

Changing Bodies Seven Times: Padampa Sangyé's Pacifying Tradition and the Birth of the *Maṇi* Pill¹

James Gentry

(Stanford University)

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.

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 Kalmāśapāda 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

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. *saptajanna*, Tib. *skye ba bdun pa*; Skt. *saptāvarta*, Tib. *lan bdun pa*, *khör 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 *mañi*-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 *mañi*-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 *mañi* 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. kyil] snyan rgyud zab khyad ma bzhuḡs*. 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 (Kham 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 *śāstras*, 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 *mani*-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

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

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 (Zhiḡ 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 tshé ri la bkyaḡ 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 khri ms '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 (Zhi g 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 *mañi*-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, *dākinīs*, 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 *prajñāpāramitā 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

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 fleshs (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 Vajradākinīs*.³⁶ The text opens with a particularly macabre narrative framework.³⁷ It situates the singing of these songs in the

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 fleshs 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 fleshs 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 *Śrīvajradākinīgīti*, 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 *jñānadākinīs*; 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 *karmaḍākinīs* have murdered a seven-born one, a prince by the name of *Dungpūdzin* (Dung phud 'dzin), to perform a *gaṇacakra* feast with his flesh and blood, and thereby invoke twenty-one *jñānaḍākinīs* from space. Once invoked, the *jñānaḍākinīs* 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 Vajradākinīs*, 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 *ḍākinīs* 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' sgro 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 *ḍākinīs* 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

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* (*Vajradākinīgīti*), 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 *ḍākinīs* 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,

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 sun 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 Zhiḡ 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 Āryasimha. 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 *dākinīs* 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 (Orgyan 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 text 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 (*dnagos 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

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 dnagos 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 Dākinīs*, a short text cast in the voice of a group of *dākinīs* 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 *ḍākinīs'* song, according to the Tengyur version, the *ḍākinīs* 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 *ḍākinīs'* 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 *ḍākinīs* 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 Kūnga.⁶¹ There the master had these choice words to say about his extraordinary corporeality:

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-

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 tsatsas* (*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 tsatsas* 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.

Tsatsas 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, *stūpas*.⁷⁰ A *mahābodhi*, or “great awakening” *stūpa*, is one of the eight kinds of *stūpas* whose distinct shapes serve to commemorate eight significant deeds in the life of the Buddha—this one signaling the Buddha’s enlightenment.⁷¹

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 *tsatsas*, see Namgyal-Lama 2023.

⁷¹ Bentor 1995b, 36. For more on *stūpas* 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

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" (*yiid 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 Kūnga 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 Kūnga 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 tsatsas* 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 *tsatsas*, 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 *hrīh* appeared; a piece of his forehead hair tuft, on which a swirling swastika mantra knot appeared; his tooth, on which the syllable *hūm* 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.

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" (*dn̄gos 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 tsatsas* 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 tsatsas* 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.

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 / dn̄gos 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 kyi chod pa'o / /blo nyes byed par mchi ba ni dn̄gos 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 *tathātaga'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"

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 Künga*, 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*

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

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

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 bsduṣ 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 transcorporeal being. In this he is like many other *mahāsiddhas* 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 Kūnga. 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 Kūnga, 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 *ḍākinīs*, reviewed above.⁹⁶

By the time the teachings of Kūnga’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 *paṇḍitas*:

First, his continuous passage through seven lifetimes as *paṇḍitas* 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.

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 chung¹⁰⁵) 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 gling¹⁰⁶) 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 *paṇḍitas* 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 Kiing*, 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 undergo 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 Carasimha 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 Vajrasana 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

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 *tīrthikas*, 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:

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

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 run 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 magle. 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 Kūnga’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 Carasimha, 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

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 Kūnga 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 spyen 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 Kūnga (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 singlemend. 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

¹²⁸ For short biographies of Guru Chöwang, see Dudjom 1991, 760–770, Leschly 2007, and Jamgön Kongtrül 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. rnam]s] 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—*om maṇi padme hūm hrīh*.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 *Gu ru 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*)

¹³⁸ Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug 1979, vol. 1, *Gu ru chos dbang gi sku'i rnam thar skabs bryad 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 discoverers 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

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 *paṇḍitas*.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-fulfilling 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

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 *Samputatantra* 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 rmad du byung pa rnam sol. 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 Mroczek 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 *Samputatantra*, 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 Kongtrül 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 *mani*-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 *mani*-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 *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* 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 *tīrthikas* 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 *Amnāyamañjarī*, 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 Vajradākinīs*, discussed above when reviewing the Pacifying tradition's visionary literature.¹⁷⁰ Recall that this narrative opening depicts a group of *karmaḍākinīs* murdering a seven-times born prince to perform a *gaṇacakra* feast in a charnel ground with his flesh and blood, and thereby invoke *jñānaḍākinīs* 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 *ḍākinīs*. 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 *mani* 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 *mani*-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 *mani* 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 Uryyan 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, Uryyanpa 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 *mani*-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 *mani* 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 *mani*-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 Āryasimha. 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 *dākinīs* 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 *bodhicittas*
 [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: *om̐* 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 *hūm̐* 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 *Vedas* among brahmins, the *R̥gveda*, *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 *sūtras*, *tantras*, and *śāstras* 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 *sūtras*; 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 *śāstras* 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 *gandharvas* 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 *sambhogakāya* 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 *gandharvas* 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 gu¹⁷⁶ 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 rgyud¹⁷⁷ ni /

¹⁷⁶ 'ghu
¹⁷⁷ rgyad

sngon¹⁷⁸ rgya gar nub phyogs u rgyan¹⁷⁹ bya ba'i yul du / stong 'khor
 los sgyur ba'i {74} rgyal po A rya¹⁸⁰ sing ha zhes bya ba la / sras stobs
 ldan snying po zhes bya ba dmus¹⁸¹ long mtshan dpe¹⁸² dang bcas pa
 zhig¹⁸³ 'khrungs nas / rgyal sar bton¹⁸⁴ nas btsun mo stong khab na
 gnas pa las/ rgyal po'i zhabs tog¹⁸⁵ zhag res su mdzad pa yin skad
 /dus lan gcig btsun mo chung shos lo bcu drug lon pa zhig¹⁸⁶ la res
 mos¹⁸⁷ babs¹⁸⁸ par gda' ste/ mo la rgyal po gsol du rung ba'i kha zas
 myed nas/ dur¹⁸⁹ khrod nas sha so¹⁹⁰ ma zhig¹⁹¹ blangs nas spod kyis
 bran nas tshos par btsos pa zhig¹⁹² dang / so ka'i chang 'phra men gyi
 snod gang drangs¹⁹³ par gda' bas / btsun mo tshad pa dang / rgyal po
 la spyang myed pa la rngan chan du byas nas drangs¹⁹⁴ kyang / sha de
 skye ba bdun pa'i sha ru song nas spyang 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 las¹⁹⁵ brnyes¹⁹⁶ /
 /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 so¹⁹⁷ /

/gdams pa ni

skyabs gnas kyis yul bcud la bor pas /

-
- 178 mngon
 179 brgyan
 180 rgya
 181 smu
 182 dpe'a
 183 cig
 184 ston
 185 rtog
 186 cig
 187 monggs
 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 pa¹⁹⁸ gnyis 'thob par byed /
/byin rlabs rgyud pa'i gnad gong du spor cig ces¹⁹⁹ 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 dos²⁰¹ drag²⁰²
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 gu²⁰³ 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 brnyes²⁰⁴ na /

rgyal pos mkha' spyod du gshegs kar / da btsun mo la de ring sha lhag
ma rnam long²⁰⁵ la rta dang / glang po yan chad la dum re byin
gsung²⁰⁶ nas byin pas / dngos su gshegs pa'i nus pa ma byung nas /
bsams te rA²⁰⁷ dza gshegs pa'i rgyu rkyen gang gis byas snyam pa la /
rgyal po la 'dren²⁰⁸ pa'i sha de la btsun mo rang gi dwangs²⁰⁹ 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 dU²¹⁰ ra la gtsigs byed pa de lags so /

/dam pa'i zhal nas /

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 gsungs²¹¹ /

/gdams pa ni

ring lam 'khor los btungs te rten smin²¹² pas /
sa lam chig rdzogs su gcod²¹³ par²¹⁴ byed la /
dbang bzhi lam khyer blo sbyong gi gnad 'di ltar²¹⁵ ro zhes bstan
to²¹⁶ /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 kyis 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 kyis 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 / AH²¹⁸
 sbyor ba gsum ldan chos kyis {77} phyag rgya / hrIH²¹⁹ dga' ba bzhi
 ldan dpe²²⁰ las kyis phyag rgya / hUM nam shes drug ldan 'bras bu
 phyag rgya chen po / gu²²¹ ru ni bla ma / si d+d+hi²²² 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 rnam zhu ba yin
 no zhes bya bar gda' //

//na mo gu²²³ ru /

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 grub²²⁴ pa ji ltar brnyes²²⁵ 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 grub²²⁶ zer nas / der drang srong gis sbyor bas
byung bar rig nas rdzas the rel rnams bsgrubs²²⁷ te bdud rtsi rnam pa
lnga'i ri lu byas te gsol pas / khams kyi zag pa zad cing ye shes kyi
spyang shar nas mkha' spyod du gshegs so / da lta yang sgrub²²⁸ 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 grung²²⁹ 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 gsungs²³⁰ /

/ gdams pa ni

**ngo sprod gcig²³¹ gis²³² yul la rtsa ba zin pas /
zab mo'i don phyogs myed du mthong bar byed pa²³³ /
mtshang²³⁴ rig pa go rtogs kyi gnad du zungs²³⁵ shig²³⁶ ces²³⁷ bstan
to /²³⁸**

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 dwangs²³⁹ pa'i rjes la / me long se gol chu lbu²⁴⁰
dang / zab pa'i brda' gsum la ngo sprad pa'i dus su / gang rung zhig²⁴¹
la brten²⁴² 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 mtshang²⁴⁴ shes
pa'i go ba zhes bya ste / shes rab rnam kyis nang na mchog tu gyur ba
chos kyi spyang rnam par dag pa / ye shes myig gcig dri ma myed pa
zhes bya'o //

//na mo gu²⁴⁵ 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 rig²⁴⁶ byed rnam pa bzhi yod de / /nges par brjod pa'i rig²⁴⁷
/ mchod sbyin byed pa'i rig²⁴⁸ / {79} / srid pa bsrung ba'i rig²⁴⁹ / snyan
par smra ba'i rig²⁵⁰ dang bzhi las / 'di ni mchod sbyin byed pa'i rig²⁵¹
yin pas / rgyal po²⁵² yab yum kyang ngas mchod sbyin byas pa'i
mthus tshangs pa'i gnas su gshags / da²⁵³ 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 spyang 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 gcig²⁵⁴ par shes te / dag
pa'i snang lam shar bas / zag pa zad cing ye shes kyi spyang dang ldan

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 so²⁵⁵ / da lta yang bla ma'i thugs rjes yi
dam dngos por zhal gzigs pa de lta 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 gsungs²⁵⁶ skad /

gdams pa ni

snyan khungs bla ma'i zhal gyi gdams pas /
mdo²⁵⁷ rgyud bstan bcos²⁵⁸ thams cad kyi srog gcod par byed /
lhad dang ma 'dres²⁵⁹ par²⁶⁰ tshig rgyud²⁶¹ kyi gnad legs par
zung²⁶² shig²⁶³ ces²⁶⁴ bstan to²⁶⁵ /²⁶⁶

/ zhes pa ni snyan khungs ni sangs rgyas sku gsum nas dbang gi chu
bo²⁶⁷ rgyun {80} ma chad pa'i chos yin la / bla ma'i²⁶⁸ 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 mdo²⁶⁹ sde rnam kyi nyams²⁷⁰ len gyi srog yin la /
dbang bzhi yi dngos gzhi ngo sprod bzhi / nang rgyud sde bzhi'i srog
yin la / mjug²⁷¹ bslab par bya ba'i chos ni / bstan bcos²⁷² dang man
ngag thams cad kyi srog yin te / gang gis kho thag chod par nyams su
len pa des ni srog de rnam chod pa yin la / 'di yang lhad dang ma

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

'dres²⁷³ te / tshig gcig²⁷⁴ gis dbri²⁷⁵ bsnan²⁷⁶ byas pa 'am²⁷⁷ / bcos
bslad²⁷⁸ byas pa myed de / bshu gu gcig²⁷⁹ nas gcig²⁸⁰ tu byo ba lta bu
yin pas / yi ge la ma brten²⁸¹ par bla ma'i gsung la nges 'jog byed pa
yin no //

//na mo gu²⁸² ru/

Inga 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 brnyes²⁸³ na /

rgyal po yab yum mchod gnas dang / slob dpon dang²⁸⁴ bcas²⁸⁵ pa
mngon sum du mkha' spyod la gshegs pa'i gtam thos te / khang pa'i
steng du myig²⁸⁶ nam mkha' la bltas²⁸⁷ te / ngu yin²⁸⁸ 'dug pa las /
nangs par bar snang la dri za yangs pa'i grong khyer mthong bas /
{81} der 'di snyam du bsam pa brnyed²⁸⁹ 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 dwangs²⁹⁰ nas zag pa zad de / ye shes kyi spyang gyis longs
sku'i zhing khams mthong nas mkha' spyod du gshegs so²⁹¹ / /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 /

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'i²⁹² sems kyis mchi²⁹³ ma zags /
 /bar snang dri za'i grong khyer mthong /
 /sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
 /'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs²⁹⁴ /

gdams pa ni /

shes pa ma bcos gnyug²⁹⁵ ma'i srang²⁹⁶ 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 to²⁹⁷ /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 phra²⁹⁹ 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 gyis³⁰⁰ bcos nas {82} ched du
 bsgom rgyu³⁰¹ myed kyang / de nyid la goms par bya ba'am³⁰² brtan³⁰³
 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 kyid don du ro
 snyoms kyid rtogs pa mthar phyin par byas la / bya ba ci byed gzhan
 don du bsngos nas smon lam 'debs pa yin no //

//na mo gu³⁰⁴ ru/

drug pa blo sbyong gi bdag bstod³⁰⁵ ni / stobs ldan snying po'i gsang
 blon ded dpon chen po karma³⁰⁶ badz+ra'i gdams pa yin te /

ded dpon 'dis grub pa ji ltar thob na /

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 sgrub³⁰⁷ pa'i ched du / nor bu'i gling la chas pas /
 log pa'i rlung gis gzings³⁰⁸ 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 skyabs³⁰⁹ te / mthar thon nas yod pa la / nags gseb
 cig na 'ur sgra dang / thug³¹⁰ chom³¹¹ du song 'dug nas bltas pas / dug
 sbrul gcig³¹² gis gcig³¹³ sked pa³¹⁴ bcad nas / ro smad lung pa logs
 shig³¹⁵ tu bskur³¹⁶ nas song skad / der cung zhig lon pa dang ro stod
 des / nags gseb nas shing lo gcig³¹⁷ 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} 'phur³¹⁸ shes par byung nas bltas pas /
 nags kyi gseb gcig³¹⁹ na drang srong zhig³²⁰ gnyid du song nas / kha
 na ri lu me tog dang bcas pa zhig³²¹ 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 gi³²² bsam³²³ pa
 grub³²⁴ pa yin skad /

dam pa'i zhal nas /

yum la brtse³²⁵ bas lha dang mjal³²⁶ /
 /las 'phro sad pas ri lu thob /

-
- 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

/grogz kyis thugs btags mkha' spyod grub³²⁷ /
 /sgrol mas lung bstan ngo mtshar can /
 /'di yang nga'i bla ma yin gsungs³²⁸ /

gdams pa ni

'du 'dzi bar chad³²⁹ du ngos zin³³⁰ pas /
 phyi snang ba la longs spyod kyī bdud myi 'khor bar byed /
 des³³¹ chags sdang gi sgrog rang grol la 'gro ba'i gnad yin no zhes
 bstan to³³² /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
 gcig³³⁴ bu sgrub³³⁵ pa byas pas / {84} phyi snang ba longs spyod kyī
 bdud 'ar 'ur³³⁶ 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 gcig³³⁷ bur sdod yun
 bsring ba de rje btsun gong ma'i rnam thar yin no //

**2. Zhus lan thugs kyī 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 kyī stobs gzigs pa 'di lags / sha kham cig zos
 pas dngos grub brnyes³³⁸ pa yang mthong zhes pa ni / rgyal po zla ba
 seng ge la btsun mo rnams kyīs gsang sbyor res byed pa las / btsun
 mo chung shos la gsol gyi res mos babs³³⁹ pa'i dus der char chen po
 zhag kha yar du btang³⁴⁰ pas/ der ha de dang tshong sar myi myed
 pas sha ma brnyed³⁴¹ de / btsun mos dur khrod kyī 'dab cig tu phyind
 pas / de na byis pa'i ro kha dog dang ldan pa zhig³⁴² 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 btsos³⁴³ nas legs pa'i g.yos la zhim pa'i spod kyis bran te / rgyal po la drangs pa dang gsol pas skye ba sngon³⁴⁴ 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 zhig³⁴⁵ lags pas / de skad ma gsungs³⁴⁶ shig³⁴⁷ 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 brnyed³⁴⁸ nas / phar la 'byams pas dur khrod kyis 'dab na byis pa gtsang³⁴⁹ ma'i ro zhig³⁵⁰ 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 bur³⁵¹ song la theb dam dum yang ma lus par khyer la shog cig / don chen po sgrub³⁵² pa'i thabs yod de byas pas / de nas bla ma dang rgyal pos dngos grub kyis 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 dmangs³⁵³ kyis spyod pa myi byed pa ltar / rnal 'byord pa'i rgyud la go cha³⁵⁴ '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 kyis tshun chod kyis 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 mjal³⁵⁵ 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 yongs³⁵⁶ bde bar gda' / khyed rang mgyogs³⁵⁷ 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 zhig³⁵⁸ shi nas 'dug / de'i ro bsregs pa la bslebs³⁵⁹
na chang mang po yod gsungs³⁶⁰ / der dam pa phar la gshegs nas
tshong pas tshur la 'ongs nas / ding rir brtol³⁶¹ 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 mjal³⁶² / phyag rten
yang phul sku khams³⁶³ 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 / gsungs³⁶⁴ 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'i³⁶⁵ bu mo zhig³⁶⁶ la byin brlabs zhugs pas
/ dam pa sku gshegs nas dam pa dang bu mo de lan gsum mjal³⁶⁷ 'dug
gsungs³⁶⁸ / bu mo de gzhan gyis ngo myi shes gsungs³⁶⁹ / 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 mjal³⁷⁰ ba las sogs pa lan du ma byon / yid ches pa
Inga pa'o //

//bu chen rnams la snang ba gtan³⁷¹ 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 //

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 gsang³⁷² 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 bskyal³⁷³ ba rung de la so yang ma bsregs pa ru dga'o gsungs par { 433} gda' ste / / bka'³⁷⁴ btsal³⁷⁵ de brda ldem du song bas ji ltar yin gtan³⁷⁶ 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 rnam 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 dra³⁷⁷ 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 glang³⁷⁸ '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 sbyor³⁷⁹ 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 gis³⁸⁰ 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 kyis³⁸¹ 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+Di³⁸² tar brgyud pa ni / shar phyogs kA ma³⁸³ rur paN+Di³⁸⁴ ta sa'i snying por sku skye ba bzhes / lho phyogs bhe³⁸⁵ tar paN+Di³⁸⁶ ta dza³⁸⁷ yan dha ra'i³⁸⁸ sku bzhes / nub phyogs u³⁸⁹ rgyan du in dra³⁹⁰ bo d+hi³⁹¹ 'bring {91} por sku bzhes / byang phyogs gya do ru mkhas pa kam+pa³⁹² lar sku bzhes / za hor du pra dz+nya prad nya³⁹³ bo d+hi³⁹⁴ sku bzhes / ma la yar mkhas pa sprin gyi go char³⁹⁵ sku bzhes / khrom pa'i gling du ka ma la shI³⁹⁶ la³⁹⁷ sku skye ba bzhes te / bla ma gser gling pa'i zhal nas / rigs ldan skye ba bdun pa yin no skad /

/ gtsug³⁹⁸ lag khang bdun brtsigs³⁹⁹ pa ni / shar phyogs skam po rtse'i gling du tra gling chung / sgrol ma'i⁴⁰⁰ lha khang / lho phyogs zangs gling du a mo g+ha⁴⁰¹ pA⁴⁰² sha / spyan ras gzigs yid bzhin nor bu'i lha khang / nub phyogs tshan d+ho la'i gling du / stobs chen ha ya grI⁴⁰³ wa khro bo rme brtsegs⁴⁰⁴ kyi lha khang / byang phyogs myi 'gyur bkod pa'i tshal du / rdo rje dbyings kyi lha khang bzhengs te /

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 gsungs⁴⁰⁵ / paN+Di⁴⁰⁶ 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 bsags⁴⁰⁷ sbyangs⁴⁰⁸ sngon du ji ltar song ba'i gтам 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 shAkya⁴⁰⁹ thub pa'i 'khor
du lung bstand pa yin skad / / de nas sangs rgyas shAkya⁴¹⁰ 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 'khob⁴¹¹ 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+Di⁴¹² tar skye ba
bzhes te/ grub pa thob pa'i lo rgyus ni/ spyir rgya gar na ma ga
d+ha⁴¹³ 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+ha⁴¹⁴ g+ha lar / paN+Di⁴¹⁵ ta sa'i snying por skye
ba bzhes / skye ba gnyis pa la lho phyogs b+he⁴¹⁶ ta lar / paN+Di⁴¹⁷ ta
sar dza na d+ha rir skye ba bzhes / skye ba gsum pa la nub phyogs u
rgyan du / in dra⁴¹⁸ bo d+hi⁴¹⁹ 'bring po ru skye ba bzhes/ skye ba bzhi
pa de byang phyogs gya dor ru⁴²⁰ / mkhas pa sprin gyi go cha ru skye
ba bzhes/ Inga pa de shar lho za hor gyi yul du / pra⁴²¹ dz+nyA⁴²² 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+hi⁴²³ 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 ha⁴²⁴ khrom pa'i gling du / paN+Di ta ka ma la shi⁴²⁵
 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 bskyil⁴²⁶ / bstand pa'i bdag po
 ru gyurd pas / lha khang kyang bdun brtsigs⁴²⁷ pa yin skad //

Works Cited

- Apple, James. 2019. *Atiśa Dīpaṅkara: Illuminator of the Awakened Mind*. Boulder: Shambhala.
- Aziz, Barbara Nimri. 1979. "Indian Philosopher as Tibetan Folk Hero Legend of Langkor: A New Source Material on Padampa Sangye." *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1/2: 19–39.
- Bentor, Yael. 1994. "Tibetan Classifications of Relics." *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992*, edited by Per Kvaerne, 16–30. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- Bentor, Yael. 1995a. "On the Indian Origins of the Tibetan Practice of Depositing Relics and *Dhāraṇīs* in *Stūpas* and Images." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115.2: 248–261.
- Bentor, Yael. 1995b. "In Praise of *Stūpas*: The Tibetan Eulogy at Chü-yung-kuan Reconsidered." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 38: 31–54.
- Bentor, Yael. 1996. *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bka' 'gyur* (Sde dge). 18th c. 103 v.
- Benjamin Bogin. 2005. "Making Brahmin's Flesh in Tibet: The Kyedun Ritual and the Relic Cult." Paper given at University of California, Berkeley (Nov. 5).
- Brown, Peter. 1981. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bsod nams 'od zer. 1997. *Grub chen u rgyan pa'i rnam thar*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.
- Bstan 'gyur* (*dpe bsdur ma*). 1994–2008. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug ste gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. 120 vols. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang.
- 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.
- Bstan 'gyur* (Sde dge par ma) 18th c. 213 v.
- Bstan 'gyur* (Snar thang dgon) 1800. 225 v.
- Bühnemann, Gudrun. 1992. "Some Remarks on the Date of Abhayākara Gupta and the Chronology of his Works." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142 (1): 120–127.
- Cabezón, José. 2013. *The Buddha's Doctrine and the Nine Vehicles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chos kyi 'od zer, Myang ston bSod nams seng ge, Mi 'gyur rdo rje. 1978. *sPrul sku mnga' bdag chen po'i skyes rabs rnam thar dri ma med pa'i bka' rgya can*. In *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chos skor*, vol. 1, 1–163. Gangtok, Sikkim: Sonam Topgay Kazi.
- Dam pa sangs rgyas. 2012–2013. *Zhi byed snga phyi bar gsum gyi chos skor phyogs bsgrigs*, 13 vols. Kathmandu: Ding ri glang skor gtsug lag khang.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2002. "Gsar-ma Apocrypha: Gray Texts, Oral Traditions, and the Creation of Orthodoxy." In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, edited by Helmut Eimer and David Germano, 203–244. Leiden: Brill.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2015. "Studies in *Dhāraṇī* Literature III: Seeking the Parameters of a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*, the Formation of the *Dhāraṇīsamgrahas*, and the Place of the Seven Buddhas." In *Scripture: Canon:: Text: Context, Essays Honoring Lewis Lancaster*, edited by Richard K. Payne, 119–80. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Buddhist Studies and BDK America, Inc.
- Deo, Nundo Lal. 1927. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Second Edition. London: Luzac & Co.
- Doney, Lewis. 2014. *The Zangs gling ma: The First Padmasambhava Biography. Two Exemplars of its Earliest Attested Recension*. Andiast, Switzerland: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.
- 'Dul 'dzin mkhyen rab rgya mtsho. 1981. *Chos 'byung nor bu'i 'phreng ba*. Gangtok, Sikkim: Dzongsar Chhentse Labrang.
- Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje. 1991. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*. Translated by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Dutt, Sukumar. 1962. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Eaton, Richard H. 2000. "Temple Desecration in Pre-modern India." *Frontline* 17, 25: 52–79.
- Edou, Jerome. 1996. *Machig Labdrön and the Foundations of Chöd*. Ithaca:

- Snow Lion.
- Garrett, Frances. 2010. "Tapping the Body's Nectar: Gastronomy and Incorporation in Tibetan Literature." *History of Religions*: 300–326.
- Gayley, Holly. 2007. "Soteriology of the Senses in Tibetan Buddhism." *Numen* 54: 459–499.
- Gentry, James. 2017. *Power Objects in Tibetan Buddhism: The Life, Writings, and Legacy of Sokdokpa Lodrö Gyeltsen*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Gentry, James. 2019. "Liberation through Sensory Encounters in Tibetan Buddhist Practice." Special issue, *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines: Tibetan Religion and the Senses*, no. 50 (June): 73–131.
- Gentry, James. 2022. "Why did the Cannibal King Fly? Tantric Transformations of an Indian Narrative in Tibet." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines, From Khyung Lung to Lhasa, A Festschrift for Dan Martin*, edited by Jonathan Silk and Leonard van der Kuijp, no. 64 (July): 84–135.
- Gentry, James. 2023. "May it Meet with a Karmically Destined Mahākārunika Yogin!"—Ratna Lingpa's Renewal of the Maṇi-Pill Tradition in Fifteenth Century Tibet." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 66 (Avril): 94–229.
- Gerke, Barbara. 2019. "The Buddhist–Medical Interface in Tibet: Black Pill Traditions in Transformation." *Religions* 10, 282.
- Germano, David and Kevin Trainor, ed. 2004. *Embodying the Dharma: Buddhist Relic Veneration in Asia*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Gold, Jonathon C. 2007. *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Gray, David. 2005. "Eating the Heart of the Brahmin: Representations of Alterity and the Formation of Identity in Tantric Buddhist Discourse." *History of Religions* 45, no. 1: 45–69.
- Gray, David. 2007. *The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka) (Śrītherukābhidhāna): A Study and Annotated Translation*. New York: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University in New York, co-published with Columbia University's Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US.
- Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug. 1979. *Gu ru chos dbang gi rang rnam dang zhal gdams*. 2 vols. Paro: Ugyen Tempai Gyaltzen.
- Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug. 1982. *Thugs chen yang snying 'dus pa'i chos skor*. 1 vol. Paro, Bhutan: Kyichu Temple.
- Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug (Gu ru Chos dbang). Date unknown. *Thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*, BDRC # W8LS16401.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1993. "The Logic of Legitimation in the Tibetan Treasure Tradition." *History of Religions* 33, no. 2: 97–134.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1994. "Guru Chos-dbang's gTer 'byung chen mo: An Early Survey of the Treasure Tradition and its Strategies in

- Discussing Bon Treasure." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Association of Tibetan Studies Seminar*, edited by Per Kvaerne, vol. 1, 275–287. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1996. "Drawn from the Tibetan Treasury: The Gter-ma Literature." In *Tibetan Literature*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger Jackson, 147–169. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1998. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Biographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hirshberg, Daniel. 2016. *Remembering the Lotus-Born: Padmasambhava in the History of Tibet's Golden Age*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications.
- Hirshberg, Daniel. 2017. "A Post-Incarnate Usurper? Inheritance at the Dawn of Catenate Reincarnation in Tibet." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*, no. 38 (Février): 65–83.
- Hori, Shin'ichirō. 2019. "On the Exact Date of the *Pañcarakṣā* Manuscript Copied in the Regnal Year 39 of Rāmapāla in the Catherine Benkaim Collection." *Bulletin of the International Institute for Buddhist Studies* 2: 49–55.
- Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Taye. 2011. *The Hundred Tertöns: A Garland of Beryl, Brief Accounts of Profound Terma and the Siddhas Who Have Revealed It*, translated by Yeshe Gyamtso. New York: KTD Publications.
- Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Taye, comp. 2019. *Zhije: The Pacification of Suffering*, translated by Sarah Harding. Boulder: Snow Lion.
- Kloos, Stephan. 2010. "Tibetan Medicine in Exile: The Ethics, Politics and Science of Cultural Survival." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Francisco and Berkeley.
- Kohn, Richard J., dir. 1985. *Lord of the Dance/Destroyer of Illusion*. Sky Walker Productions.
- Kohn, Richard J. 2001. *Lord of the Dance: The Mani Rimdu Festival in Tibet and Nepal*. Albany: SUNY.
- Krug, Adam. 2019. "Buddhist Medical Demonology in The Sūtra of the Seven Buddhas." *Religions* 10, 255; doi:10.3390/rel10040255.
- Lee, Yong-Hyun. 2003. "Synthesizing a Liturgical Heritage: Abhayākara Gupta's *Vajrāvali* and the *Kālacakra* Maṇḍala." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Leschly, Jacob. 2007. "Guru Chowang," *Treasury of Lives*, <https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Guru-Chowang/5588>.
- Lüddeckens, Dorothea, Philipp Hetmanczyk, Pamela E. Klassen, and Justin B. Stein, eds. 2022. *The Routledge Handbook of Religion, Medicine, and Health*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

- Lüddeckens, Dorothea, and Monika Schrempf, eds. 2019. *Medicine, Religion, and Spirituality: Global Perspectives on Traditional, Complementary, and Alternative Healing*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Martin, Dan. 1992. "Crystals and Images from Bodies, Hearts and Tongues from Fire: Points of Relic Controversy from Tibetan History." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, edited by Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi, vol. 1, 183–191. Narita-shi, Chiba-Ken, Japan: Naritasan Shinshoji.
- Martin, Dan. 1994a. "Pearls from Bones: Relics, Chortens, Tertons and the Signs of Saintly Death in Tibet." *Numen* 41: 273–32.
- Martin, Dan. 1994b. "Tibet at the Center: A Historical Study of Some Tibetan Geographical Conceptions Based on Two Types of Country-lists Found in Bon Histories." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992*, edited by Per Kvaerne, 517–532. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- Martin, Dan. 2005. "The Woman Illusion? Research into the Lives of Spiritually Accomplished Women Leaders of the 11th and 12th Centuries." In *Women in Tibet*, edited by Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik, 49–82. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Martin, Dan. 2006. "Padampa Sangye: A History of Representation of a South Indian Siddha in Tibet." In *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, edited by Rob Linrothe, 108–123. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.
- Martin, Dan. 2017. "Crazy Wisdom in Moderation: Padampa Sangyé's Use of Counterintuitive Methods in Dealing with Negative Mental States." In *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, edited by Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar, 193–214. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Martin, Dan. 2022. "Seven Seals, Seven Times." <https://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/search?q=seven+seals>, accessed June 12, 2023.
- McKeown, Arthur. 2019. *Guardian of a Dying Flame: Śāriputra (c. 1335–1426) and the End of Late Indian Buddhism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Molk, David with Lama Tsering Wangdu Rinpoche, trans. 2008. *Lion of Siddhas: The Life and Teachings of Padampa Sangye*. Ithaca: Snow Lion.
- Mrozik, Susanne. 2007. *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Myang ston Rig 'dzin lhun grub 'od zer. 1979–1980. *bKa' brgyad bde*

- gshegs 'dus pa'i gter ston myang sprul ni ma 'od zer gyi rnam thar gsal ba'i me long. In *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chos skor*, vol. 2, 199–381. Paro: Lama Ngodrup.
- Namgyal-Lama, Kunsang. 2023. "Molded Clay Image (Tsatsa) of Amoghapasha." <https://projecthimalayanart.rubinmuseum.org/essays/molded-clay-image-tsatsa-of-amoghapasha/>.
- Nyang nyi ma 'od zer. 1988. *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dbang dpe bskrun khang.
- Ohnuma, Reiko. 2007. *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood: Giving Away the Body in Indian Buddhist Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Olverskog, Johan. 2010. *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*. Philadelphia & Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Onians, Isabelle. 2003. "Tantric Buddhist Apologetics or Antinomianism as the Norm." Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University.
- Phillips, Bradford. 2004. "Consummation and Compassion in Medieval Tibet: The Mañi Bka' 'bum chen mo of Gu ru Chos-kyi dbang-phyug." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia.
- Roerich, George, trans. 1996. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas.
- Salguero, Pierce C. 2022. *A Global History of Buddhism and Medicine*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sanderson, Alexis. 2009. "The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period." In *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, edited by Shingo Einoo, 41–349. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R. 2007. "Crystal Orbs and Arcane Treasures: Tibetan Anthologies of Buddhist Tantric Songs from the Tradition of Pha Dam pa sangs rgyas." *Acta Orientalia* (Oslo) 68: 5–73.
- Silk, Jonathon A. 1994. *The Heart Sūtra in Tibetan: A Critical Edition of the Two Recensions Contained in the Kanjur*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismus Kunde 34. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- Sircar, Dineschandra. 1971. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Second Edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Snellgrove, David. 2010. *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study*. Hongkong: Orchid.
- Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan. 1975. *Lung rigs 'brug sgra*. In *Collected Writings of Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan*, vol. 2, 1–144. New Delhi: Sanji Dorji.
- Sorensen, Michelle. 2011. "Padampa Sanggye," *Treasury of Lives*, <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Padampa-Sanggye-/2510>.
- Strong, John S. 2004. *Relics of the Buddha*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton

- University Press.
- Sun, Penghao. 2013. "Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas in Tangut Xia: Notes on Khara-khoto Chinese Manuscript TK329." In *Current Issues and Progress in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Seminar of Young Tibetologists, Kobe 2012*, edited by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Kazushi Iwao, Ai Nishida, Seiji Kumagai, and Meishi Yamamoto. Kobe, Japan: Research Institute of Foreign Studies, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.
- Thugs sras Kun dga'. 1979. *Zhi byed snga bar phyi gsum gyi skor. The Tradition of Pha-Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas: A Treasured Collection of His Teachings Transmitted by Thugs-sras Kun-dga'*, edited with an English introduction by Barbara Nimri Aziz, 5 vols. Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunsang Tobgey.
- Tsogyal, Yeshe. 1993. *The Lotus-Born: The Life Story of Padmasambhava*, translated by Eric Pema Kunsang, edited by Marcia Binder-Schmidt. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Wedemeyer, Christian. 2013. *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology, and Transgression in the Indian Traditions*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- U rgyan gling pa. 1985. *Padma bka' thang shel brag ma*. Rewalsar, dist. Mandi, H.P., India: Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute.
- Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit. 2021. *Reorienting Histories of Medicine: Encounters Along the Silk Road*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

