgyal seems to be a Tibetan name referring to the sponsor of the manuscript, but it can be short for khro bo'i rgyal po (lit. "Lord of Wrath") which can be a reference to a wrathful form of a Buddha, e.g., to Akṣobhya (Tib. *mi g.yo ba*). In particular, *khro bo'i rgyal po chen* po, Skt. *mahākrodharāja*, is also known as an epithet of Yamāntaka, the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī. We could not find any reference to a historical person of this name. The second part of the paragraph most likely refers to the Third Karmapa ("excellent lord of humans …), the author of the text, who was active in eastern Tibet.

### *5.2 UM2 Colophon Transliteration and Analysis*

[final page] *brna bsngag la pho'i lag pa g.yas kyi brjes sa mo'i lags pa g.yon gyi brjes sa chu o kho gang gi nang na btab la bsngag gi tha 'das zin nags po shigs lcag zas gyi bstag hag bskrug na ga bram skya shig shigs tsis rta bra ba tshus tshus skyu bro can gyi yar nye na yar drong mar nye na mar drongs dmig pa'i ltar mdzod bzang spyar nang yin med bra ba la bsgom yar nye na nam mkha' la thal ba bsgom mar nye na lo kha rgyam mtsho'i nang na thal ba bsgom la za yur ba bsngags tshu yur tsha yur chus bra ba ded nas rgya'i mtshon sres las ya 'gro las shag thad phyug phyu//*

The colophon consists of about three handwritten lines at the verso of the last folio. Its appearance is very sloppy and clearly differs from the handwriting of the preceding text. Hence, it might very well have been added later and might not qualify as a colophon. Due to the fact that the handwriting was very difficult to read, we consulted different Tibetan informants to help with the transliteration. They were not sure as to the correct spelling of this passage, since its content remained quite obscure to them, as it did to us. We were not able to identify clear grammatical structures and lexicalized words. There are some repetitive elements that could point to a poetic nature of the passage (though we could not recognize verse) or to a mantric nature. We conclude that the three lines are not a colophon proper and probably were added later.

## *6. Appendix 3: Jātaka Titles and References*

Table 7 presents the Tibetan titles of the Third Karma pa's part of the text extracted from the final sentence of each jātaka based on BX1. We refrained from providing English translations of the titles, since for a proper translation the content of each story needs to be checked to some extent, which work is beyond the scope of this paper. However, for those interested in the English titles, we refer to the Himalayan Art Resources website, which does provide translations.[76] In the table below, the foliation of the two most important xylograph editions, BX1 and GX1, alongside the pagination of the modern edition GB1, is indicated. For the xylograph edition, the PDF page numbers are also given in brackets as in the files downloaded from BDRC for the reader's convenience. Finally, we provide references to extant translations. Only three of the stories have been translated in full, two jātakas by Gamble

[76] For the English titles, see https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=3086, accessed April 16, 2023.

and the life story of the Buddha by Galasek-Hul and Dömötör. The references to Richardson are only translations of abbreviated versions of the stories from the panels on the murals of the circumambulatory corridor of Zha lu monastery, as pointed out in section 1.

The stories are grouped according to the ten *pāramitā*s, i.e., each group of ten forms one decade associated with one of the *pāramitā*s. In the Karma pa's part of the text, there is a stanza of four verse lines after each decade summarizing its content very briefly (starting with *sdom la*). Most stories start with *skyes bu dam pa rnams ni*. However, there are a very few deviations from this pattern (e.g., nos. 69, 74, 81, 82). The titles usually end in *skyes pa'i rab* (jātaka, previous birth), some of them end in the honorific equivalent *'khrungs pa'i rab*. Most of the time, this connects to the preceding part of the title via the connective particle (*'brel sgra*) meaning "jataka of". However, sometimes the *la don* particle is used instead, which then comes to mean "born as".

| Paramita | No. | Title | BX1 | GX1 | GB1 | Translations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diligence (Tib. *brtson 'grus*) (Skt. *vīrya*) | 35 | *seng ge'i rgyal po yi dam brtan par skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 1v.1 (pdf 50) | ka, 158v.1 (pdf 320) | vol. 11, 487.3 | |
| | 36 | *ded dpon brtson 'grus chen por skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 4r.7 (pdf 55) | ka, 161r.7 (pdf 325) | vol. 11, 495.3 | |
| | 37 | *rgyal po gser mdog tu skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 6v.3 (pdf 60) | ka, 163v.7 (pdf 330) | vol. 11, 502.2 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 60 |
| | 38 | *gcan gzan kun dar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 8v.6 (pdf 64) | ka, 166r.6 (pdf 335) | vol. 11, 508.6 | |
| | 39 | *rigs ngan du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 11r.7 (pdf 69) | ka, 169r.4 (pdf 341) | vol. 11, 516.5 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 65 |
| | 40 | *dge slong grags pa'i 'od du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 14r.5 (pdf 75) | ka, 172v.1 (pdf 348) | vol. 11, 525.4 | |
| Meditative concentration (Tib. *bsam gtan*) (Skt. *dhyāna*) | 41 | *khyim bdag dben pa 'dod par 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 16r.3 (pdf 79) | ka, 174v.3 (pdf 352) | vol. 11, 531.3 | |
| | 42 | *rgyal po sgron ma snang byed du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 18v.4 (pdf 84) | ka, 177v.1 (pdf 358) | vol. 11, 539.1 | |
| | 43 | *byang chub sems dpa' ri bong dben pa la dga' bar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, ka 21v.3(pdf 90) | ka, 180v.2 (pdf 364) | vol. 11, 547.3 | |
| | 44 | *rgyal po kun du go byed du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 23v.3 (pdf 94.3) | ka, 182v.4 (pdf 368) | vol. 11, 553.2 | |
| | 45 | *khye'u gnyis su 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 25v.4 (pdf 98) | ka, 184v.6 (pdf 372) | vol. 11, 559.1 | |
| | 46 | *rgyal po brtan pas byin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 28v.1 (pdf 104) | ka, 187v.5 (pdf 378) | vol. 11, 567.1 | |
| | 47 | *byang chub sems dpa'i bde ba sbyin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 31r.3 (pdf 109) | ka, 190v.3 (pdf 384) | vol. 11, 574.4 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 48 | *dge slong snyan pa'i 'od du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 34r.7 (pdf 115) | ka, 194r.2 (pdf 391) | vol. 11, 583.6 | |
| | 49 | *chu skyes su 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 36v.6 (pdf 120) | ka, 196v. 3 (pdf 396) | vol. 12, 2.1 | |
| | 50 | *rgyal po 'jig rten sna tshogs la mngon par dga' bar 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 42r.6 (pdf 131) | ka, 202r.5 (pdf 407) | vol. 12, 18.3 | |
| Wisdom (Tib. shes rab) (Skt. prajñā) | 51 | *rgyal po tshangs byin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 44v.2 (pdf 136) | ka, 204v.1 (pdf 412) | vol. 12, 24.4 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 70 |
| | 52 | *byang chub sems dpa'i chos yongs su tshol bar 'dod pa'i 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 47r.5 (pdf 141) | ka, 207r.5 (pdf 417) | vol. 12, 32.3 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 75 |
| | 53 | *ye shes ldan du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 50v.3 (pdf 148) | ka, 210v.4 (pdf 424) | vol. 12, 42.1 | |
| | 54 | *chu 'bebs su 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 53v.2 (pdf 154) | ka, 213v.4 (pdf 430) | vol. 12, 50.3 | |
| | 55 | *me long gdong du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 57v.3 (pdf 162) | ka, 217v.7 (pdf 438) | vol. 12, 61.6 | |
| | 56 | *bram zer 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 62v.7 (pdf 172) | ka, 223v.1 (pdf 450) | vol. 12, 77.1 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 80 |
| | 57 | *zhi ba'i blo gros kyi skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 67v.2 (pdf 182) | ka, 228r.6 (pdf 459) | vol. 12, 90.1 | |
| | 58 | *klu'i rgyal por 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 71v.5 (pdf 190) | ka, 232v.6 (pdf 468) | vol. 12, 102.1 | |
| | 59 | *chu sreg tu 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 76r.6 (pdf 199) | ka, 237v.6 (pdf 478) | vol. 12, 115.1 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 85 |
| | 60 | *ston pa shes rab sna tshogs su 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 79v.2 (pdf 202) | ka, 239r.2 (pdf 481) | vol. 12, 118.3 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 89 |
| Skillful means (Tib. *thabs la mkhas pa*) (Skt. *upāya*) | 61 | *ded dpon snying rje chen por 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 80r.3 (pdf 207) | ka, 241v.5 (pdf 486) | vol. 12, 125.5 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 92 |
| | 62 | *rgyal bu gzhon nu snying rje cher sems su 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 82r.2 (pdf 211) | ka, 243v.5 (pdf 490) | vol. 12, 130.6 | |
| | 63 | *khye'u skar mar 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 87r.6 (pdf 221) | ka, 249v.1 (pdf 502) | vol. 12, 146.1 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 97 |
| | 64 | *brgya byin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 89v.1 (pdf 226) | ka, 251v.6 (pdf 506) | vol. 12, 152.3 | |
| | 65 | *ston pa bram zer 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 90v.4 (pdf 228) | ka, 253r.4 (pdf 509) | vol. 12, 155.6 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 100 |
| | 66 | *gar mkhan du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 92v.6 (pdf 232) | ka, 255v.3 (pdf 514) | vol. 12, 162.1 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 104/ Gamble 2020, ch. 9 |
| | 67 | *nga la nur 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 94v.3 (pdf 236) | ka, 257v.3 (pdf 518) | vol. 12, 167.2 | |
| | 68 | *klu'i rgyal por 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 102.3 (pdf 251) | ka, 265v.2 (pdf 534) | vol. 12, 188.1 | Gamble 2020, ch. 10 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 69 | *yan lag ma smad par 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 103v.4 (pdf 254) | ka, 267r.5 (pdf 537) | vol. 12, 192.4 | |
| | 70 | *bram ze'i khye'u sprin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs* | kha, 105r.7 (pdf 257) | ka, 269r.2 (pdf 541) | vol. 12, 197.3 | |
| Aspiration (Tib. *smon lam*) (Skt. *praṇidhāna*) | 71 | *rgyal po 'od ldan du skyes pa'i rabs te* | kha, 109v.7 (pdf 266) | ka, 274r.1 (pdf 551) | vol. 12, 210.1 | |
| | 72 | *bram ze sgra rnam par grags par skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 112v.3 (pdf 272) | ka, 276v.6 (pdf 556) | vol. 12, 217.3 | |
| | 73 | *rgyan po par skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 114v.2 (pdf 276) | ka, 278v.7 (pdf 560) | vol. 12, 223.1 | |
| | 74 | *des par skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 118r.2 (pdf 283) | ka, 282v.5 (pdf 568) | vol. 12, 232.6 | |
| | 75 | *glang po che kha drug par skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 120r.7 (pdf 287) | ka, 285r.7 (pdf 573) | vol. 12, 239.5 | |
| | 76 | *kun tu rgyu 'char kar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 124.4 (pdf 295) | ka, 289v.4 (pdf 582) | vol. 12, 250.5 | |
| | 77 | *rgyal po nor can du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 126.1 (pdf 299) | ka, 291v.6 (pdf 586) | vol. 12, 256.1 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 108 |
| | 78 | *bram ze zlad gar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 129v.1 (pdf 306) | ka, 295v.6 (pdf 594) | vol. 12, 266.2 | |
| | 79 | *rgyal po nam mkhar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 133r.6 (pdf 313) | ka, 300r.3 (pdf 603) | vol. 12, 277.2 | |
| | 80 | *dpal gyi sder skyes pa'i rabs te* | kha, 139v.6 (pdf 320) | ka, 304r.3 (pdf 611) | vol. 12, 287.4 | |
| Strength (Tib. *stobs*) (Skt. *bala*) | 81 | *snying stobs chen por skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 150r.1 (pdf 347) | ka, 318v.2 (pdf 642)[77] | vol. 12, 325.4 | |
| | 82 | *rgyal po zla 'od du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 153v.7 (pdf 354) | ka, 322v.5 (pdf 650) | vol. 12, 337.1 | |
| | 83 | *rgyal po shi bi par skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 159v.1 (pdf 366) | ka, 329r.2 (pdf 663) | vol. 12, 353.6 | |
| | 84 | *ston pa rtsibs kyi mu khyud du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 162v.3 (pdf 372) | ka, 332v.1 (pdf 670) | vol. 12, 363.2 | |
| | 85 | *byang chub sems dpa' rtag tu brnyas pa la bzod pa dang ldan bar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 164v.5 (pdf 376) | ka, 334v.7 (pdf 674) | vol. 12, 369.4 | |
| | 86 | *seng ger skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 167r.7 (pdf 381) | ka, 337v.5 (pdf 680) | vol. 12, 377.2 | |
| | 87 | *ded dpon du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 169v.5 (pdf 385) | ka, 340v.1 (pdf 686) | vol. 12, 384.3 | |
| | 88 | *nor bzang su skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 172v.4 (pdf 392) | ka, 343v.4 (pdf 692) | vol. 12, 393.2 | |
| | 89 | *su sha dhe bar skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 184r.6 (pdf 415) | ka, 356v.5 (pdf 718) | vol. 12, 427.4 | |
| | 90 | *bsod nams stobs su skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 190r.1 (pdf 425) | ka, 361v.6 (pdf 728) | vol. 12, 440.5 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 114 |
| Primordial wisdom (Tib. *ye shes*) (Skt. *jñāna*) | 91 | *od bzang su skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 197r.6 (pdf 439) | ka, 370r.4 (pdf 745) | vol. 12, 462.4 | |
| | 92 | *drang srong du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 199r.4 (pdf 443) | ka, 372r.3 (pdf 749) | vol. 12, 467.6 | |

[77] Folio 314 is printed twice in this copy, therefore the PDF page count jumps by two compared to the folio count.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 93 | *tog gi blo gros su skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 201r.5 (pdf 447) | ka, 374v.2 (pdf 754) | vol. 12, 474.3 | |
| | 94 | *sngo bsangs su skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 204v.3 (pdf 454) | ka, 378r.5 (pdf 761) | vol. 12, 484.1 | |
| | 95 | *nyi 'phreng spong du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 206v.1 (pdf 458) | ka, 380r.6 (pdf 765) | vol. 12, 489.4 | |
| | 96 | *rnga bong du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 209r.2 (pdf 463) | ka, 383r.5 (pdf 771) | vol. 12, 497.3 | |
| | 97 | *mu khyud 'dzin du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 213r.2 (pdf 471) | ka, 387v.6 (pdf 780) | vol. 12, 509.4 | |
| | 98 | *dge slong ūd pa la'i gdong du skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 216r.1 (pdf 477) | ka, 391r.3 (pdf 787) | vol. 12, 518.3 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 121 |
| | 99 | *byang chub sems dpa' dpa' ba'i stobs su skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 219v.1 (pdf 484) | ka, 395r.1 (pdf 795) | vol. 12, 528.4 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 126 |
| | 100 | *gzi brjid drag por skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 222r.7 (pdf 489) | ka, 398r.6 (pdf 801) | vol. 12, 537.4 | |
| Buddha | 101 | *byang chub sems dpa' don thams cad grub pa'i skyes pa'i rabs* | kha, 225r.1 (pdf 495) | ka, 401r.5 (pdf 807) | vol. 12, 545.3 | Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 135/ Dell, Gala-sek-Hul and Dömötör 2022, 25 |

*Table 7: Jātaka Titles with References*

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AX1: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III (1284–1339). Late 18th to early 20th century. *Title unknown*. Xylograph, one volume, 464 folios. dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling, A mdo.

AB1: ———. 1995. "Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi skyes rabs brgya pa." In Series: Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig, vol. 22. Computer input edition. Bejing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. BDRC: W1KG16609.

AB2: ———. 1997. "sKyes rabs brgya ba." In Series: *bCom ldan 'das ston pa shākya thub pa'i rnam thar bzhugs so*. Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

BX1: ———. 1430. *sKye pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so* (false title: this title fits for the synopsis, but here it is used for the Karmapa's jatakas nos. 35–101; probably originally without title). Xylograph, one volume, second text in collection, 243 folios, preceded by 24 folios of synopsis (BX1A). Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. BDRC: W3CN22341.

BX1A: ———. 1430. *sKye pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so*. Xylograph, one volume, first text in collection, 24 folios, followed by BX1. Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. BDRC: W3CN22341.

BX2: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III, and Āryaśūra (4th cent. CE). 1430. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa* (title taken from later editions, this edition lacks a title page). Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. Berthold Laufer Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Department's catalogue number 336347 and specimen ID 220.

BX2A: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III. 1430. *rGyal ba'i mdzad pa gsal byed pa'i mdor bsdus rags pa bstan pa*. Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. Berthold Laufer Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Department's catalogue number 336347 and specimen ID 220.

DX1: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III, and Āryaśūra. Early 20th cent. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 379 folios. sDe dge: sDe dge par khang. BDRC: W8LS16389.

GX1: ———. 1542. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. Pho brang gong dkar, central Tibet (dBus). BDRC: W4CZ301726.

GX2: ———. 1542. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. Pho brang gong dkar, central Tibet (dBus). BDRC: W1NLM1304.

GX3: ———. 1542. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. Pho brang gong dkar, central Tibet (dBus). NGMCP reel no. L 528/ 2.

GX4*: ———. 1542. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. Pho brang gong dkar, central Tibet

(dBus). Some blocks restored based on Mang yul gung thang edition. BDRC: W1KG22301.

GB1: ———. 2013. "sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng / bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ /drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa//." In *dPal rgyal dbang karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, 108 volumes, modern type-set book, vol. 11, 69–602, and vol. 12. Lhasa: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. BDRC: W3PD1288.

GB1A: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III. 2013. "Sangs rgyas skyes pa'i rabs kyi bsdus don bzhugs so." In *dPal rgyal dbang karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, 108 volumes, modern type-set book, vol. 11, 1–68, followed by GB1. Lhasa: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang]. BDRC: W3PD1288.

MX1: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III, and Āryaśūra. 1574. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lcag pa'i/ /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. gNas, Mang yul gung thang. NGMCP reel no. L 568/9–569/1.

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UM1: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III. n.d. *Karma pa rang byung rdo rjes mdzad pa'i sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs bzhugs so. Og ma'o*. 499 folios, *dbu med* manuscript. S.l..: s.n. BDRC: W4CZ307425.

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# Stepping-Stones magazine – from studies of Buddhism in the Eastern Himalayas to the perspectives of the philosophy of perennialism*

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The region of the Eastern Himalayas (the state of Sikkim – its modern part of India) was the object of close study in the XIX-XX centuries, first of all it was connected with the study of the culture and history of local ethnic communities. However, the independence of India and the crisis of Tibetan statehood in the second half of the 1940s - early 1950s, accompanied by the easing of restrictions for foreigners on access to the country, and another round of growing interest in Tibetan culture in general, allowed many European researchers and travelers to reach Tibet and other hard-to-reach places of the Indo-Tibetan border. In 1949, an Indian protectorate was established over Sikkim, and in the following 1950 the Government of India has assumed responsibility for the defense and maintenance of the territorial integrity and unity of Sikkim. Kalimpong, acting as a "gate to Tibet" and being one of the key transit points of trade between Tibet and India since the beginning of the twentieth century, by the 1950s will become not just a refuge and trading platform for Tibetans and other Himalayan peoples, but also a center of literary and cultural activities, as well as in many ways an open-air laboratory, where the culture and religion of the Himalayas were subject to direct study by European researchers. A special socio-cultural space emerged in Kalimpong, in which not only the interaction of various communities, groups and individuals took place, but also the civilizational and political systems of the colonial, Indian and Tibetan worlds converged in it. Missionaries of various Christian churches, political groups of Tibetan reformers, Chinese communists, cultural associations of Himalayan ethnic

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groups and various trade missions will settle here, and Kalimpong will also become one of the leading centers of Himalayan printed products.[1]

In 1950, at the invitation of Gyan Jyoti,[2] a local wealthy Newar,[3] Urgyen Sangharakshita (Dennis Lingwood (1925-2018)) stayed in Kalimpong with a rather odious goal – the revival of Theravada Buddhism among the ethnic groups of the Eastern Himalayas. Dennis Lingwood was born in London in 1925 and today he is best known as one of the first Europeans to promote the spread of Buddhism in Western Europe, especially in the UK, where in 1967 he founded the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO).[4] At the same time, it should be noted that his activities in Kalimpong, where he spent 14 years,[5] are known mainly from his memoirs.[6] In the mid-forties, experiencing an increasing interest in Buddhism, he nevertheless enlisted in the army and served in various colonial territories of British India. In 1947, after leaving the service, he actively engaged in ascetic practices, visiting sacred Buddhist places such as Kushinagar, Benares, Virupaksha in South India (Arunachala) and in 1949 he took monastic order of the Theravada Buddhist tradition. From the very beginning of her stay in Kalimpong, Sangharakshita has been actively involved in the process of establishing contacts with people who were somehow connected with Buddhism, in order to organize and conduct various lectures and festive events, which formed the basis of the Kalimpong branch of the Young Men's Buddhist Association[7] (hereinafter – YMBA). Largely

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1 The printing house "The Tibet Mirror Press" was located in Kalimpong, which was headed by the public figure and writer Dorje Tarchin (*Rdo rje mthar phyin)* (1890-1976). Tarchin was the publisher of the most famous newspaper within Tibet and the Himalayas, *The Tibet Mirror* (abbreviated name of the newspaper "Mirror of News from different countries" (*yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*), published from 1925 to 1963. The weekly newspaper *The Himalayan Times* was also published in Kalimpong from 1947 to 1963. The founder and editor-in-chief of the newspaper was Suresh Chandra Jain (1911-1956).

2 Brief information about the activities of Sangharakshita and a list of his contacts is provided by researcher Kalzang Dorjee Bhutia. See: Kalzang Dorjee Bhutia. Local Agency in Global Movements: Negotiating Forms of Buddhist Cosmopolitanism in the Young Men's Buddhist Associations of Darjeeling and Kalimpong. The Journal of Transcultural Studies Vol. 7 No. 1. 2016. P.121-148. URL: https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/transcultural/article/view/23540/17317

3 The Newars are a Nepalese people who directly inhabit the Kathmandu Valley.

4 Later it was renamed to Triratna Buddhist Community.

5 Sangharakshita lived in Kalimpong from 1950 to 1964.

6 Sangharakshita wrote many works of the memoir cycle, and if we talk about his Kalimpong period, we can distinguish the following from them: "Facing Mount Kanchenjunga: An English Buddhist in the Eastern Himalayas " (1991) and "Precious Teachers: Indian Memoirs of an English Buddhist" (2007).

7 The Young Men's Buddhist Association was originally founded in Ceylon in 1898 in Ceylon. In the Eastern Himalayas, in addition to the Kalimpong branch founded

due to the public activities of YMBA (namely: attracting famous lecturers, organizing seminars, creating text materials based on the speeches), the magazine *Stepping-Stones* appeared, which was published monthly from July 1950 (Vol. 1, No. 1) to February 1952 (Vol. 2, No. 10) – a total of twenty issues were released during the specified period. The size of the magazine is 21 × 13 cm, the cover is made of cardboard. In the design of the cover of most of the issues, an image of the Buddha[8] was used, on the numbers starting from (Jun. 1951. Vol. 2, No. 1) there is an image of a manual prayer mani-wheel (*lag-'khor*) and only a single number is decorated with an image of a lotus flower (May 1951. Vol. 2, No. 1). The magazine has end-to-end page numbering. On the pages of the magazine, in addition to the main content, there are also various ads, information about sponsors, advertising of various trading enterprises, and so on.

If we try to analyze the composition of the authors, then on the one hand, we can say that Sangharakshita, as the editor-in-chief, proceeded from the principles of accessibility and situationality (a number of authors also lived in Kalimpong during the period when the magazine was published), and on the other, it is quite obvious that he was interested in attracting the most famous specialists, one way or another otherwise engaged in research of the Himalayan region, Tibet, Buddhist philosophy and culture. The authors of all twenty issues can be grouped into the following four categories:

1. First of all, these are well-known Tibetologists and orientalists:

– G. Roerich (1902-1960) – Russian orientalist and the eldest son of Helena and Nicholas Roerich, the creators of the teaching of Agni Yoga (Living Ethics). Together with Helena Roerich, he lived in Kalimpong since 1949. Roerich's social and research activities aimed at consolidating the local community in Kalimpong, in the period from 1950 to 1957, were marked by public lectures, exhibitions, participation in religious and national holidays, membership in various public organizations[9]. G. Roerich by invitation from Sangharakshita also became an advisor in YMBA. His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Indo-Nepalese Art in Tibet. Sept. 1950. Vol. 1, № 3, Om Mani Padme Hum. July 1950.

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by Sangharakshita, there was also a branch in Darjeeling, headed by Pak Tsering ('Phags tshe ring).

[8] The first issue of the magazine states that the cover design is "woodcut of a drawing by a Tibetan artist depicting the Buddha preaching His First Sermon to His five erstwhile disciples in the Deer Park at Sarnath, near Benaras". See: Stepping-Stones. June 1950. Vol. 1, №. 1.P. 20.

[9] See more about G. Roerich activities in Kalimpong: Korablin D. G. Roerich's Contribution to the Formation of "Transcultural Space" in Kalimpong (1950s). Vestnik Instituta Vostokovedenia RAN. 2022. No. 1(19). P. 194–203 (in Russian). URL: https://www.ivran.ru/f/Vestnik_Instituta_vostokovedeniia_RAN_2022_1.pdf

Vol. 1, № 1, The Introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. Aug. 1951. Vol. 2, № 4, The Dalai Lamas of Tibet. Feb. 1951. Vol. 1, № 8;

– Herbert V. Günther (1917-2006) was a German Buddhist scholar who worked in India for more than fourteen years at various universities and made a significant contribution to the study of the philosophy of Abhidharma. As the philosopher and Indologist V. Lysenko mentions: "G. Gunter was one of the first Western scientists who tried to apply the Buddhist approach to the human psyche in order to show its importance for the analysis of contemporary psychological and philosophical theories"[10]. His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: The Bodhisattva's Realm of Knowledge. Jan. 1951. Vol.1, № 7, Excerpts from the Gandavyuha Sutra, II. Feb. 1951. Vol.1, № 8, In Praise of Bodhicitta. Feb. 1951. Vol. 1, № 8, Friends in the Good Life. Mar., Apr. 1951. Vol. 1, № 9-10, The Diamond of Omniscience. June 1951. Vol. 2, № 2, The Jewel of Buddhahood. Aug. 1951. Vol. 2, № 4, The Bodhisattva, The Devices. Nov., Dec. 1951. Vol. 2, № 7-8, Our Position in Life. Nov., Dec. 1951. Vol. 2, № 7-8, The Buddhism (book review). Jan. 1952. Vol. 2, № 9;

– E. Conze (1904-1979), with his divergent scientific interests, continued the comparative study of Buddhist and European philosophy that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, which was reflected in some of his works: "Buddhist philosophy and its European parallels" (1963), "Buddhism and gnosis" (1967). However, this did not prevent him from being convinced that all world religions share a single metaphysical truth and, thanks to the concept of perennial philosophy[11], this truth can be understood and transmitted to a specific individual. Being an extremely eccentric scientist, Conze, apparently, was inspired by D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966) was a pioneer of the popularization of Zen Buddhism in the West, who also did not pass by the fascination with theosophy. The frequency of citations allows us to say with confidence that the Anglo-German Buddhologist took a very thorough approach to Suzuki's scientific works. At the same time, Conze also openly engaged in Buddhist meditation, which greatly amazed his university colleagues, and his merits in Buddhist science were appreciated thanks to the translation of the Prajnaparamita sutras. His article in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Selected Sayings from: "the Perfection of Wisdom". Feb., 1952. Vol. 2, № 10;

– Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1908-1980), in addition to his aristocratic origin, gained popularity as an anthropologist and researcher of Tibetan polyandry. During his stay in Kalimpong since

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[10] Lysenko V. Afterword //Pyatigorsky A.M. Selected articles on Indology and Buddhology: The 1960s-1970s / ed. L. N. Pyatigorskaya; comp. V. G. Lysenko. M.: RSUH, 2018. P. 361.

[11] Lat.: Philosophia Perennis.

1950, he devoted himself to creating a collection of the material and cultural heritage of Tibet commissioned by the Danish National Museum. His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Polyandry in Tibet. July 1950. Vol. 1, № 1, The Tibetan Tulku of Tikse. Sep. 1950. Vol. 1, № 3, The Viking of the Himalaya. Oct. 1950. Vol. 1, № 4;

–René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1923-1959) a Tibetologist who undertook a number of different expeditions in the Himalayan region, which allowed him to collect significant material related to cult and incantation practices, the mystery of Tsam and other ethnographic studies in the field of Tibetan Buddhism. In 1953, an important work "Oracles and Demons of Tibet" was published, which gave detailed information about a little-known area in Tibetology – the pantheon of deities that Tibetans worship as protectors and guardians of Buddhism. His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: The Origin of Tibetan Writing. Oct. 1950. Vol. 1, № 4, The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings. Jan. 1951. Vol. 1, № 7, The Bon Religion of Tibet (book review). Mar. 1951. Vol. 1, № 9, The Kagyupa Sect of Tibet. Feb. 1951. Vol. 1. № 8., The Introduction of Buddhism into Sikkim. Apr. 1951. Vol. 1. № 10, A Contribution to Mahayana Iconography. Jul.1951. Vol. 2 № 3, Some Recent Publications of Tibet. Nov., Dec. 1951. Vol. 2. № 7-8;

– H. von Glasenap (1891-1963) German religious scholar and specialist in dharmic religions. His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Buddhism and Vital Problems of Our Life. Nov., Dec. 1950. Vol. 1, № 5-6;

– F.L. Woodward (1871-1952) English researcher of Theravada Buddhism and theosophist. At the invitation of Henry Olcott (1832-1907), he became the director of Mahinda College, a famous Buddhist school founded by the Theosophical Society back in 1892. His article in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Matteya Bodhisattva – The coming Buddha. Sep. 1951, Vol. 2, № 5;

– I.B. Horner (1896-1981) English researcher of the Pali Canon and Theravada Buddhism. Her most famous work is related to the status of women in Buddhism "Women under Primitive Buddhism: Laywomen and Almswomen" (1930). Also, in collaboration with A. Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), she prepared the book "The Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha" (1948). Her text in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Compassion. May.1951, Volume 2, No. 1;

2. Famous travelers, mystics, inspirers and popularizers of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy in the West:

– A. David-Néel (1868-1969) French opera singer, who gained world fame as the first female traveler to visit the capital of Tibet, Lhasa, in 1924. After returning to France, she settled in Digne-les-Bains (France), creating there "Samten-Dzong", which served as a Tibetan cultural center, and devoted herself to the study and practice of

Buddhism, as well as writing various memorial books. Her article in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: The Buddha and His Modern Disciples. June 1951. Vol. 2, № 2;

– Lama Anagarika Govinda, (Ernst Lothar Hoffmann (1898-1985)) one of the most famous researchers and popularizers of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as a writer, traveler and artist. In 1928 he moved to Ceylon, where he first immersed himself in the study of Theravada Buddhism, and then in the 1930s the sphere of his interests shifted towards Tibetan Buddhism. After many trips to the Himalayas and Tibet in 1952, Anagarika Govinda announced the creation of the Arya Maitreya Mandala, an organization with which he planned to spread Buddhism in the West. They were connected with Sangharakshita not only by personal acquaintance and correspondence, but also by an interest in the interaction of Buddhist philosophy and fine art – how various artistic means are connected with the intellectual understanding of Buddhist teaching. According to Sangharakshita, in one of the last letters he received from Anagarika Govinda a few days before his death, there was a line that read: "Now it's up to the next generation to take Buddhism out of a purely academic atmosphere and turn it into a living experience"[12]. His articles and poem in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Look deeper! Oct. 1950. Vol. 1, № 4, The Universal Perspective of the Bodhisattva Ideal. Nov. 1950. Vol. 1, № 5, The Realty of Perfection. Dec. 1950, Vol. 1, № 6, The Temple of Sunyata. Jan. 1951. Vol. 1, № 7, The Significance of "OM" and the Foundations of Mantric Lore. Mar. 1951. Vol. 1, № 9, The Significance of "OM" and the Foundations of Mantric Lore II. Apr. 1951. Vol. 1, № 10, The Hermit and the Warrior (poem). May. 1951. Vol. 2, № 1, The Significance of "OM" and the Foundations of Mantric Lore III. May. 1951. Vol. 2, № 1, Buddhism and Living Experience. June 1951. Vol. 2, № 2, The Importance of the Bodhisattva Ideal in Buddhist Life. Oct. 1951. Vol. 2, № 6, Origins of the Bodhisattva Ideal. Jan. 1952. Vol. 2, № 9, Two Poems. Jan. 1952. Vol. 2, № 9;

– Marco Pallis (1895-1989) was a native of Liverpool, a researcher of the Himalayan region, a collector, a mountaineer and a musician who stayed in Kalimpong after his 1947 trip to Tibet. In addition, he was a practicing Buddhist, had the Tibetan name Tubden Tendzin (*thub bstan bstan 'dzin*) and shared the views of the famous French philosopher Rene Guenon (1886-1951), who initiated the philosophy of traditionalism. His concern about the events taking place in Tibet in the mid-twentieth century, his desire to help preserve traditional Buddhist

[12] Sangharakshita. Great Buddhists of the Twentieth Century. Windhorse Publications, 1996. 36 p. URL: http://www.thezensite.com/ZenEssays/Miscellaneous/Great_Buddhists.pdf (accessed: 20.12.2022)

values and the Tibetan civilization itself in its confrontation with Chinese military-political and ideological expansion in Tibet, led to the fact that in 1950 he prepared and published a book in Tibetan called "A Clear Treatise with Comments and Examples, explaining [the reasons for the attack] The Era of Decline and its Nightmares, Under the Title "An Immediate Appeal to Maitreya" (*snyigs ma'i dus dang de yi 'jigs pa'i brda sprod dpe don bcas gsal bar bkral ba'i bstan bcos byams mgon myur 'bod ma zhes bya ba bzhugs so*)[13]. This is the first religious and philosophical treatise written by a European in Tibetan, addressed to Tibetans for the sake of saving their homeland from the oblivion of Buddhism and the arrival of the red tradition (*dmar lugs*) – this is how the word communism is literally translated from Tibetan. His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Sikkim Buddhism Today and Tomorrow. Apr. 1951, Vol. 1, № 10, I, The Buddha (book review). Oct. 1951, Vol. 2, № 6;

– Alfred Sorensen (1890-1984) traveler, writer and mystic, born in Denmark. Since the 1930s, he spent many years in India studying various spiritual teachings. He was most influenced by Ramana Maharshi (1879-1950). His articles in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: The Snow Maiden: Uma-Haimavati. Nov. 1950, Vol. 1, № 5; The Rose-Apple-Tree. Dec.1950. Vol. 1, № 6;

– Clare Cameron (1896-1983) – English poet and mystic, was associated with the London Buddhist Society (date of foundation – 1924), created by Christmas Humphreys (1901-1983). In the 1930s, she was the editor of the Buddhist magazine *The Middle Way*, which began publishing in 1926. Her poetry and works are imbued with the spirit of perennialism, as well as the search for interfaith dialogue. Her poem in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: The White Snow of Meditation (poem). Mar. 1951, Vol. 1, № 9;

– J.H. Cousins (1873-1956) – poet and writer of the Irish Renaissance, playwright and actor in his extensive works tried to combine "the wisdom of Western Celticism and the wisdom of Eastern theosophy"[14]. Since 1915 he lived in India. His poem in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Avaalokiteswara (poem). Aug. 1950, Vol. 1, № 2;

3. Sangharakshita also attracted some little-known local authors to the publication (I.N. Pradhan, S. Gyastsho, Sachindra Coomar Singh, etc.), among them David MacDonald (1870-1962), who was born into

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[13] See: Korablin D. "An outstanding lama of the West taught..." – M. Pallis and his treatise warning Tibet about the consequences of Kali Yuga. Orientalistica. 2022. №5(5). p. 1170–1186. (in Russian). URL: https://www.orientalistica.su/jour/article/view/716/779

[14] Nolan J. The Hindu Celticism of James Cousins (1873–1956). ABEI Journal: The Brazilian Journal of Irish Studies. 2005. p. 219–232. URL: https://www.revistas.usp.br/abei/article/view/184280/170620 (accessed: 21.01.2023).

the family of a tea planter from Scotland and a lepcha-woman[15] from Sikkim. David MacDonald participated as an interpreter in the campaign of F. Younghusband (1863-1942) to Tibet (1903-1904), and then worked as a British sales agent for about twenty years. After retiring, he opened the Himalayan Hotel, which became a meeting place for all visitors and residents in Kalimpong. He has published several works related to tourism in Sikkim, as well as a book "Twenty Years in Tibet" (1932). His poem in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine: Sunset (Poem) Oct. 1950. Vol. 1, № 4;

4. The latter category can be neatly designated as situational or accidental authors such as, for example, Donald Hofford, a traveler who traveled from London to Gangtok with his friend Leslie Turner, we learn about them only from the memoirs of Sangharakshita, who mentions that at lectures practiced on Sundays, Donald Hofford gave a vivid description of the Bamiyan Valley and the famous Buddha statue. At the same time, in passing and with some irony, Sangharakshita draws attention to the fact that none of them was interested in Buddhism. Another of these authors we also learn from the memoirs of Sangharakshita is Major Joseph E. Cann (Upasaka Joseph E. Cann), a Buddhist from Lucknow, who settled there after the war, becoming president of the local branch of the Bengali Buddhist Association[16].

In the given general list of authors, it is striking that the largest part of the authors are Europeans, as well as how many researchers, Orientalists and writers (G. Roerich, E. Conze, F.L. Woodward, J.H. Cousins etc.) was either previously inspired by the theosophical society and theosophy in their interest in Buddhism, or in one way or another was a conductor of theosophical views. And if we go further than the attempted categorization of authors, then it should be noted that the editor of the journal, in addition to the articles and their authors stated in the table of contents, uses poetry (including his own works), individual quotations or excerpts from various works thematically related to the general main topic of the journal. For example, in the issue Sep. 1951. Vol. 2, No. 5 there is a quote by the famous Italian traditionalist J. Evola (1898-1974), who in the early forties was also actively interested in Buddhism, mainly basing his Buddhist studies on the Pali Canon[17]. His quote proclaims spiritual knowledge and awakening

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[15] Lepcha is one of the indigenous peoples inhabiting Sikkim and part of the territory of Bhutan.

[16] Sangharakshita (Lingwood D. P. E.). Facing Mount Kanchenjunga: An English Buddhist in the Eastern Himalayas Glasgow: Windhorse Publications. 1991. 498 p. URL: https://www.windhorsepublications.com/product/facing-mount-kanchenjunga-ebook/ (accessed: 17.04.2023).

[17] His most famous and thorough work on Buddhism can be considered "The Doctrine of Awakening", published in 1943.

emanating from the East, which surpasses the general Western view of life, with its rationality and false humanism: "This is the East; and it resembles the reality once known to the West, although less intensely and universally, before secularization and rationalism took over"[18]. At the same time, in other issues we can find quotations from the work "Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines" (1935), published under the editorship of the famous American anthropologist W. Evans-Wentz (1878-1965), who opened the so-called Tibetan Book of the Dead to the Western world. In the mentioned book "Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrines" the author anticipates the "new renaissance" associated with the world spiritual revival: "Then, in such a flourishing New Age of newly established mutual understanding and respect between East and West, no less carefully guarded training from the master minds of Tibet will be enhanced by training from the master minds of India, which will help the Western World to come to a clearer understanding of the ancient and still new truths about man and man's place in the Structure The universe"[19]. Such a diverse palette in the placement of various articles and individual quotes in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine creates a very special atmosphere. Perhaps this is the only publication in history whose pages united not only academic researchers who contributed to the development of Buddhology, Tibetology and the study of the Himalayan region, but also followers of theosophy and the traditionalist school[20] – all of them were able to get along peacefully, reflecting on the special path that Buddhism offers to humanity in the middle of the twentieth century!

In this amazing combination, on the one hand (the subjective side), the editorial position of Sangharakshita is visible: he also, in the process of his acquaintance with Buddhism, did not ignore the study of Helena Blavatsky's texts[21]. His creative path can be assessed as a gradual movement from the Theravada Buddhist tradition to an understanding of the importance of unity of various Buddhist paths or, as some researchers mention, to the formation of an "ecumenical approach to Buddhism." From this point of view, Sangharakshita in the late 1940s and early 1950s criticized various Tibetan Buddhist schools in their local reading. His personal views during this period were

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18 Stepping-Stones. Sep. 1951. Vol. 2, № 5. P. 139.

19 Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines: Or, Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path. Arranged and edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz. Oxford University Press, 1967. 441 p. URL: https://selfdefinition.org/tibetan/Evans-Wentz-Tibetan-Yoga-and-Secret-Doctrines.pdf (accessed: 17.04.2023).

20 It is noteworthy that the founder of the philosophy of traditionalism, Rene Guenon, was a consistent critic of theosophy, and in 1921 his book " Theosophy: History of a Pseudo-religion" was published.

21 Lopez D. A Modern Buddhist Bible: Essential Readings from East and West. Beacon Press, 2002. P. 186.

largely connected, or rather even conditioned by a position consonant with the Buddhist revival movement, which was one of the reasons for the creation of YMBA. In particular, historian Kalzang Dorjee Bhutia mentions that one of the motivations for founding YMBA was Sangharakshita's awareness of "the catastrophic decline in doctrinal knowledge that has engulfed Sikkim Buddhism in recent years and he called for an 'urgent' revival of Buddhism..."[22]. It is noteworthy that the position of many Western researchers of Buddhism for a long time maintained the emphasis on the fact that Theravada Buddhism is much closer to the original teaching of the Buddha, this trend continued until the middle of the twentieth century. The period following the Chinese invasion of Tibet opened Buddhism to world Tibetology as an integral part of Tibetan culture, the reason for this was the introduction into scientific circulation of a number of new sources that became available thanks to Tibetan refugees. Prior to these events, as R. King rightly notes, "... radically unhistorical and textualized Buddhism, located in the libraries of Europe and managed from them, and not from Asia, provided a normative standard by which all particular examples of Buddhism could be both defined and (negatively) evaluated"[23]. Therefore, some assessments of the Sangharakshita of the regional forms of Buddhism of the Eastern Himalayas are largely symptomatic of the discourse of the Buddhist Ceylon renaissance, with an emphasis on the rationalization of cult practices, with its inherent modernist statement of the presence of decline.

On the other hand (the objective side), we can also see in this some trends related to the global processes of intellectual history of the mid-twentieth century, namely, a direct change in ideas about Buddhism in the world philosophical discourse. This is, of course, a significant issue in terms of volume, which is not the direct subject of consideration of this article, but nevertheless a couple of accents should be made. Suffice it to recall that since the 1920s the eastern countries are no longer only a subject of colonial expansion: the search for intercultural dialogue and civilizational interaction is at the forefront, the question of the status and role of religion in culture is being raised, which contributed to the search that connects the philosophy of the West and the

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[22] Kalzang Dorjee Bhutia. Local Agency in Global Movements: Negotiating Forms of Buddhist Cosmopolitanism in the Young Men's Buddhist Associations of Darjeeling and Kalimpong. The Journal of Transcultural Studies Vol. 7 No. 1. 2016. P.121-148. URL: https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/transcultural/article/view/23540/17317 (accessed: 06.03.2023).

[23] King R. Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and the "Mystic East". Routledge. London, 2001. 283 p. URL: https://foldxx.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/orientalism-and-religion-post-colonial-theory-india-and-the-mystic-east.pdf (accessed: 06.03.2023).

East. The followers of some esoteric doctrines once again turned to the search for knowledge hidden in the inaccessible edges of Eastern civilizations – these aspirations created prerequisites for the next answers to the question of the proper perception of the religions of the East in the language of European or Western philosophy. However, in these searches, the difficulty of overcoming the state of belonging to one's own culture, which philosophers and writers of the late XIX-early XX centuries faced, has already been partially overcome. By this time, not only the teaching of the theosophical movement had already taken shape (largely thanks to the activities of the Roerichs, who gave a new impetus to theosophy in the 1920s, with their inherent modernist tendency of spiritual evolution and human transformation) and the school of philosophy of traditionalism, on the horizon of which rose the name of the French thinker R. Guenon, who announced the existence of a Primordial Tradition. It is fair to note that the search for counteraction to the spiritual decline of the West occupied the minds of many thinkers and scientists, not only theosophists and traditionalists of the twentieth century, who saw esoteric knowledge in the very process of searching, while each of these groups sometimes found diametrically opposite answers to the same questions.

One way or another, Buddhism, starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, having passed hand in hand with the period of formation of comparative philosophy and religious studies[24] (P. Masson-Ursel[25], Max Müller), in many ways found its dynamics of spread and, according to the fair remark of researcher Donald Lopez, was eventually to become one of the last world religions that it should have been opened. By the middle of the twentieth century, many philosophical movements in varying degrees of articulation designated the so-called universalist approach, in which attempts were made at global synthesis. This, of course, could not but influence research programs related to Oriental disciplines. It is enough to recall the most striking indicator of this process, which has reached a wide reader: we are talking about the famous book by the English writer and philosopher A. Huxley "The Perennial Philosophy" (1945). The eclectic literary technique allowed the writer to easily combine various religious traditions based on the idea of community. For the mid-twentieth century the newly updated concept of Philosophia Perennis has gained solid

[24] J. Jeffrey Franklin in his thorough work "The Lion and the Lotus" analyzes in detail the origins of the theosophical movement in Great Britain, linking it with the stage of formation of comparative religious studies. See: Franklin J. The Lotus and the Lion: Buddhism and the British Empire. Ithaca and London. Cornell University Press, 2008.273 p.

[25] His most famous work is called "Comparative Philosophy" ("La Philosophie compareé" (1923)).

potential: the disappearing colonial model of the world provided unique opportunities to easily perceive religious ideas and practices lying on the other side of the Judeo-Christian civilization. The East and the West have opened the doors to each other, towards the spiritual world, putting Buddhism at the forefront and defining it as a universal philosophical teaching. Indeed, Buddhism as a religious and philosophical teaching carried a high potential of relativism, and therefore, unlike other religious traditions with strict dogmatic frameworks, accumulated various interpretations around itself. This controversial issue is investigated by the American religious scholar Richard Payne, who notes that in relation to the principles of Philosophia Perennis, Buddhist teaching and Buddhist philosophy acquire very original features[26]. The relativism of Buddhist philosophy makes it possible for a peculiar interpretation of certain provisions used in the rhetorical strategy – this is the idea of the existence of an eternal philosophy, within which a new interpretation of Buddhist concepts is being formed, creating common cultural and value orientations. In many ways, this process reached its culmination by the 1950s, when the World Fellowship of Buddhists[27] was created, and the 2500 anniversary of Buddha Shakyamuni was celebrated all over the world, not the least role in this was played by the events taking place in Kalimpong. A striking example of this is the rhetoric of G. Roerich, his congratulatory letter was published in the May 1956 issue of *The Himalayan Times* newspaper: "The celebration of Buddha Jayanti this year is an extremely important and relevant event. It will help rekindle the fire of an ancient but great and living heritage that has remained the true Light of Asia to this day, and which attracts some of the most influential minds in the West. The existing interest is due to the significant modernity of the Buddhist philosophical worldview. The Buddha challenged the generally accepted concept of the Creator. The Buddha denied the existence of an eternal unchanging soul. The Buddha fought against class privileges and warned people against obsession. And today, in its third millennium, the message of the Buddha sounds around the world as a mighty challenge to the enemies of discord and ignorance"[28]. In this regard, the mention of the enduring importance of Buddhism in various scientific journals, newspapers or public

[26] Payne Richard K. Traditionalist Representations of Buddhism. Pacific World. 3rd Ser. No. 10. 2008. P. 177–223. URL: https://www.academia.edu/8609186/Traditionalist_Representations_of_Buddhism (accessed: 06.03.2023).

[27] The association of Buddhist schools, organizations and representative offices, founded in 1950. One of the goals of the society was to promote the preservation of the purity of Buddhist Law and the implementation of cultural and educational activities of Buddhists in the world.

[28] The Himalayan Times. May 24. 1956. P. 12. URL: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/himalayan_times (accessed: 04.02.2023).

speeches touched upon the most acute problems and ideological issues faced by States forced to accept the new geopolitical structure of the Himalayas and South Asia and their cultural borders.

An example of such a discourse is the representations of the most famous thinkers who have become authors of publications in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine. Each of them in his own way carried out the ideas of perennialism through the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama, and the consideration of Buddhism as a Philosophia Perennis not only removes or reformulates the question of the origin of certain aspects, but, as it were, brings under the indisputable thoroughness, and again the absence of criticism of the researcher's position in relation to the latter. The idea of perennialism, one way or another, interprets the path to the Dharma in its own way, and this very often depended on the personal view, on the personal position of the researcher who turned to Buddhism. For example, M. Pallis exposes Tibet as a traditional civilization in the Genonian sense, not just not seduced by the imaginary charms of the universalism of Western culture, but opposed to the West because of its fundamental otherness, non-identity and the absence of any equivalents. The Western idea of "progress" threatens to make the world largely homogeneous, erasing from history the unique spiritual way of whole peoples who, thanks to their genius, managed to find their own unique meaning in it, easily erased under the growing hegemony of rationalism. However, if we take a closer look at the principles of the eternal philosophy, do they really agree with the idea of Buddhadharma? It should not be forgotten that perennialism, which absorbed previously existing ideological premises, largely took shape as a project of the XX century, which set the tone for the principles on which it defended its validity, namely objectivity and inclusiveness (universality). Thanks to these principles, perennialism met such urgent needs as the synthesis of spiritual and scientific. All this could make it possible to reduce perennialism to a single theoretical justification. In this approach, Buddhism could well be consonant with perennialism, in which religiosity is not reduced to any particular culture. In general, this is a very characteristic example for the history of philosophy: by the middle of the twentieth century, within the framework of two intellectual esoteric schools[29], there was a fairly similar, at least not in its premises, but in the conclusions of Philosophia Perennis, explicated through Buddhist teaching as the "wisdom of the Himalayas"[30]. Does this detract from the dignity and quality of the

[29] We are talking about theosophy and traditionalism.

[30] The Australian researcher G. Oldmeddow discusses the search in the Himalayas for a worldwide "religion of wisdom" already mentioned earlier W. Evans-Wentz, "in the existence of which he was convinced by his studies of Gnosticism, Egyptian and Greek mysteries and Hinduism". See: Oldmedow H. In Search of Secret Tibet.

academic studies of Buddhism presented in the reviewed journal – no, is it a vivid example of joint efforts united by the intent of the editor of the journal – yes, but together with the rest of the articles, as well as various poetic sketches, it creates a rather peculiar kaleidoscope in which Buddhism appears as a kind of universal philosophy capable of to throw a bridge of understanding between East and West, which the thinkers of the early twentieth century were so hungry for.

## Conclusions

Kalimpong in the 1950s XX in the context of cultural borrowings and intersections for a short time became one of the centers for the study of Buddhism and Himalayan culture. The Eastern Himalayas as a region connected by a former network of trade networks (Kalimpong, Darjeeling acting as a frontier played the role of a link between Tibet and the British Empire) transmitted knowledge and generated various interactions between Buddhism and Western researchers who visited this area. It was in the 1950s there are a number of publications covering Tibetan Buddhism and Himalayan religious traditions in a popular scientific form[31], as well as the first European Buddhist centers.

The bearers of these ideas were direct participants in the transculturation process[32] that took place in Kalimpong, contributing to the development of ideas about Tibet and modern forms of Buddhism.

In the 1950s, individual representatives of Tibetans and other Himalayan nationalities were included both in the formation of a modernist, but also nationalist agenda (by the end of the 1950s, Tibetan refugees, founding their settlements and monasteries in exile, were no longer focused on cosmopolitanism and social community, but on building a separate Tibetan identity). In this connection, the *Stepping-Stones* magazine can trace two partly interpenetrating, but also mutually exclusive tropes that influence the reception of Buddhism in the world philosophical space of the mid-twentieth century and reflect specifically Western aspirations, partly also an orientalist view of problems and current interests:

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Esoterica. East Lansing: Michigan State University. 2000. URL: http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeIII/HTML/Oldmeadow.html

31 The most famous books popularizing the image of Tibet: Maraini F. "Secret Tibet" (1952), H. Harrer "Seven Years in Tibet" (1953), Lobsang Rampa "The Third Eye" (1956).

32 In this case, I am referring to the process of transferring various cultural features between the communicator participants in it to other cultural communities, generating new relationships between communicators.

a) the trope of ascent, reformation and social evolutionism of Buddhism, presented in the form of cosmopolitanism, creating a sense of belonging to its adherents, proclaiming Buddhism as a modern ideology of an international social movement that united Asian cultures in its opposition to the challenges of colonialism and aggressive missionary work.
b) the trope of preserving the Buddhist tradition, the carefully protected traditional way of life of Tibet and the Himalayas as an image and "reliquary of Buddhist civilization", subject to degradation not due to internal processes, but when meeting with the Western capitalist world. Moreover, this view was characteristic not only of traditionalists (Marco Pallis), it was also largely shared by anthropologists (Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark), thereby perpetuating the idea of cultural decline widespread in this area.[33]

As it should be clear from the content of the article, I did not set out to detract from the value and significance of the works included in the *Stepping-Stones* magazine on Himalayan religion, culture – their contribution to Buddhology and Tibetology cannot be underestimated or it can be argued that many of them to one degree or another were different projections of modern ideas about Buddhism, for me, the very question of the mutual influence of various worldview philosophical positions of the mid-twentieth century on the understanding of Buddhist teaching in the local and global cultural and philosophical space was significant.

Individual stylistic techniques and the way of editorial placement of material in the magazine are an interesting technique of how the editor of *Stepping-Stones*, initially guided by his personal motivations, nevertheless was captured by various available sources and interpretations, which resulted in a tendency to construct and exhibit individual problems and issues related to Buddhism in the Himalayan region to Buddhism as a the global general philosophical paradigm, which in turn, apparently contributed to an unprecedented surge of interest in the "Tibetan question", Buddhism and the Himalayas in the 1950s of the twentieth century.

[33] Marshall S. Two or Three Things I Know about Culture. Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute. № 5 (3) 1999. P. 399–422. URL: https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4410587/mod_resource/content/0/sahlins1999.pdf (accessed: 18.04.2023)

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**Franz Xaver Erhard and Thomas Wild, Drumze - Metamorphoses of the Tibetan Carpet, Edition Tethys, Potsdam, 2022, 110 pages.**

by Amy Heller

This volume is a book created in the context of an exhibition in Germany of Tibetan rugs, from several private German collections held in the Teppichmuseum Schloss Voigtsberg, Vogtland, Germany from October 2021 to December 2022. It is indeed an exhibition catalog yet it is much more. The catalog of the exhibition comprises 35 color plates illustrating Tibetan rugs spanning from the 15th to the 20th century. In addition, there are six contemporary carpets produced in factories by refugee Tibetans as well as modern German designers working in both Kathmandu and India. The carpets range from a vast diversity of purely traditional Tibetan motifs to religious symbols complemented by purely abstract non-figurative designs. Visually striking, the reader is confronted with an elegant black matte page in which is centered a rectangular or square carpet in vibrant colors. The selection is a judicious progression in terms of historical and geographic provenance.

The analytical essays preceding the selection of carpets seek to convey history, geography and typology of Tibetan carpets and weaving techniques to the general reader. The essays are impressive and comprehensive in their focus. The first chapter is entitled Carpet stories and histories, with three sections to cover the origin of Tibetan carpets, Tibetan carpets in Western Travel Accounts, Carpets in Tibetan sources. In the section Monastic carpets and carpet tradition, the reader is introduced to the rugs known as Wangden Drumze, i.e. the carpets of the Wangden Valley, a branch of the Nyang valley, one of the most important places of traditional carpet production. They then discuss the Wangden medallion and its Central Asian roots (which the authors link to the Azha kingdom of the 7th century and migration of some of the population to the vicinity of Zhalu Monastery, p. 28). In the section entitled " creation of a sacred carpet tradition" a number of individual design motifs (svāstika, frog foot, double dorje, pearl *inter alia*) are presented. The next section is devoted to traditional secular carpets, notably the Khamdrum carpets. The geographical factors are crucial here – for Khamdrum does not refer to rugs from Khams, but rather to rugs produced in the vicinity of Khampa rdzong. The following chapter discusses designer carpets in early 20th century, notably the paramountcy of Gyantse as great weaving center and the pivotal

Amy Heller : Compte-rendu de Franz Xaver Erhard and Thomas Wild, *Drumze - Metamorphoses of the Tibetan Carpet*, *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 67, Octobre 2023, pp. 209-212.

location of Gyantse for goods in transit from central Tibet to India and vice versa. There was burgeoning growth of industrial production of dyes, mainly in Germany, post 1850, with trading outlets of German and associate firms in Calcutta and Bombay, eventually imported to Tibet. The results were striking: "In no other Central Asian tradition, did the introduction of chemical dyes lead to such a new and free artistic development as in Tibet" (p. 45) , with special production for use in Lhasa by commissions for the Dalai Lama and the government offices of the Khashag. In particular, the family of Ka shod Chos rgyal Nyi ma (1902–1985) came to be socially and political prominent; he was a *rtsis dpon* (finance minister), and a "passionate" carpet lover, commissioning many carpets of new designs, engaging weavers on the family estate near Gyantse and eventually even a carpet factory in Lhasa (p. 46). The concluding section is entitled "Tibetan carpets beyond borders", starting with Lhasa and China rugs. Here the discussion focus is the developments in central Tibet, primarily Lhasa as of the mid-20th century establishment of the Lhasa Carpet factory, notably with the invitation of Chinese weavers to Tibet post 1953; after restricted production during the Cultural revolution, subsequently cooperative carpet factories were organized, some in cooperation with private initiatives and NGO's through the early 21st century. In India the role of Moravian missionaries during the second half of the 20th century is highlighted, as well as their esthetic preferences and technical innovations in size of carpets. Simultaneously, Nepal witnessed the development of a very successful carpet production by Tibetans, with production cooperatives partially financed by the Swiss Red Cross and SATA (Swiss Association for Technical Assistance), such as the CTC (Carpet Trading Company) in Kathmandu. The study concludes with discussion of notable individual or family carpet dealers / producers of contemporary Tibetan carpets and their impact in the international market.

The catalogue section is divided in four parts: Wangdrum (temple rugs for long aisles as well as individual square sitting rugs), Khamdrum (classic medallions and border), Free designs (floral, tigers, dragons, phoenix, checkerboard), Beyond borders, with carpets produced in India and Nepal, both traditional models and selections for the contemporary international market.

The authors make frequent reference to the pioneering study by Philip Denwood (1974), which was followed by the exhibition catalogue by Diana Myers in 1984 at Textile Museum (Washington DC), and the same year, the bi-lingual Tibetan-Chinese study by Bsod rnam rgyal mtshan (1984), all of which were seminal publications at a time when few carpets were known outside Tibet and the Tibetan refugee communities. There is also acknowledgement of later publications

such as the book by weaver H. Kuloy (1988), as well as special thematic books of distinguished collectors. All these contributed to the current popularity and awareness of the distinctive qualities of Tibetan carpets. Earlier, one may recall the research by Karl Gösta Montell, who traveled with Sven Hedin in Central Asia, 1929-1933, for his 1934 publication on Asian textile techniques, notably illustrating a back-strap (horizontal) loom showing a Tebbu Tibetan weaver seated in a heavy wooden sledge-like frame, Tibet, p. 41: Studierasiatisk textilteknik, *Ymer* 54, pp. 40-58.

The section on the origin of Tibetan carpets starts with the discussion that much of Tibetan culture originates in the great neighbouring civilizations of India and China, recounting the tradition of the attribution of weaving and knotting to the Chinese bride of Srong btsan sgam po. Immediately after this statement, the authors refer to the authoritative studies by both Denwood and Bsod rnam rgyal mtshan both of whom convincingly refute this attribution as inaccurate. Denwood notably traced the ancestry of the Tibetan vertical loom and distinctive Tibetan knotting prior to the 7th century. The archaeological study by Zhang He (2021),[1] illustrating carpets from Khotan Shanpula on the Southern Silk Road dating from 4th to 6th century confirm this early chronology, According to the analysis of Erhard and Wild (p. 9) , the Shanpula carpets exhibit the "same weaving technique as the Wangdrum carpets still made in the Wangden Valley today, and are backed with felt, as can be found in Tibetan carpets to this day." All in all, the influences and impact of western Central Asia are clearly indicated.

The section on carpet culture in Central Tibet provides a detailed explanation of the geographic and historic span of loom typology and differentiations. The most common loom in the Himalayas and Tibet is the horizontal treadle loom in which the weaver is seated on the ground, in front of his/her loom to produce fine fabrics (such as flannel) as well adapting the loom to produce pile rugs by the addition of weft threads into the back warp. Tibetan carpets, on the contrary, were woven on vertical looms, the Tibetan loom being a variant of the West Asian two beam loom. The specific Tibetan technique preserves a system which had been documented in ancient Egypt, then spread through the Middle East to the Sassanian Empire in Persia, which extended to the Tarim basin. The hypothesis is that the Tibetans acquired this type of loom via multi-cultural exchange along the Silk Routes during the expansion of the Tibetan Empire in Central Asia.

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[1] The footnote 9 cites He 2021 as author, however the author is listed in the bibliography as Zhang He.

As the terminology of the design motifs and the typology of carpets are perhaps unfamiliar to many readers who are not Tibetan rug specialists or afficionados, the authors have provided an English-Tibetan glossary of carpet related terms which is an innovation and very useful guide to the vocabulary of rugs as well as dyestuffs. The title of the volume is Drumze defined by the authors as "Tibetan carpet" (see p.15). The *Tshig mdzod chen po* clarifies that *grum tse* is a sort of carpet with thick pile, literally "donkey mane" (vol. 1: 406: gdan gyi bye brag dre'u rngog ) while in Jäschke dictionary (1972 reprint, p. 78) , *grum tse* is defined as a "thick woolen blanket". Goldstein and Ngarkyid translate " carpet" as *rum*, synonym *grum rtse,* and *kha gdan* (1984, p. 62). The volume concludes with an extensive bibliography.

Complemented by numerous historical archive photographs of buildings and weavers, as well as maps, loom designs, knot designs and rug photographs from distinguished public and private collections, the volume is well balanced between text and illustrative material. The clear technical explanations accompanied by the diagrams are particularly appreciated.

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**John Harrison, *Mustang Building: Tibetan Temples and Vernacular Architecture in Nepal Himalaya.* Saraf Foundation for Himalayan Traditions and Cultures, 2019, 396 pages. ISBN 978-99377-0-6942-7. [Himalayan Traditions and Cultures, no. 47]**

Mark Aldenderfer
(University of California, Merced)

Architectural studies of the religious and vernacular architecture across the Himalayas and the adjacent Tibetan plateau have a long and honored history. Early travelers were fascinated by the diversity of building styles across the region, and many of them drew representations of them in their notes, books, and reports. Illustrations were supplemented by photography throughout the 20th C. More detailed, analytical studies began later in the century, and some of the best-known recent studies include *The Lhasa Atlas* (2001), *The Temples of Lhasa* (2005) and its companion volume *The Lhasa House: Typology of an Endangered Species* (2019), *Himalayan Traditional Architecture* (2009), and *Tibetan Houses: Vernacular Architecture of the Himalayas and Environs* (2017). There are dozens, if not hundreds, of other, published studies of the architecture of the wider Himalayas by Indian, Chinese, Bhutanese, and western scholars. Much of this research has been devoted to documentation in service of both research goals as well as preservation and conservation efforts.

John Harrison is one of the most important and highly respected scholars of Himalayan architecture, especially that of Nepal. His career has spanned more than three decades, and while he first traveled to southern Mustang in 1985, his work with the Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology in the 1990s and further research its aftermath, helped to set the path of his career and forms the basis for the bulk of the contents of this volume. It is composed of seven chapters, a foreword and afterword written by Harrison, extensive endnotes, a glossary (very useful), references, and an index. Harrison describes the book as "…not a travelogue or a guidebook or a gazetteer or an architectural history. It is, I suppose, a record of a love affair with a Tibetan region which has fascinated me since I first saw it…." The book is filled with drawings, plans, and many black-and-white photographs of structures, landscapes, and building interiors. Some might complain that there are no color images, but I am in full agreement

Mark Aldenderfer, Compte-rendu de : "John Harrison, *Mustang Building: Tibetan Temples and Vernacular Architecture in Nepal Himalaya*", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 67, Octobre 2023, pp. 213-217.

with Harrison, who states "Although black-and-white may be criticized as pretentious, 'art photography', I think it better reveals the stark character of the landscapes and buildings of Mustang, allowing the eye to concentrate on form." I found most of the images to be stunning and a testament to the variety and complexity of the built heritage of the region. It's important to stress, however, that this is not just a picture book but one that has real and significant scholarly importance for geographers, anthropologists, architects, historians, and even archaeologists, like this reviewer.

In the Foreword, Harrison describes a bit of his background and succinctly outlines the contents of the book. Chapter 1 offers a brief description of research conducted in Mustang in the mid-20th C by scholars who had some interest in the built environment, including names familiar to Tibetologists such as Corneille Jest and Christian Kleinert. Because Upper Mustang was only opened to foreigners in 1992, this early research was conducted only in southern Mustang. In the 1980s and into the 1990s, two German sponsored projects began their research around Kag and the Muktinath valley, with an architectural team led by Niels Gutschow, who has worked in Nepal for decades. Harrison joined his team in 1993 and led documentation efforts at Lo Monthang and worked with the project until 1997.

Chapters 2 and 3 describe the ecology and peoples of Mustang and an outline of its history and prehistory, respectively. Architecture is only touched upon briefly. I offer two amendments to his comments on the timing and origin of the early peoples of Mustang based upon research published after his book was released. Although a date of 1200 BCE has been proffered by members of the Nepali-German team, it is not based upon a direct radiocarbon assay from any of the sites they researched. Dates from two mortuary sites, one near Ghilling and the other Lubrak, collected by my team, now confirm that the earliest known occupation of Mustang dates from 1500-1200 BCE. We also know, based on the analysis of the ancient DNA of human remains from these sites that they are most closely related to the modern population of the Tibetan plateau. The first peoples came down from the plateau, not up from South Asia.

Chapter 4 begins the detailed discussion of architecture through an examination of well-studied villages ranging from Cimang in the south to Chhoser (spelled Tshoser in the book). Two archaeological sites—Khyinga (called Khalung Mound in the text), which has the earliest known residential architecture in Mustang at c. 100 BCE, and Garab Dzong, dating to ca. 1600 CE, are also described. The villages, including Tukche, Marpha, Kag, Tsarang, and others, are illustrated with settlement plans as well as photographs of streets and their settings in the landscape. Lo Monthang is described most fully, and

Harrison offers several speculations about possible models for the layout of the town, including direct influence from China via Mongol patronage of Sakya or a design resembling that of Dzongkha, the capital of the Gungthang polity on the Tibetan plateau.

One of the enduring puzzles of Mustang is the origin and role of the so-called "sky caves" in its settlement history. There are thousands, and are found from the far north near the border with Tibet to the Muktinath valley. Many of these caves are single chambers; others are complex structures that resemble "apartment complexes" (my term), with multiple levels connected by interior passages. Most are today are many meters above the modern ground surface and difficult to enter. Harrison suggests, based on data from two residential caves (median radiocarbon dates of ca. 800 BCE and 680 BCE) excavated by the Nepali-German team in the Muktinath valley, and following a hypothesis first offered by Gutschow, "…the development of domestic architecture in Mustang could be viewed as a progression 'from darkness to light' from cave dwellings to houses built like caves, and then to more open plan forms." The early dates support this idea, but recent research complicates this scenario. Through 2007-2010, a Nepali-American team surveyed cave complexes in Upper Mustang; more than 60 were entered and documented, and radiocarbon samples from 15 caves were recovered. Although a few were occupied around ca. 500 CE, most reflect a Buddhist-era presence that appears to have arrived in two waves: 1100-1400 CE and 1500-1600 CE (Figure 1). This suggests that the majority of the "apartment complexes" in Upper Mustang pertain to this era. Just why these complexes appear after 1000 CE remains to be determined. This is a very small sample compared to the very large number of cave complexes, but it is nevertheless provocative.

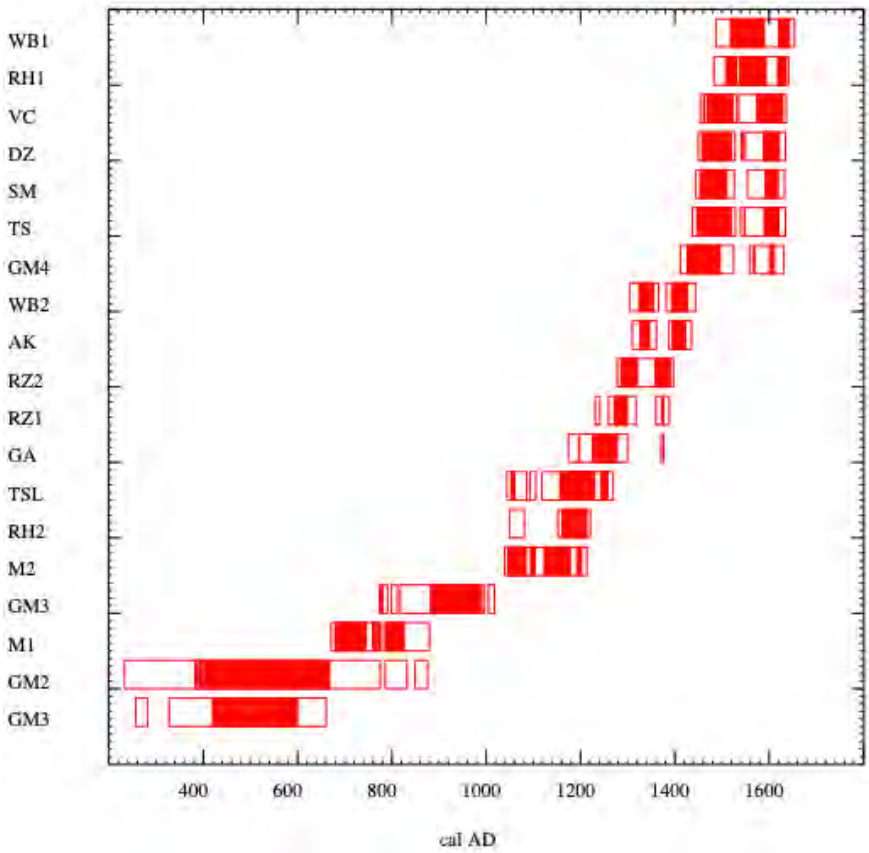


*Figure 1. Calibrated radiocarbon dates from caves in Upper Mustang. The left column is the abbreviation for the site name. Bars indicate the full range of the possible age of the sample; the red bars indicate the highest probability of the age of the sample.*

In Chapter 5, Harrison describes the traditional building elements of Mustang: wood, earth, and stone. He describes in detail how walls are erected, structures framed, windows and doors emplaced, decorative elements added, and rooves created. He offers an especially thorough description of how rammed earthen walls are made. Although not discussed in the book, I am always impressed by the labor requirements to build even small residential structures let alone the massive walls of Lo Monthang or the large number of dzongs, temples, and religious structures found throughout Mustang. Labor mobilization must have been a constant concern for elites or village communities.

Houses and other secular structures are described in Chapter 6. This is one of the richest sections of the book, and it includes many photographs, axonometric drawings, plan views, and images of interiors. Included are detailed analyses of the palaces at Tsarang and Lo

Monthang, dzongs at Kag and Dzar, and several residential structures both humble and ostentatious. Harrison notes that aside from the obvious wealth differentials of the residences of the elites, status in Mustang domestic architecture is reflected by the size of the dwelling, numbers and elaborations of entrances and windows, and the richness of interior decoration and room size. Nevertheless, he also notes that residential structures are remarkably similar; they share what he describes as the vertical separation of uses (storage and animal pens on the lower floor with domestic spaces above), standardized room function, and how structures are framed and built.

In the final chapter of the book, Harrison turns to descriptions of the religious and sacred architecture of Mustang. He begins with a brief discussion of Mustang's sacred landscape (all of it, essentially), and then to descriptions of mani walls, chortens large and small, cave temples (e.g. Mentsi Lhakhang, Luri), and Tibetan-style temples, the famous (e.g. Jampa and Thubchen in Lo Monthang) and the lesser-known but still important temples (e.g. Tiri, Te, Gompa Gang, and several others). This chapter is especially rich in section drawings, plan views, and complex perspective renderings of their interiors. Although decorations such as wall paintings are mentioned, Harrison wisely suggests that including more information about these was best left to the art historians and specialists in Himalayan art.

The traditional architectural practices of Mustang have created structures that have lasted 600 years, and they offer us a sense of enduring stability. But as Harrison notes in his Afterword, things *are* changing. Modern materials like concrete are replacing rammed earth and stone as foundations and walls and tin sheeting as roofing elements can now be found in some villages. Modernity in all its manifestations threatens tradition in Mustang, and with the completion of the road from Kathmandu to the Kora-la pass into Tibet, the pace of change will only intensify. But the greatest threat to the building traditions of Mustang is anthropogenically driven climate warming. Precipitation that once fell as snow is now coming as rain, increasingly intense, even behind the rain shadow provided by Dhaulagiri and the Annapurnas. Mustang's flat rooves are not designed for intense rainfall, and increasingly, house foundations are being eroded from below. Add to this more frequent landslides and flooding, and you can easily see why Harrison is pessimistic that traditional vernacular architecture will survive unscathed. Change and its outcomes underscores the importance of Harrison's book as a documentary record of the past but it is also a testimony to his love affair with the people and the traditions of Mustang.

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**Bellezza, John Vincent, *Besting the Best: Warriors and Warfare in the Cultural and Religious Traditions of Tibet. A Historical, Ethnographic and Archaeological Survey of Martialism Over the Last Three Millennia*, Lumbini (Lumbini International Research Institute), 2020. xvi+563 pp.**

Reviewed by Per Kværne
(University of Oslo)

Probably no scholar has so intensively and consistently studied the cultural pre-history and early history of what can broadly speaking be defined as Ladakh and Western Tibet as John V. Bellezza. The volume under review, entitled *Besting the Best*, deals, as the sub-title indicates, with the culture and history of martialism in this region over a long time-span, but it deals with much else besides, such as religion, economy, and migration. The author brings decades of dedicated research, including extensive field studies, to this book, which is not only highly readable, but includes a unique and vast visual documentation consisting of no less than 335 illustrations, many in colour and coming from the author's personal photographic archive. Although the topic is complex and involves wide-ranging research sometimes far from the core area of the author's field research, an area which he designates 'Upper Tibet', the structure of the book is clear and the reader does not lose her or his way moving through millennia and over vast distances.

It is useful to keep in mind the chronological parameters, as defined by Bellezza, comprising four main periods, as they will be referred to in this review: 1) Late Prehistoric era, ca. 1300 BCE-600 CE; 2) Historic era, ca. 600-1000 CE, including the Imperial period, ca. 600 to 850 CE; 3) Vestigial period, ca. 1000-1350 CE; 4) Late Historic period, ca. 1350-1950 CE (p. 23). Likewise, a brief overview of the sources utilised by the author may be useful: 1) Old Tibetan manuscripts, principally from Dunhuang, to which must be added imperial and other proclamations inscribed on stelas and rocks; 2) rock art in Upper Tibet, ca. 1200 BCE to 1300 CE; 3) various small metal objects, especially *thog lcags*, probably largely of a talismanic kind, ca. 1200 BCE to 1300 CE; 4) various stone structures, especially strongholds and necropolises, ca. 1200 BCE to 600 CE; and finally, 5) relevant material from areas adjacent to the Tibetan Plateau, especially from North Inner Asia.

Per Kværne, Compte-rendu de : " Bellezza, John Vincent, *Besting the Best: Warriors and Warfare in the Cultural and Religious Traditions of Tibet* ", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 67, Octobre 2023, pp. 218-225.

Three further observations should be made: first, 'Upper Tibet' is a geographical term, as it is only in the Historic era that 'Tibet' as a polity or a state emerged as the centre of the Tibetan Empire, starting ca. 600 CE. The area referred to as 'Upper Tibet' in fact (according to Old Tibetan historical documents) "supported two kingdoms: Zhang-zhung and Sumpa", neither of which was initially in any sense Tibetan, although they ultimately became absorbed by the Tibetan Empire; second, the term 'Vestigial period' points back in time following the preceding Imperial Period, from which it preserved vestiges; and third, in spite of the above observation, there is a significant degree of cultural continuity in 'Upper Tibet' (and, indeed, on the entire Tibetan Plateau) from the Late Prehistoric era until today, as exemplified by the perfection of horseback riding, which "reached Upper Tibet from the north in the Late Bronze Age [1300-700 BCE]" (p. 11). The 'Vestigial period' is in fact very important; it coincides with what is usually known as the 'Later Propagation (of Buddhism)', and is also the time when Yungdrung Bön arose as a coherent, self-conscious religious tradition, as Bellezza indirectly points out when stating that this religion "did not appear until the 10th and 11th centuries CE" (p. 187).

Yungdrung Bön is not without importance for the present study, for a number of ritual, mythological, and historiographical texts belonging to this religion contain reminiscences from the Imperial period. However, Bellezza reminds the reader that:

> These sources place great emphasis on the political history of Central Tibet and its various proto-states and rulers beginning deep in prehistory… However, most events and personalities of early times are heavily mythologized… A major function of ahistorical elements in tales of prehistory was to exalt the status of rulers and prominent clans of later times, endorsing their religious and political ideologies and activities through the mantle of antiquity and ancestral privilege (p. 4).

At the very beginning of Chapter 6, entitled "Prehistoric Martial Traditions in Tibetan Literature", he makes a similar statement which has crucial methodological implications:

> With the means for historical corroboration of literary materials mostly beyond our reach, Tibetan tales set in early times are indeterminate records of any actual past occurrences… They are however not without their merits, for they furnish a vivid picture of how Tibetans, beginning in the Early Historic period and continuing until recent times, perceived their prehistory (p. 175).

Furthermore:

> Establishing the origin of ancient customs and traditions was a preoccupation of many Tibetan writers, who often reduced them to historical clichés to fit the needs at hand (p. 188).

Other, less critical authors, would do well to bear these statements in mind.

Given the complexity of this book, it is impossible to present every part of it with the attention it would merit, but even a brief chapter-by-chapter outline will indicate its importance for a wide range of topics.

Chapter 1, "Violence and War in Buddhism", explores "A conundrum …in Buddhist thought as killing is categorically seen as negative but has been sanctioned out of compassion (p. 26)". This problem has been explored by Jacob P. Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism* (New Haven, 2011), but is here further discussed by Bellezza, who also refers to the extensive material available concerning the army of the pre-modern Lhasa government. To the latter topic should be added Alice Travers, *Marching into View: the Tibetan Army in Historic Photographs (1895-1959)*, Potsdam (Edition-Tethys), 2022.

Chapter 2, "Violence and Martialism in Tibetan Societies", continues this theme, but with a focus 'on the ground' so to speak, i.e. discussing how "Acts of bellicosity permeated all rungs of Tibetan societies. These extended to the foot soldier, domestic defender, raider, hunter, and bandit, as well as to the clergy and ruling classes" (p. 35). This is, obviously, a statement that flies in the face of the conception of Tibetan society through the centuries as permeated by the Buddhist ideals of non-violence. Bellezza's book is a welcome and well-documented rejection of this conception which, no matter how widely held by many Tibetans as well as well-meaning non-Tibetans today, has little foundation in historical or ethnographic reality. He discusses "The warlike proclivities of pastoralists in the northern grasslands (pp. 36 ff.)", quoting the anthropologist Robert B. Ekvall: "The nomadic pastoralists are well-fitted for… warfare for their habits, the exigencies of their subsistence technique, and their whole pattern of life is an effective training in the essentials of warfare (p. 37)". He also discusses the arrow, "the single most important armament and military symbol in the Tibetan world (p. 48 ff.)", but also other weapons, based on Tibetan texts and ethnographic material from many parts of the Tibetan Plateau. He points out that "The collective skills acquired by stockbreeders through hunting were directly applicable to military organization and campaigns (p. 40)", and quotes pertinent written sources, such as forthright glorifications of the deadly qualities of the bow and arrow in – for example – the Gesar epic (p. 43).

Chapter 3, "The Divine Companions of Warriors", shifts the focus to presenting a series of warlike protector deities "who appear in the guise of traditional Tibetan warriors", wearing armour and helmets and wielding various weapons (p. 59). Among these deities are the so-called 'mountain gods' (*yul lha* as well as *gnyan*), whose close connection with ransom rituals and divination is discussed. Bellezza draws on a range of textual sources from the Imperial period, but also later sources in which the "martial splendor of mountain gods" is presented at length (pp. 79 ff.).

Chapter 4, "The Quintessential Warrior Spirits" continues this theme, focusing more specifically on the *dgra lha* (*dgra bla* in Old Tibetan texts, *sgra bla* in Yungdrung Bön, see pp. 95 ff.). Many scholars have discussed this class of spirits or deities (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Tucci, Karmay), but Bellezza's discussion in the present volume is, at least to the best of this reviewer's knowledge, the most extensive and incisive discussion of them to date.

Moving on from the ideological/religious background to a historical and social context, Chapter 5, "Imperial Warriors and Warfare in Tibetan Literature", is a particularly important chapter: "This chapter examines wartime personnel and activities of the Imperial period as documented in both primary and secondary sources of the Tibetan literary tradition (p. 105)". Although some sources regarding military matters date from the Imperial period, the majority of the sources referred to are of later provenance, and the author rightly stresses (cf. above) that caution must be exercised when using them, also because there is limited archaeological evidence available from the Imperial period. Nevertheless, with these limitations in mind, Bellezza, using a wide range of textual sources, succeeds in giving a coherent and often detailed account of the military organisation in the Imperial period. In particular, he relies on a hitherto little-studied text, the *sPu rgyal Bod kyi dmag khrims*, "a manual of military regulations and protocols dating to the Imperial period" (p. 118). This fascinating text certainly would merit a monographic study; in this review it is only possible to say that it contains, among other things, a "contemporaneous elaboration of senior military grades and their adjutants" (p. 121); penalties, taxes, and rewards; various battle scenarios; the special regard that should be shown to Buddhist practitioners and objects; how to avoid unnecessary casualties and strategic setbacks; and elaborate rules for reserving the spoils of battle for those who actually participated in combat (p. 139). There are sections of intelligence gathering, nocturnal combat, signalling, and much else. This chapter also deals with the "accoutrements of the warrior in the time of empire" (p. 154): weapons (especially the bow and arrow), armour, and helmets. The important role played by the

horse and by cavalry is discussed, as is its function in funerary traditions.

In Chapter 6, "Prehistoric Martial Traditions in Tibetan Literature", many authors might tread on unsafe ground. However, as has been made clear above, Bellezza avoids pitfalls when it comes to Tibetan 'quasi-historical' and ritual texts as he navigates though topics such as "The martial foundations of the Tibetan political dispensation" and "The warlike deeds of prehistoric kings and priests".

The final three chapters shift the emphasis from literary (and ethnographic) sources to archaeology, and provide valuable, indeed unique, overviews over several categories of archaeological material. Although there is certainly some chronological overlapping, this material essentially relates to the Late Prehistoric era, for which, as already noted, contemporaneous written sources are lacking. Thus Chapter 7 deals with armaments and other martial symbols, containing descriptions, drawings, and photographs of a range of relevant objects, including the so-called *thog lcags*, figurative objects of copper alloy, unfortunately, as the author observes, of unknown provenance and function. They do, however, provide visual data, as the anthropomorphic figurines are depicted clad in suits of armour and often holding swords or daggers. Some *thog lcags* also depict wild animals or horseback riders. This chapter continues, to some extent, the topic of Chapter 6.

Chapters 8 and 9 are of particular importance as they present and discuss a rich material, largely photographs which Bellezza has collected himself *in situ* during his extended study tours in Upper Tibet. This material mainly concerns the Late Prehistoric era, i.e. ca. 1300 BCE-600 CE. In the first part of Chapter 8, the author looks at the interconnected phenomena of "horses, monuments, war, and socio-political complexity in Inner Asia" in the Late Prehistoric era (p. 239), providing a cultural-historical background for "the introduction of horseback riding and mobile pastoralism in Upper Tibet and consequent major sociopolitical and economic changes" (p. 245). These changes are then illustrated and discussed under two headings, viz. "Large stone grid necropolises in Upper Tibet" and "Hilltop fortifications in Upper Tibet". Some of the latter structures have previously been studied by other scholars, especially archaeologists, but there has been a tendency to over-emphasize the fact that "Hilltop sites are commonly construed by local Tibetans as being ruined castles (*mkhar*) and fortresses (*rdzong*)" (p. 277), such as the famous Khyung-lung dNgul-mkhar in present-day rTswa-mda' County in Western Tibet. In Yungdrung Bön textual and oral sources it is said to have been founded by sTon-pa gShen-rab and to have been the capital of the Zhang-zhung kingdom. However, Bellezza makes the important point

that narratives concerning such "strongholds of Zhang-zhung is a retrospective interpretation which presents them in schematic fashion and refracted through Lamaist *[i.e. Yungdrung Bön – PKv]* religious doctrine… Tibetan textual sources are nearly bereft of a historical framework for explicating their chronology and political and military functions" (p. 295). Bellezza is to be lauded for adhering strictly to this methodological approach when dealing with Tibetan sources purportedly dealing with the prehistoric era. It does not mean that such sources are without value (and may reflect certain reminiscences and traces from prehistoric times), but they generally reflect agendas and narratives from what Bellezza calls the Vestigial period, ca. 1000-1350 CE.

Having said this, it must be emphasized that Chapter 8 contains an extraordinary rich collection of material – Bellezza has carried out preliminary surveys of 146 summit sites… identified as archaic or potentially archaic, of which the chapter presents a rich visual documentation, discussion and analysis.

The final chapter, Chapter 9, presents "Martialism and Combat in the Rock Art of the Tibetan Plateau and North Inner Asia". It is illustrated by numerous photographs and drawings, published as well as unpublished. Although the rock art of Upper Tibet, Spiti and Ladakh has numerous motifs, including various animals, Bellezza's focus here is on combat-related art, such as warriors on horseback or on foot, as well as chariots with charioteers wielding a range of weapons. A number of North Inner Asian examples of rock art depicting combat are provided for the sake of comparison.

Dating rock art is always difficult, but Bellezza argues credibly that at least the North Inner Asian chariot carvings may belong to the Bronze Age, and hence be as early as the middle of the second millennium BCE (p. 367). In any case, they must be ancient, as they seem to have disappeared throughout North Inner Asia with the emergence of riding horses (ibid.). There would seem to be no particular reason to believe that combat (or ritual) chariots lingered on in Tibet beyond that period (although archaeological finds may of course lead to a re-assessment of this view in the future).

The "warrior and warrior-related material in Upper Tibet (Byang-thang and Stod)" is presented in an abundantly illustrated and almost book-length "Catalogue of Rock Art Images" (pp. 405-506), containing no less than 203 photographs in colour, a veritable gold mine for further research.

John V. Bellezza's book, *Besting the Best*, is systematic in its approach to a very complicated material and convincing in its discussion of the same material. It also has a series of other, excellent characteristics: it avoids technical or academic jargon, and is very readable; it will

interest not only students and scholars of Tibetan history and prehistory, but is relevant to a much wider range of scholarship, including the anthropology and sociology of war and martialism; it is very carefully researched, with a large number of immensely useful notes, including references to a wide range of relevant sources. As the author writes (p. 401), this book is concerned with the theme of temporal continuity in Tibetan cultures (thus spanning pre-Buddhist as well as Buddhist periods), and from that perspective adds significantly to a growing body of research (e.g. Alice Travers, Jacob P. Dalton) which establishes the martial and violent aspects of Tibetan culture from prehistoric times until recent decades (when a narrative of Tibet as profoundly Buddhist, and hence essentially non-violent, started gaining ascendancy).

Although a few scholars – including George Roerich and Giuseppe Tucci – have previously touched on the same material as Bellezza explores in this book (with the exception of rock art in Tibet, which, as opposed to ruined fortresses, was largely unexplored before Bellezza initiated his exploration in the field in the early 1990's), no Western scholar can match the range and volume of his documentation of early archaeological monuments and rock art in Upper Tibet, including Ladakh. There are, however, useful volumes illustrating Tibetan rock art (from various periods), such as *Bod kyi brag brkos ri mo'i sgyu rtsal/ Art of Tibetan Rock Paintings: Compiled by the Administration Commission of Cultural Relics of the Tibetan Autonomous Region*, Chengdu (Sichuan People's Publishing House), 1994.[1]

Two further publications by Bellezza should be mentioned. The first is *Drawn and Written in Stone: An inventory of stepped structures and inscriptions on rock surfaces in Upper Tibet (ca.100 BCE to 1400 CE)*, Oxford (BAR Publishing), 2020. Here a category of prehistoric structures is examined, which, as Bellezza convincingly argues, have their origins in the Late Prehistoric era as structures built for ritual and symbolic purposes, and later, starting in the Imperial period, were transformed into the Buddhist stūpa. The book provides a rich photographic documentation of such structures *in situ*, as well as depicted in rock art. The second publication is *A Comprehensive Survey of Rock Art in Upper Tibet: Volume 1. Eastern Byang thang*, Oxford (Archaeo Press Publishing), 2023, which focuses on the area surrounding Lake gNam-mtsho north of Lhasa. This is announced as the first of a set of five volumes.

It is not an unreasonable expectation that the volume under review, together with related volumes by the same author, will, over time, give

[1] Subsequently a considerable number of books and articles on archaeology in Western Tibet have been published in Chinese.

a new impetus and lead to significantly deeper understanding of the prehistory and early history of Tibet. The published volumes are by themselves an achievement for which John V. Bellezza is to be congratulated.